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Earth First!

¡NO COMPROMISO!
DEFENSO DE LA MADRE TIERRA!

September-
October 2003
Mabon



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SINGULARITY

EMPIRE

BIO TECH

EVERYTHING THAT HAS A BEGINNING HAS AN END

FTAA

G7 G8

BIOTECH

GATT WTO

IMF WORLD BANK

WORLD LEADERS



ECIO REVOLUTIONS

..... WTO
cancun, mexico
09.10 - 09.14
www.mexicosolidarity.org

..... FTAA
miami, florida
11.17 - 11.21
www.ftaamiami.org

Earth First!

Mabon September-October 2003

The *Radical* Environmental Journal

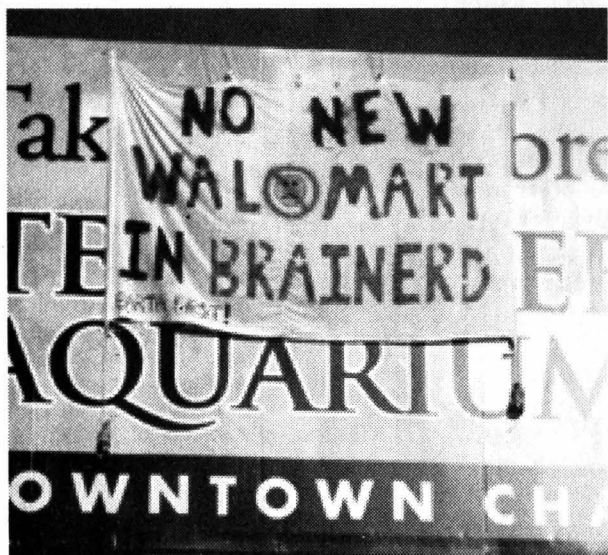


photo courtesy Katúah EF!

Katúah EF! Takes on Wal-Mart

The merry pranksters of Katúah Earth First! hung a banner (pictured above) on the morning of July 23 from the Tennessee Aquarium billboard near the Brainerd Levee on Interstate 75 South. The banner drop was in opposition to the construction of a new Wal-Mart Supercenter in East Brainerd, a suburb of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

On July 26, Katúah Earth First! activists locked down to construction equipment at the site. The supercenter would destroy the integrity of nearby wetlands that are home to more than 180 bird species. Siltation damage was visible in the wetlands after one week of construction.

"If Chattanooga is supposed to be the 'Environmental City,' then why is a Wal-Mart Supercenter being constructed, resulting in the destruction of an entire wetlands ecosystem?," asked EF! activist Amanda Womac.

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In Case of Fire, Let it Burn!



On August 22, the ELF made a one-million-dollar strike against this Hummer dealership near Los Angeles.

On my return to Tucson, an amber necklace of flames draped the Catalina Mountain just north of town. The Aspen fire lit up the night sky like a glowing serpent.

Fire is a cleanser. For thousands of years, indigenous peoples have used fire to purify, not only ourselves, but any negative impact we humans may have created. In the sweat lodge, which is the womb of Mother Earth, stones made red hot by this powerful natural element remind us that all life began with fire.

I love fire, be it around a campfire with friends or when consuming an empty fur farm, animal laboratory or luxury condominium built on the homes of my animal relations.

Historically, fire has always been a tactic of resistance and not just for the radical environmental movement. American slaves burned cotton gins and plantations.

In the 1860s, after the US surrendered to the Lakota warchief, Red Cloud, warriors fighting the first urban sprawl burned the contested forts to the ground.

In 1885, when the Mexican government attempted to gain control of silver deposits in my homelands, our war leader, Cajeme, captured and burned 21 ships in the Yaqui River port of El Médano.

Once again, our home is under attack. Before activists jet across the continent to attend protests in Cancun, Miami or elsewhere, we should consider targeting the same CEOs in their hometowns.

No tactic that prevents environmental destruction—without loss of life—should be ruled out. Be it fire or an action at the homes of a corporate ecoterrorist. A

guerrilla's strength is always to strike the enemy when they least expect it, not when the combined forces of corporations and governments are most prepared.

This resistance is not about remaining true to civil disobedience, it's about preventing the wholesale destruction of our one and only life support system. Our greatest strategic assessment should be whether our actions are effecting the financial bottomline of the destroyers of Earth.

I believe it's time to abandon the privilege of race, class, gender and species and join the rest of the world resisting corporate imperialism. Otherwise Earth First! is just another environmental group. I believe if tactics that defend the natural world trouble you, maybe another group is better for you.

Let's worry more about what our four-legged, feathered and finned relations think about our actions and less about what those in suits and uniforms have to say. Earth First! remains the unforgiving voice for the voiceless that sees no comparison between the decimation of an old-growth forest and the disabling of the machines used for that destruction. Purify yourself, the battle has just begun.

—ROD

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

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

Article submissions should be typed or clearly printed. Art or photographs are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via email. Send a SASE if you would like submissions returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it.

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

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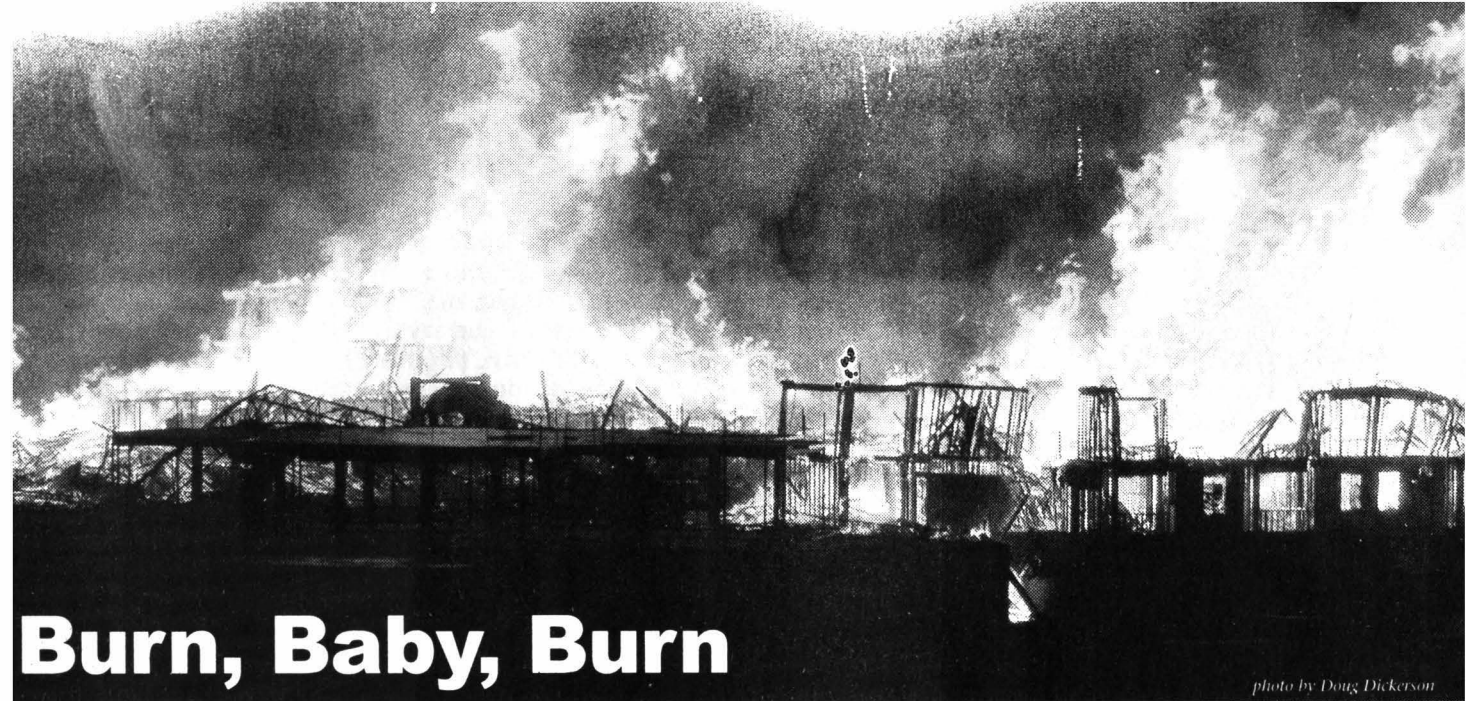


photo by Doug Dickerson

The nighttime glow of an Earth Liberation Front arson in San Diego, California

Burn, Baby, Burn

BY ROD CORONADO

In the largest act of environmental sabotage in US history, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) has accepted responsibility for a \$50 million fire in San Diego, California, that destroyed an unfinished five-story condominium complex on August 1. The complex is owned by Garden Communities, the second largest developer in Southern California. Nationwide, Garden Communities owns more than 40,000 apartments and 25 million square feet of commercial space.

Fire crews arrived on the scene and evacuated apartments surrounding the 34-acre construction site. No one was hurt in the blaze, which was credited to the ELF through a painted slogan: "If you build it—we will burn it. E.L.F."

The fire was in San Diego's Golden Triangle area, which boasts a mixture of luxury apartments, upscale office buildings, fashionable retail centers and biotechnology companies. The Golden Triangle is adjacent to Rose Canyon—home to bobcats, coyotes, ash-throated flycatchers, red-shouldered hawks, barn owls and orioles.

From 2,000 years ago until the last century, the Kumeyaay people inhabited a village in Rose Canyon, gathering acorns from the once abundant coastal live oaks, weaving baskets from the arroyo willow and hunting not far from where a seven-million-dollar crane was destroyed by the ELF fire.

San Diego County is one of the most rapidly growing regions in the US and has been identified as one of the world's 25 biodiversity "hotspots." It also boasts the fifth worst rush-hour commute in the nation.

The Garden Communities project was approved in 2000, despite opposition from nearby residents. Many who hike Rose Canyon's four-mile length are tired of the sprawl engulfing the canyon and have expressed support for the ELF's efforts to draw attention to the development of San Diego's last remaining wetlands and wild places.

The US Fish and Wildlife Service transferred Endangered Species Act implementation authority to the developer-friendly San Diego government in 1998. The Multiple Species

Conservation Plan (MSCP) was established to cover nearly 900 square miles. As one of the Southwest's first large-scale plans to protect entire ecosystems rather than just particular species, the MSCP has proven to be inadequate in preserving native biodiversity and ensuring the recovery of endangered animals and plants in San Diego County.

"I think it's a positive statement that at least someone somewhere is trying to point out that over-development is clogging our already congested urban areas. This is a war to protect the environment, to raise the consciousness of people," said 41-year-old Richard Marose, a local restaurant manager.

Marose also noted that rain and humidity made the night of the fire moist enough to prevent it from spreading to Rose Canyon: "The canyon would have gone up in smoke if this was done at any other time." He refused to talk to agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms who wanted to question him.

This particular project, La Jolla Crossroads, when completed would comprise 1,800 apartments with an average monthly rent of \$1,340. The 42-acre Nobel Research Center, which will house the biotechnology company IDEC Corporation, is planned to be built adjacent to the site.

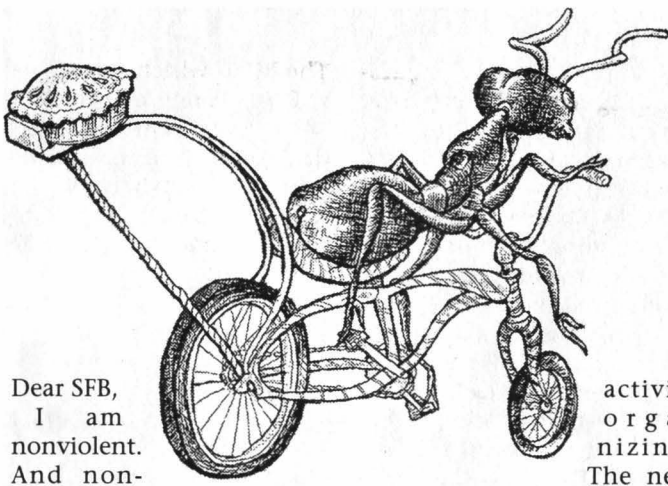
Following the fire, a small, hand-printed sign was left near the construction site: "Thank-You E.L.F. Burn, Baby, Burn."

Tad Simmons of Carlsbad said that as an environmentalist he had mixed feelings about the fire. "Part of me thinks it's kind of cool that somebody had the guts to stand for something like this—a cause, and that nobody ever gets hurt."

No arrests have been made, but the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force said several suspects were being tracked.

Editors' Note: On August 14, FBI agents raided the home of activists affiliated with the San Diego-based Compassion for Farm Animals (CFA). CFA organized a lecture with Rod Coronado on the day of the ELF fire. Agents seized phone lists, a computer, a video camera and videotape of the lecture, which was part of on-going Revolution Summer events in San Diego. Since the fire, CFA activists have been under constant surveillance, their home was mysteriously broken into and their vehicle stolen.

Dear Shit for Brains:



Dear SFB,
I am
nonviolent.
And non-
violence is not

a tactic, it is a way of life. It informs my interactions with human beings, plants, and animals. Every moment of my life.

As a tactic it is practical, I agree. But it's more than a tactic. Read Ghandi. Read Martin Luther King, Jr. No, I'm not a Christian.

But I am nonviolent.

So why do my hackles raise when some man tells a young woman she can't teach self defense? (see *EF/J* May-June 2003). Because I am a woman, a woman who has been attacked. Besides, I think I know the kind of self defense she is talking about does not include taking out a gun and shooting someone.

These are hard questions. With no easy answers. (No wonder Bush wants those WMDs to be found in Iraq—he still wants to claim self defense, even tho the war and occupation are illegal under International Law.) They are hard questions because they have larger implications.

Could you address that in another article?

Peace,

—SUE ANN MARTINSON

Dear Shit for Brains,

Howdy ya'll, from the Appalachian foothills.

The Eastern Forest Action Camp has just come to its conclusion. It was well organized, informative and fun.

New friendships were formed, bonds were made, but most importantly new information has come to light that will revolutionize

activist
orga-
nizing.

The new

discovery is embodied in the following theorem: whereas $I=7/8^{(a-1)}$ whereas I =intelligence and a =activists. According to this theorem the activists that participate in a given activity will inevitably lower their Potential Intelligence Level (PIL) at an exponential rate based on their numbers.

For instance one activist is working at 100 percent of PIL, two activists are working at 87.5 percent PIL and three are at 76.6 percent and so on. When we announced our theory to the larger group at the Solstice campfire, we were insulted with moronic statements and nearly attacked by their mob fury. Being there 50 activists the PIL of the group was .014 percent. As you may see our theory works. We are still working on a larger theorem to figure out the performance (p) of a group of working activists (a) based on their intelligence (I), knowledge (k) and wisdom (w) levels.

No Compromise in Defense of the Pythagorean Theorem.
SINEd,

—MATH FIRST!

P.S. We had seven activists working on this letter, so again our theory is proven.

P.P.S. For extra credit points, figure out our PIL.

Dear SFB,

Gotta say I enjoyed Tim Ream's "I have a dream/call for insurrection" editorial of a few issues back (see *EF/J* March-April 2003) more than his "Open Letter to the FBI" in the current (July/August) issue.

Tim makes some good points, but two things in "Open Letter" bug me. For one, he seems to be saying that acts of damage to earth-ravaging equipment only bring on more repression and are the work of the FBI. Both assertions are false. The only way to avoid repression is to have no liberation movement, and implying that nocturnal blows, which require great courage, are government operations is even more obviously off the mark.

Twice he refers to the pigs as threatening "true democracy." (A) What democracy is that? (A) and (B) some of us (anarchists) want a world that doesn't need running (deglobalized, decentralized, face-to-face) and reject democracy as one more form of rule.

—JOHN ZERZAN

Dear SFB,

A few days ago, while sitting in a coffee shop, I noticed a flyer for a protest against a recent push to increase the number of paved roads in federally protected forests. I decided to go, to stand up for the trees—like my hero the lorax—and take a stand against our friendly fascists in the white house.

When two of my friends and I arrived, we noticed most of the few attendees wearing Sierra Club and Wisconsin PIRG shirts. The protesters carried mild signs, and sent their best dressed member to talk to the news crews. The second these cameramen left, the protesters began to back away from the police and soon thereafter ran away like the sheep they were.

Throughout the entire protest, my friends and I were receiving scowls for asking the speakers relevant questions. I have a feeling that the scowls came, because we failed to fit

in with the majority of the neo-hippy suburbanites or the yuppies, so accustomed to their offices, I doubt they know what the trees they're trying to save look, feel and smell like.

These protesters have most likely never experienced the beauty of what they are trying to save. They have, most likely, never heard rain falling through tree limbs and landing on pine needles. If they have experienced such beauty, I doubt they have stopped to revel in it.

Such disconnected and routine lives, lead us to become disenchanting and take the passion away from our fights. If these people understood the importance of this fight and the life behind it, they would leave behind their Sierra Club gear and cookie cutter slogans. Instead, those accessories would be replaced with bandanas and monkeywrenches. No longer would they fear the police or their punishments and never again would they shake their head at an earthmover on the side of the road, but keep on driving.

Yours for the revolution,

—FIRETHORN

P.S. This does not mean that the activist community here (Milwaukee, Wisconsin) lacks a drive. The peace movement here was quite active and direct action has become commonplace.

Dear SFB,

I understand you've been publishing the home addresses of corporate criminals and suggesting that people go after them for what they do. I sympathize with the urge to do that, but I think it's a terrible idea (with a couple of exceptions I'll get to shortly).

What is to stop our adversaries from targeting us the same way? I don't want some

ignorant yahoo all fired up with "patriotism" to invade my space because he knows I hate the Bush regime. Remember, there are still more of them than us.

I do agree with punishing rats and bullies, because they understand only force, and only force—or operant conditioning—will work against them. But still, if we descend into habitual violation or violence, we'll have no way, in this heated political climate, to calm things down again.

It's one thing to break into a fur farm and free the minks, but targeting people in their homes will bring the ongoing conflict down to a dangerous new level—one we are ill-equipped to compete on.

I'm fearful that a civil war is coming fairly soon in this country, and if it comes to that we'll only be able to win if a majority of the public supports us. And if that majority is strong enough, we can defeat the corporate power peacefully; but if we let ourselves be politically marginalized we'll be crushed—violently.

We need time to reach people. The more time we can gain before things get violent, the better our hopes of winning—peacefully—will be. (And it's in the Bush regime's interest to stampede people into violence before they can see what is happening to the country). Persuasion is our only real hope.

For the Earth,
—PAN TROGLODYTES

Dear SFB,
I'd like to respond to what Rodney Wade had to say about my letter in the March-April issue. First off, I'd like to

say that I appreciate his criticisms. And I respect him for speaking them. It is a very intense and emotional issue.

Now, I'd like to make clear that I wasn't advocating the use of violence. I wrote very clearly that I'm tired of the rhetoric of armed revolution. Because I have been shot at and too many friends I grew up with had their lives ended this way, or they can tell stories like mine.

But that doesn't change my mind about self defense. Our government has and will use deadly force against dissidents. I believe that we have a responsibility to ourselves, family, friends and comrades to fight back when we are threatened with harm.

In some instances these reactions must be avoided to protect from greater harm. However, there are times when violence against an unrelenting aggressor is justified and necessary.

I am very sorry if people mistook my words as meaning pick up a gun and go start the revolution. That's not what I meant. But in the name of self defense, I stand by my previous statement. Pick up a rock, pick up a lighter or pick up a gun.

As to those I ridiculed for "whining about pepper spray and rubber bullets," I'm sorry for my statement.

I realize those things suck and hurt. And while for myself I may downplay the effects, I do realize that this can be a traumatic experience.

I appreciate people questioning what I say/write. And I'm thankful that I get called on my shit so I can own up to it and learn. Thanks, Rodney. And thanks to everyone else who knows we all say things that perhaps we shouldn't.

In closing, I'd simply like to encourage everyone to learn some form of self defense. And to those who believe in it, take a firearm safety course. The time will come when the nature of struggles in this country will by necessity have to change.

Sincerely,
—FREE

Dear SFB,
I read with interest the article entitled "What We Learned in Molokai" and the following item entitled "The Evils of Cruise Ships." I wish to point out two things.

The article accurately describes the cruise industry's cancellation of stops at Molokai—presumably through 2004. However, this was not without cost. In return for the cruise lines pulling back, the Government of Hawaii had withdrawn several pieces of legislation that if passed would have set environmental standards for the cruise industry in law rather than through a Memorandum of Understanding.

The MOU which was signed in 2002 is unenforceable and depends on trust of an industry that is comprised of a bunch of convicted felons; they have paid \$100 million in environmental fines in the past decade.

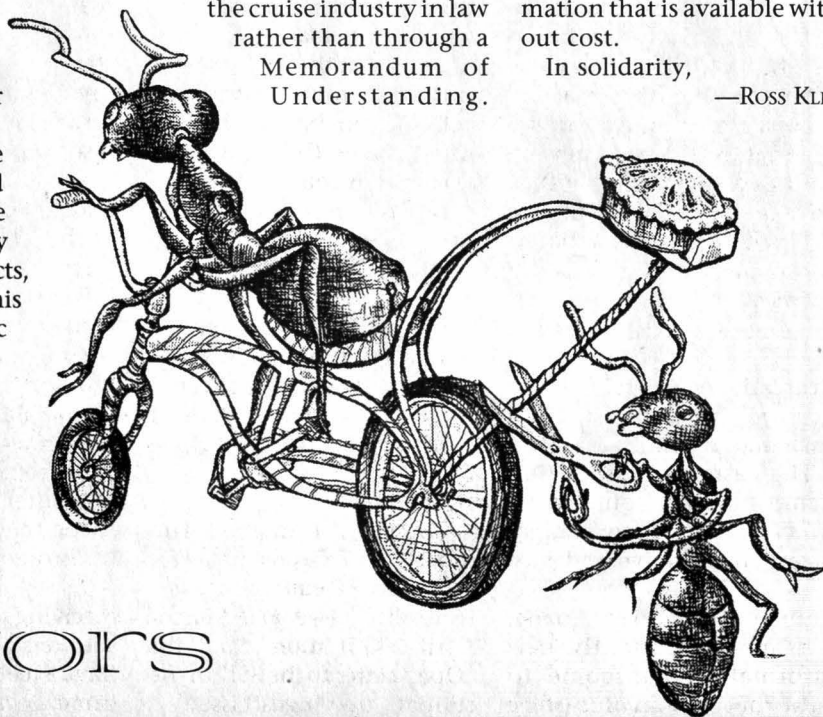
I applaud the efforts of the people on Molokai and in no way do I mean to suggest that they are responsible for this bargaining. To the contrary, their action scared both the government and the cruise lines, and the behind-closed-doors deal was a way for the state government and the cruise industry to maintain their symbiotic relationship.

At the risk of appearing to engage in blatant self promotion, I need to point out that the articles fail to lead people to several very useful resources. Your readers should be made aware of my website at www.cruisejunkie.com.

It includes links to several articles I have written dealing with the exploitative environmental and labor practices of the cruise industry, and it provides comprehensive lists of environmental offenses and fines. It also provides links to all major groups engaged in confrontation of the cruise industry. The website is a source of much useful information that is available without cost.

In solidarity,
—ROSS KLEIN

Letters to the Editors



Wilding the Revolution



BY STRIDER LONGSHANKS

Seems they're everywhere these days: young, rebellious, black-clad urban anarchists facing the capitalist beast head-on. They are feeding the hungry in local parks, establishing communal squats in abandoned buildings, turning vacant lots into gardens, sending books to prisoners, organizing critical masses, participating in mass demonstrations and coming to their first EF! Round River Rendezvous. These kids show fervor and determination. And a depressingly large number of long-time EF!ers (quite privileged, most of them) are audibly moaning and fretting about them and the "changes" they represent.

And how about all those workers we've been meeting? Those who've made the connection and recognize the inter-relatedness of social and ecological problems. The workers who see the common denominator—corporate capitalist exploitation—in all these struggles. Some of us denounce them: "If they really cared, they'd quit their jobs and stop breeding!" It's that easy, is it? Maybe when you're highly educated, hold access to mobility and affordable health care and have a trust fund set up for you.

Then there are the poverty-stricken people of color around the world, who have battled environmental racism for generations while many of us are only just coming around to understanding that concept. "How can we get them to our forest campaigns?" Tricky deal: Between chronic malnourishment, toxic waste, no gear or infrastructural support and routine police brutality, the New Black Panther Vanguard just has no time to treesit in Cascadia or lockdown in the Wild Rockies.

And the growing number of cleanly dressed, progressive-thinking, faith-based mainstream folks—many of them of a Christian bent—who are fed up with what is happening to the Earth and all Her progeny (often under the auspices of "Jesus" and "God"). And folks in our circles whine: "Oh no, we can't work with Christians! They don't do body shots!"

And how about those commies! Socialist and communist sects the world over are now rigorously adopting and incorporating the concepts of ecosystem integrity, sustainable development and biodiversity as readily as they did “worker-controlled capital” and “classless society” in the 19th and 20th centuries. The truth is plain to see that industrialism is itself a major part of the problem and more and more “Reds” are facing this truth down. Long-time EFlers gripe about them too—instantly seeking division while others seek alliance and dialogue.

And let’s not forget those people—EF! activists or otherwise—who find themselves pregnant and don’t want to deal with the abortion nightmare. The people who decide that they want to work to raise a “radikal child.” Who is anyone to say they shouldn’t? The burden of proof rests upon them to accomplish this. You can help them, or you can leave them be. It seems there is no shortage of “Earth First!” egos around ready and willing to mistreat these people (who are primarily, but not exclusively, women) at a moment’s notice.

And the waves of queer and transgender Earth defenders—each wave bigger than the last—that have been joining forest campaigns, mass protests and other resistance efforts. They are laying their bodies on the line right next to yours and mine. There is always some asshole around who manages to corner them when they are alone with the express purpose of making them feel unwanted. No, homophobe: It is you who does not belong on our side of the barricades with that attitude.

We in EF! need to ask ourselves: Are we a movement or just another “subculture and scene”? Do we have a monopoly on what it is to be “green” and “radical”? Are we going to drift out of EF! now—back to our suburban landscapes, rural strawbale houses and plush log homes at the edge of the national forest? Are we going to bolster our income by going to environmental law school or by writing books and music about the “good old days” when there was virtually *no* diversity in EF!? A tremendous responsibility lies before us. Whether or not we in EF! are able to measure up to it will determine whether actions in response to the wholesale ecological and social devastation taking place will really constitute true Revolution... Eco-Revolution!

It is no secret to us in Earth First! that wilderness and biocentrism are key—the principles of rights, freedom and dignity extend to all life for its own sake. While biocentrism is an ancient concept to the world’s indigenous people, as well as to many agrarian and other non-indigenous subsistence cultures, it is a new and very radical concept for our society (and consequently an extremely difficult one for many to grasp). Without biocentrism, it isn’t Revolution. We may just succeed in overthrowing the current, corporate, capitalist patriarchy—but without spirituality, wilderness, biocentrism and anarchistic community building as the underpinnings of our mass movement, we are surely doomed to make similar mistakes in the future. History is rife with examples of this vicious cycle.

Many of our existing and potential allies have not yet had the opportunity to encounter the concepts of biocentrism, deep ecology and green anarchy for themselves. They struggle their entire lives, much more so than we do, with much less, for much less. If it wasn’t for their spirituality and sense of faith, community and solidarity, they would probably have given up long ago. We have much to learn from them.

If we do not ally ourselves with those in the global struggle against the corporate, military-industrial monster and teach each other through cross-cultural interaction, then our failure to stop the Earth’s destruction will be certain. Through our diversity, we are all one People: two-legged, four-legged, six or eight-legged, feathered, scaled and spineless.

We must reach out first—supporting others in their struggles

against certain slavery or annihilation. They will inevitably ask us why we care—and that may or may not prove to be the first time they hear of revolutionary

Without biocentrism, wilderness, balanced anarchy and spirituality—it *isn’t* Revolution. It is doomed to a failure that the entire biotic community cannot afford.

ecology, biocentrism and the notion that the root of all injustice is disharmony with Nature. Later on, some of them just may bring themselves into our realms of activism—a treesit or rendezvous—if only briefly. We import others’ experience and perspective; we export our understanding of biocentrism and revolutionary ecological perspectives.

As others involved in the global struggle find their way to our circles, will they receive the education they need to complete their understanding of what is at stake and what is needed? Will they feel inclined to share with us the education we need to complete our understanding of what is at stake and what is needed? Or will they only find a clique of white, middle-class, beer-soaked, wilderness-recreation brats who reek attitude. Intellectual and ideological elitism will completely derail us if we continue to indulge in it; maybe it already has.

Resistance can mean death, like it did for Anna Mae Aquash and David “Gypsy” Chain, and while this is no secret to most of us involved in the struggle for Earth and Life, it emphasizes the reality that we need each other. We must have each other’s backs. The same mentality that framed Leonard Peltier put Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row. It laid waste to Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan. It killed Chico Mendez and Petra Kelly, poisoned the people and ecosystems around Bhopal, India, and beat Matthew Shepherd to death in Wyoming. This same mentality continually sends disrupters and troublemakers into our midst to create division and mistrust whenever, wherever and however the opportunity presents itself.

As long as we indulge in our personal prejudices and tear each other down, we do the Man’s work for him. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, “We can either live together as brethren, or we can die together as fools.” Let us now extend that axiom to include all life. Our work as EFlers has barely begun. We have a choice and the provision to choose but very little time.

Strider Longshanks is a pessimistic, itinerant Ranger at the close of the Fourth Age and is still trying to make sense of his heritage.

The Fighting Words of Earth First!

BY JAMES JOHN BELL

"Reading is just as creative an activity as writing, and most intellectual development depends on new readings of old texts," wrote feminist agitator Angela Carter. "I am all for putting new wine in old bottles, especially if the pressure of the new wine makes the old bottles explode."

Our movement, all movements, share mythological foundations. They're all rooted in stories and have storytellers. The classics tell us that "myth" is limited to the primordial realm of the gods, while "legend" applies only to humanity and linear history.

Movements make their own myths, some create gods, others overthrow them. Those movements that succeed become legend, and their mythos becomes the lens of society, an inseparable and ubiquitous part of future generations.

Internally, a movement's stories provide a framework for how its participants relate to each other and the world around them. Earth First! has many such stories embedded in its songs, campfire tales and literature. Earth First! also has an origin myth, an "old bottle," from its early years that still gets kicked around at actions and gatherings—Ed Abbey's *The Monkey Wrench Gang*.

The Old Wine Bottles of Cactus Ed

Ed Abbey's distinctly American brew of radical environmentalism in *The Monkey Wrench Gang* lays claim to fermenting Earth First!. Published in 1975, it (and the sequel, *Hayduke Lives!*) centers on Vietnam veteran George Washington Hayduke III, who discovers that the desert Southwest's canyons and rivers are threatened by industrial development. Hayduke joins forces with feminist saboteur Bonnie Abzug, wilderness guide Seldom Seen Smith and billboard torcher Doc Sarvis, MD. Together, they take aim at the dozers of dam and road builders and the infernal machines of strip miners.

Six years later, Abbey himself appeared at the first major Earth First! action, where Glen Canyon Dam was symbolically cracked by draping a giant, black, plastic "crack" over its side. When *Hayduke Lives!* appeared in 1989, Abbey was at the end of his life, and Earth First! had taken root in both the real world and his fiction.

The first appearance of "Earth First!" in the mythos of Abbey's monkeywrench gang came in *Hayduke Lives!*:

"In the center of the chain, perhaps a leader, stood a tall, young woman with blue-black hair reaching to her rump, a red headband with hawk's feather around her brow and a pair of startling fjord-green eyes that blazed within her charcoal lashes like radioactive emeralds of the finest, purest, deepest water. She wore faded Levi britches shrunken to a perfect fit (and what they fit was perfect), track shoes and a snug, sweat-soaked t-shirt that proclaimed, with green fist and words of red across her proud, upstanding jugs: Earth First!."



Calling Out Hayduke: Sexism in EF! Mythology

Abbey was keenly aware of the rampant sexism in Earth First! (especially since he was partially responsible for solidifying it into Earth First! mythology), and in *Hayduke Lives!* his "feminist" character Bonnie calls it out repeatedly. Unfortunately, some of her outbursts at Hayduke are still echoed at eco-gatherings and base camps today: "Who rubs your back these days? I suppose you're on the 17th teeny-bopper by now." What a different book it would be if the story were written solely from the perspective of Bonnie, and not Hayduke and the gang.

Abbey would use his womanizing Seldom Seen Smith—"I like women. Women and horses and little, wooden, lap-straked dories. Full of girls."—to comment on some of his own frustrations with feminist thought. "If a chairman is only a chair then a cowboy is only a cow?"

However, by the end of *Hayduke Lives!*, he lampoons everyone, the men especially, and celebrates the role of women activists in the feminization of the radical ecology movement. "The Earth First! warriors waited, more girls than boys, more women than men." Five women remain chained to a tree, after all the other Earth First!ers at the Round River Rendezvous are arrested, defending Lost Eden Canyon. "'Burn the tree,' the bulldozer engineer snarled, still miffed by his defeat. 'Goddamn green-bigot witches, douse 'em with diesel, set the tree on fire.'" Here Abbey includes the real-life eco-warrior Mary Sojourner, earlier we even see Karen Pickett and other non-fictional activists. This scene gets echoed by Earth First!'s first action to defend the redwoods. Members of the Whale Gulch lesbian community, calling themselves the "Sally Bell 8," took action long before Julia "Butterfly" Hill arrived at the base camp of the Luna treesit.

Exploding Myths: The "New Wine" of EF!

By the 1980s, a grassroots opposition to the social and political shortsightedness of the "rednecks for nature" had taken shape in the redwoods among northern California Earth First!ers (including Judi Bari, Darryl Cherney, Mike Roselle and Pam Davis). Jeffrey Shantz writes in the 2002 *Feminist Review* #70, "They rejected the misanthropy, machismo, patriotism and anti-labor biases of the old guard, condemning their comments on Ethiopia, immigration and AIDS. Their actions, to reform Earth First! while fighting to preserve old-growth ecosystems, would come to be among the most important examples of ecodefense in North America."

Shantz explodes a long-standing myth that ecofeminists denounced sabotage, "Monkeywrenching itself was not renounced. The formal statement encouraged sabotage by *timber workers* as a means to disrupt the labor process and slow the cutting of trees. Workers were no longer viewed as necessary targets of sabotage, they were viewed as potential eco-saboteurs. Dave Foreman had argued that ecotage must be unorganized and the act of individuals alone. Local 1 countered that in order for ecodefense to be successful it must be based in the community" (see *EF!J* May-June 1990).

Earth First! has been actively retelling its story. The destruction of wilderness cannot be successfully addressed without first addressing the culture underlying both this destruction and the movement itself. Understanding gender dynamics inside and out of movements for social and environmental change is a critical first step for all activists. Today within Earth First!, some men are not waiting for women to call someone out on abuse, we are taking our own initiative. The women and men's circles at the 2003 Earth First! Organizers' Conference are a testament to this distancing of Earth First! from the "Haydick" syndrome.

Additionally, the resurgence of radical ecology themes in literature and popular culture during the last few years are a sign of the success of Earth First!'s new exploits and tales of adventure (see *EF!J* March-April 2003). Earth First! continues to address its problems and does a decent job of juggling that with its no compromise in defense of the Earth stance. "If you meditate on your past sins long enough, you can get lost in your sins and not know what your virtues are," wrote Joseph Campbell in *The Way of Myth*. "Why not meditate on the virtues? Foster the virtues and let the sins fall off. Find the virtues. Affirm life! Instead of criticizing it, affirm life!"

James is a writer/director at Sustain (sustainusa.org), a co-founder of the smartMeme project (smartmeme.com) and writes regularly for the *EF! Journal*.

Artwork by Canyon Frog.



OPPRESSIVE BEHAVIOR 101

- Grandstanding. Talking too much, too long and too loud.

- Problem Solver. Continually contributing before others have had a chance.

- Speaking in Capital Letters. Using aggressive tones to declare that one's opinions are the final word on a subject.

- Defensiveness. Responding to every contrary opinion as if it were a personal attack.

- Nitpicking. Pointing out minor flaws in statements of others.

- Stealing Thunder. Restating someone else's idea, particularly a woman's, to the group as your idea.

- Attention Seeking. Using dramatics to get the spotlight.

- Task and Content Fascist. Insisting on adherence to a task or to process at the expense of nurturing the group.

- Put Downs and One-up-manship. "I used to believe that, but now..." or, "How can you possibly say that?"

- Negativism. Finding something problematic in everything.

- Back Seat Driver. Hanging onto former positions of responsibility.

- Self-listening. Formulating a response after hearing a few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on and leaping in at the first pause.

- George Custerism: Taking a stand for one's position on even minor items.

- Denial. Intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity or making jokes when it is time to share personal feelings.

- Condescension and Paternalism. "Now, do any women have anything to add?"

- Being "On the Make." Using sexuality to manipulate.

- Running the Show. Continually taking charge of tasks before others have a chance to volunteer.

- Power Broker. Protectively storing key information for one's own use and benefit.

- Speaking for Others. "A lot of us think that we should..." or, "What so and so really meant was..."

Open Letter to Men in the Eco/Social Justice/Anarchist Movements

BY d

Male violence, which upholds male supremacy, is at the foundation of this civilization. While many people realize that this global, corporate, imperialist, death culture needs to be stopped, we aren't examining the fundamental relationship between civilization and male supremacy. I believe what is happening to the planet, and all of our lives, would not exist without a culture that condones male violence. Feminists have long drawn the connections between male supremacy, war, genocide and the assault on the planet.

Splitting the Sky, a Mohawk freedom fighter, has said that "the war against womyn is the oldest war." Some men say that they want to put an end to the "rape of the Earth"* but don't prioritize fighting rape culture in their communities, missing the connection entirely. I also strongly question why some still continue to call male violence and supremacy solely a "womyn's issue."

These connections have been pointed out to men in the broader eco/social justice/anarchist movement for years. Yet, in my experience, they are cast aside or not taken seriously. Often, the argument has been that the campaign,

action or protest was too important to be sidetracked by feminist concerns. Of course, it isn't usually worded this way when sexism is dismissed. Comments range from statements like the polite and privileged, "We need to focus on the goal here," to the verbal attack, "Fuck you, you Feminazi!" It has also been said that there is no longer a problem of sexism in our subversive campaigns; it just doesn't exist. Meanwhile, the behavior goes on unchallenged by most men.

Some men have been willing to address a few of these concerns so that womyn will still be a part of groups and campaigns. My feeling is that this is done as an appeasement—as long as it doesn't take too much time or divert too much energy away from the campaign. After all, who are all these men going to sleep with, and who's going to do all the unacknowledged work that isn't sexy and heroic?

In our movement, violence is romanticized. To point out patterns of patriarchal violence during direct actions or in street riots challenges long-held beliefs around tactics. As society approaches more of a breaking point, male violence, along with white supremacist attacks, will increase because those with privilege are going to freak-out as their power slips. We need to address these issues in the work we do and incorporate an anti-oppression analysis.

We have an amazing opportunity right now to look at how the concepts of masculinity and manhood have led to the destruction of the Earth and its inhabitants. We, men, can open up, share our feelings, start supporting one another on a path of healing while we reject male privilege and hold each other accountable. Because right now that isn't happening often enough.

The way we act on a daily basis is what keeps this rape culture going. It is the objectifying looks and remarks, as well as the allowance of such behavior. It is ignorance of heterosexual male privilege and the denial of its existence while simultaneously reaping its reward. Rejecting male violence requires a leap into the unknown. In mainstream culture, the few men who do speak out against rape culture are often considered "gay." Their whole manhood is questioned. Homophobia forces many men to not only keep silent about sexism, but to continuously prove their heterosexuality.

In the counterculture, this plays out in a different way. It has been my experience that instead of being called gay, men who are working on being anti-sexist are called: brainwashed, mind-numbed sheep, PC and reformist. Speaking out against sexism is viewed as disruptive, annoying, harsh, prejudiced, inflammatory, unimportant and not hardcore. Many pro-feminist men have been told by their peers that they are just trying to get the trust of the womyn's community in order to have sex with them. So in both mainstream culture and radical culture, which are



both rampant with homophobia, sexuality is focused on to dismiss these men and their efforts.

Not only can this put someone on the defensive, but it misses the point that maybe these men are being anti-sexist because they care deeply for justice. It has been my experience that if a man in the movement becomes truly pro-feminist or challenges gender, he is not respected anymore as a real activist. Sometimes, this takes place behind his back while positive lip-service is given face to face. i have been confronted by men for leaving the "boy's club" and being vocal about it.

When people are called out on their oppressive behavior, a common distancing tactic is for them to turn around and talk about their own victimization. Many times this is accompanied by name calling and aggressive body posturing. Or the person pretends to listen, later going back to their friends and talking shit. It is important to keep in mind that unless someone is a rich, white, heterosexual, able-bodied and Christian male, they are probably oppressed in some way and have privilege in other ways. While this person being called out might have

valid points about their oppression, usually they are bringing it up to shift the focus away from their own oppressive behavior.

And not just the big, bad CEOs, but the sexist conditioning within our movement and our everyday lives. Doing that requires taking risks,

But if we truly want to stop the destruction of the planet, we need to work to stop sexual violence, misogyny and sexist attitudes.

It can be really scary to step outside the male box and examine our homophobia, heterosexism and sexism. Asking ourselves how we contribute to male violence and how that plays out in our daily interactions is critically important if we are going to be inclusive. And that extends to looking at our complicity with all forms of oppression.

These are uncomfortable questions that are often avoided or denied. But if we truly want to stop the destruction of the planet, we need to work to stop sexual violence, misogyny and sexist attitudes. This means taking a position against male supremacy.

but we take risks all the time because we believe in what we do. So let's encourage and support each other in taking another risk by working to end male violence.

d is proud to be a gender traitor and a race traitor. When he gets dissed on for it, he knows he must be doing something right. He also knows that he's not perfect and is socialized to be an oppressor—that's why he's doing this work.

*Many people, including myself, are uncomfortable with how "rape" is commonly used as a metaphor for ecocide, especially when men use it. Using it this way can minimize the experience of survivors, as well as the severity of the rape culture that we live in.

Evolution of a Gender Traitor: Questions for the Author

EF!J: What oppressive patriarchal conditioning are you still trying to deconstruct in yourself?

d: i struggle with the way i speak; the tone i use at times. The way i get defensive, and as embarrassing as this is to me, the way i will actually puff up my chest when i feel like i'm being challenged. A close womyn friend called me out on the puff up thing. i am so embarrassed by it, but i am doing a lot better. i struggle with all the shit that's in my head that i was taught about sexuality, with masculinity and femininity (i hate both words), with gender constructs.

i struggle with losing my male privilege, with not looking tough. Most people see me on the street and think i'm a tough, macho, white, straight male, not a sweet, and tough, queer Jew. And that's all about survival in a world full of hate.

EF!J: Do you work with other men on these issues?

d: Very much so. For me, working with men is the best thing i can do to fight patriarchy. We need to unlearn these behaviors, and i think that can only happen with ourselves holding each other accountable

and educating one another. i also work with male survivors of sexual assault in helping to heal, and male socialization comes up in that process as well.

i must say, there are very few men that i would feel good about co-facilitating a group with. i'm trying to have more patience because we're all learning, and i have a lot to learn. i have co-facilitated with someone who was not able to hold males in the group accountable and that was a difficult situation.

EF!J: What is one of the best ways you have found to be supportive of womyn when you work on a direct action/campaign?

d: Listening to their experience and believing them is a good place to start. It seems so basic. i recently helped with a two-day training on sexual assault for Cascadia Forest Defenders (CFD) and that felt like a really good way for me to contribute and be supportive. I think the anti-oppression work CFD is doing right now is inspiring, particularly the womyn's treesits. From what I hear, they are super empowering and that rocks!

Moving Beyond a History of Corsets and Clearcuts: Womyn's Occupation at Straw Devil Timber Sale



photo courtesy Cascadia Forest Defenders

BY THE ECOFEMINIST FRONT

Every morning we wake up, the day is ours to create a world where all who are socialized as womyn will no longer bear the collective weight of a history of unheard cries, a history of terror, a history of corsets and clearcuts, white picket fences and white corporate lies.

July 2 marked the beginning of an all-womyn's action, occupation and treesit in defense of ancient forest sold off to private industry. Our free state was erected to protect unit six of the Straw Devil Timber Sale in the Willamette National Forest near Eugene, Oregon. We are working with fellow treesitters who have been occupying unit seven since March 24.

Starfire Lumber and Basco Logging, in conjunction with the US Forest Service, are attempting to demolish all of this endangered ecosystem. Since logging started on July 24, eight acres have been cut.

On July 31, the Oregon Natural Resources Council won a temporary injunction to stop the logging until court proceedings begin in September. Citing "irreparable harm," a district judge suspended logging on three old-growth timber sales in the Willamette National Forest. A total of 80 acres of trees, hundreds of years old, had already been felled in the Straw Devil, Pryor and East Devil Timber Sales when the ruling was

made. If allowed to continue, the three timber sales will log more than 300 acres. We are digging in our heels until the court decides to permanently stop the logging.

In addition to defending the last five percent of native forest that still stands in Oregon, the womyn's action is dedicated to building a community that is intolerant of all forms of oppression. We are working to create a space of mutual learning and growth—a space where we can conquer not only the demons of capitalism, patriarchy and indifference that surround us but also the demons of oppression, self-loathing and fear that reside within us.

The womyn's free state is a safe space where womyn can come and gain skills and perspective. A safe place to clear our heads after a lifetime of being taught to not trust ourselves. It is our belief that the oppression of womyn and the destruction of the Earth come from the same unsustainable need to dominate and control. The same people who wish to take away our autonomy also wish to take away the last of the wild beauty on Earth.

As womyn, we cannot achieve liberation while the Earth is still in chains. We need oxygen, clean water and the forest to survive. We need to be able to walk around alone at night; we need our homes to be free of violence; we need a life where rape, assault and

oppressive attitudes are not the norm. Womyn's struggle and the Earth's struggle are from the same root.

We invite womyn of all situations and backgrounds to come to Straw Devil for an hour, a day, a month, a lifetime and reclaim what the USFS never had a right to sell. If you can't join us in the forest, then do your part to hold accountable those who are responsible: Starfire Lumber, 2795 Mosby Creek Rd, Cottage Grove, OR 97424; (541) 942-0168, Basco Logging, 1039 Park Hill Ln, Sutherlin, OR 97479-9447; (541) 459-9318.

For more information, contact Cascadia Forest Defenders, POB 11122, Eugene, OR 97440; (541) 684-8977; www.forestdefenders.org.

CFD and Fall Creek Part Ways

Cascadia Forest Defenders (CFD) announced in July that it is no longer affiliated with nor supporting the tree village at Fall Creek. The five-year-old Fall Creek tree village resides within the Willamette National Forest's Clark Timber Sale near Eugene, Oregon.

At the heart of the issue is the fact that Fall Creek base camp participants have allowed and will continue to allow people who have a recent history of sexual violence to participate in the campaign. After a meeting was held to discuss these concerns, Fall Creek refused to adopt an anti-oppression policy and requested to separate from CFD.

CFD does not pretend that it has the best or only methods for dealing with oppression, rape and violence. It does wish to maintain the safety of all involved and sadly cannot in good conscience recommend that people visit Fall Creek at this time.

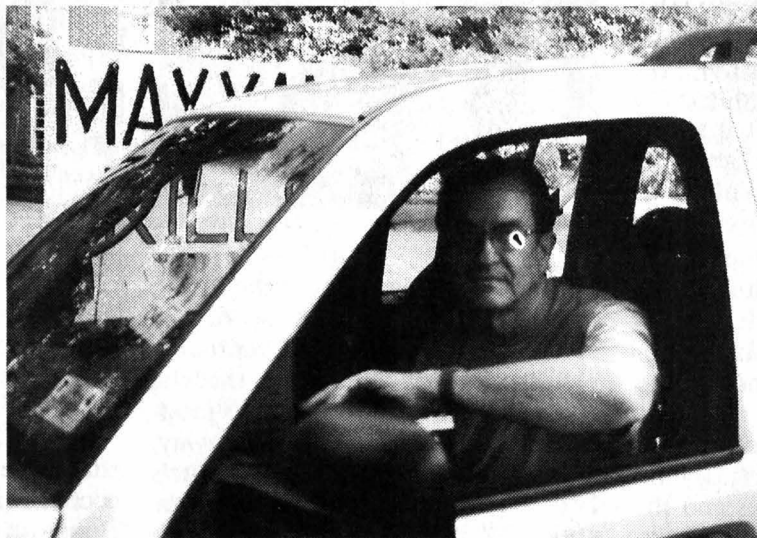
Houston, We Have a Problem!

Dirty South EF! Takes it to the Max

BY DIRTY SOUTH EARTH FIRST!

On December 15, 1995, two corporate executives on the board of The Wilderness Society sipped coffee with President Clinton. One of them was real estate baron Richard Blum, husband of Senator Diane Feinstein and longtime friend and business partner of Charles Hurwitz. At the time, Hurwitz wanted the US government to purchase the 7,500-acre Headwaters forest in northern California from Maxxam, Inc. at an over-inflated price. Six months later, Feinstein brokered the Headwaters deal, which payed Maxxam \$480 million and created a lucrative Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP). Hurwitz received a "\$11-million bonus for orchestrating the deal.

Since Maxxam's takeover of Pacific Lumber (PL) in 1985, Hurwitz has bankrupted the ecology of Humboldt County. With the sanction of the Headwaters HCP, he ordered the liquidation of PL's old-growth forests, killing thousands of federally protected endangered species that the public mistakenly believes are protected by law. To this day, PL has violated more forestry practice laws than any other timber company in California.



Smile for the camera, Charlie!

Photo courtesy DSEFI

Department of Fish and Game officials have gone so far as to testify that an injunction would result in harm to the environment, arguing that a timber harvest plan is necessary to meet the requirements of PL's HCP.

PL's Vice President of Resources, Craig Anthony, testified that PL hopes to cut an additional 100 million board feet of timber before the end of the year, including several groves of marbled murrelet habitat. Anthony worked for CDF for 20 years before joining PL.

An Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC) attorney and other witnesses also testified about the ecological impacts of the HCP permits not being revoked. According to EPIC, "CDF wouldn't know a significant environmental impact if it bit them in the face."

Direct Action Begins at Home

Forest defenders have taken the fight for old-growth forests to Houston, Texas—hometown of Maxxam and its most powerful executives, including arch-corporate marauder Hurwitz. A diverse band of concerned citizens have joined the struggle to stop Maxxam/PL from destroying the last old-growth forests in Humboldt County.

Their demand is simple: Obey the laws that protect federally listed endangered species, water quality and workers' rights or face a campaign that targets Maxxam's corporate executives and financial holdings at all levels.

Since Golden's initial ruling against PL in May, there have been more than 12 such actions in Houston—a treesit, teach-in, weekly meditations, home demonstrations and protests at Maxxam's headquarters.

Beginning on July 5, the Coalition for a Better Way began a treesit in Houston's Memorial Park to protest Maxxam's timber operations. The 90-foot ponderosa pine, named "Gypsy" in honor of our fallen brother who was murdered by Maxxam's chainsaw-toting thugs in 1998, was draped with a banner that read: "Stop Max-Scam from clearcutting our ancient forests—Jail Hurwitz." A John Doe arrest warrant for criminal trespass was issued to Trust, the treesitter, yet the Houston police allowed him to remain aloft. Unlike PL's own reckless removal of treesitters, police stated that they had no safe methods of extracting him. Regrettably,

continued on next page

The Economics of Extinction

Victory in the Headwaters forest fiasco has yet to be achieved, despite a favorable ruling by Humboldt County Superior Judge John Golden on May 19 (see *EF!* July-August 2003). In a demonstration of corporate interests superseding concern for the environment, Golden delayed finalizing an injunction against PL's logging activities until he weighs the economic impact such a ruling would have on the debt-ridden PL. A continuation of the hearing to determine that impact is scheduled for September 3. Testimony is expected to be heard from log-hauling companies and a local pulp mill.

On August 14, the fourth day of an initial hearing to determine whether a court injunction would be issued to stop PL's logging activities, a PL accountant testified that the company cannot replace the timber volume that would be lost if the injunction were imposed—such a decision could shut down PL's remaining mill operations. Meanwhile, California Department of Forestry (CDF) and

continued from previous page

on July 22, Houston police discovered the Gypsy treesit empty. Soon after, they visited activists' homes in search of Trust who escaped arrest.

After the treesit began, on July 11, the Southern Alliance of Coastal Redwood Earth Defenders (SACRED) organized a teach-in where Humboldt forest defenders spoke of their work to expose the unethical practices of corporations that exploit and destroy the natural world. Gypsy's cousin, Nikki Romaszewski, recalled the love Gypsy held for the forest that he died defending. Videos showing PL tree climber Eric Schatz using violence to extract treesitters this Spring were also shown. After the event, 20 people journeyed to Memorial Park to hold a vigil in Gypsy's memory and show solidarity with Trust.

DSEF! Rocks the House

Dirty South Earth First! (DSEF!, aka Dirt First!) launched a campaign to pressure and embarrass Hurwitz by visiting his home, country club, favorite restaurant, the homes and offices of business partners, financiers and even his synagogue.

DSEF! first confronted the ecoterrorists of Maxxam on July 13. Going beyond the fortified corporate offices and the professional public relations hacks, DSEF! visited Maxxam Executive Vice President Diane Dudley and CEO Hurwitz at their private residences in the affluent Houston enclave of West University and at the high-rise complex, the Houstonian, respectively.

Twenty-five DSEF!ers created a ruckus drumming anarchist, not hippy, style in front of Dudley's home. Until, the West University Police Department informed them that rallies outside of a residence can last only one minute out of every 15 minutes before being required to move on. Parading around the sidewalk was legal, so the group proceeded to march up and down the street. When the march rolled back around, Dudley arrived and got the full effect of this loud, yet peaceful, protest in front of her house.

After leaving West University, DSEF!ers made their way to visit Hurwitz. At the Houstonian, the activists walked up to the front doors of the posh condominium and demanded that Hurwitz cease his illegal and



Photo courtesy DSEF!

How many EFlers does it take to expose the ecoterrorist in your neighborhood?

immoral activities against the forest, as well as the violent attacks on the activists defending them. Eventually, security personnel requested that the activists leave the Houstonian's property for public space a few yards away. DSEF! shook their fists at Hurwitz's 27th floor penthouse one last time and called it a day.

The following morning, DSEF! visited Maxxam President Paul Schwartz at his residence in Houston's affluent Piney Point area. Schwartz took pictures of the activists from his window and emerged only as the action was ending, throwing the sign left on his door that declared him an "ecoterrorist" into the road. DSEF! ended the day with a protest at Maxxam headquarters to bring the forest's message to its directors and co-workers.

The pressure continued on July 19, when DSEF!ers delivered a 7:30 a.m. wake-up call—using drums and a bullhorn—to Josh Reiss, Maxxam's public relations mouthpiece. Reiss repeatedly whitewashes Maxxam's criminal dealings and history to the media. DSEF! let Reiss and his neighbors know that they're mad as hell and not going to take anymore.

DSEF! then returned to Dudley's home, where local police informed activists that the noise generated by the drums and bullhorn did not

constitute a sound violation, but the protest needed to keep moving. So they proceeded to remind Dudley's neighbors how she profits from the destruction of old-growth forests.

On July 20, DSEF! reminded Schwartz that there is no safe place for the true ecoterrorists in our society to hide. Upon arriving at Schwartz's house, a brand-new SUV pulled out of the driveway with none other than a very angry Hurwitz behind the wheel.

SACRED held demonstrations at Maxxam on August 4 and 10, only this time, the company had erected barricades around its corporate headquarters. Maxxam has also hired private investigators to surveil local organizers.

Where Have All the Millions Gone?

It's hard to believe that PL is experiencing financial woes when Maxxam reported a six-month earning of \$187.6 million from redwood and Douglas fir products in its 2003 second quarter report. Instead, in traditional corporate raider fashion, Maxxam is funneling millions in profit out of Humboldt County and into its own pockets while allowing the bankruptcy of Pacific Lumber. It wouldn't be the first time.

In 1988, Hurwitz bankrupted the savings and loan company United Savings Association of Texas, leaving

taxpayers with the bill for the more than one-billion-dollar bailout. In February 2002, he again bankrupted the 62 percent Maxxam-owned Kaiser Aluminum. Hurwitz knows that Maxxam's days of pilfering the forests of Humboldt County for quick economic gain are numbered. His intention is simply to make as much money as he can before agency regulators, the courts or lawmakers finally shut him down.

In March, California lawmakers introduced a package of 10 separate forestry regulation reform bills that would directly impact logging on PL's 211,000 acres. The legislation would grant local water quality boards the authority to block logging in sensitive areas and would impose a tax on timber companies to pay for California's costs of reviewing timber plans and restoring habitat. It would also order the Board of Forestry to provide information to local decision-makers on past timber projects before new logging plans on private lands could be approved.

Shining Light on the Prince of Darkness

Hurwitz is a recluse who hides from the public spotlight. In a 1994 *Texas Monthly* interview, he was referred to as "the environmentalists' prince of darkness," a deal-maker who



DSEF! returns to Maxxam headquarters for another day of no business as usual.

photo courtesy DSEF!

practices "reticence with every reporter who tries to interview him." This corporate raider, who once defined his golden rule as "He who has the gold rules," has said that the only media he likes is none at all.

Maxxam's debt and its desire to remain quiet about the Headwaters deal or PL, make the company vulnerable to cash flow problems in the form of an economic pressure campaign—including boycotts, protests,

phone calling and faxing, as well as direct actions that target the financiers, profiteers and subsidiaries of this morally bankrupt corporation.

Activists across the country are joining DSEF! in calling for a national campaign against Maxxam and for the end of safe havens for government-sanctioned corporate terrorists who call the US their home. In the spirit of Judi Bari, DSEF! activists have begun connecting with union steelworkers and carpenters who voice strong support. In a strategy that's targeting Maxxam and its executives at their homes, Hurwitz and his gang of corporate thieves should know that their ecological terrorism will be tolerated no longer.

DSEF! encourages all sympathetic and interested people to participate in this do-it-yourself confrontational campaign to hound Maxxam out of Humboldt County. Join us in bringing the struggle for old-growth forests home to those ordering its destruction. Face the cameras, Mr. Hurwitz, it's show time!

As a lead up to the Central American Free Trade Agreement talks that begin in Houston on October 20, DSEF! is hosting a national gathering of anti-Maxxam activists and forest defenders from October 17-19.

For more information, contact DSEF!, dsef@riseup.net; www.dirtysouthearthfirst.net.



Prince of Darkness Charles Hurwitz

Talk To Real Live CEOs

Dirty South Earth First! is calling upon people to do what is necessary to non-violently confront these eco-terrorists in their neighborhoods. Take personal initiative. This is your campaign. Don't wait for someone else to organize. Just do it!

CEO: Charles Edwin Hurwitz, salary \$1,400,000. 121 N Post Oak Ln #2701, Houston, TX 77024.

President: Paul Norman Schwartz, salary \$1,000,000. 3 Smithdale Estates, Houston, TX 77024; (713) 461-2664, (713) 461-4665. Vehicle License #: 1960 Chevy, TX 1C5-451; 1999 BMW, TX C88-RGS; 1992 JEEP, TX HVR-35H.

Vice President: Diane Dudley, salary \$282,000. 4130 Villanova, West University, TX 77005; (713) 664-9787.

Board Member: Robert James Cruikshank, 303 Sugar Berry Cir, Houston, TX 77024; (713) 266-5784.

Board Member: Shawn Michael Hurwitz, 6134 Holly Springs Dr, Houston, TX 77057; (713) 463-6577.

Attorney/General Council: Joli Pecht, 3807 Oberlin, Houston, TX 77005; (713) 667-5890, (713) 267-3720, (713) 267-3702 fax.

Public Relations: Joshua Reiss, 2314 Wroxton Rd, Houston, TX 77005; (713) 523-9586. Vehicle License #: TX T71-RHH, TX G82-GJP.

North Coast EF! Combats the Axes of Evil

BY SHUNKA WAKAN

On August 2, Maxxam/Pacific Lumber (PL) renewed its efforts to remove forest-defending treesitters in the Freshwater area of Humboldt County. The treesit campaign had seen dwindling effectiveness throughout the Summer (see *EF!* July-August 2003) when two previously occupied redwood trees were discovered empty by PL tree climber Eric Schatz. The platforms were subsequently removed and the trees felled.

In June, in an attempt to rid the forests of North Coast Earth First! (NCEF!) activists, PL Land Manager Richard Bettis proposed a 60-day "cooling off" period asking for trespassers to leave its lands and that no one harass any of PL's employees, customers, suppliers or contractors.

The only people willing to sign the proposal were PL President Robert Manne and Cindy Allsbrooks, a representative of the Forest Peace Alliance (FPA), a group organized following the 1998 death of her son, David "Gypsy" Chain.

Ultimately, PL press lackey Jim Branham said, "PL's efforts were met with nothing but political rhetoric, and we concluded we had to resume removal activities." The rhetoric Branham was referring to were claims by NCEF! that PL uses the FPA to only further its own agenda and that it is not working to prevent the injury or death of forest defenders.

In an out-of-court settlement made with Gypsy's family, PL promised to cease logging activities whenever activists were in its timber sale units. PL would instead notify the Humboldt County Sheriff's Department. However, during the Spring and early Summer, NCEF! activists occupying PL lands in Freshwater were chased, tackled, hog-tied and told by PL loggers that they enter the forest "at their own risk."

In the case of treesitters, Schatz continues to carry out life-threatening evictions. On June 17, he ascended the Freshwater tree known as "Jerry" and lowered a 55-gallon concrete-filled barrel, with a protester still attached, 130 feet to the ground. In the Van Duzen watershed, the Aradia tree village was visited by Schatz, not far from where Gypsy was killed. The Aradia treesit has been active since September 1998 and has been continually occupied for 20 months.

"Aradia and the surrounding grove have a unique significance for those that knew Gypsy and what he stood for," said Farmer, an eyewitness to Gypsy's death. "I'm worried that the continuing reckless behavior on the part of PL may lead to the death of another forest activist."

In May, NCEF! offered to purchase five Freshwater trees and three in the Aradia grove. NCEF! is interested in resolving these treesits by obtaining permanent conservation easements from PL. While the concept of buying trees to save them is controversial, NCEF! believes it might be the only way PL will agree to save the trees permanently.

In a letter to Manne on May 14, Darryl Cherney wrote, "The Grateful Dead's funding mechanism has expressed an interest in the 'Jerry' tree and its arboreal neighbor, 'Everlasting Life.' The protection of Aradia and its two or three neighboring old-growth trees would be a fitting tribute to the memory of David 'Gypsy' Chain. I certainly expect the figure to be in the high-five or low-six figure arena."

NCEF! Call for Action

September marks the beginning of old growth logging season in northern California. NCEF! is calling all forest defenders to come to Humboldt County for direct action in defense of the Mattole's remaining 2,000 acres of old-growth Douglas fir, madrone and oak forests. PL has cut one-third of the Mattole since 2001, leaving about four years of logging if it continues at its current rate. The Mattole was the "sacrifice zone" for the 1999 Headwaters deal, PL's Habitat Conservation Plan and the Sustained Yield

Plan, which allow for the destruction of marbled murrelet and northern spotted owl habitat.

If you can't make it to Humboldt, you can help NCEF! by donating gear and funds. We have a \$10 monthly plan for far-away supporters. With 100 or more participants, we could fully support our actions. Many activists are still in court from arrests made during the raids in Freshwater this Spring, and multiple SLAPP suits have been filed against them.

For more information or to make a donation, contact NCEF!, POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518; (707) 825-6598.

Shunka Wakan, a longtime North Coast Earth First! organizer, was an eyewitness to the murder of David "Gypsy" Chain and a member of Julia "Butterfly" Hill's ground support team.



Rising up in the Jerry treesit

Photo by David Howitt

A Surveillance Tale:

Big Brother Under the Bumper

BY ROD CORONADO

"If the government isn't trying to shut you down, you're not doing enough to fight oppression."

—VOICE FROM THE
CAMPFIRE, 2000 ROUND
RIVER RENDEZVOUS

On June 1, I discovered that my organizing was having its desired effect. Since December, I have been participating in the Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign against Huntington Life Sciences. In that time, I have traveled across the country speaking out against animal cruelty and calling for an increased level of direct action against all animal and Earth-destroying industries.

Since March, I have also campaigned against the Maxxam-owned Pacific Lumber Company (PL). Adopting SHAC tactics, our first demonstrations were at the insurance company and home of Eric Schatz, a PL employee charged with the task of evicting treesitters from ancient redwoods (see *EF!J* May-June 2003).

Meanwhile, the FBI is investigating a \$22,000 sabotage of a log loader at a helicopter logging operation in Freshwater Creek in March. PL is offering a \$7,000 reward. This Spring, the FBI served a subpoena to California State University, demanding a videotape from a conference where I attested that PL possessed weapons of mass destruction. I called for the immediate decommissioning of PL's bulldozers, log loaders, Chinook helicopters, sawmills and chainsaws.

In Boulder, Colorado, I discovered Global Positioning System (GPS) devices on my two housemate's cars and on the vehicle I drive. All three GPS devices were located between the gas tank and the inside rear bumper on the driver side of the vehicles and were attached by powerful magnets. The devices contain four main components: a battery pack with four lithium D-size batteries, a GPS antenna, a cellular antenna and a component box, roughly the size of a paperback book, that contained a GPS receiver, computer chip and cellular modem.

The devices operate by interacting with satellites dedicated solely to GPS tracking. When activated, they lock onto four satellite signals simultaneously. Using this information, the location of a device can be determined within a few yards. This information is then transmitted from the device on the vehicle to an outside source using the



Found under the bumper: a government-issued tracking device

modem and cellular antennas. The computer chip can be programmed to dictate when the information is transmitted, possibly on a preset time schedule or when the vehicle enters and departs from a specific location.

Most of the components we discovered had no identifying labels, making them nearly untraceable. When presented with one of the GPS units, a FBI spokesperson in

Colorado would not say whether the FBI was responsible for it. The spokesperson stated only that they could neither confirm nor deny the existence of any investigation.

Upon examination by a Lockheed Martin engineer who designs GPS systems for the military, the devices were determined to belong to federal authorities due to their non-civilian modifications. Handwritten numbers inside each of the battery packs suggest the surveillance systems are part of a larger fleet used by a major law enforcement agency.

The days when a FBI agent is parked in a dark sedan in front of your home are over, unless of course, the FBI wants you to know that you are being surveilled. Since the passage of the Patriot Act, federal law enforcement officials are free to employ surveillance tactics, such as GPS monitoring, regardless of any evidence suggesting criminal behavior.

Simply organizing protests against US corporate interests is enough to warrant federal investigation. Monitoring the tactics of activists serves two purposes. Not only does it provide federal authorities with information on the legitimate activities of anti-corporate activists, but often it intimidates people from continuing to engage in tactics and strategies that impact and expose corporate ecocide.

How has the discovery of GPS devices effected my own activism? In July, I knocked on the door of the president of Maxxam's home in Houston, Texas, to ask him personally about his company's destruction of the last remaining old-growth redwood forests (see article page 13). Federal repression confirms for me that direct action truly challenges the otherwise untouchable CEOs living in our hometowns across the country.

What's to become of the three GPS devices worth an estimated \$3,000 each? I'll be auctioning mine on eBay with the proceeds going toward the very activism they were meant to prevent.

Fur Farms Under Attack

The Animal Liberation Front in Sweden

BY ROD CORONADO

Scandinavia is fast becoming the frontline battlefield in the war against the fur industry, with the Swedish Animal Liberation Front (ALF or Djurens Befrielsefront—DBF) leading the way.

In Tunby, Sweden, on July 23, the DBF released 3,500 mink from a fur farm into the neighboring forest and destroyed irreplaceable breeding records. Two nights later, in Bjornhult, incendiary devices were placed at a recently outlawed fox farm that was in the process of being converted into a mink farm.

Since 1996, the DBF and direct action groups in Sweden have carried out nearly 100 raids on fur farm targets.

Actions have ranged from the 1997 rescue of two foxes and arson attacks on empty fur farm buildings to the release of thousands of mink. Through illegal direct action, the DBF has influenced government policy toward fur farming, while exerting direct economic pressure on Scandinavia's struggling fur farm industry.

DBF raids have also generated media attention to the plight of mink, chinchilla and fox on Sweden's 140 fur farms. In 1998, Kristofer Aberg was jailed for releasing 650 mink from two fur farms. From Aberg's perspective, there have been two big debates about animal rights in his hometown and both were sparked by DBF actions.

Influencing public opinion is not the sole objective of the DBF, however. Aberg recognizes, "The number of fur farms in Sweden has decreased remarkably in the last few years, and I think that if the raids continue, it will be the end for the Swedish fur industry."

Besides the DBF, there are other problems for the Swedish fur trade. In 1998, Sweden's largest fox farm was ordered to shut down for contaminating the local water supply. Then in 2000, Sweden enacted a law that foxes must be given the right to socialize and dig, causing a price hike for fur farmers that virtually ended fox farming. A 1993 *Journal of Animal Breeding and Genetics* study also showed that 50 percent of all fox cubs born on fur farms are killed by their mothers.



Other Scandinavian countries, which account for 80 percent of the fox and 50 percent of the global mink pelt production, are wrestling with the ethical debate surrounding fur farms. The Danish Ministry of Agriculture labeled fox farming ethically unacceptable in 1989. In Finland, a 2001 Scientific Committee concluded that fox and mink cages lack important animal needs, and it recommended that greater environmental complexity be provided. Last year, the Norwegian Department of Agriculture declared the fur industry's fox-raising practices to be unjustifiable.

Denmark's 2,100 fur farmers kill 85,000 foxes annually and 40 percent of the 30 million mink slaughtered worldwide. Finnish fur farmers kill more than two million mink

and four million foxes, two thirds of the total slaughtered annually. Sweden and Norway together kill two million mink and almost one million foxes.

With consumer markets for fur now being predominantly in developing Asian and former communist countries, Scandinavian activists are finding it difficult to dissuade those consumers from buying fur. Ninety percent of Sweden's mink pelts are exported to Asia.

In Sweden, Norway,

Denmark and Finland, ALF cells appear focused instead on a strategy that targets the production end of the international fur trade. For example, in July, the Norwegian ALF—Dyrenes Frigjørings Front—torched a feed storage facility in Buskerud, the third arson attack in as many months on a fur farm in Norway.

Meanwhile, what is lacking in the DBF's strategy is a clear ecological vision of the role that non-native American mink play in Sweden's landscape. Presently, government and commercial trapping campaigns aim to eradicate both mink and red fox populations from Sweden. These species were first released into the wild by the fur industry in the 1920s to establish commercial feral populations.

The DBF appears intent on continuing its effective campaign. The communiqué following the Tunby raid reads: "Even if a ban is near in Sweden, we cannot relax and expect everything to sort itself out. We must think about the mink. We must give them their freedom and cause as much economic damage as possible to fur farmers."

For more information, contact Djurens Befrielsefront Stodgrupp, Box 919, S-114 79 Stockholm, Sweden; dbfsg@hotmail.com.



Djurens Befrielsefront rescues a fox Swedish-style—in the daylight

photo courtesy Bite Back



photo courtesy Whale & Dolphin Conservation Society

The dolphin holding pens at Parque Nizuc in Cancun, Mexico

Life Imprisonment for Wild Bottlenose Dolphins

A Brazil Air DC-10 transported 28 wild bottlenose dolphins to Mexico's Parque Nizuc near Cancun on July 22. They were to be trained to interact with humans as part of a "swim with the dolphins" tourist attraction. Almost immediately, one dolphin died and three more were reportedly ill. Officials at Parque Nizuc denied reports that five dolphins died while en route to the dolphinariums.

Upon arriving at Parque Nizuc, the dolphins were initially housed in temporary pens separated from the ocean by a submerged chain-link fence. On the scene in Cancun, Ben White, a representative of the Animal Welfare Institute, reported that the dolphins were lethargic, unresponsive and had not eaten for days.

In total, more than 200 dolphins were illegally rounded up in the Pacific Ocean near the Solomon Islands. According to the Captive Animal Protection Society, the dolphins were to be sold in Mexico, Europe and possibly Asia. Their capture increases the total number of dolphin prisoners worldwide by 20 percent.

Mexico, a signatory to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) recently outlawed the capture of dolphins from its territorial waters.

This Spring, a business consortium took advantage of civil war in the Solomon Islands to circumvent CITES by offering local fishers \$300 for each

dolphin captured. Once sold on the international market, trained dolphins are worth upward of \$30,000.

In parts of the Solomon Islands, many people are opposed to the capture and sale of dolphins. Traditional landowners, including 98-year-old Chief Matthew Kuri, are angry because they were not consulted and do not approve of the trade in dolphins. The cultural heritage of the Solomon Islands, Kuri says, makes it taboo to harm dolphins. It is an ancient belief that humans with mystical powers can transform themselves into the sea creatures.

Most of the captured dolphins have been held in makeshift shallow pens off the coast of Gela Island since their imprisonment in April. Villagers complain that dynamite fishing to feed the animals is destroying coral reefs. Andrew Kulebe, from the village of Hadiana, said, "Many people are using dynamite to catch reef fish for the captive dolphins. There are explosions everyday now."

When journalists attempted to document the shipping of the dolphins from the Solomon Islands to Mexico, some were attacked by militia members. Videographer Frank Atu said he went to the pens where the dolphins were being kept on Nggela Island, but he was chased away. "There were about seven to 10 guys in a boat, already waiting to see what we were trying to do. They weren't allowing us to shoot or pull out any cameras or anything like that."

BARE BONES

Dolly and Her Cloned Sheep Family Slaughtered

On July 15, the company that created Dolly, the world's first cloned mammal, slaughtered 3,000 of its transgenic flock. The cloned sheep were being tested with AAT, a drug being developed to slow the progress of diseases such as emphysema and cystic fibrosis.

The Roslin Institute's PPL Therapeutics, with genetic farms in Scotland and New Zealand, had been facing mounting financial problems. Then in June, pharmaceutical giant Bayer announced its intentions to withdraw from the AAT drug trials. Without Bayer, PPL Therapeutics could not afford the expense of maintaining its flock.

The sheep needed to be constantly monitored for infections that could contaminate the rest of the animals. Electronic tagging and computerized records on each individual sheep added to the cost of the trials.

Born at the institute in 1996, Dolly was killed earlier this year after suffering from a lung tumor.

Seventh Species Cloned

The world's first cloned horse, Prometea, was born in Italy on May 28. Scientists at the Laboratory of Reproductive Technology hope that the horse-cloning technique can be used to produce copies of championship show horses, flat racers and jumpers.

Not only the first horse to have been cloned, Prometea is also the first clone born to its genetically identical mother.

Prometea's birth challenges the idea that for an embryo to survive it must be recognized as different by the mother's immune system. The mother's immune reaction to a fetus is thought to be important for placental development, with inadequate reactions leading to the termination of the pregnancy.

The Poison— Leave It!



photo courtesy Irati Wanti Campaign

Goldman Environmental Prize-winning activist Eileen Kampakuta Brown

BY THE SENIOR ABORIGINAL WOMEN'S COUNCIL

The Aboriginal women of South Australia have survived 50 years of government-sanctioned nuclear contamination of their traditional desert lands—from nuclear weapons tests to one of the world's largest uranium mines. So when the federal government announced plans to bury nuclear waste from Sydney in their backyard, these women said, "Irati Wanti"—the poison, leave it.

We are the Aboriginal women Yankunytjatjara, Antikarinya and Kokatha.

We know the country.

The poison the government is talking about will poison the land.

We say, "No radioactive dump in our Ngura—in our country." *It's strictly poison and we don't want it.*

We were born on the Earth, not in the hospital. We were born in the sand. Mother never put us in the water and washed us when we were born. They dried us with the sand. Then they put us, newborn babies, fireside with no blankets. They put us in the warm sand. And after that, when the cord came off, they put us through the smoke. We really know the land. From babies we grew up on the land.

Never mind that our country is the desert. That's where we belong. And we love where we belong, the whole land. We know the stories for the land. The Seven Sisters traveled right across, in the beginning. They formed the land. It's very important Tjukur—the Law, the Dreaming—that must not be disturbed.

The Seven Sisters are everywhere. We can give the evidence for what we say. We can show you the dance of the Seven Sisters.

Listen to us! The desert lands are not as dry as you think! Can't the government plainly see that there is water here? Nothing can live without water. There's a big river underneath. We know the poison from the radioactive dump will go down under the ground and leak into the water. We drink from this water. Only the government and people like that have water tanks. The animals drink from this water—malu kangaroo, kalaya emu, porcupine, ngintaka perentie, goanna and all of the others. We eat these animals. That's our meat. We're worried that if any of these animals become poisoned, we'll become poisoned in turn.

The poison the government is talking about is from Sydney. We say send it back to Sydney. We don't want it! Are they trying to kill us? We're human beings. We're not animals. We're not dogs. In the old days, the white man used to put poison in the meat and throw it to feed the dogs—they got poisoned, and then they died. Now they want to put the poison in the ground. We want our life.

All of us were living when the government used the country for the bomb. Some were living at Twelve Mile, just out of Coober Pedy. The smoke was funny, and everything looked hazy. Everybody got sick. Many

people at Mabel Creek got sick. Some people were living at Wallatina. Whitefellas and all got sick. When we were young, no woman got breast cancer or any other kind of cancer. Cancer was unheard of with men either. And no asthma, we were people without sickness.

The government thought that they knew what they were doing then. Now, again they are coming along and telling us poor blackfellas, "Oh, there's nothing that's going to happen, nothing is going to kill you."

We're worried for our kids. We've got a lot of kids growing up and still coming are more grandchildren and great grandchildren. They deserve to have their lives.

We've been fighting this radioactive waste, this poison, for many years. Arguing about it, talking to people, asking people to help us. They might help us, but they'll really be helping themselves. Whitefellas have got kids too. We all have to live here.

And then, we really couldn't believe it when we heard the government talking about sending the rubbish from all the other countries as well! They must really want to kill us! We can't believe it! How can you live like that? They're really aiming to wipe the country out, not just us but all living things on the whole Earth!

It's from our grandmothers and our grandfathers that we've learned about the land. This learning isn't written on paper as whitefellas' knowledge is. We carry it instead in our heads, and we're talking from our hearts, for the land. You fellas, whitefellas, put us in the back all the time, like we've got no language for the land. But we've got the story for the land. Listen to us!

Resisting the Nuclear Dump

BY SAMANTHA

Since 1995, the members of the Kupa Piti Kungka Tjuta—Senior Aboriginal Women's Council based in Coober Pedy—have traveled thousands of miles throughout Australia in order to voice their opposition to the nuclear waste dump that threatens their ancestral homeland.

They have written to government officials, visited Parliament, taken their message to the 2000 Olympic games in Sydney, conducted speaking tours in Melbourne and Adelaide and have worked with urban environmentalists to organize a successful Internet campaign.

In April, the campaign reached a new level of international recognition when two of its founding members, Eileen Kampakuta Brown and Eileen Wani Wingfield, were awarded the \$125,000 Goldman Environmental Prize for their grassroots activism to stop the dump.

However, despite the international outcry against the project, Australia's Science Minister Peter McGauran announced on May 9 that the government had decided to build a shallow-burial nuclear waste dump near the town of Woomera.

The Australian government's current denial is astounding. In 1995 its own Committee on the Dangers of Radioactive Waste spoke out against

shallow burial and instead recommended a facility that would be "adequately engineered to withstand all possible climatic conditions, no matter how unlikely."

The Kungka Tjuta is very concerned about the risk of nuclear contamination seeping into the groundwater, which has maintained the flora and fauna of the region for thousands of years. When the desert floods, the water is thought to seep underground and renew the groundwater. Floods could leach through the shallow-burial waste dump and permanently poison the water supply below. How the Aboriginal lands would be damaged during construction of the transport route is also a concern.

The Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organization (ANSTO) is one of the main federal departments promoting the waste dump. ANSTO operates a reactor in southwestern Sydney, which produces 85 percent of Australia's nuclear waste (excluding uranium tailings). Most of this waste is currently being stored on site. Now ANSTO is planning to decommission the reactor and build a new, multi-million dollar reactor to take its place.

In order to be granted approval to build the new reactor, ANSTO must first resolve the question of how the waste from both reactors will be processed, transported and stored. In 2003, the federal government will be spending \$300,000 on a "re-education" public relations campaign to overcome vocal community opposition to the dump.

But not if the people have anything to do with it. In September 2002, the federal government attempted to extinguish native title rights over the dump site by offering three native groups \$90,000 each to buy the land. Two of the three groups resoundingly rejected the offer, thereby nullifying the offer.

Brown, Wingfield and the other Kungka Tjuta elders have vowed to continue their fight against the dump and to pass on the vital cultural and environmental lessons they have learned.

For more information, visit www.iratiwanti.org.

BARE BONES

Go, Tre, Go!

In the past year, the FBI has investigated more than 20 sightings of fugitive forest activist Tre Arrow. A federal grand jury indicted Arrow on August 13, 2002, for the June 2001 Earth Liberation Front arson of vehicles belonging to Ray Schoppert Logging Company near Portland, Oregon.

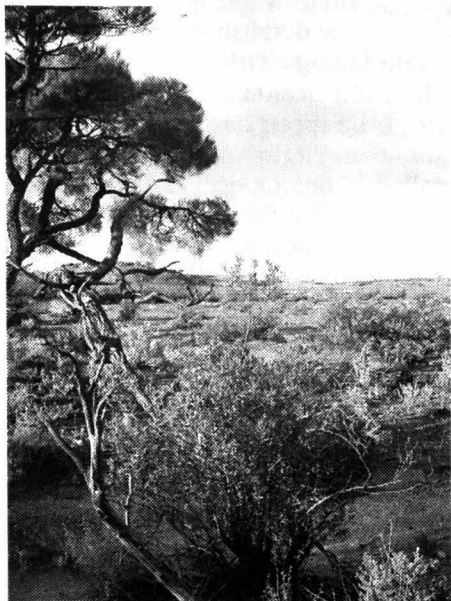
In early August, police searched for Arrow in a woodland outside Tigard, Oregon, but turned up nothing. "It's almost like Elvis," said FBI Supervisory Special Agent Julie Thornton, who heads Oregon's domestic terrorism squad. Sightings have also been reported in Florida and Pennsylvania, where Arrow has family.

Co-defendants Angela Cesario and Jeremy Rosenbloom pled guilty in July to their roles in the arson and await sentencing. Jacob Sherman pled guilty in December 2002 and is expected to receive a reduced prison sentence as a result of cooperating with authorities.

Bari/Cherney Settlement?

In July, the City of Oakland, California, reached an out-of-court settlement in the 1991 civil rights lawsuit filed by Earth First! activists Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney (see *EF!* August-September 2002). The city agreed to drop its appeal of the June 2002 verdict and pay two million dollars in damages. In exchange, the Bari/Cherney legal team will forego a petition seeking an additional five million dollars in legal fees.

The FBI, however, remains reluctant to admit to any wrongdoing. In July, the Bari/Cherney legal team received the FBI's draft settlement, which contained a demand that the jury verdict against the FBI be vacated. The Department of Justice, which oversees the FBI, said, "We have not reached a settlement—maybe the City of Oakland has, but we have not."



Sacred land of the Seven Sisters

photo courtesy Irati Wanti Campaign

Defending the Eastern Wild

BY PETER GELDERLOOS

In the US, environmental activism has been primarily associated with the country's western regions, from Edward Abbey's beloved Sonoran desert to the Pacific Northwest of Jeffrey "Free" Luers and Julia "Butterfly" Hill. The hubcap of environmentalism east of the Mississippi River is perceived to be Washington, DC—home to a swarm of nonprofit organizations ranging from helpful networkers to reformist insiders that allow resource extraction on "conserved" lands. With the world's largest megalopolis and suburban wasteland extending from New York to Virginia without interruption, the East Coast is seldom seen as suitable for anything but office activism.

However, great expanses of wilderness have, to varying degrees, been left standing. Few ecosystems in the region may be described as pristine, or even wholly intact, but they haven't been paved over yet, and that means they need defense.

The Blue Ridge ecosystem stretches for hundreds of miles—from Georgia to Pennsylvania. It contains some of the largest expanses of national parks and forests east of the Mississippi River, as well as several of the last old-growth forest stands. According to The Nature Conservancy, 400 species exist only in the Blue Ridge and 133 of these are "imperiled" or "vulnerable to extinction."

Under attack from multiple sides, the Blue Ridge is facing a serious crisis. In 100 years, global warming could shift temperature zones up to 340 miles north. This would trap and eradicate entire ecosystems that are prevented from shifting with the temperature due to variations in elevation.

Exotic species are also taking their toll on the Blue Ridge. The balsam woolly adelgid, a parasitic insect introduced accidentally by the ever-competent

National Park Service, has destroyed 90 percent of the Fraser fir population in the past 50 years. In the fallout, other species that depend on the Fraser fir are suffering as well. On Mt. Collins, the loss of 95 percent of fir trees to parasites has caused more than 80 percent of the remaining forest to succumb to wind damage, erosion and other problems. Subsequently, the total bird population on the mountain has declined by half.

Chemical pollution is also weakening the Blue Ridge ecosystem. Rainfall

over the otherwise idyllic Shenandoah Valley in the summertime. Visibility in the Shenandoah region used to reach 70 miles, yet today it averages 10 miles on "clear," cloudless days and has been recorded as less than one mile during the worst times.

It is estimated that at least 70 percent of the haze is a result of pollution, most of which comes from industrial areas in the Midwest. In Shenandoah National Park, 30 percent of sulfur-based air pollution comes from just two cities: Pittsburgh and Cleveland. Columbus, Dayton and Cincinnati account for one third of such pollution in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

Mining corporations are heavily involved in pillaging the East Coast's wilderness. In the past 20 years, coal mining in West Virginia has stripped 500 square miles in a process known as "mountaintop removal" (see article page 26). The coal extracted is used to fuel power plants; more than half of the electricity in the US is provided by burning coal.

Meanwhile, the Chesapeake Bay, one of the Atlantic Ocean's most important breeding grounds for fish and other marine life, is being destroyed by overfishing, pollution and

mine tailings. Other contributors include soil erosion and chemical runoff from the green lawns and asphalt of suburban Virginia and Maryland. Once called "Chesepiooc," or "Great Shellfish Bay," by the indigenous inhabitants of the area, the Chesapeake is now burdened by substantial declines in sea grass, fish and shellfish populations, seasonal depletion of dissolved oxygen in the water and increased sedimentation. From the forests of Maine to the swamps of Florida, other areas are facing similar threats.

The machinery that wreaks such devastation does not, however, go unopposed. Although defense of wilderness has not been as unified as it is on the West Coast, there is no short supply of



Pileated woodpecker

photo by Luciano Niemeyer

in this area is among the most acidic in the nation, with some high-altitude fogs measuring more acidic than vinegar. During the past 60 years, some streams along the Blue Ridge have increased in acidity by 10,000 percent. Acid rain depletes calcium and magnesium in the soil and inhibits tree growth. It also increases the amount of aluminum in streams and poisons aquatic life.

Surprisingly, air pollution is another major problem. Between 1993 and 1997, Shenandoah National Park and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park saw fine particle pollution reach hazardous levels on the majority of Summer days. A more visible form of pollution is the heavy smog that settles

environmental activism in the mid-Atlantic region.

Neither are East Coast environmentalists strangers to direct or underground actions targeting polluters and habitat destroyers. The general manager of the Washington Contract Loggers Association credits West Coast eco-activists with causing \$55 million in damage through acts of sabotage but also warns: "Arson activity has now spread to the East Coast, the South and the Midwest."

In fact, the Earth Liberation Front website reveals that most of the recently reported actions have occurred east of the Mississippi River. Detroit, Philadelphia, Long Island and Louisville, Kentucky, have witnessed property destruction aimed at suburban or urban sprawl, and SUVs in Erie, Pennsylvania, and Richmond, Virginia, have experienced damage or outright torching.

People living amongst the identical stretches of highways, outlet stores

and subdivisions are clearly picking up the proverbial monkeywrench.

We need to expose the chief culprits of ecocide on the East Coast: suburbanization, the proliferation of chain retail stores, car culture, commuter addiction, beltway syndrome, logging and mining interests. Next, we need to target them with protest, stop them with direct action and roll them back with sabotage. Along the way, we'll need to include those who can take fewer risks and support those who take greater risks. We need to challenge the macho culture that often hovers around direct action, incorporate anti-oppression perspectives into everything we do and work to understand class issues where poverty pits people against the planet. I hope we can get organized while there is still something worth saving.

Peter is a lazy and ineffective activist who is hoping some real radicals will move into town and give him some inspiration.

A Sampling of Who's Who in the East Coast Ecoterrorism Biz

Georgia Pacific

Georgia Pacific (GP) operates 37 sawmills in the US and owns nearly four million acres of pine forests in the southeastern US. GP's net sales in 2002 totaled \$23 billion. GP is headquartered at 133 Peachtree St NE, Atlanta, GA 30303; (404) 652-4000. For a detailed listing of all of GP's facilities, including sawmills, pulp and paper mills, visit www.gp.com/forestry/facilities.html.

International Paper

International Paper (IP), which controls more than six million acres of land in the US and millions more overseas, is the world's largest "forestry products" company. Its headquarters are located at 400 Atlantic St, Stamford, CT 06901; (203) 541-8000. IP also has locations in Thorsby, Alabama; Savannah, Georgia; Riegglewood, North Carolina; Jacksonville, Florida; Memphis, Tennessee and multiple cities in Wisconsin. For a list of addresses, visit www.ipaper.com.

Monsanto

Monsanto holds patents to genetically engineered corn, soy, wheat and other crops. Its seeds are bred to be resistant to the herbicide Roundup Ready, which it also makes. For a list of its facilities on the East Coast, visit www.monsanto.com.

Wal-Mart

Infamous for its sprawling, homogenous outlets, Wal-Mart has 3,372 stores and one million hourly workers in the US. Last year, with more than six billion dollars in profit, Wal-Mart's annual revenue accounted for two percent of the entire US gross domestic product. Between building new stores and expanding operations in 10 countries, this corporation is the quintessential symbol of US consumerism! This year, Wal-Mart is planning to open 120-130 units in existing markets alone. For the store nearest you, visit www.walmart.com.

BARE BONES

Victory for Zuni Salt Lake

In a victory for environmental and indigenous activists working with the Zuni Salt Lake Coalition, the Phoenix-based Salt River Project (SRP) announced in August that it is abandoning plans to develop the Fence Lake coal mine in western New Mexico.

Brian Segee, the Center for Biological Diversity's public lands director, commented, "Fence Lake exemplifies all that is wrong with the Bush administration's so-called energy policy, which promotes the continued exploitation of fossil fuel sources regardless of the damage inflicted upon critical environmental areas or sacred sites such as Zuni Salt Lake."

The mine would have pumped millions of gallons of water from aquifers connected to the ecologically unique lake, a sacred cultural site for the Zuni Pueblo and many other Southwestern tribes. It would have also obliterated thousands of acres of grasslands inhabited by golden eagles, prairie dogs and pronghorn.

FBI Frames Activists

On June 25, the FBI arrested 12 people active in the movement that forced the US Navy to stop its bombing practice on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

The activists face up to 20 years in prison on charges of conspiracy to destroy federal property—including a guard post, Navy boat and a Humvee—during a victory celebration on May 1 (see *EF!* July-August 2003). They were indicted by a federal grand jury, supposedly on the basis of videos and photos taken by the Puerto Rican police.

The activists' defense committee contends that the activists are being framed by the FBI, and it is demanding the US government drop the charges.

Enviros vs. Indians:

Fighting Bayonet Diplomacy in the Smoky Mountains

BY KEPHARTFAN

A proposed land exchange between the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park has created a furious dispute between enviros and tribal members in western North Carolina. The animosity is such that the word "environmentalist" has become an epithet, which doesn't bother local politicians one bit.

The EBCI have offered a steep, 218-acre tract of high-altitude spruce forest riven

with seeps in exchange for a 143-acre flood plain and recovering hardwood forest tract within the boundary of the national park. The land the Cherokee own, known as the Yellow Face tract, was bought by the tribe with the hope that it would facilitate a future land exchange. Yellow Face is adjacent to the Blue Ridge Parkway, which is also national park property. The parcel the EBCI hopes to obtain, the Ravensford tract, is within the national park's boundary on a map yet is also separated from the park by the Raven Fork.

The pros and cons of the exchange, and the multitude of environmental and social issues surrounding it, are a veritable nightmare for anyone trying to decide a course of action.

The Cherokee once controlled an area spanning approximately seven southeastern states. They received the standard "bayonet diplomacy" reserved for indigenous people. You've certainly heard of the "Trail of Tears." Those who refused to walk to Oklahoma at gunpoint and who hid out in the mountains are the ancestors of the EBCI. With good fortune and sheer will, they have retained some of their ancestral land.

The Cherokee have started to regain some of their lost land and retake control of the tribal infrastructure, specifically, the EBCI educational system. Formerly controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the school system was



The Cherokee want to trade the Yellow Face tract with the park service

photo by Kephartfan

poorly planned: three schools that are spread around the reservation, overcrowded, traffic-plagued and now obsolete. The tribe wants the flat bottoms of the Ravensford tract, which are scarce in this mountainous region, to build a K-12 school and cultural center.

The EBCI envision an all-encompassing campus, with many-tiered, branching structures—a deliberate design to avoid massive "big box" structures. With the Cherokee language being requisite, they're certain that keeping all the students on a single campus would rejuvenate their culture and strengthen tribal bonds.

Nothing being simple, the Ravensford tract is loaded with archaeological, sociological, environmental and political hot potatoes. It has been occupied for at least 8,000 years, most recently by the lumber community of Ravensford, which was obliterated when the national park was created in 1934.

The EBCI have longed for this tract as it acts to divide the reservation—it bulges into their holdings like a hernia. Years ago, the tribe gave up vast amounts of land to facilitate the national park. In fact, part of the dealings between the federal government and the Cherokee in facilitating the completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway through the reservation decreed that the tribe retained the option to buy the Ravensford parcel. The tribe got it in writing: a senate bill

on April 22, 1940. But one month later, the bill was modified without the tribe's consent or knowledge.

Enviros are concerned about numerous issues. For the most part, they fear the exchange sets a bad precedent—although there have been seven previous exchanges involving national park land. They're concerned that archaeological sites will be disturbed. The former site of the town of Ravensford, its namesake mill and associated disturbances—now under hay,

grass and clover—have been described by enviros as pristine mountain meadows, rare and enchanted. The entire tract is purported to be of huge environmental significance, despite its being disconnected from the national park by the Raven Fork.

Then there's National Park Service facilities and a sprawling Job Corps facility with its own associated lighting, infrastructure and roads. From the call to arms that the enviro community has been sounding, you'd think an old-growth Eden was being obliterated. Ravensford even has sewer, water and electrical lines running through it. Phone lines, two roads...

Activists from two factions of Katúah EF! have attended three public hearings and made inspections of both the Yellow Face and Ravensford tracts. We've found that there have been misrepresentations made about the exchange. We witnessed racially charged comments made by other enviros, inaccurate accusations against the Cherokee and a general lack of tact and consideration from "our" community.

The degree of entrenched hostility is underscored by the tribe's comfy relationship with Representative Charles "Chainsaw Charlie" Taylor, a notorious timber lackey and author of the 1995 Salvage Rider that usurped environmental protections during the Clinton administration. Taylor is championing the

Cherokee cause and is pushing a bill requiring the National Park Service to accept the exchange—not a very democratic process, to say the least. In return, EBCI leadership has espoused approval of the North Shore Road Project that threatens a remote part of the park and would bring yet more traffic and pollution into a severely impacted area.

What about Yellow Face? What would the National Park Service gain?

We hiked this area and found it to be biologically diverse, contrary to claims by other enviros. While parts are steep, it was not the sheer rock face described to us. It too has its biological gems. Numerous species found only in high-elevation spruce forests abound, including the northern flying squirrel, southern rock vole, pine siskin and numerous species of lichen, liverworts, mollusks and invertebrates. There's 10,400 feet of linear water channels in this watershed and seven acres of high-altitude vegetated seeps. Gaining the tract would protect the watershed and the view from the Blue Ridge Parkway.

In the past, Katúah EF! has worked with tribal members on other issues, and we value alliances made with them. That's why we attended the public hearings in Cherokee, North Carolina, to hear their views. Only eight enviros showed at the first hearing in Cherokee, and the three EF!ers at the second hearing constituted the "environmentalist" side. The hearings off the reservation, however, were packed with angry and sometimes derisive enviros. The tribe and its leadership were insulted.

It was disconcerting to see enviros—many dressed in suits, carrying leather-bound briefcases and fresh out of their SUVs—display such an amazing amount of arrogance and privilege in the face of a people who have experienced a poverty rate nearly 90 percent higher than the rest of North Carolina. It left some Cherokee mothers and families in tears of anger and frustration.

We couldn't help but wonder where these "Earth warriors" were when EF! activists were fighting other more

impacting projects against the national park. We didn't see them at our lockdowns and demonstrations. They definitely didn't pass the hat for bail money.

Differences aside, we should all be pulling on the same rope. The Cherokee school will be built somewhere, and it's going to be intrusive. The tribe is a valuable ally, as Taylor has grasped, and some effort should be made to think beyond the issue of national park boundaries. Our bioregion is slowly dying from the excesses of the culture of consumption. The EBCI didn't bring us to this point, and 144 acres of land that was stolen from them is not worth the animosity being created. As individual EF!ers, none of us have found the arrogance to oppose it, and some have chosen to join tribal members in action if the need arises.

Kephartfan, a Katúah Earth First!er, hopes that the energy directed to the Ravensford issue by both sides can be better spent fighting for the right of all beings to live a healthy life.

Mass EF! Takes to the Trees

BY AMY THOREAU

Henry David Thoreau once walked the trails of Mt. Wachusett in central Massachusetts. If he walked those trails today, he would have to contend with the ravages of a ski area on its northwest slope.

A Mass Earth First! tree village is now keeping watch over this threatened oak savannah—a first in the history of Massachusetts. Like the oaksitters of England's Road Wars, Mass EF! is spryly combating the limitations of a hardwood tree's height in an effort to save it.

At a vulnerable 90 feet up, these treesitters will do whatever it takes to prevent the wealthy Crowley family from cutting 13 acres of vibrant 140-year-old red oaks. Despite the fact that these trees border Massachusetts' largest contiguous tract of old-growth forest, the Crowleys consider the state-approved expansion of their ski resort the higher priority.

Forest lovers are lucky they have direct action comrades on the East Coast faithfully working to protect its few remaining woodlands. On August 1, in addition to the tree village, Mass EF! formed a blockade and set up the Henry David Thoreau Memorial base camp before logging was set to begin. After thwarting logging operations for five days, treesit supporters were blocked entry to the area by state police. Two individuals were detained. Nevertheless, Mass EF! is prepared to stay in the trees as long as needed.

The ski resort expansion, as first proposed in 1993, involved cutting two new trails from the summit. When old-growth trees were discovered in 1996, plans for the summit trails were abandoned and the expansion was scaled down to two new ski runs and a chairlift.

Mass EF! and Restore North Woods are calling for the complete removal of the infringing ski area. For more information, contact Mass EF!, POB 533, Lunenburg, MA 01462; (978) 549-9904; takeaction2001@hotmail.com.

Logging in Eastern Forests



While it is true that shortly after the turn of the 20th century, the robber barons had fully stripped this continent of all its forests east of the Mississippi River, these wildlands have made an unexpected and stunning comeback. When the industry turned its ravenous gaze away from the East and toward the forested cathedrals of the Rockies, the Sierras and the Pacific Northwest, the eastern forests found a foothold and blanketed the region anew with their protective, if somewhat diminished, tapestry of life.

Today, the southeastern US is producing more pulp for disposable paper products than anywhere else on Earth.

Massacring the Mountains for

BY VIVIAN STOCKMAN

You don't hear the call of the whip-poor-wills ringing in the hollows anymore. That's one of the first things some folks will tell you when they talk about the massacre of the mountaintops in southern West Virginia.

On their front porches, residents used to hear bird songs and rushing streams. Now, they endure the round-the-clock noise of heavy machinery and blasting that lays open thin seams of low-sulfur coal. The blasting damages their homes, dries up their wells and leaves a haze of dust everywhere. Parents hesitate to let their children play outside because blasted rocks can fly hundreds of feet. When it rains, some families sleep with their clothes on in case they have to evacuate from a torrent raging from a scalped mountain. Some sell their homes to the coal companies that practice mountaintop removal, but others refuse to leave. They watch their communities die, as the lush landscape turns into a barren moonscape.

In the name of "homeland security" and "cheap energy," the Bush administration and its energy-industry chums

are implementing the Drill, Nuke and Mine the Guts Out of the Planet National Energy Policy. For the coal industry, "homeland security" means destroying the homeland. "Cheap energy" means an ecocidal free-for-all for coal companies as mountaintop removal shifts into hyper-drive in West Virginia, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee.

In mountaintop removal, coal companies first bulldoze the mountains' temperate forests, which are rich in biological diversity. The topsoil is removed, and the underlying rock is blasted away in explosions 10 to 100 times more powerful than the 1995 bomb blast at the federal building in Oklahoma City.

Next, huge draglines—nearly 20 stories tall—and gargantuan dump trucks remove the rubble to reach the thin layers of low-sulfur coal. The draglines cost roughly \$100 million and, for the sake of the almighty dollar, must stay in continual operation. These machines scalp up to 600 feet, sometimes more, off the tops of mountains. So far, at least 300,000 acres of hardwood forest have been destroyed, leaving scars that are visible from outer space.

Coal companies dump the "overburden"—millions of tons of blasted-off mountaintops—into nearby valleys and streams. The industry has buried, at the very least, 750 miles of streams under valley fills. During heavy rains, debris has been washed off of these fills, drowning at least two people and destroying countless homes in a tidal wave of muddy, chunky water.

Since 2001, southern West Virginia has been ravaged by Summer floods. Even the state and federal governments admit the floods have been worsened by the effects of mountaintop removal and unregulated steep-slope logging. In some counties, 20 percent of the land has been mined through the process of mountaintop removal. In all, the floods have killed 15 people, damaged 47 communities and damaged or destroyed 12,000 homes and businesses.

After a more than two-year delay, several regulatory agencies have released a draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) on mountaintop removal. The science says what coalfield residents can see—mountaintop removal is bad for people and other

Frontlines

Fire Rains Down on California SUVs

On August 22, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) simultaneously carried out acts of property destruction at several auto dealerships in California.

Clippinger Chevrolet of West Covina, California, sustained more than one million dollars in damages after 20 SUVs—mostly H2 Hummers—were set on fire. Twenty additional vehicles were damaged by the fire, and a warehouse on the site was destroyed.

In Duarte, California, SUVs from Advantage Ford were spray-painted with messages such as "ELF," "Gross Polluter" and "We (Heart) Pollution." Across the street, 30 cars at Duarte Mitsubishi were also hit with graffiti that condemned SUV ownership.

At Rusnak Mercedes Benz in Arcadia, California, 10 luxury SUVs were spray-painted with the words "terrorist," "killer" and "ELF." Rusnak estimated losses of up to \$300,000.

According to the ELF Press Office, "ELF actions are a reminder to SUV owners of how their personal choices affect the society and environment in which they live."

Days of Action Against Ford Motors

During a national day of action against Ford Motor Company on June 12, climbers unfurled a banner in Detroit, Michigan, proclaiming, "Ford is Driving America's Oil Addiction."

Activists in 21 cities across the US and Canada marked Ford's 100th anniversary by voicing opposition to another century of gas-guzzling automobiles.

This year, Ford reneged on a pledge to increase SUV mileage by 25 percent by 2005, and last year CEO Bill Ford personally lobbied Congress against increasing federal fuel mileage standards.

In San Francisco, California, on May 31, activists in body bags representing rainforests, climate, jobs, clean air and other "casualties of oil addiction" blocked the entrance to a Ford dealership.

"Ford has tried to make itself out as an environmental leader. Unfortunately there is a big gap between its rhetoric and its actions," said Jason Mark, one of seven people arrested after hanging a banner at the dealership.

"Cheap Energy"

living beings, as well as the non-living things that support their lives.

Lolling about in bed with its coal industry pals, the Bush administration must have delayed the EIS while it tried to figure out how to put a smiley face on one of the worst intentional environmental disasters in the nation. The administration imposed its will on this document, so that the recommendations in the EIS completely disregard the scientific studies that scream: Stop this madness now!

Coal companies, and many politicians who rely on the industry for campaign contributions, endlessly repeat that West Virginia needs more flat land for economic development. They contend that the barren, decapitated mountains are great spots for prisons, shopping malls, airports and schools—never mind the lack of population and infrastructure in the mined areas. And never mind that less than two percent of the hundreds of thousands of acres that have been already destroyed have seen any type of so-called development. Never mind that the world's most productive temperate forest used to be here. And never,

ever mind the lost value of decimated ecosystems, which, when intact, support life and form the basis for the human economy.

Another pro-mountaintop removal argument is that coal extraction provides jobs and prosperity. High-paying coal jobs (around \$50,000 a year; the average annual income in West Virginia is approximately \$25,000) are welcome in a region where unemployment hovers between 10 and 15 percent. But coal companies are replacing people with mega-machines and the jobs are dwindling, despite record-setting levels of coal production. In the 1940s, there were more than 100,000 miners. Today, only 14,000 miners are employed. The coal industry claims that 2,000 of those mining jobs are on mountaintop removal sites.

Despite coal company claims of providing prosperity, the counties in West

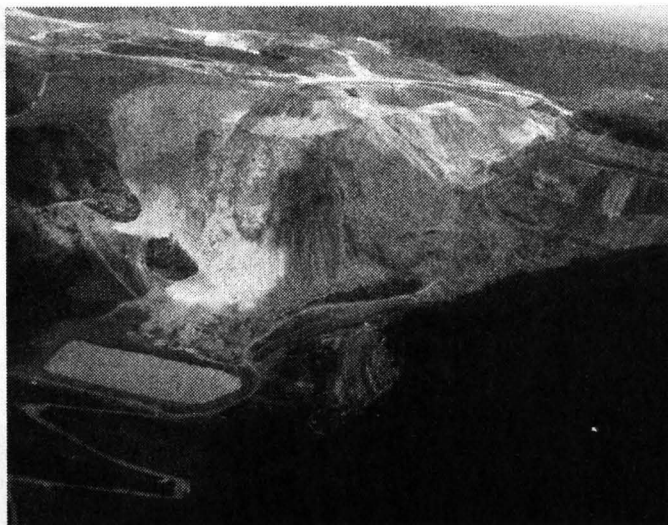


photo by Vivian Stockman/OVEC

Mountaintop removal rips the heart out of the Ohio valley

Virginia where the most coal is mined have some of the highest poverty rates, as well as some of the worst infrastructure in the state. Complaints to the state government essentially have led nowhere. Fed up with the state's inaction, citizens have turned to environmental groups who are leading multi-pronged campaigns aimed at banning mountaintop removal.

For more information, contact the Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition, (304) 522-0246; www.ohvec.org.

Vivian Stockman is a project coordinator with the West Virginia-based Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition.

Massasauga EF! Confronts Water Tyrants

On July 28, Massasauga Earth First! unfurled a banner from the roof of a Highland Park, Michigan, municipal building that read, "Stop the Cut-Offs—Water for Life." The action protested the state's policy of shutting off the water supply to residents who fail to pay water bills of up to \$800 a month. Activists say that water is a human and natural right that should not be denied to anyone.

The next day, Massasauga EF! and the Sweetwater Alliance organized a protest at the home of Governor Jennifer Granholm. They demanded that she shut down an Ice Mountain water bottling plant and halt all water shut-offs in Highland Park and Detroit.

In July, Granholm gave Ice Mountain, a subsidiary of Nestlé, a \$10-million tax break to pump spring water out of western Michigan. Meanwhile, some Detroit residents have had their homes seized to pay "water debts" of up to \$17,000. According to Massasauga EF!, Highland Park is one of the poorest cities in the country, yet the city has the highest water rates in the US.

San Francisco Starbucks Downsized

In the pre-dawn hours of August 5, 17 San Francisco, California, Starbucks coffee shops had "For Lease" signs

past on their windows and their locks glued. A notice on "official" company letterhead, titled "A Case for Corporate Downsizing," was posted to announce the closure of thousands of locations worldwide. The message, which Starbucks dismissed as fraudulent, stated, "The global economy requires a relentless substitution of quantity over quality and shareholder values over human values."

The executive director of the North Beach Chamber of Commerce where many of the "shut down" Starbucks were located said that the corporation is guilty of forcing locally owned stores out of business by driving up commercial rents: "The primary thing we hate is the homogenization of America." When told of the prank against the corporate coffee chain, another Chamber of Commerce official responded, "That's pretty funny."

Ents and Pixies Rise Up in Holland

On June 30, Groenfront! began an "Entwoods" tree village encampment in Holland to stop the construction of a 3,600-guest theme park hotel in a forest that is home to badgers, pixies and Ents. De Efteling, a fairytale theme park, is trying to attract more foreign tourists by expanding the park into the nearby Entwoods. More than 100 residents have come to voice support of the tree village.

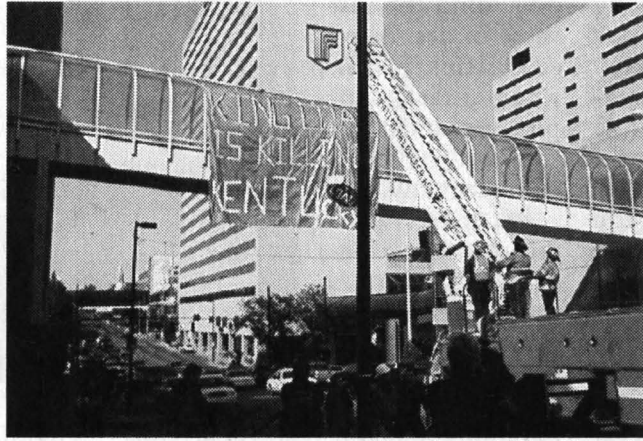
Eastern Forest Defense Camp Leads to

BY PERRIN DE JONG

Against the backdrop of an orchestrated Bush administration campaign to deliver the spoils of the nation's wild places into the hands of corporate robber barons, the Eastern Forest Justice League gathered in the hills of southeast Ohio this Summer to continue its mission of raising an army of well-trained eastern forest defenders.

The Justice League is a collective of eastern forest defense activists that coalesced in 2001 in response to the rising wave of eastern forest destruction. The collective's focus is to train would-be treesitters, road blockaders and banner hangers, from Florida to Quebec, in safe techniques for defending our native forest ecosystems.

The Eastern Forest Defense Camp brought activists together on a farm outside Athens, Ohio, for one week to train in the trees and build a movement for direct action forest defense



King Coal is killing Kentucky

Photo courtesy Eastern Forest Justice League

in eastern North America. From tree climbing to treesit assembly, from community organizing to running a field kitchen and from street theater to making a sexy banner with a tarp and some duct tape, camp attendees learned a wide range of valuable, practical skills essential to eastern forest defense.

Attendance ranged from a core group of about 70 to the camp's peak attendance of 110 during the Flying Rutabaga Cycle Circus' feature-length performance.

The camp was a successful experiment in anarchistic, complex, multi-layered event organizing. Whereas the previous Summer's camp benefited from the able hand of an experienced central organizer, this year's event was pulled together by several affinity groups of self-selecting individuals, each of whom was trusted entirely by the others to pull together their particular aspect of the camp.

While some small details did fall through the cracks as a result of the lack of central coordination, the group proved nimble and adaptive with someone inevitably stepping up to fill the gaps. In retrospect, camp attendees agreed that more regular communication between the organizing affinity groups and the group as a whole (i.e. daily check-in circles at the beginning and/or end of the day) would have helped to provide a sort of consensus-based mass-consciousness and central coordination.

By far the most encouraging thing to arise from this year's camp was the

Frontlines

Fur Raiders Foiled in Finland

On July 29, five animal rights activists were arrested after allegedly attempting to break into a mink farm on the west coast of Finland. Security guards responded to the alarm after two locks were broken. Last year, the same farm was raided, and 1,000 mink were set free.

Two of the women arrested are suspects in several previous raids and an attempted break-in at an animal research laboratory. During a prior investigation in 2002, hairs from mink liberated during fur farm raids were supposedly found on the coat of one of the women. They deny any involvement and refuse to answer investigators' questions.

Since 1995, there have been 70 raids on Finland's 3,500 fur farms, resulting in seven closures, millions of dollars in damages and thousands of mink and fox being released.

In February, the Finnish Animal Liberation Front was responsible for a million-dollar blaze that destroyed a feed supplier for 65 fur farms in Finland. A communiqué

following the fire read, "We decided to act directly ourselves instead of waiting passively for our government to do something—because it's not in the nature of any government to value life over profit."

Corporate Pork Pimp Pied

The president of Smithfield Foods Europe, one of the world's largest pork producers, was left with egg—or rather tofu—on his face on June 23. Raoul Baxter was only minutes into a speech at the World Pork Congress in Birmingham, England, when a People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) activist, Charlie McKenzie, yelled "Meat Pimp!" and landed a tofu cream pie directly on his face. McKenzie was arrested and released by the Birmingham police without charge.

A PETA spokesperson said that the pieing was meant to highlight the animal suffering, environmental destruction and threats to human health resulting from Smithfield Foods' intensive pig farming. Internationally, the company kills 12 million pigs a year, including

Actions Against Mountaintop Removal

sense of community that one could feel building throughout the week. The camp was not frictionless, but it was clear that ego battles took a back seat to movement building and non-hierarchical skill sharing. It was exciting to think about what so many passionate, talented, experienced activists could accomplish if we manage to continue to work together for forest protection over the course of our lives.

Also exciting was the prospect of continuing to work together over the course of the next year, *before* the next forest defense camp.

We kicked off what we hope will become a long tradition of fostering regional forest defense actions with a tri-state banner hang against mountaintop removal on June 23.

After the camp, some attendees self-organized into affinity groups of four to 14 people and split up to join simultaneous anti-mountaintop removal rallies in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Charleston, West Virginia, and Lexington, Kentucky. The affinity groups dropped banners from major structures near the rallies that read:

"Stop Mountaintop Removal," "Mountaintop Removal Kills Our Heritage," "Longwall Mining Kills" and "King Coal is Killing Kentucky." The banners were made at the camp out of plastic tarps, nylon rope and duct tape.

The Pittsburgh and Charleston actioneers got away after dropping their banners, but four from the Lexington affinity group were nabbed by the city police after encountering complications in dropping an entangled double-banner from both sides of a covered tunnel above one of the busiest downtown streets during rush hour. In what came as a chilling reminder of the burgeoning big

brother police state, they were not allowed to leave the jail until they had their retinas scanned for biometric identification.

In the end, all four were rewarded with a full-color, front-page photo of the banner in the following day's newspaper. Three of the arrested were part of a ground support crew (Kent Mettle and Bill Gorz from North Carolina, as well as Indiana activist Joshua Martin) and had their disorderly conduct charges dropped. The climber (Corrie de Jong from Kentucky) had to pay \$120 in court fees and a \$50 trespassing fine.

Perrin de Jong is with the Katúah Earth First! Cumberland Faction.

Help Us Fight Mountaintop Removal!

Citizens Coal Council: www.citizenscoalcouncil.org

Coal River Mountain Watch: www.crmw.net

Katúah Earth First!: (see Earth First! directory, page 62)

Kentuckians for the Commonwealth: www.kftc.org

Kentucky Heartwood: www.kyheartwood.com

Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition: www.ohvec.org

Save Our Cumberland Mountains: www.socm.org

West Virginia Highlands Conservancy: www.wvhighlands.org

32,000 pigs a day at a slaughterhouse in North Carolina.

Baxter joked about the pie before continuing his speech, saying, "It tastes nice, I can't wait for lunch."

Australian ALF Hops to It

On July 13, the night before a slaughter of Eastern grey kangaroos was scheduled to begin, the Australian Animal Liberation Front (ALF) removed large sections of perimeter fencing around the Puckapunyal Army Base in Victoria.

Fifteen thousand kangaroos were trapped on the army base by the six-foot fence, which regularly entangles animals attempting to flee into the neighboring forest.

The Defense Department had contracted professional shooters to kill the kangaroos, despite requests from animal welfare groups for it to establish wildlife corridors and create a sustainable management plan.

Since January, 91,000 kangaroos have been slaughtered in Victoria—nearly 20,000 at Puckapunyal and the rest in the surrounding farm areas. The slaughter was sanctioned by the state government, who claims that the kangaroos are over-breeding, face starvation and that the populations need to be managed.

A communiqué after the action stated, "The ALF will continue to destroy fencing while the killing continues."

Activists Flood Foie Gras Wine Bar

Individuals opposed to the foie gras industry raided Sonoma Saveurs on August 12. Sonoma Saveurs is a specialty wine bar in northern California that was under construction but, when open, serves the bloated duck and goose liver.

Foie Gras is created by force-feeding grain through tubes shoved down the birds' throats until their livers are up to nine times their natural size.

Sonoma Saveurs' parent company, Sonoma Foie Gras, kills 1,200 ducks and geese a week at its farm in Stockton, California.

Activists caused \$50,000 in damages by plugging drains with concrete, spray-painting slogans and flooding the interior of the restaurant.

"The owner of Sonoma Foie Gras deprives the ducks that he tortures of water in which to preen and bathe. Now he'll be sure to have a swim when he opens the door," stated a communiqué following the action.

In July, two of the three business partners of Sonoma Saveurs, Laurent Manrique and Didier Jaubert, had their homes sprayed with red paint, locks glued and cars covered with glass-etching fluid. Their home addresses were also posted on the Internet.

Sneaking into stillness: learning stealth technique

BY LIGHTFOOT

Do you ever drag your heels when you walk? On dead concrete it may not matter, but in the wilderness that boot scrape needlessly destroys microhabitat for soil organisms, uproots seedlings, sends countless critters scurrying and leaves a trail for the cops to follow. You could be out scouting for that next action or slyly escaping arrest, where an unnoticed infiltration and swift exit may be the difference between celebrating with a 12-pack or serving 12 years.

Stealth is a crucial element of security culture. It's also about living with the Earth, minimizing your impact and being unobtrusive. Learning to move with the rhythm of the Earth isn't mystical; it derives from knowledge carried in each of our cells. Observation and practice are all that's needed.

Know Your Body

Observe a deer as it walks, lifting its feet high to avoid obstructions, or a cat freezing mid-stride at the first sign of danger. A praying mantis demonstrates the importance of a stable base and low center of gravity. Most people walk in a controlled fall. Once they start a step, they can't stop or redirect it without losing balance. With a little attention, this habit can be unlearned as part of your daily routine.

Search the depths of your soul and remember the lessons of more than three billion years of history! Reawaken senses, honed by trial and error, which kept our ancestors alive and out of trouble through countless generations. Trust gut feelings or even the hair standing up on the back of your neck. These are other senses that we've allowed to deteriorate. Yoga and martial arts offer many useful techniques for mental and physical conditioning. Meditate, stretch and do calisthenics.

Go slow—slow, slowly, slower. Speed is directly related to noise. Take a deep breath to quiet your mind and body. Patience is all important. Be confident and alert. If you're the fidgety type that can't sit still for 10

minutes, challenge yourself. Remember, you're working for the Earth.

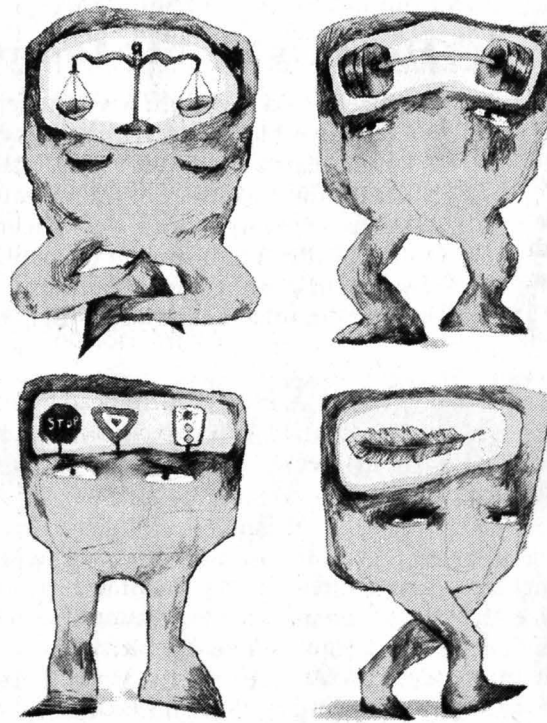
Become aware of the space your body occupies. Practice moving efficiently around, under and over obstacles while maintaining balance and staying alert to your surroundings. Keep your torso upright as much as possible. This is a great test and workout of lower body muscles. If you're stuck in the city, playground equipment is full of such obstacles (don't scare the soccer moms!). Stand near a wall and close your eyes. How closely can you step or reach without touching it? A Jedi's power flows from the Force! Can you duck under low objects this way?

The importance of physical fitness can't be ignored. Although cops usually sit in their cruisers between big macs and chocolate eclairs, many are athletes as well, working out several times per week. Just because we hike, bike and eat more tofu doesn't mean we'll outrun them! If you choose to smoke, exercise harder to offset the damage. Strengthening your legs dramatically improves stealthiness.

Despite the infomercials, there's no easy path to fitness. But that doesn't mean it can't be fun. Black Bloc soccer and kickball teams are already forming! We must break the pop culture paradigm and do the hard work, 'cause when the revolution comes, there won't be time for training. As Dave Foreman writes in *Ecodefense*, "Most people on

the other side are dreadfully out of shape, and any good monkeywrencher should count it a matter of professional pride to be in top fitness."

After investing time to develop stealth, it would be stupid, not to mention embarrassing, if you were betrayed by clanking tools on your belt or loose change in your pockets. It takes only a few minutes to secure loose objects and stuff that can snag. Replace zippers and velcro with buttons; plastic wrappers with cloth. Why did you bring keys and coins? Safety pin a lone car or bike key inside your pocket. Soldiers in Vietnam kept their canteens completely



mind and body

full or completely empty to avoid sloshing noises. If draining a quart of water leaves you sloshing, try sharing several smaller bottles with your team or use a camelback-type container. Synthetic clothing is noisier than natural fabric, although the latter leaves more fibers.

Camouflage can help if used carefully. Military styles work well in certain settings but may be conspicuous in others. Some plaid patterns are nearly as effective and often blend with local fashion. Is your hairstyle or body art appropriate? Becoming a logger, yuppie hiker or office stiff (and acting the role!) can be a most effective disguise when you need to escape a target area, while providing several believable excuses if you get caught.

Know Your Surroundings

Just a few millennia ago, we were the hunted. Remember how it felt to be food? We rarely ventured across open spaces, preferring the perimeter where cover was abundant. We kept a safe distance from danger to distort sounds and block lines of sight. We survived because we were part of our environment, hiding *among* rather than *behind* our surroundings.

Notice the natural cover in your habitat. In the wild, trees, rocks, gullies and ridges can hide movements. Walls, landscaping, vehicles or crowds work well in cities. Urban lights create shadows and

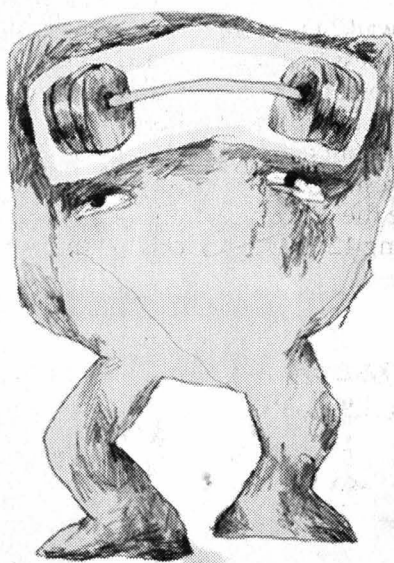
glare. Practice using cover, noting directions from which you are hidden or visible (don't forget cameras that are poised to watch you from above!). Stay alert for opportunities, such as a passing bus, that can momentarily hide an exposed move. Use noise from a plane or from a heavy-booted hiker to mask your activities. Games like hide and seek or capture the flag are fun ways to refine your skills.

Have you ever walked along the edge of a pond as frogs that had been previously unseen bound into the water? Because our eyes are drawn to movement, it's often possible to hide in plain view simply by being still.

Many people have eluded pursuit by imitating animals or forces of nature. Peg Millett escaped a FBI ambush by becoming a saguaro cactus and telling herself that she was invisible. Don't be too proud to ask Mother Nature for help. She knows you're on her side!

While there are plenty of guides to stealth techniques, these skills are much older than writing. Ultimately, the only way to learn is by reconnecting with your body and your surroundings. Make treading lightly part of everyday life. Inconspicuously step away from a crowd. Glide through your house without alerting roommates. Practice, practice, practice.

Artwork by Cameron Tomsett, www.tomsett.com.



Velvet Gloves and Iron Fists: Understanding Police Strategy

Before you pack your aloha shirt or hoodie and head off to protest the World Trade Organization ministerial summit in Cancun, Mexico, and the Free Trade Area of the Americas meeting in Miami, you'd be wise to evaluate how law enforcement strategized to counter protests against the June 2002 G8 Summit in Kananaskis, Canada. The February issue of *The Police Chief* describes a multifaceted approach, which authorities credit with being the reason there were no major acts of property destruction and only five arrests.

Intelligence-Led Policing

A Joint Intelligence Group (JIG) was formed four months prior to the protests. Large commercial databases, such as Dialog and Newscan, were used to provide information on specific activists, tactics and protest planning. JIG information resulted in all buses full of protesters being identified and tracked en route to Ottawa. Protesters known to have criminal records or who "warranted

special treatment" were identified ahead of time; their photos were provided to police on the streets.

The Soft Hat Approach

Police formed a Major Events Liaison Team (MELT) that held public meetings with protesters before the summit and contacted all known organizers of G8-related demonstrations. MELT members met the protest buses as they arrived and openly photographed all individuals. The MELT approach acted to defuse tensions while ensuring that would-be troublemakers were made aware of the likelihood of police action against acts of property destruction.

No police barriers were erected before the protests, and public parks were not blocked. Tactical police squads were kept in buses and vans close to the action but out of sight.

Iron Fists

Real-time surveillance from cameras mounted onto buildings and video foot-

age from police helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft were sent to a command center and used to track demonstrators, their buses and the protests.

To handle mass arrests, a large holding facility was installed in a downtown warehouse. Its existence was made known to the public and protesters to serve as a deterrent. The message was simple: You are welcome to protest, but illegal activities will result in swift action.

In Ottawa, protest routes were saturated with plain-clothes cops and communication specialists who provided tactical information about those attempting to engage in illegal acts. Uniformed police followed anyone who spun off from the main protest, presumably to carry out acts of property destruction.

Police contained a "snake march" that they believed was the main focus of planned protest violence, successfully leaving the only act of vandalism as the burning of a garbage bin.

Mass Resistance to the Corporate Takeover of Food

Busting up Biotech

BY PATRICK REINSBOROUGH

For five days in June, Sacramento, California, became an unlikely frontline in the ongoing clash between the Bush administration's imperial agenda and the movements demanding democracy, justice and ecological sanity. The occasion was the US government-sponsored Ministerial Conference and Exposition on Agricultural Science and Technology. This was supposed to be an opportunity for the Bush administration to quietly push its corporate agenda in the days leading up to the September World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Cancun, Mexico.

Instead, the ministerial was countered with a week-long mobilization that brought together grassroots activists, policy experts, small farmers, democracy advocates and representatives of social justice movements. The mobilization highlighted the dangers of the technologies being promoted within the ministerial, such as genetic engineering (GE), food irradiation and pesticide-intensive farming. The largest march had nearly 5,000 people, making it the largest demonstration against GE and industrial agriculture in US history.

A series of creative and strategic actions ranged from teach-ins, marches and guerrilla theater to an affinity group-based mass action to "greet and disrupt" the start of the ministerial.

Forest activists launched a campaign against International Paper, one of the most prominent funders of GE trees. They also carried out a powerful banner hang at University of California Davis, where three forest defenders locked down inside the Life Sciences building. As part of Cascadia Summer, the activists demanded that the university end its research on GE trees.

Urban farmers joined with guerrilla permaculturists from the Green Bloc to occupy and replant a community garden slated for destruction. The Pagan Bloc paraded through the streets with a "moveable feast," giving away free organic food. In a protest against genetic tampering, 50 naked, mud-smearing Earth spirits writhed through the streets.



photo by Geoff Oliver Bugbee, www.geoffbugbee.com

Activists launch a campaign against International Paper

Creative theater actions like the "Attack of the Killer Tomatoes" provided humorous sing-alongs—"Springtime for G-M-Os" and "Old Monsanto had a Farm." Family farmers from around the US upstaged the ministerial's official ribbon-cutting ceremony by dumping a truckload of GE corn nearby.

Throughout it all, the magnificently costumed Beneficial Bug Brigade oriented new arrivals, Food Not Bombs fed thousands and a crew from the Portland Independent Media Center helped launch the website biotechimc.org.

Connecting the Imperial Dots

Whereas at least 70 percent of the processed food that Americans eat is estimated to contain some form of genetic contamination, countries around the world have largely rejected GE food by instituting extensive product labeling, as well as moratoriums and import bans on GE crops. There is massive international resistance to the assimilation of local economies into the corporate-controlled global economy, particularly in the area of agriculture. Most dramatically, in early 2003, several famine-stricken countries in sub-Saharan Africa rejected US food aid shipments of GE corn.

Enter the Sacramento ministerial, timed to be a key pre-Cancun, arm-twisting session to force-feed world governments the US positions on "free trade" and GE food. To set the tone, the Bush administration made two significant policy announcements this Spring. First, the US delivered an "eat-GE-food-or-die" ultimatum by announcing that it would

link AIDS relief funds to Africa's acceptance of GE food. Shortly afterward, the US filed the long-expected WTO challenge to the European Union's GE food restrictions.

Whether the Bush Administration is using the unfair trade rules of the WTO or starvation as a weapon, forcing US-controlled GE food on the world is as much a part of US Empire, Inc. as the ongoing military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Colombia and dozens of other countries (Bush even uses the same "Coalition of the Willing" rhetoric). The message is clear: The US government sees GE foods as a means for US corporations to seize control of the global food supply.

Battling the Story: Whose Streets? Whose Story?

Among the many lessons to take from Sacramento is that effective mass-action organizing allows us to contest power not just on the physical "whose streets?" level but also in the far more sweeping, symbolic, cultural and ideological arenas. Impacting this abstract area of popular consciousness is the real benchmark of success. It means that we are waging the "battle of the story," the inevitable conflict between power holders and change agents to control public consciousness. Power holders strive to tell a story that discredits and demonizes people demanding change, while those working for change strive to organize actions that sound the alarm and awaken a complacent public. Sacramento reminds us that even when we can't control the streets, we can still contest the story.

Sacramento was a snapshot of the future police state. A thousand officers in state-of-the-art riot gear—courtesy of a generous Homeland Security grant—insured that the authorities never lost control of physical space. The favored police tactics utilized were intimidation, harassment and pre-emptive containment, including repeatedly surrounding hundreds of marchers, forcing them onto the sidewalk and then herding them 10-15 blocks back to the protest headquarters.

However, far from crushing morale or limiting the effectiveness of the action, in many ways the mobilization was able to effectively use the police state backdrop. The power holders can't play both the "move along, nothing to see here" routine and simultaneously militarize a city without creating cognitive dissonance in the general public.

The police state justified its use of force with the usual fear-mongering propaganda—repetitive images of the same smashed Seattle window. When demonstrators responded to police provocation with tactical discipline, creativity and humor, the public was forced to entertain the implicit story that the ministerial was both significant and sinister.

The next step in waging the battle of the story was the showdown between the messengers. After all, believable story telling relies on sympathetic characters. The power holder's main messenger was Secretary of Agriculture Ann

Veneman, with a background chorus of self-promotional corporate "experts" on development. Inside the ministerial, they explained to the corralled press that corporate globalization will feed Africa and help family farmers. Meanwhile, outside in the streets were the aforementioned Africans and family farmers, denouncing the biotechnology industry as "genetic conquistadors" and the ministerial as a thinly veiled attempt to push US control of the global food supply. Wire stories ran about the growing opposition to GE within the US.

With the streets full of other sympathetic messengers—soccer moms, ex-genetic engineers, economists, environmentalists, farm workers, chefs and local residents—we see a movement with the power to win the battle of the story.

Toward a Global Ecology Movement

The call to protest the ministerial was endorsed by more than 130 groups around the world including *Via Campesina*, a network of campesino, peasant and small farmer groups representing approximately 400 million people! This backdrop of agrarian resistance helped to reframe GE as not just a single-issue problem but rather as part of the broader assault on ecosystems and sustainable communities. By successfully linking GE to the WTO, corporate globalization and US empire, the mobilization provided an important opportunity for Earth-centered activists to stand in solidarity with popular movements worldwide.

One group that deserves great credit for pushing this powerful framing is the Institute for Social Ecology's Biotechnology Project, who not only provided a systemic, ecological critique but also threw almost all of its limited resources into on-the-ground organizing.

Sacramento, much like last year's Eco-Bloc at the World Bank and International Monetary Fund actions in Washington, DC, showed the potential for articulating an Earth-centered analysis of globalization to a wide audience. Already these times of resource wars, hypocrisy and imperial chauvinism are exposing the doomsday trajectory of the corporate global economy.

What if we were to continue reframing our issues to build stronger connections with land-based people's movements around the world? What if we organized more effectively around life's basics—land, food, sovereignty? Imagine a truly global ecology movement that united Cascadian treesitters with small farmers from Iowa, Brazil and Africa. Perhaps that would be a movement with the power to stand up to empire, resist corporate capitalism and truly put the Earth first.

Seeds were planted in Sacramento. More will be planted in Cancun and at the Free Trade Area of the Americas protests in Miami. Let's work to make sure that they bloom and grow.

Patrick Reinsborough is a San Francisco-based direct action organizer and coordinator of the smartMeme project.



Guerrilla gardening at the Mandella Community Garden

photo by Geoff Oliver Bugbee, www.geoffbugbee.com

We'd Rather Run Naked than Eat Biotech

BY JAMES JOHN BELL

T.H.O.N.G. (Topless Humans Organized for Natural Genetics) protested the use of genetically engineered ingredients at the Kraft Foods-sponsored "Fun Run" in Chicago, Illinois, on July 13. The run, which was the kick-off event for the Institute of Food Technologists' annual meeting, marked the beginning of a long couple of weeks for the biotechnology industry.

More than a dozen THONG runners, totally naked except for their signature thongs, sprung out of the bushes at the start of the five-kilometer run. THONG men and women took the food industry executives by surprise—many of whom couldn't avoid reading the anti-biotech body paint on their beautiful, naked bodies.

Concerned citizens held signs and formed a gauntlet along the race route across from Chicago's Buckingham Fountain. Some THONG runners, tired after about two kilometers (and wary of the bug-eyed cops in the circling squad cars on Lake Shore Drive), joined in the gauntlet.

Together, they asked Kraft employees running in the race to stop using genetically engineered ingredients, which are widely regarded as inadequately tested and potentially hazardous to human health and the environment. Chicago-based Kraft is the largest food company in the US and one of the largest distributors of genetically engineered foods.

"Just as Kraft has recently taken steps to protect public health by reformulating some of its products," said Genewise member Christine Phillips, "it needs to stop pushing a variety of untested genetically engineered foods on our kids." Phillips greeted runners at the finish line along with a giant walking box of Kraft "Mac & Genes," which, of course, was labeled as untested (and the booming voice from the box made sure the runners knew).

Anti-GE activists were charged up after four days of actions targeting the more than 20,000 food industry executives visiting Chicago for back-to-back conferences. They

joined parents, students and other concerned individuals to call attention to the threats of genetically engineered food on the opening day of the 12th World Food Congress of Science and Technology on July 16.

A couple dozen guerrilla theater performers showed up among the protesters with posters, banners and costumes depicting food companies, consumers and farmers. The "goddess of plenty," featured as the logo of the World Food Congress, was enslaved by biotech companies such as Monsanto.

A woman dressed as Kraft Foods CEO Betsey Holden was chained to a biotech corporate villain representing the millions of dollars Kraft has paid for legal settlements and recalls due to past biotech blunders.

The Chicago media was out in force, and the evening news featured dem-

onstrators drawing attention to the concerns that biotechnology will actually make global hunger worse, not better, and that famine is being used as a marketing tool by the biotechnology industry and Bush administration.

Get Naked and Go THONG!

Genewise is a Chicago-based organization dedicated to resisting genetic engineering and promoting safe, sustainable, locally produced food. For more information or to get involved in upcoming Chicago THONG actions, visit genewise.org.

Or go out and start your own THONG group!

For more information about the national effort calling on Kraft to stop using genetically engineered foods, visit www.krafty.org.

James John Bell (LastWizards.com) is busy organizing at the nano-level of our environment and culture, co-founding both Genewise and the memetic resistance network of the smartMeme project (smartMeme.com).

Anarchists Battle Aliens in Nude War

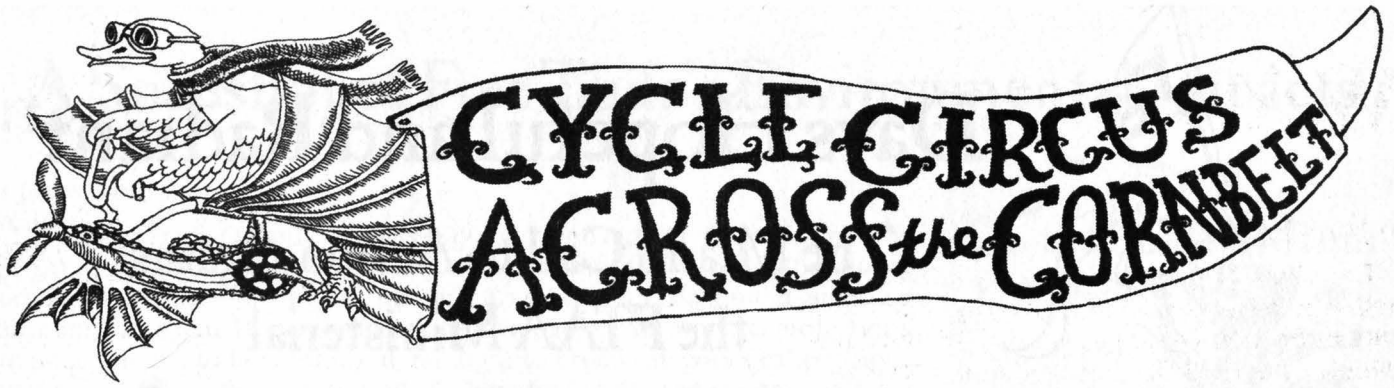
On July 14, more than 300 Raelians (who believe life on Earth was created by clones of extraterrestrials) gathered to form the words "J'aime OGM" and "I Love GM" with their naked bodies in a Quebec field.

The Raelians were striking back against recent nude actions against biotechnology, like the THONG action the day before and the "Bare Witness" event that took place in England on June 29, where 30 demonstrators gathered fully naked to form the words "No GMOs."

THONG responded with the statement: "Raelians should stick to making crop circles and stop cloning our actions."



photo courtesy genewise.org



Flying Rutabagas Pedal Against the Winds of Genetic Engineering

BY THE FLYING RUTABAGA CYCLE CIRCUS

This Spring, circus performers, bike fanatics, activists and various other sundry citizens set out across the cornbelt to put up a food fight with the biotechnology industry—including corporations such as Arthur Daniels Midland, Novartis and Monsanto—while at the same time promoting organic farming and people-powered transportation.

The Flying Rutabaga Cycle Circus, numbering more than 25 folks, is composed of members of the Puppetal Motion Cycle Circus, Liberty Cabbage Theatre Revival, Bikes Across Borders and other clown coalitions. The cycle circus' tour featured puppet shows, skits, radical cheers, clowning, juggling and songs to educate people about the production of one of modern technologies newest weapons of mass destruction: Frankenfoods.

Flying Rutabaga Cycle Circus' shows, dealing with various issues of agribusiness and the consumer car culture, were designed to be both educational and entertaining. Songs and skits were all created to be easily digestible, focusing on the struggles of small farms today and the fight against the consumerist society.

In spite of good intentions, these clowns on bikes must have threatened someone. Before the rutabagas departed St. Louis, Missouri, they were arrested prior to the World Agricultural Forum (see *EF!* July-August 2003). Charges of riding bikes without a license and occupying a condemned building were used to falsely arrest the troop. Due to the setback the arrests caused, the cycle circus was not able to make its original destination—the annual Biotechnology Industry Organization conference in Washington, DC.

Instead, with a few minor route adjustments, and a few more hills, the caravan traveled through Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York—more than 1,000 miles on bicycles—promoting healthy food and sustainable transportation.

In all of the towns the cycle circus passed through, the bikes

alone—with their handcrafted trailers—were a spectacle, garnering the attention of motorists, other bicyclists and pedestrians who slowed to watch. The costumes, street theater and crazy, mutant bikes sparked people's interest and opened the door to conversation about the biodevastation caused by the biotechnology industry.

The bicycle caravan stopped in small towns and had the honor of talking to organic farmers, as well as industrial farming operators, and learned about their struggles and concerns with the biotechnology giants looming over them. It seemed like everyone had something important to tell the rutabagas about what life is like living with biotech.

Performances were held at a variety of venues, ranging from cable access television programs, farmers' markets, art festivals and college campuses to spontaneous street corner puppet shows. The rutabagas were even fortunate enough to spend several days at the Eastern Forest Defense Camp in Athens, Ohio, doing a dinnertime show and holding workshops about street theater skills (see article page 28).

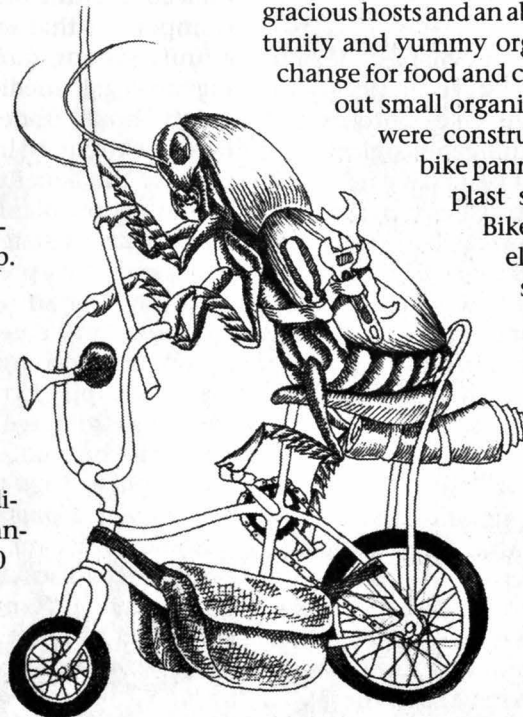
The cycle circus has demonstrated that creating awareness while making activism pro-active and fun is possible, and it doesn't have to be super tricky or costly. Along the journey, gracious hosts and an abundance of love, community, opportunity and yummy organic food met the rutabagas. In exchange for food and camping space, the cycle circus helped out small organic farmers along the way. Bike trailers

were constructed out of recycled materials, and bike panniers were fashioned out of old chloroplast signs and recycled food containers.

Bikes and trailers, powered by bodies fueled by food, carried all the food, show, shelter and personal items.

The rutabagas promise future cycle circus tours and hope to inspire other puppeteers, clowns, cyclists, storytellers and able bodies to start their own clown coalitions and take to the streets to ride for clean air, social and environmental justice and, of course, cultural change!

For more information, contact the Flying Rutabaga Cycle Circus, cyclecircus@riseup.net; www.cyclecircus.org.



Days Hopeful and Radiant

The Miami Call to Action Against the FTAA Ministerial



On November 20-21, the eighth round of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) negotiations and the Americas Business Forum will be held in Miami, Florida. Trade ministers from 34

nations in the Western Hemisphere and their closest commerce-inclined friends will descend on the city for a week of business and pleasure: the business of advancing industrial capitalism's parasitic agenda and the pleasure of getting away with it.

Did Someone Say "Free Trade?"

The FTAA expands the corporate free trade policies of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to encompass the entire Western Hemisphere. It is an integral part of the logic of capitalist globalization: generating profits while accelerating the loss of workers' rights, decreasing wages, the triumph of corporate agribusiness over family and subsistence farms, environmental degradation, the displacement of indigenous peoples and the privatization of industries.

¡Nosotros Decimos No!

NAFTA and the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, arrived simultaneously on the world stage in 1994—the former to destroy communities for the sake of profits; the latter to reintroduce Mexico to its indigenous glory and inspire further resistance. Subsequent years saw a revival of popularly organized, independent struggles to resist free-market regimes. From the efforts of the Brazilian *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* and the struggles against water privatization in Cochabamba, Bolivia, to the 2001 rebellion in Argentina and the response in Ecuador to the most recent round of FTAA negotiations in October 2002—people of the hemisphere have spoken in a decisive voice of opposition. Now, all eyes are upon us.

Mobilize for Miami

Miami is a steaming crockpot of vibrant cultures and ethnicities, but the division among classes and races is stark and deep. Yes, it is a tropical hub of international commerce, but poverty is rampant and social exclusion is pervasive. Yes, the issues relevant to the lives of residents are common throughout the hemisphere, but Miami was also home to the largest pro-war, pro-Bush demonstrations in the US.

This is the context for November. Residents of the poorest large urban center in the US will foot a good portion of the estimated \$16 million it will cost to host the meetings. Further, they will be asked to patiently bear the militarization of the city's downtown—miles of barricades, disruption of public transportation, movement restrictions and columns of roving paramilitaries—while the international elite go about the high-stakes business of negotiating details that will impact the lives of everyone in the hemisphere.

This is where we come in.

305, Take It to the House!

This is the invitation that you and 800 million of your friends have been waiting for. We are calling for creative, decentralized, autonomous actions in response to the ministerial in November. Some of the immediate goals:

- Delay, disrupt and topple the FTAA meetings.
- Bury the city's hopes for a flawless ministerial and its plans to permanently house the FTAA Secretariat.
- Engage in the globalization debate so that our actions resonate across the hemisphere.

Make no mistake, Miami Police Chief John Timoney (of Republican National Convention 2000 fame) is gearing up for a conflict the likes of which this city has never seen. It is important that we begin preparing now, forming tight affinity groups, mobilizing our communities and rounding up legal, medic and media resources. Out-of-town guests should understand that the activist infrastructure here is extremely limited; self-sufficiency is key. To that end, for the benefit of orienting affinity groups for their Miami action planning, monthly statements will be released with the latest developments in the city's security plans and other pressing concerns.

As the lone anti-capitalist, non-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian elements active in the South Florida mobilization, we encourage civil disobedience, direct action and logistical support groups to get in touch so that our efforts will be coordinated. Our task: roll out the welcome mat. Your task: be bold, creative, strategic and unprecedented.

La lucha es larga y ellos son muchos, pero nosotros somos muchos mas. Siempre seremos muchos mas.

Come to Miami in November. History beckons you. Perhaps paradise awaits...

For more information, contact n20@hushmail.com; www.ftaaresistance.org, www.stopftaa.org.

—800 MILLION VS. 34 COALITION, RUNNING DOGS OF GLOBAL JUSTICE AND THE FTAA WRECKING CREW

A Snapshot of Free Trade's Environmental Impacts

BY JASON TOCKMAN

The World Trade Organization (WTO) and Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) are constructed to maximize the rights and profits of multinational corporations while reducing or eliminating public policy tools and regulations that constrain them. Under the free trade ideology, environmental protections are impediments to be minimized, falling into broad categories called "non-tariff measures" or "barriers to trade." These trade rules remove the dialogue about environmental standards—such as forest protection laws—from the public domain, where we, as citizens, can seek to influence the outcome. Instead, decisions about our countries' levels of environmental protection are turned over to secret tribunals of "trade experts," typically with no environmental expertise.

Among the most significant threats posed by the WTO and FTAA are:

- Corporate challenges to environmental laws. Mirroring Chapter 11 of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), rules may be adopted to allow foreign companies to file lawsuits over domestic environmental regulations if those laws diminish company profits. With NAFTA, these rules have led to the elimination of environmental standards and the payment of multi-million dollar fines.

- Elimination of environmental policy tools. Strategies for environmental and forest protection are being sized up to determine whether they constitute overly burdensome barriers to trade. Among the policy tools we could lose are: (a) ecolabels indicating environmental criteria about a product, (b) certification schemes ensuring a product was produced in an ecologically sustainable manner and (c) government standards for green purchasing of products made from wood.

- Assault on international environmental agreements. The WTO is currently deliberating its relationship with international (multi-lateral) environmental agreements (MEAs). Soon, the WTO may choose to limit the measures allowable under MEAs, such as the Convention on Biological Diversity, Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species and the Montreal Protocol.

- More invasive species. Along with traded goods comes accelerated "hitchhiking" of non-native pests that are capable of significant ecosystem disruption. Instead of seeking to counter this threat through more stringent regulations, the WTO makes it more difficult to keep pests out. The FTAA would reinforce these impediments to controlling invasive species.

The world's free trade fundamentalists argue that these threats are exaggerated claims and that WTO and FTAA provisions ensure that trade will not imperil the environment. Yet this denies the multitude of free trade environmental disaster stories, including heightened temperate rainforest loss in Canada, rampant and uncontrolled pollution in Mexican border towns and the devastating impact of 30 years of free trade policies on the forests and native Mapuche people of Chile.

Jason Tockman is the international trade director with the American Lands Alliance.

On the Road to Miami FTAA Southeast Speaking Tour

Throughout the month of October and leading up to the Free Trade Area of the Americas ministerial summit in Miami, speakers from Chile, Mexico and the US will be on tour to expose the perils of expanding the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to the entire Western Hemisphere.

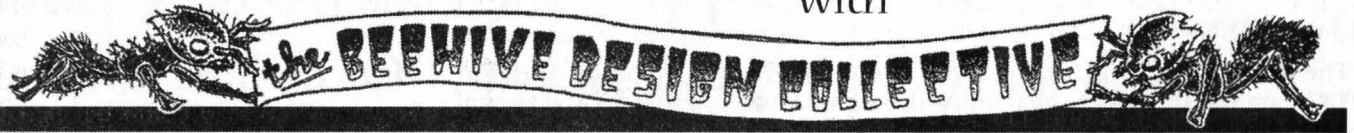
A member of the Mapuche tribe in Chile will showcase how 30 years of "free trade" policies have led to the demise of their tribe's sustainability and that of the surrounding temperate rainforest. Testimony from Mexican farmers will highlight how they have suffered disproportionately under NAFTA's regressive agricultural policies. Plus, activists from the US will discuss how NAFTA has repeatedly been a disaster for labor and environmental protections.

For a tour schedule or to organize a presentation in your community, contact the American Lands Alliance, tockman@americanlands.org.



Cross-pollinating the Grassroots

with



Fellow workers! Sharpen your stingers! It's time to swarm the state!

There are plenty of stings as four bees buzz through a crowded high school auditorium on a Spring afternoon. The targets of the toxic barbs aren't the audience members, nor are these busy bees of the honey-making insect variety.

These "bees," as they are known in the widening circles of the anti-corporate globalization movement, are the "cultural workers" of the Beehive Design Collective. Their stings are reserved for the corporate, military and cultural arms of the worldwide profit-driven Empire. The four young bees, two male and two female, are swarming around these unsuspecting students and teachers that have dared to host them as part of the Beehive Collective's "cross-pollination tour" to build grassroots resistance to corporate globalization.

It is the magic of the Beehive Collective's popular education style, "picture-lectures," that has left audiences abuzz throughout the country. In the auditorium on this particular afternoon, the top of a 16-foot-long poster that has been printed on recycled soda bottle fabric is tacked to the wall where it meets the ceiling. The cloth flows down gracefully, spreading onto the carpeted floor. To the right, a large, wooden contraption supports 60 separate enlargements of elements from the poster.

Four bees take turns explaining the different visual components of the intensely detailed and mostly wordless poster, soliciting questions and discussion throughout the presentation. A student commented afterward: "They show the big picture and then all the little details—that sticks in your brain a lot better than when there is a guy talking at the podium."

Surprisingly unscathed by the poster's "unamerican sentiments," students are often mesmerized by the intricate illustrations and passionate explanations in the Beehive Collective's presentations. Meanwhile, many teachers appear visibly thrilled to see their students so focused on listening to a would-be boring discussion about economics and Latin American history.

The Beehive Collective's graphics explore the many facets of colonialism, corporate invasion, ecological destruction and grassroots resistance. Pen-and-ink renditions of morphed machinery embody the technologies that threaten nature, while strikingly realistic insects are shown creatively resisting these forces and celebrating alternatives. Ants are the protagonists in much of the Beehive Collective's work because changing society, according to a Latin American proverb cited by one of the bees, is "the work of ants"—tireless, methodical and accomplished by many nameless workers without the need for gurus or leaders.

There is a tendency to want to simplify our message or sugar coat things, but you don't have to make it all happy-go-lucky to get people to stomach it.

The mission of the Beehive Collective finds expression in panoramas of complex, politically charged symbolism that combine echoes of Hieronymus Bosch and elements of Diego Rivera and the Mexican muralists. But in a major divergence from the work of these artists, humans do not appear in the Beehive Collective's imagery. As a method to avoid creating allegories with human-centered, stereotypical or racially biased imagery, the bees instead use meticulously researched images of the flora and fauna specific to the bioregions that their illustrations and stories represent.

Describing their own roles in the political situations they work to illuminate, the bees candidly explain, "We're young Americans whose imagination has been clearcut by advertising and replaced with the homogenized, racist and imperialist images of Disney, television, video games and junk food."

Because of this awareness, the bees have been passionately dedicated to "getting the story straight" in their multicultural illustrations by interviewing people as close to the source of the story as possible. They have traveled to Latin America to collaborate directly with the farmers, indigenous people and others affected by the political situation that their graphics detail.

The Beehive Collective has created posters of several "free trade" blueprints for Latin America, including Plan Colombia and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). This Winter, the bees will be developing a poster about Plan Puebla Panama. They'll be traveling by bicycle throughout southern Mexico and Central America to conduct interviews, present their graphics and collaborate with different activist groups in the region for the poster's design. They hope to finish the graphic in time for distribution at the first Latin American Social Forum in Quito, Ecuador, in March. Following the forum, the bees will set off on a Spring tour of Ecuador and Colombia, hosted by many groups from the Andean region that are using the graphics in their own organizing work. A narrative coloring book version of this poster trilogy will be produced for use as an educational organizing tool.

Additional graphics campaigns undertaken by the Beehive Collective have addressed cultural homogenization and genetic engineering. A new

continued on next page



poster is underway about the prison-industrial complex, which will be drawn by a team of prisoners and prison activists from the Pittsburgh-based Book'em Collective through mail correspondence during the next year.

In the three years of the Beehive Collective's existence, more than 35,000 posters have been distributed by the bees themselves either for free or by donation, without reliance on mail order or traditional distribution routes. Attempting to live up to the busy bee metaphor, one swarm of workers recently completed a seven-month marathon tour that included 160 presentations and workshops at high schools, colleges, farmers markets, after-school programs and community centers throughout the US. At large mobilizations, members of this decentralized collective can often be spotted using their squads of bike cart "pollination units" for efficient distribution.

Copyright vs. "the Commons"

Anti-copyright is central to the Beehive Collective ethos. The bees encourage free reproduction and circulation of their graphics for nonprofit use. They maintain a lending library of large stage and street banners, while downloadable, high-resolution versions of their graphics and "clip art" are available on their website.

A bee explains, "We're working to take the 'who made it and how much did it cost?' out of art. Instead, we see ourselves as 'cultural workers' who serve the crucial need for explanations of the complicated issues that our society faces, using more accessible formats that transcend the boundaries of language and learning styles. It's funny, we don't even call what we do art; we think of it as visual communication. The majority of our focus is on creating healthy, collaborative processes in which we translate what information and ideas we have solicited from others into visual tools, with the hope that they will self-replicate and take on a life of their own."

The Biodiversity Crossroads Mural

Another image-based system that the Beehive Collective uses for conveying its messages is the ancient craft of hand-cut stone mosaics. "Throughout time, stone mosaic murals have served to illustrate history," one of the bees points out, "however, due to its labor-intensive qualities, the craft has become extremely rare."

Every Summer, the hive hosts several mosaic apprentices who learn to create remarkable detail through contour and grout lines, even conveying the textures of fur, feathers and scales on the creatures they create. Mosaics have the fascinating ability to communicate the vast orchestra of

detail between the microcosm and the macrocosm, helping to convey the complexity of biodiversity in an engaging, memorable way.

The Biodiversity Crossroads Mural will be a large-scale mosaic mural using images of giant insects and plants to illustrate the history of modern agriculture, its current pressures and potential futures. This 400-square-foot design, which the Beehive Collective estimates will take eight years to build, will be permanently installed throughout the exhibition hall floor of the Maine Organic Farmers and Gardeners Association fairgrounds. The fairgrounds receive more than

60,000 visitors per year during the "Common Ground Fair." The project is also a creative re-use of waste: "We prioritize the use of recycled materials, excavating much of our stone from the small mountains of waste found behind countertop fabricators."

This is much more than a mural project, as with the Beehive Collective's other graphics campaigns, the design will weave together the stories and requests of many collaborators throughout the multi-year process. It will also help to generate and distribute more public domain images for use



in the struggle against industrial agriculture.

"Mosaics inspire a sense of permanence, outlasting lost civilizations and fallen empires... things we think more of us should be contemplatin' hard the way the world's going," a bee insists. Or as one seven year old that the bees recently met at an event summed up, "Ohhh! I get it! It's all in bugs so that the cockroaches will know what happened when they dig it up in 2,000 years! It's like insect hieroglyphics!"

The Machias Valley Grange: "The Hive"

This year, the Beehive Collective plans to complete its renovation of the historic Machias Valley Grange Hall in eastern Maine, in time for its 100th anniversary. In 2001, the bees purchased the hall to act as a workspace and community-organizing center. The grange movement, an outgrowth of the populist movement in the late 19th century, aimed to keep agriculture local, create farmer co-ops and hold off the pressures of the corporate monopolies, known in those days as the "robber barons."

"The legacy of this energy is very much present in the building and often gives us chills," a bee explains excitedly. "This history, like much of the amazing labor movements of that time, has been ignored by textbooks, stolen from our collective consciousness and is what stokes our fires for the huge mosaic mural project we are undertaking!"

Since moving in, the Beehive Collective has become a steward for these traditions by restoring and re-opening

the grange as a vibrant community space. Free weekly open-mics, concerts, dancing, films and discussion groups are also hosted in the grange.

In August 2002, a big reunion was held with the local grangers. After an 80-person, multi-generational potluck in the dining hall, elders were helped upstairs to the ballroom, where all the original furniture, props and piano were arranged for the ritual and meeting. The bees had dug up some old grange songbooks to find anthems that would highlight their mutual politics. After a fiery speech from the grangemaster about how "this generation of young people fighting corporations are the caretakers of the Earth," the crowd spent that very emotional night singing together. Grangers from all around the region and about 20 ant-archists... sigh...

Outsiders might wonder whether this group of intensely political, and often funny-lookin', artist-activists are well received by the surrounding population of mostly poor, rural Mainers. The bees are quick to point out that their neighbors are friendly and frequently share their opinions on sustainable agriculture and globalization, because these issues are highly pertinent to the regional economy. Livelihoods in the area are almost entirely based on wildcrafting—

be it lobsters, fish, clams, trees, blueberries or Christmas wreaths. Most of these industries have collapsed due to over-harvesting and international economic pressures.

As one of the bees explains, "The devastating effects of 'free trade' on rural Maine's economy and environment are highly evident, and the awareness most folks have of this often makes it easy for us to connect to our neighbors on a political level. Thus far, people are excited and supportive of our endeavors."

This support was recently demonstrated when, returning to the grange after months away on their cross-pollination tour, the bees found an anonymous note

pinned to the front door, bearing a simple message: "We love what you do!"

For their upcoming Fall (East Coast; focused on building for the November mobilizations against the FTAA meetings in Miami) and Winter (West Coast) US tours, the swarm will be traveling in their new cross-pollination unit—a diesel van converted to run on used vegetable oil. Contact the bees to inquire about luring the swarm to come your way.

For more information, contact the Beehive Design Collective, 3 Elm St, Machias, ME 04654; (207) 255-6737; graphics@beehivecollective.org; www.beehivecollective.org.

The bees are creating imagery for use as effective organizing tools.



BY FAITH WALKER

After 15 years of sucking on rootlets, some cicadas rise from the Earth swathed in stunning black and orange lace and launch into a frenzy of seduction and subterfuge. Such a simultaneous, local event involves several species of the genus *Magicada* and a cast of millions, all bent on mating after their lengthy, chaste, subterranean existence. Males sing-fly, meaning they belt out short songs interspersed with fleeting flights. The chorus is deafening, so much so that a frequency downslur has evolved at the tail end of these songs to enable females to detect nearby suitors.

If a female feels the magic, she responds with a well-timed wing-flick, which is species specific. The

male recognizes this and a duet ensues—during which he approaches the object of his desire, making first contact with a vibrating foreleg. This invariably results in copulation, although if he's very unlucky she'll wing-flick him away. The courting male deals with the arrival of a rival during these critical moments by jamming his downslur. He buzzes precisely over his competitor's slur so that his *Dulcinea* is unaware of the rival's presence. The rival is oblivious because he's partly deafened by his own calls.

And so it is that the female comes to sport a white seminal plug, the male rejoins the competitive chorus, eggs are laid on branches, everybody dies after a few weeks of vibrant sexual glory, and larvae rain



to the Earth to nurse a root for the next 15 years. Among insects this is one of the most complex pair-forming systems, one in which multi-component signals evolved in order to facilitate mating in an enormous raucous chorus.

The Rhizome Collective

New Frontiers in Urban Sustainability

BY SKOTT KELLOGG AND STACY PETTIGREW •

Rhizome: a lateral, underground root system, sending out above-ground shoots to form a vast network. Difficult to uproot.

Imagine a vision of the future where cities are not seething megalopolises of pollution and alienated living. Instead they are mosaics of interconnected neighborhoods where citizens have turned former concrete canyons and blighted brownfields into lush zones of vitality and living gardens.

A future where people have reclaimed the means of food production and communities mutually aid one another, working simultaneously for social justice and sustainability.

At the Rhizome Collective, we are sprouting a seed of this hopeful vision.

Our roots are planted deeply in a 9,400-square-foot warehouse on the east side of Austin, Texas. We are a nine-member collective that makes decisions using the consensus process. For the past

two years, we have been working to create a center for community organizing and action, educational resources for skillshares and a demonstration model for urban sustainability. It is our goal to empower people to live autonomously—having control over basic needs of food production, water security, energy production, waste management, transportation, health care and education.

The center for community organizing includes: Food Not Bombs, the Juniper Holistic Health Care Resource Center, an Art and Revolution area to make puppets and banners for political demonstrations, a children's space, a stage for benefit concerts and a goods exchange site called the "Free Store."

The Rhizome Collective houses the Inside Books Project, a group that distributes free literature to the incarcerated population in Texas. Bikes Across Borders, a project that maintains a community bike shop and sends repaired bicycles to Cuba, as well as to the maquiladora workers at the factories on the US/Mexico border, is also based here.

As an educational center, we encourage the use of our space for members of the community to host free skillshare classes. We hope this will empower both teachers and students, while working to break down the hierarchical barriers that exist in the typical setting between teacher, student and administrator. This year, we received funding from the City of Austin for our Free Skool for the Arts program, which offers volunteer-taught art classes to the community.

The Rhizome Collective space is becoming a model for techniques and tools that reduce people's ecological impact. Replicable, urban, sustainable design necessitates a unique approach to planning. Limiting factors include the shortage of horizontal space and low income levels. Our emphasis is placed on developing techniques that can be applied at low or no cost with minimal technical expertise. Utilizing "waste" materials is important; these are a city's most abundant local resource.

Some of the techniques we feature in-

clude: rainwater collection systems, miniature constructed wetlands for wastewater treatment, raised-bed organic gardening, worm composting, passive solar water heating, chicken raising, degraded soil remediation and rebuilding, medicinal gardening, building with earth and salvaged materials, edible landscaping, small pond construction, aquatic polyculture and windmill-powered water pumps.

When we first acquired the property, it was a burned out shell. What is now our courtyard was then an asphalt parking lot. Many people doubted that we could turn this degraded piece of land into an active community space with gardens guided by permaculture principles. Yet after two years of hard work, we are visibly closer to our goals.

One of our first steps was to tear up the asphalt. It had created an impermeable barrier between the subsoil and the air above. A mattock and rockbar tore it up much easier than we had anticipated. Underneath was a rock-hard layer of limestone roadbase. Instead of removing the limestone,



The front of the Rhizome Collective, with its bicycle wheel trellis

Photo by Skott Kellogg and Stacy Pettigrew

we opted to create soil on top of it. Luckily, there is a tree-trimming business down the street, which provides an endless source of mulch. Several dump truck loads of mulch have by now turned into inches of courtyard soil. The Summer heat, which had been trapped by the pavement, now dissipates much more quickly. We then began planting fruit trees and building garden beds.

Alternative construction and living possibilities are often greatly limited in cities by strict zoning regulations. For instance, zoning regulations in Austin prohibit the use of any but the most expensive composting toilets. To use a simple humanure sawdust toilet would bring the wrath of the health department down upon us. It is a continual, and ironic, frustration that so many nutrients and biomass are lost from our system to the sewer lines. In order to create a closed-loop system, it is essential to return the nutrients derived from the land back to it in the form of composted waste.

We are attempting to engineer a low-cost, code-approved composting toilet that could do this. Not only would it serve us, but it would create a replicable precedent for others.

Rainwater harvesting is another essential component to any permaculture system, especially an urban one. Cities compete for water rights while millions of gallons wash off of parking lots and rooftops. This water, which would normally be allowed to slowly infiltrate into aquifers, is mixed with gas spills, sewage effluent and garbage, ending up either in the sewers or polluting waterways. If people collected rainwater off their rooftops, they would have a free source of non-chlorinated water. Rainwater-collection systems can be made

by recycling food-grade barrels from bakeries or from homebrewing supply stores. City rain may potentially contain higher levels of some pollutants, but it is still safer than most cities' tap water. Collecting water can also combat the growing practice of water privatization. Many US cities are already in the process of selling their water systems to private corporations.

Our chickens are one part of the multi-functional recycling system we have. They hunt and forage for insects and

seeds. They collect those nutrients and transform them into a neatly packaged and digestible egg. Cities are fine places for raising chickens. Many of the predators that are found in the wild are not as prevalent in cities, although in Austin we do have a high concentration of opossums. Neighbors who are upset by the noise can be easily placated with fresh eggs.

Two unused lots border the Rhizome Collective's space.

One is a field covered with a nearly impervious hardpan. The soil quality itself is questionable since it borders an auto salvage lot and is possibly contaminated. In response, we are building a healthy layer of soil on top of it. We regularly intercept curbside bags of leaves and spread the contents across the field. Slowly, this, combined with the constant scratching and tilling by our free-range chicken friends and occasional watering, has created several inches of soil in a section of the field.

Our dream is to revitalize these fields. In place of abandoned, degraded lands, we see community-supported agricultural projects, eco-villages and appropriate technology training centers, green playgrounds and community congregation sites. We are in the process of forming a coalition to begin a capital campaign to realize this dream. In order to bring food production back into the cities, it is essential that we devise inexpensive means of remediating contaminated and damaged soils. We are researching and developing those skills here.

It is projected that in the next 20 years, the world's population will become 51 percent urban. City dwellers are often blind to their ecological impacts. Food and water just appears, and the effects of over-consumption are hidden. We need to begin developing methods for sustainable urban dwelling. It is both our responsibility and obligation to shape and

build our communities in ways that will benefit us and future generations.

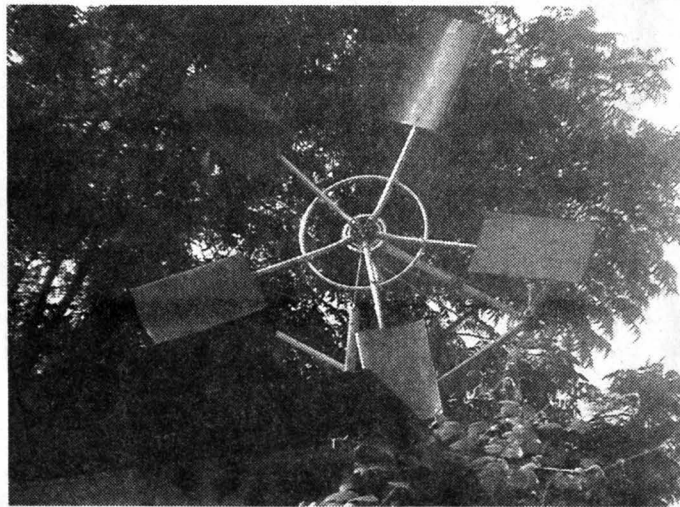
For more information, contact the Rhizome Collective, 300 Allen St, Austin, TX 78702; (512) 385-3695; www.rhizomecollective.org.

Skott Kellogg and Stacy Pettigrew are both members of the Rhizome Collective, where they reside most of the year. They are currently writing a book about building low-tech, sustainable, autonomous urban communities.



Miniature-scale constructed wetlands system

photo by Skott Kellogg and Stacy Pettigrew



Windmill built with recycled bicycle parts

photo by Skott Kellogg and Stacy Pettigrew

Down and Dirty:

Ecological Restoration as Direct Action?

BY SPRIG

During the Winter rains, the rich riparian bottom of Green Gulch Creek would erupt through its cement prison. Despite years of repression, the creek remained true to its nature, striving to wander the valley. In the 1940s ranchers cleared out its deciduous overstory and diverted the creek's water into a cement culvert. At one time, coho salmon struggled up Green Gulch's Winter flow like they still do in adjoining Redwood Creek—whose watershed is almost entirely protected by county and national parks near San Francisco, California.

Each revitalizing Winter storm seemed to be a reassurance that the work we were doing in the creek bed—attempting to restore it to a mere fraction of its former natural beauty and health—was supported. This wasn't an effort that simply required the removal of concrete and the replanting of native creek

species. The most severe and pressing problem we faced was the invasion of a feisty plant from South Africa, commonly known as German ivy. The ivy's reproductive tenacity is legendary—a genetic scientist's wet dream if wedded in the right combo. German ivy smothers and kills native vegetation and is toxic to native fish and amphibians. Less than two inches of rhizome can root and regenerate, making its eradication difficult and labor intensive.

Despite these odds, we pressed on with our work. We had a newfound intimacy with the land that could not be experienced at a distance, but only up close, down and dirty. The adjoining creeks became the veins that traveled between the knuckles of our hands. In our minds, we were now part of the surrounding ridges.

Through smell, touch, sight, sound and even a little taste, we were part of a restoration project that in the long run probably served us more than the struggling creek. The primitivist quarrels with the realist in me when I question whether this feel-good action was just one more concession to my guilty species.

It is rare to find a place on Earth that has not been impacted or is not controlled in some way by humyns. On US public lands, contractors are hired to use chainsaws to create nesting holes in trees, platforms are raised for osprey nests and fish are farmed and released. The cycles of life have been interrupted—fire is suppressed, water is dammed, beaches leveled, hillsides supported, forests thinned and wind harnessed. We ooh-and-ah over wilderness, but even *it's* managed, including the charismatic megafauna that inhabit



it. The adage "Love it or Leave It Alone" has been overwhelmingly ignored, and humyns have carried out our centuries-old habit of domesticating environments in a process that geographer Alfred Crosby calls "ecological imperialism."

When it comes to the element of humyn manipulation, it is hard to see any difference between a biotic community that has been destroyed

beneficial legume that fertilizes and breaks up the soil but is extremely difficult to eradicate. And then, of course, one can top off the discussion with a lively debate on the humyn's role in the natural world—particularly the cowbird of the humyn species, those with European ancestry living in North America.

My wild child's fur ruffles with the thought of forming an ethical

the most empowering to me, I wouldn't dissuade anyone from taking part in more institutional forms of ethical restoration.

Many people feel helpless in the face of environmental destruction and social injustice. Because restoration involves bringing a diversity of life back to degraded ecosystems, it supports the intrinsic power of nature to heal itself. It is, by necessity, site

"Every person who ever had a plan to do anything, laid his plan before others and won their cooperation to do it with him—without going to external authorities to please do the thing for them—was a direct actionist. All cooperative experiments are essentially direct action."

—VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE, 19TH CENTURY ANARCHO-FEMINIST

by resource extraction and an ecosystem that has been restored to appear natural. This is the case particularly when the restoration process uses large Earth-moving machinery, herbicides like Roundup and other inappropriate tools of expediency are used.

It is interesting to hear the arguments that flare up when people see injustice in the killing or removal of a non-native species, like the Australian eucalyptus, for the survival of a native one. Sparks fly, especially, when it comes to animals—such as feral bullfrogs, pigs or turkeys. Another controversy is the embracing of non-native plants. One example is the dominatrix scotch broom, a

restoration policy, particularly when there are almost-wild places that need our protection and attention. Still, restoration can be another form of direct action at the point of destruction when undertaken in its most anti-authoritarian form.

Many campaigns have seen forest folk ripping up roads then planting native vegetation in the free state. Caravans have headed out into national forests to aid in the rewilding of decommissioned roads. Urban guerrilla restorationists have worked in the open culverts of former creeks—planting native willow cuttings, ripping-up concrete and tossing native seed balls. While these forms of autonomous restoration are

specific and demands an intimate knowledge of the particular ecosystem. As a result, people involved in restoration gain an enhanced sense of place and connection with the land they work with.

It is a common experience that doing this work can help one realize the power they have to make a difference in the world. By offering a solution to at least some of the destruction that has been inflicted upon the Earth, the practice of ecological restoration stimulates, inspires and strengthens hope in people. As we learn how hard it is to even emulate natural systems, participating in mutually restorative actions can only embolden us to fight harder for the irreplaceable wilds that are left.

Healthy Forest Militia Gives Forest Service the Boot

BY RUSS TORAYTION

We are a group of self-organized, anti-authoritarian, unpaid workers, calling ourselves the Healthy Forest Militia. In July, while the Healthy Forests Restoration Act loomed in the Senate, we implemented small diameter fuels reduction projects in the Klamath National Forest's Knob Timber Sale.

The area was selected because of its close proximity to residential homes in Sawyers Bar, California. Our intention was to show that

local volunteer workers could do a better job at promoting forest health than the US Forest Service (USFS).

Armed with loppers and handsaws, we removed branches and young, overcrowded trees. Through guerrilla restoration, debris was utilized to provide stability on slopes where there was a potential for landslides. Brush was collected and piled on the road to be chipped or burned when the conditions permitted. Our objective in these tasks was to reduce the fuel loads on the ground. Most of the trees marked to be cut in the

Knob Timber Sale were the largest and healthiest, while areas of dense brush would remain. When we left the site, the understory of the forest was much more open, but the overstory was intact.

Much of the logging that the USFS justifies in the proposed Healthy Forest Restoration Act actually increases the risk of high-intensity forest fires. Industrial logging generates an abundance of flammable forest debris on the ground and the dense growth of small trees and bushes. It

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A Call for Ethical Ecological Restoration

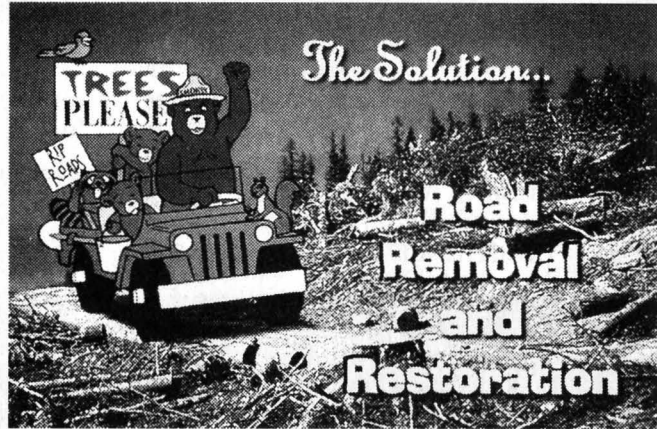
BY JAKE KREILICK

During the past five years, forest activists working on both public and private lands in the US have recognized that there is an urgent need to restore forest ecosystems after decades of commercial logging, fire suppression, road building, grazing, mining and exotic species invasions. In the Winter of 2001, a number of forest protection groups, activists and ecologists came together in Boulder, Colorado, to develop a national statement to guide sound ecological restoration projects.

Out of the initial Boulder meeting, a steering committee of grassroots, regional and national conservation organizations was formed. This year, they met again at an ecological restoration conference in Ashland, Oregon, to further flesh out these issues. This group has worked to finalize the Forest Restoration Principles and Criteria, build alliances with restoration workers and community forest groups, as well as to seek endorsements from scientists, community groups and conservation organizations.

Given the serious questions and ecological concerns generated by many proposed restoration activities, the principles and criteria drafted by the steering committee provide a critical yardstick with which to evaluate forest restoration. Current proposals in Congress to legislate the Bush administration's Healthy Forests Restoration Act are a great example of federal plans to implement environmentally destructive projects—albeit couched as restoration—on a national scale.

While the debate in Congress centers on catastrophic wildfires and “healthy forests,” restoring the ecological



integrity of forests is about a lot more than simply reducing hazardous fuels through thinning and logging. By including social and economic factors, the Forest Restoration Principles and Criteria could help to bridge the gap between ecological restoration—what is good for the land and what is within the capacity of respective ecosystems—and what's good for communities, workers and families.

It is very important that all three methods of ecological forest restoration be considered—protection, passive and active restoration. One should not be done without the other. The restoration principles make it clear that economic incentives, which are inconsistent with improving the ecological integrity of the landscape, must be eliminated. Good examples of this are the federal timber sale program, the grazing program and fire suppression policies that have fundamentally altered the structure, species composition and natural disturbance regimes of national forests.

It is clear that the science of restoration is in its infancy. The results of restoring forests will not be seen for decades or, in some cases, centuries. Ultimately, the Forest Restoration Principles and Criteria focus on enhancing ecological integrity by restoring natural processes and resiliency.

You can read the “Citizen's Call for Ecological Forest Restoration: Forest Restoration Principles and Criteria” at www.americanlands.org/restoration_principles.doc. For more information, contact Anne Martin, American Lands Alliance, (509) 624-5657; annem@americanlands.org.

Jake Kreilick is the endangered national forest project coordinator for the National Forest Protection Alliance.

Healthy Forest Militia

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creates the right conditions for catastrophic wildfires that burn hotter and for longer periods of time than healthy, frequent and natural fires.

The federal government has made a mess of public lands management. Past old-growth liquidation logging practices and extensive road building have attempted to turn the forest into an industrial factory. It is clear to us that local restoration forestry crews are needed, not machine-intensive logging that takes the biggest trees, increases fire hazards and makes a few people wealthier.

We seek to form bonds within our communities to build sustainable and self-sufficient relationships, both with each other and the environment. We challenge ourselves to find healthy ways to work for our communities and the ecosystems on which we depend, separate from the commands of Washington, DC.

The Healthy Forest Militia believes in the revolutionary strategy of building dual powers. This strategy focuses simultaneously on opposition and reconstruction, seeking to combine these forces into a counterweight to erode the dominant power structure. We wish to help with developing popular power at the grassroots level and with the dismantling of top-down institutions.

We contest the legitimacy of the state in general and the USFS in particular, as well as other centralized systems of power. We are sending out a call to challenge hierarchical systems of power and to create popular self-government. We feel that all community members should have the opportunity to participate directly in making democratic decisions on all matters that effect their life, community and the ecosystem. The USFS and the Bush administration's lack of ecological sustainability threatens all.

This article is an excerpt from a July 12 posting on www.portlandindymedia.org.

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Sizeable beauty slated for culling in the Klamath Siskiyou

photo courtesy KS Wild

BY TULIP

Emerging from the Russian, Trinity and Marble Mountain wilderness areas, the majestic and undammed Salmon River is one of the wildest places in California. The Salmon River watershed contains hundreds of thousands of acres of unprotected and threatened roadless areas essential to the survival of the largest Chinook salmon tributary in the state, as well as species dependent on old-growth forests, such as the Pacific fisher, wolverine and northern goshawk.

In May, as a result of several proposed timber harvest plans within the Salmon River and Klamath watersheds, the Klamath-Salmon Action Network (KSAN) was formed by concerned citizens and forest defenders from southern Oregon and northern California. Using direct action, corporate targeting and timber sale monitoring, KSAN is working to combat increased old growth logging and the Bush administration's attempts to chip away at environmental legislation.

The US Forest Service's (USFS)-proposed timber harvest plans in the Klamath National Forest—the Knob, Meteor and Glassups Timber Sales—would cut nearly 25 million board feet of mixed conifer forest (nearly 4,000 log trucks) from the forest surrounding the Salmon River.

"If these sales go through, all that will be left are landslides and dead fish. Old growth logging destroys water quality, endangered species and the forest's natural resistance to fire. These sales will hurt, not help, forest health by taking out the fire-resistant old growth, destroying a rural town's drinking water and endangering Klamath salmon," stated KSAN spokesperson Mary Posa.

Columbia Helicopters, an international company specializing in logging steep and unstable slopes, began oper-

ating in the 1,040-acre Glassups Timber Sale in May. Five million board feet of up to five-foot diameter trees were removed from directly above the north fork of the Salmon River.

KSAN erected three treesits in Glassups, which lasted two weeks before the USFS began subjecting the treesitters to psychological harassment. Spotlights were utilized to disturb the treesitters, and a public lands closure prevented the treesits from being resupplied. The treesitters voluntarily descended and were arrested.

In June, KSAN hosted the Salmon River Action Camp not far from the Glassups Timber Sale, in an effort to prevent the Knob and Meteor Timber Sales from being sold. KSAN members accompanied potential buyers from the Superior Lumber Company in inspecting the Knob Timber Sale. Superior was informed of the treesits that had stalled logging at the Glassups Timber Sale, local opposition to old growth logging and the Environmental Protection Information Center's appeal that prevented the cutting of the sale a year earlier.

Residents are suing the Klamath National Forest over the proposed Knob and Meteor Timber Sale, arguing that they would negatively impact water quality and put homes at a heightened risk of wildfire.

The combined efforts of KSAN, residents and lawyers resulted in the Knob Timber Sale auction being canceled the day before it was to begin on June 17. The 578-acre timber sale would have destroyed critical habitat for the northern spotted owl and severely impacted migrating wolverine, fishers and martens that use old-growth forests to travel between wilderness areas.

In early July, the strategy was repeated with the 975-acre Beaver Timber Sale along a tributary of the Klamath River. The sale included 477 acres of northern spotted owl critical habitat, which is also used by sensitive species as a corridor between the Cascade and Siskiyou Mountain ranges.

Concerned citizens called and faxed all of the potential buyers, informing them of the lawsuits and the dishonesty of the Klamath National Forest in acknowledging opposition to the sale. Again, a timber sale was canceled within hours of the scheduled auction.

Meanwhile, the 744-acre Meteor Timber Sale remains on the chopping block. This sale along the Salmon River was created as a scientific study on the effects of large-scale logging on rare salamander species habitat and would degrade water quality in roadless areas and destroy wildlife corridors along the Salmon River.

KSAN will continue to fight for the Salmon and Klamath River ecosystems. It is also working on supporting the Pitt River and Yurok tribes' struggle to protect tribal fisheries and oppose the Medicine Lake power plants (see *EF!* March-April 2003).

For more info. Contact KSAN, bwsisq@yahoo.com; Mazama Forest Defenders, 1257 Siskiyou Blvd #1158, Ashland, OR 97520; (541) 482-2640; www.mazamaforestdefense.org.

An Experiment in Wild Society



Earth First!ers frolicked among the beavers and lily pads of Lake Agnes

photo by Turtle

BY PETER GELDERLOOS

The crowd of eco-defenders who flocked to the 2003 Earth First! Round River Rendezvous (RRR) might be best described as a transplanted seedling putting out new roots into old soil.

This year's rendezvous attendees were a predominantly young crowd, learning retroactively about the long history of resistance—warrior societies, permaculture, direct action and consensus (none of which are new inventions)—rather than growing up as descendants of that history. What I witnessed in Minnesota suggested a radically changing activist scene, which is adopting an increased emphasis on anarchy and anti-oppression—or at least is tossing around the jargon that would indicate such a change.

For all the new aspects of the Earth First! movement, there is a strong interest in reconnecting to age-old traditions of resistance and relearning wisdom that has been lost in the modern age. Two of the most popular workshops were a plant walk, during which a local EF!er taught us about the area's edible and medicinal plants, and a talk by an Ojibwa chief about warrior societies. Discussions in several workshops focused on the eco-harmonious examples of hunter-gatherer and pre-patriarchal horticultural societies.

The community that formed in July on the shores of Lake Agnes—deep in Minnesota's unpaved North—possessed a youthful, experimental quality. It was

an exhilarating exercise in society building in wild, non-hierarchical circumstances. Using consensus, mutual aid and voluntary cooperation, we had to procure and prepare food (scavenging wasted surpluses from the nearest cities was the preferred method), haul water, reintegrate our waste (by composting, soundly disposing of graywater and maintaining latrines) and provide medical care. We entertained ourselves (with music, poetry and swimming), educated ourselves with skillshares and workshops and provided security for the camp. The area's law enforcement didn't take too kindly to our presence. This could have been a result of complaints from local companies that were losing tens of thousands of dollars in heightened security intended to protect them from a mob of frothing terrorists rumored to be congregating nearby.

It was, however, an imperfect experiment. There was difficulty in finding volunteers for security shifts, and it was often the same few people doing the cooking, wood chopping and water boiling. Negative power structures existing in society at large, such as patriarchy and white supremacy, also followed us into the woods. It would be an exaggeration to call the RRR a safe zone and an outright lie to call it racially diverse. Nor was the atmosphere devoid of exclusivism, cliques or macho-activist bravado. Perhaps tired of being

alienated and ridiculed by a homogenous, conformist society, radicals often go too far to create safe spaces for themselves, sometimes excluding those who do not fit into their subculture. Instead, we should all be trying to build a broader movement based around radical ideas rather than fashions and attitudes.

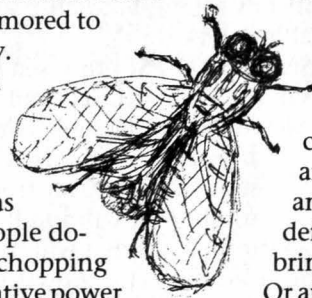
But none of these shortcomings prevented the overall sincerity and fertility of the gathering. An anthropologist with a good pair of binoculars might have concluded the group was held together by a number of bonding rituals, including naked canoe rides and the shaving of mohawks. I think, rather, it was because of the rendezvous' relatively small size, the friendliness of those present and the great pool of assembled talent that manifested in a solid array of workshops and the frequent presence of music and poetry.

It was an inspiring experience being among so many people who do not retain loyalties to liberal values or to certain myths and institutions but who are serious about revolution—even if many of us are in doubt about our efficacy as a movement. It was that combination, that earnest struggle for sunlight, that re-energized me. It gave me hope that this little seedling that is Earth First! might take root and grow into an air-cleansing, storm-enduring, concrete-shattering tree.

I am already planning to go to next year's rendezvous in Maine. I look forward to charting our improvements, challenging our weaknesses and whetting our effectiveness and resolve to not back down in defense of the Earth. And I'm bringing my whole community.

Or at least as many as can fit in the back of an old, hitchhiker-friendly Volkswagen going northbound on I-81. See you there.

As the 2003 RRR was his first rendezvous, Peter cannot compare this one to past years' gatherings. But he can compare it to his wildest, unadulterated imaginings, as well as his more sober expectations.



Sharpening Our Edge: Visions for the Radical Ecology Movement

BY DWIGHT, SAMANTHA AND TURTLE

"We need to take fighting for the Earth more seriously—to the point where we have a visceral reaction when we see a tree being chopped down or a mountain ripped apart. When we are aware and feel these things at our core, we will go out and take direct action."

That was the underlying sentiment expressed at the Round River Rendezvous when a group of roughly 40 Earth First!ers gathered to discuss their dreams for the radical ecology movement. The desire was clearly expressed: We need to buckle down and get serious; to influence and inspire one another; to fill our actions with creativity and spunk.

For a number of participants, Earth First! doesn't do enough to challenge the status quo and is in a holding pattern. Some people acknowledged that the movement is not as confrontational as it once was. Some believe that Earth First! has become passive in doing the regular old civil disobedience actions and protests.

In our efforts to turn up the heat, people want to see more frequent actions that make larger impacts and that open people up to thinking differently. While there was debate amongst the group whether or not to do away with civil disobedience, individuals recognized it as a conduit to get people involved in more radical actions. Folks also voiced the opinion that there needs to be more vocal support of Earth Liberation Front (ELF) actions.

There was a seeming consensus that we need to invent new forms of direct action—beyond ELF-like sabotage and symbolic protests. How we are going to accomplish this remains to be answered, yet looking at the successes and failures of other movements might give us some insight.

Another question posed to the group was whether Earth First! should be an open movement, outwardly working to grow and diversify, or an "in-your-face" group that is not worried about pissing people off and is focused on creating an inner intensity. A number of people

present proposed a balance: Earth First! needs to create an inner intensity while simultaneously reaching outward.

As a group, we are striving to become more disciplined, inclusive and engaged. We need to be more attuned to the impacts of multiple forms of oppression. Tendencies and behaviors in Earth First! were recognized—from privilege and cliquishness to a lack of history and severe drug and alcohol problems—that need to be overcome if we are going to bring life to our actions.

No matter how long we ponder whether Earth First! has become a network of radical environmentalists or a

true movement rooted in struggle, the end result is the same: As Earth First!ers, we need to seek out our common goals, challenge ourselves, invest in building our community for the long haul, learn from one another, actively support other struggles and stay centered on what brought us initially to Earth First!.

In the end, by placing values such as biocentrism at the center of our identities, we might begin to access a unified power that pushes us toward meaningful action. That was the initial vision that Earth First! was founded on, and it continues to live on today.

The authors had a hard time pulling themselves out of the lake to attend this discussion but found it well worth the effort.



photo by Jennifer Atch

Sticking it to the U of M

True to the spirit of Earth First!, the 2003 Round River Rendezvous was followed by direct action.

On July 11, the University of Minnesota (U of M) board of regents held its monthly meeting, unaware that EF! would be dropping in. A banner declaring U of M complicit in genocide and ecocide had been deployed across the street. The banner was in reference to the U of M's continued involvement in the University of Arizona and Vatican-sponsored Mt. Graham telescope project in southeastern Arizona (see *EF!* January-February 2003).

Fifteen Earth First!ers entered the meeting. The board of regents filed into the room and shortly thereafter, a forthright young woman stood up and began reading a statement denouncing U of M's participation in the telescope project. Vocal attempts to silence her failed. She passed on the torch, and one by one, activists took turns reading the statement aloud.

The board of regents left for awhile, and the string of reading activists waited. After a spokeswoman for the regents warned that arrests would be made if any further disruptions occurred, the meeting resumed.

Five people were arrested in all, though they were released later in the afternoon with no charges filed.

On this day, it was made clear to the U of M that its involvement in the desecration and destruction of Mt. Graham would only lead to further headaches for them and their ilk.

—THE RADICAL WEATHERMAN

Sabotage vs. Terrorism

Was Ed Abbey an Ecoterrorist?

photo by James G. Wakefield

BY JAMES M. CAHALAN

Just about nobody irks me more than people who call Edward Abbey an "ecoterrorist." Back in 1996, when I announced plans for a state historical marker for Abbey in Home, Pennsylvania, I received a fax from an official with the California Off-Highway Motor Vehicle Recreation Commission: "I am shocked and amazed that you would even be proposing a memorial commemorating the self-proclaimed ecoterrorism promoter, Edward Abbey." He claimed that Abbey was responsible not only for Earth First! but for the Unabomber as well. Nor was this kind of reactionary crackdown limited to isolated cranks.

As reported in Colorado's *Summit Daily* on June 20, police visited a local public library in 1998, right after the Earth Liberation Front burned a ski lodge in Vail. They asked for a list of anyone who had borrowed Abbey's *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, assuming that the arsonists would have been readers of the novel. But the librarian replied that past borrowers' names were no longer in the database and that "two-thirds of the people in this county have read that book."

In our post-9/11, "Operation Iraqi Freedom" world, to call Abbey an "ecoterrorist" is a more loaded accusation than ever before. As a telling example of just how loaded it is, consider the true story of Neil Godfrey. On October 10, 2001, 22-year-old Godfrey got dropped off at the Philadelphia airport with lots of spare time before his flight to Phoenix, where he planned to meet his father and go on to Disneyland. Godfrey's mistake was in

bringing along his paperback copy of Abbey's *Hayduke Lives!*, with its cover illustration of a hand holding a clock-controlled package of dynamite presumably somewhere near Glen Canyon Dam. As Godfrey approached the metal detector, a security guard frowned when he saw the novel. It began to dawn on Godfrey that there might be trouble.

Sure enough, a few minutes later, he was detained by a national guardsman who was soon joined by city police officers, state policemen and airport security personnel. Nearly a dozen of them took turns puzzling over the novel and scribbling notes for some 45 minutes.

Neil Godfrey never made that flight. He eventually got to Phoenix, but *Hayduke Lives!* cost him one of the most difficult days of his life.

I had already read this story when Bill Abbey, Ed's youngest brother, sent me a copy of it with this note: "Jim, no need to look for the release of the *Monkey Wrench* movie any time soon."

Film rights have been continually under option since February 1975, several months before the novel's first publication. Many scripts have been written, including one by Abbey himself, who dearly wanted this movie to be made. *The Monkey Wrench Gang* has it all for the big screen—red rock canyon country, chase scenes, drama, sex, wild characters. Yet it never quite seems to happen, even after the Associated Press reported in April 1998 that Dennis Hopper would be shooting it that Summer with Woody Harrelson as Hayduke and Jack Nicholson as the mysterious Lone Ranger—and we all got ready to go to the theaters.

Abbey's rejection of violence and clear definition of sabotage as focused on machines, not people, remained part of his principles of monkeywrenching.

Today, the film languishes seemingly forever in the "development" stage, as it is listed on Pressman Films' website.

Why doesn't the movie ever get made? Gary Snyder put his finger on the reason in a letter to Dave Foreman back in 1982. According to the perversity of Hollywood films, one can spray as much human blood across the big screen as one likes but don't ever dare depict the sabotage of machinery! This is because that violates the most sacred American value: property.

As Abbey noted, in agreement with Snyder, "In our culture, property is sacred, valued far above human life." Abbey was always clear in distinguishing between unacceptable violence against people—terrorism—and sabotage. But financial sponsors get cold feet about producing a movie in which people don't get killed. According to the terms of the distinction, terrorism is everywhere in Hollywood films, but environmental sabotage remains censored and invisible.

The word "ecoterrorism" should be banished from the English language, since I'm not aware of anyone who has deliberately killed anyone else specifically for environmental reasons. Abbey may have had many flaws in other respects, but for him, the distinction between terrorism and sabotage was no casual afterthought. It was the subject of his master's thesis in philosophy at the University of New Mexico back in the 1950s. In "Anarchism and the Morality of Violence," his basic question was: "Have anarchists satisfactorily justified violence against people?"

His answer—after 75 pages of scholarly reasoning—was a resounding no. Abbey explained that while Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi showed that anarchists can be pacifists, anarchism has been mostly linked to revolutionary violence. He concluded that even his favorite anarchists had failed to satisfactorily justify violence against people. Here are the final three sentences of his thesis: "The anarchists devoted the chief effort of their lives to the attempt to persuade others that the critical situation had engulfed them and

that political violence was therefore justified. But in this effort, for many and various reasons, they failed. And in so far as they failed in this, they also failed to justify violence."

Abbey wrote that conclusion more than 44 years ago and stuck to it for the rest of his life, yet the "ecoterrorist" label remains. He knew well the etymological root of "sabotage" in *sabot*, the French word for the wooden shoes worn by the peasants of France and Belgium. The peasants would avenge themselves on their evil landlords by trampling crops with those wooden shoes.

Abbey's rejection of violence and clear definition of sabotage as focused on machines, not people, remained part of his principles of monkeywrenching.

Among his three key rules, as explained in *Hayduke Lives!* by Doc Sarvis, rules two and three were "don't get caught" and "if you do get caught, you're on your own." But rule number one, as Doc insists to Hayduke, was: "Nobody gets hurt. Nobody. Not even yourself."

As Abbey argued in his essay "Eco-Defense," the people destroying wilderness and life-forms are the real ecoterrorists. He insisted that the conscientious saboteur is engaged in an act of self defense—as an anti-terrorist—trying to protect life against death.

James M. Cahalan is the author of Edward Abbey: A Life. He lives in Abbey's hometown, where he is a professor of English at Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Terror Defined

In recent years, law makers in 19 states have defined terrorism as an attempt to influence local and state governments. When viewed through the magnifying glass of this broad definition, those targeted as terrorists are more likely to be everyday activists than al-Qaida sleeper cells. Some examples of new terrorism legislation include:

Georgia and Ohio: A crime can be classified as terrorism if it is "reasonably likely" to injure 10 or more people and is intended to alter government policy.

Maine: Substantial damage to multiple structures in an attempt to intimidate civilians or "to affect the conduct of government" is a component of the definition of terrorism.

Illinois and Louisiana: Causing "substantial damage" to livestock production, with an intent to coerce a "substantial portion" of civilians, can be punished as terrorism.

Florida, Connecticut and Illinois: Corrupting computer data is a terrorism felony if it is intended to influence any branch of the government.

One of the most sweeping definitions of terrorism was adopted by California in September 2001. The state's criminal intelligence officers were authorized to collect intelligence on anyone who threatened to break laws in order to "influence" government.

In time, the California Anti-Terrorism Information Center (CATIC) began to issue warnings about the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front, which the FBI labels as terrorist organizations. CATIC also started keeping tabs on Earth First!, critical mass, Ruckus Society, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty and the Independent Media Center.

The question facing law makers is where to draw the line on political behavior. Under the current administration, it isn't farfetched to imagine civil disobedience, protests and direct action campaigns included in these new definitions of terrorism.

Keep Your Eyes on the Prize SHAC Sleeps with One Eye Open

BY ROD CORONADO

In the South in the 1960s, the police used fire hoses and attack dogs to suppress political movements. The abuse of power and the criminal acts of law enforcement were clear and obvious. In 2003, these exist in a far more subversive manner. Across the US, grand juries and FBI agents are employed in an attempt to disrupt the efforts of animal rights activists and radical environmentalists.

Animal rights activist Lindsay Parme was released from federal custody on July 2, after being arrested, detained and extradited to New Jersey to testify before a federal grand jury investigating Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty (SHAC). Parme was arrested at her California home on June 12, when a woman claiming to have hit Parme's parked car lured her outside early in the morning. Two FBI agents appeared and apprehended her. For three weeks, she was shuttled across the country by US Marshals—from San Jose to Seattle, Oklahoma City, Philadelphia and finally, Newark.

In January, Parme was subpoenaed to the grand jury despite having never been to New Jersey. Her attorneys informed US prosecutors that the appearance was unnecessary, as Parme would only plead the Fifth Amendment.

When she failed to appear, a judge granted an order commanding Parme's appearance.

Parme wrote from jail, "I refuse to answer questions about who my friends are, what my political affiliations are and what the political affiliations of my friends are. I refuse to assist and aid Assistant US Attorney Charles McKenna's political witch-hunt. My conscience forbids me from acknowledging a grand jury whose sole purpose is to undermine the legitimate efforts of the animal rights movement."

The US attorney's office in Newark has refused to acknowledge that the grand jury has been in existence since October 2002, with its sole intention to investigate the animal rights movement and, more specifically, SHAC.

In front of the grand jury, Parme asserted her constitutional rights and was released after just 20 minutes of questioning. She was questioned about particular SHAC

activists and asked, "Do you know about a phone call that was placed to the SHAC USA office during a Marsh office occupation in California? What do you know about SHAC? Are you taking notes so that SHAC can publish them on its website?"

While detained Parme commented, "I'm reacting just as any dignified person would react when bullied by thugs. I've broken no law, nor been charged with a crime. Yet I will sit in this jail cell for the next two weeks before being shipped like human cargo to New Jersey, where I will face 18 months in prison for not talking about things I know nothing about."

In Oklahoma, one of the seven known federal grand juries investigating SHAC subpoenaed animal rights activist Chris Green to testify on August 19. Green, a member of the

Northeastern Oklahoma Animal Helpers (NOAH) attended a SHAC protest this Spring, where he handed flyers out about Huntington Life Sciences' (HLS) abuse of animals. The flyers highlighted the Edmond, Oklahoma-based Legacy Trading Company, which facilitates trading of HLS stock.

Activists working to make the world a more just and compassionate place are not criminals. The real criminals are researchers who go to work in the morning, to places



Feds following SHAC activists at a HLS protest in New Jersey

photo by Rod Coronado

like HLS, and torture animals for a paycheck.

In the 1960s, the courts issued injunctions prohibiting civil rights marches in Selma, Alabama, thus revealing the historic conflict between morality and legality. Martin Luther King, Jr. told us that the true measure of a person comes not in times of comfort and convenience but in times of challenge and controversy.

As activists, we must always choose the moral right. It is apparent that our government supports those who violate the laws of morality, compassion and empathy. People gave up their freedom and lives for civil rights in the US. We must now be prepared to spend months, if not years, behind bars for that same sense of justice for animals and the Earth.

For more information on the grand juries targeting the animal rights movement, visit www.nocompromise.org, www.shacamerica.net/witchhunts.htm.

Bound and Gagged

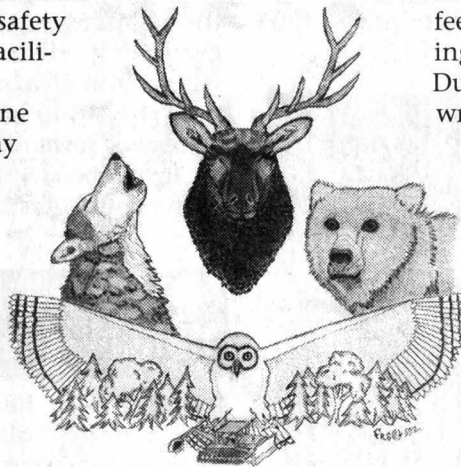
BY FREE

On June 13, my cell was rushed by four guards. I was immediately placed in handcuffs and taken to the "hole." My offense: I had written a letter to the *Earth First! Journal* (see *EF!* July-August 2003). This offense had been under investigation for three weeks as part of a larger, confidential investigation.

I have been classified by the Oregon Department of Corrections as a known anarchist and a member of the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). The Security Threat Group (STG) staff have gone on record stating, "Inmate Luers has a history of involvement in and is an influential member of radical animal and environmental groups. He is recognized worldwide for his beliefs, actions and sacrifices. Inmate Luers was convicted for his radical anarchist activities, and his conviction was condemned worldwide."

The letter I wrote to the *Earth First! Journal* was in response to two articles in the (May-June 2003 issue). In my letter, I wrote about direct action, prison and snitching. The ODOC misconduct report ends: "This type of activity is a direct threat to the safety of the public and causes serious concern for the security, safety and orderly appearance on all ODOC facilities and its employees."

At my hearing on this matter on June 20, I argued that my letter was in no way STG related—that I did not mention any group, nor did I encourage illegal activity. I was told that the environmental movement is a STG and that by writing my views or being involved in environmental and political issues, I was actively promoting and recruiting for the ELF. As a known STG member, anything I write about the environmental, social or political movements can and will be considered STG involvement. No distinction will be made between my past experience, views, beliefs or opinions.



ONE PLANET ONE FUTURE
ACT NOW

I have been sanctioned to 120 days in the hole and 21 days of lost privileges upon being released from the hole. I have lost 100 days of good time.

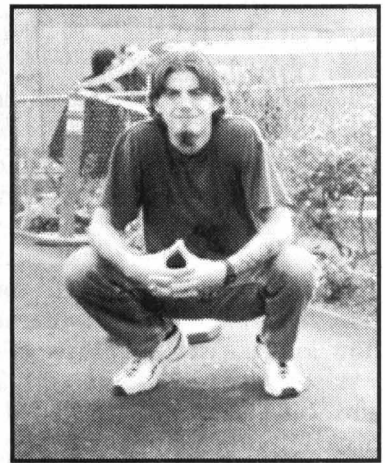
The prison and the state are attempting to gag me in the hope that I will no longer speak the truth. Political dissatisfaction is steadily rising in this country as years of apathy give way to conscience, and perhaps after recent events in the Bush administration, the state fears it may be losing its hold on people.

Numerous laws have been passed recently that greatly reduce people's rights. The state has started in the prisons. First they will take away my voice. Next, they may take yours.

I am in need of First Amendment attorneys who can help me challenge this sanction and the others that are sure to occur. Attorneys that can work for minimal fees or, preferably, pro-bono. I am also asking for letters, as the hole is a lonely place. Due to my limited writing supplies, I cannot write back to everyone. But I will be doing a regular update and responding to the best of my ability on my website, www.freefreenow.org.

This article is by no means intended to create, promote, recruit for or participate in any STG. It is purely for the purpose of conveying my situation at the Oregon State Penitentiary to the general public as is permissible under Oregon and US law.

Free was sentenced in 2000 to 22 years and eight months in prison for burning three SUVs to make a statement about global warming.



Letter from the Eugene Human Rights Commission

Whereas all citizens of our city are deserving of equal treatment before the law, it is within the scope of the Human Rights Commission to review any possible discrimination against individuals. Eugene, Oregon, is working toward a tradition of tolerance. During these difficult times, we must work diligently to insure that the basic civil rights of all our fellow citizens are equally protected and upheld.

Jeffrey "Free" Luers admits to having committed a property crime within the city limits for political reasons. We found that similar crimes have not been met with such harsh sentences, and we are concerned about the length of Mr. Luers' sentence. In researching other cases of arson in Lane County, where homes and churches have been dam-

aged, the sentencing has been less severe than that applied to Mr. Luers—in many cases ranging from 50 to 96 months. Even many people convicted of violent personal crimes have received significantly less time than 23 years.

Although we recognize that we are only a symbolic entity, we are charged to function as a "conscience" in the arena of human rights. This being the case, we urge Mr. Luers to use his appeal process in the hope that a review of his sentence would lead to a reduction in time served and with the expectation that the length of his sentence would not be based on his political beliefs.

—JAMES DEAN, CHAIR ON BEHALF OF
THE EUGENE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Sherman Austin Sentenced to Prison

Raisethefist.com Founder Gets One Year and Can't Use Computer

On August 4, US District Judge Stephen Wilson sentenced Los Angeles anarchist Sherman Austin to one year in federal prison and three years supervised release for "distributing information related to explosives." The charge stemmed from a website that Austin maintained, *raisethefist.com*, which contained links to information on how to make explosives (see *EFJ* March-April 2002).

Austin was first arrested on January 24, 2002, after FBI and Secret Service agents raided his home and confiscated his computer equipment. Six months later, when the government couldn't find any evidence of criminal involvement on the seized computer, a pre-indictment plea bargain was offered to Austin on the distributing information charge: four months in prison, four months in a halfway house and three years of supervised release. After learning that under the Patriot Act he faced a "terrorism enhancement" clause that could add an additional 20 years to his sentence, Austin accepted the deal.

On June 30, Austin went before Wilson for sentencing and was informed that his plea bargain was being rejected. Wilson believed that Austin deserved more prison time than what was agreed to for his actions.

In rejecting the plea, Wilson stated, "This should be looked at with more of a deterrence outcome to future revolutionaries wanting to act in a similar manner."

Wilson criticized federal prosecutors for being too lenient: "Out of all the nonsense cases you bring me, you finally bring something serious but don't take it serious." In his decision, Wilson took into consideration the recommendation not of the FBI agents working on the case but of FBI Director Robert Muller in Washington, DC.

At his sentencing, Austin admitted to posting the links about the manufacture of common-knowledge explosive devices and that he wanted *raisethefist.com* to teach people about police brutality.

Upon his release from prison, Austin's supervised release conditions stipulate, among other things, that he cannot possess or access a computer without government approval, nor can he associate with any person or group that seeks to change the government in any way.

"It would be a relief to think that a year after the raid, constantly being followed, monitored, harassed, having the nightmares, that all of this will finally be over, but everything tells me it won't. Becoming a young, black felon in America only tells me that it's just the beginning," declared Austin just before his sentencing.

He must surrender himself to the federal Bureau of Prisons by September 3.

To contact Austin, email keepfistraised@yahoo.com.



Anti-globalization Leader José Bové Jailed—Then Released

Having been just released from prison, on August 8, French anti-globalization activist José Bové joined thousands of protesters in southern France to denounce the September World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial summit in Cancun, Mexico.

The imprisonment of the *Confédération Paysanne* leader had sparked immediate protests from politicians, unions and supporters. On June 22, French police broke down the door to Bové's home and whisked him away by helicopter to serve a 10-month sentence for helping to destroy genetically engineered (GE) crops.

Immediately following the police raid on Bové's farm, 50 supporters set fire to a hedge and hung a banner outside the local police station.

"I urge all citizens who oppose GE to demonstrate noisily outside all the jails in France and all the fields where GE crops are being tested," a *Confédération Paysanne* spokesperson said in reaction to Bové's imprisonment.

Bové lodged a request for his conditional release under a provision allowing those sentenced to less than one year in prison to pursue outside employment. On August 1, a judge allowed Bové to return home and work for a local agricultural association.

Prisoners in the Struggle: Support Them!

Prisoner and Legal Updates

Editors' note: Regulations for mail sent to prisoners vary according to individual prisons. Before sending monetary donations, books or packages, ask prisoners what the regulations are. Assume that everything you write to a prisoner is read by the authorities.

•Jennifer Greenberg, Joshua Schwartz and Nathan Brasfield have been released after serving eight months for property destruction against Huntington Life Sciences' (HLS) business affiliates. They would like to send their sincerest thanks to everyone who wrote and supported them while on the inside.

•Sonia Hayward, serving 15 months for HLS and anti-bloodsport activities, was released to electronic monitoring on August 4.

•Betty Krawczyk, Women in the Woods forest defender, grandmother and former eco-prisoner, is back in jail after participating in a Spring blockade to prevent Weyerhaeuser from logging on Vancouver Island, Canada. Her trial is set for September 8.

•Robert Middaugh completed his three-year sentence in July but was immediately rearrested and charged with wearing a mask, assault of a police officer and assault with a dagger. He is currently under house arrest.

•Benjamin Persky, serving up to six years for property destruction at the homes of multiple HLS affiliates, has been moved. He can be reached at #03R916, POB 800, Napanoch, NY 12458, USA.

•Peter Schnell, serving 24 months for possession of incendiary devices intended to be used against the dairy industry, was released from federal prison on August 27.

Animal Liberation

•Dave Blenkinsop, EM7899, HMP Bullingdon, Oxfordshire OX6 0PZ, UK. Serving 10 years for physically attacking the managing director of HLS, rescuing 600 guinea pigs from a lab supplier and planting incendiary devices under slaughterhouse vehicles.

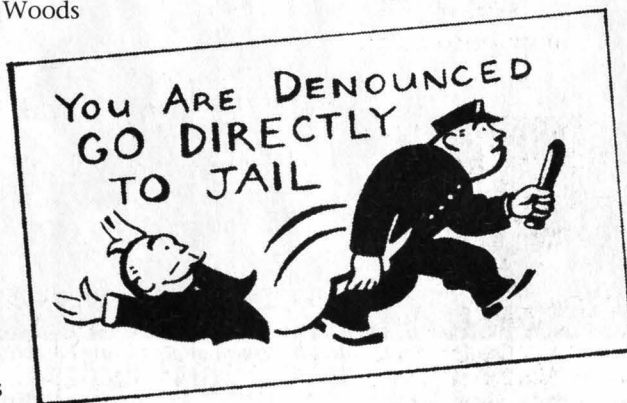
•Rae Newlands, GN6613, HMP Winchester, Romsey Rd, Winchester, SO22 5DF, England. Serving four-and-a-half years for harassment of HLS' shareholders.

Eco-Defense

•Dr. Yuri Bandazhevsky, U1. Kalvarijskaya 36, POB 35K, Minsk, 220600, Belarus. Serving eight years for telling the world that nuclear radiation around Chernobyl was worse than the government had reported.

•Marco Camenish, Sennhofstrasse 17,7000 Chur, Switzerland. Serving 10 years for using explosives to target nuclear facility powerlines. In 2002, Camenish completed a 12-year sentence in Italy for similar actions. He reads French, German, Spanish and Italian.

•Iñaki Garcia Koch, Carcel de Pamplona, C/San Roque. Apdo. 250, 31080-Iruñeaz Pamplona, Navarra, Spain. Serving just under five years for sabotaging a dam construction site.



•Jeffrey "Free" Luers, #13797671, OSP, 2605 State St, Salem, OR 97310, USA. Serving 22 years and eight months for arson at a car dealership and for attempted arson of an oil truck.

•Craig "Crittter" Marshall, #13797662, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914, USA. Serving five-and-a-half years for conspiracy to commit arson and possession of incendiary devices to destroy SUVs.

•Raul Zapatos was the leader of a Department of Environment Strike Force responsible for apprehending illegal loggers. In 1990, he returned fire when attacked by loggers whose timber he had seized, killing one and wounding another. In 2001, Zapatos was sentenced to life imprisonment. He can be reached at Dorm 6-C, Maximum Security Compound, Bureau of Corrections, Muntinlupa City, Metro Manila, Philippines.

Indigenous Resistance

•Eric Wildcat Hall, #BL-5355, Unit I/A 10745, Rt 18, Albion, PA 16475-0002, USA. Serving 35-75 years for helping to ship weapons to Central American indigenous activists.

•Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, POB 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048, USA. Peltier, an American Indian Movement activist, is serving life in prison after being framed for the deaths of two FBI agents killed during the 1975 Pine Ridge siege.

Political Prisoners

•Byron "Oso Blanco" Chubbuck, #07909051, POB 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048, USA. Serving 80 years for aggravated assault on federal agents, escape and bank robbery. Chubbuck funneled money he stole to the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in Chiapas, Mexico.

•Thomas "JJ" Hicks, McDowell County Jail, 593 Spaulding Rd, Marion, NC 28752, USA. Currently facing marijuana and weapons charges. The FBI is trying to link Hicks, a longtime ELF'er, to various Earth Liberation Front (ELF) actions and has approached him with an offer to infiltrate the ELF in exchange for a more lenient sentence.

•Matthew Lamont, #2057039, T90251, Facility B/B4-201, Box 5500, Wasco, CA 93280, USA. Lamont, an Earth First'er, is serving three years for possession of an incendiary device for reasons unknown.

•Robert Thaxton, #12112716, OSP, 2605 State St, Salem, OR 97310, USA. Serving a seven-year mandatory minimum sentence for throwing a rock at a cop at a 1999 Reclaim the Streets action.

•Fran Thompson, #1090915, Chillicothe Correctional Center, 1500 W Third St, Chillicothe, MO 64601, USA. Before she was given a life sentence in the early 1990s for shooting a stalker in self defense, Thompson was active in animal rights and environmental campaigns.

•Helen Woodson, #03231-045, FMC Carswell, POB 27137, Fort Worth, TX 76127, USA. Serving 27 years for disarming a Minuteman II missile silo with a jackhammer, mailing warning letters to officials with bullets inside, robbing a bank and burning the money.

Ask an EF! Lawyer

He's Working on *Your* Side!

BY STU SUGARMAN

Dear EF! Lawyer,

I've read articles about Congress subpoenaing Craig Rosebraugh to testify last year. Can you tell me what it was like to represent him at the congressional hearing on ecoterrorism?

—AN ELF IN NORTH CAROLINA

Dear Elf,

In 2001, Representative Scott McInnis (R-Meso-zoic) wrote to former Earth Liberation Front (ELF) spokesperson Craig Rosebraugh asking if he would testify during a congressional subcommittee hearing on ecoterrorism in national forests.

Craig wrote back, asking McInnis if by "ecoterrorism" he meant the rapacious corporations destroying our forests for profit, or did he mean the politicians happily doing those corporations' bidding?

Pretty gutsy. McInnis responded with a subpoena to force Craig to appear on February 12, 2002. Appearing before Congress is like appearing before a grand jury—only more intense. First of all, you only get one chance to answer their questions. If you take the Fifth Amendment and a court determines later that it didn't apply, you're gonna get a year in jail for every wrong answer. Ultimately, Craig fielded 108 questions. Right in the middle of the hearing, he could have been arrested and put away in the Capitol jail! We were in a minefield.

Craig's written statement for the congressional record included his detailed description of how the US is the world's greatest terrorist organization. The last sentence said: "Long live the sparks attempting to ignite the revolution. Sooner or later the sparks will turn into a flame!"

To prepare, I read case after case, morning, noon and night. Finally, February 12 arrived. There was a large crowd of chanting, sign-carrying supporters outside of the Longworth building where the hearing was being held, causing the police to stress out a bit—always good. We got into the packed room, enjoying our assigned seats in the front of the gallery.

Representatives Darlene Hooley (D-Oregon) and George Nethercutt (R-Washington) testified first. Their seats were so

close to us that my knees were in Nethercutt's back and Craig's were in Hooley's as they faced the panel. Hooley eventually realized that Craig "the terrorist" was right behind her and peeked nervously at the heavily armed guards.

McInnis swore Craig in and asked if he was "a member of the ELF." Craig replied, "I'll take the Fifth." There was a long pause. McInnis and others went into a huddle. I wondered

whether they'd just call for security to arrest Craig and take him to the Capitol jail. We sat there in silence watching them panic, wondering how the subcommittee could be so unprepared. McInnis asked the rest of his questions quickly and without passion, seemingly more deflated each time Craig said: "I'll take the Fifth."

Other committee members also tried and failed. Representative Jay Inslee (D-Washington) got so frustrated that he asked Craig: "Are you going to take the Fifth on everything?" Answer: "I'll take

the Fifth." As the proceedings went on, the reporters began giggling to themselves, then laughed openly. McInnis glared at Craig, arms crossed tightly in anger. He'd clearly lost control of the hearing.

Finally, McInnis released Craig from the subpoena after threatening him with contempt of Congress. In only 30 minutes, the subcommittee asked 54 questions, and they got 54 "I'll take the Fifths." Your tax dollars at work.

A few weeks later at my office, I received 54 more questions. Here are some examples of our answers: Q8.) "Are you personally concerned that one day an ELF or Animal Liberation Front-perpetrated attack will wind up killing or wounding someone?" A.) "No, I am more concerned with massive numbers of people dying at the hands of greedy capitalists if such actions are not taken." Q50.) "Who first contacted you about serving as the spokesperson for the ELF?" A.) "Jesus Christ."

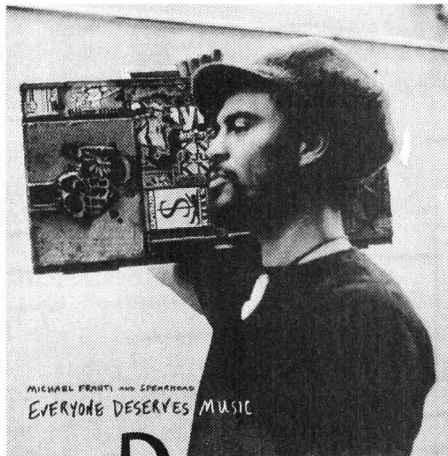
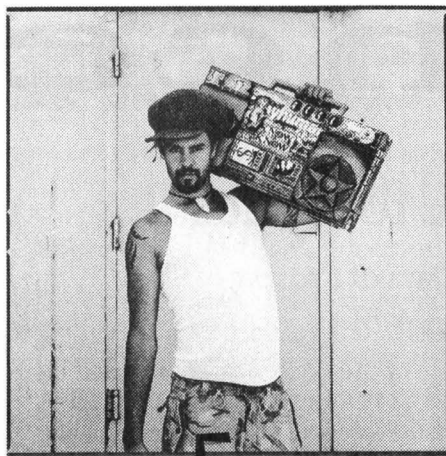
After sending in those answers, we never heard another peep from McInnis. My guess is that he's had enough of Craig.

For more info., visit www.protectcivilliberties.com.

Do you have a legal question? Contact Stuart A. Sugarman, LLC, 3430 SE Belmont #101, Portland, OR 97214; blc@hevanet.com. Please write "Dear EF! Lawyer" on the subject line.



Capitol police control the crowd around Craig Rosebraugh



photos by Anton Corbijn

Everyone Deserves Music

BY TURTLE AND MISS WALDRON

"As a musician, I think about how it is not just the words that I say but the way that I say them that either draws people to it or pushes people away," Michael Franti told us one evening in February 2002. We spoke just briefly, but his presence was commanding, his genuine compassion noteworthy. In that moment, Michael Franti and the Spearhead music collective pulled us in and held our rapt attention (see *EF!* March-April 2002). With their new album, *Everyone Deserves Music*, they continue to do so.

Spearhead's music cannot be easily contained, mixing up many different styles: funk, hip-hop, reggae, dancehall, bossa nova, soul and Afrobeat. Their songs envision the possibilities of another world and speak loudly in the face of injustice. Guitarists Carl Young and Dave Shul, drummer Manas Itene and beatboxer RadioActive join Franti in creating music that speaks from the heart and exhibits a level of vitality and verve that we look for in the music we prefer to tap our feet to and sing along with.

From the first chords of *Everyone Deserves Music*, Spearhead and Franti reveal their personal and musical turning point. Franti's voice remains confident, compassionate and relevant; his eloquence is unmistakable. But in this venture, his lyrics dig deep to previously unexplored levels of benevolence and beauty. The variety is exhilarating.

According to Franti, "This specter of war, intimidation, this nation vs. the rest of the world, it wears us out. Half the record is a healthy dose of venting anger about that, and the other half is about how we can hold on to our spirituality, our community, our connectedness to each other and how we cope as people who are concerned about what's going on."

Franti is keenly aware of our vulnerability, and by rising above it, he reminds us that we can too. Several tracks on *Everyone Deserves Music* address commitment, perseverance and endurance in the face of struggle. These songs soothe and inspire, true to their intention.

Michael Franti and the Spearhead music collective hold our rapt attention with songs that envision the possibility of another world and speak loudly in the face of injustice.

Listeners are gently urged to accept our diversity and uniqueness as individuals, to take time to heal from life's abrasions, as well as to understand our place in history. Franti chants his message of encouragement, forgiveness and courage with wonderfully incisive insights.

The obvious highlight of *Everyone Deserves Music* is a song that Franti wrote as the US first began beating the drums of war at the end of 2001, "Bomb the World." Spearhead sings out to the masses: "We can chase down all our enemies, bring them to their knees. We can bomb the world to pieces, but we can't bomb it into peace."

While Franti speaks out on a wide range of issues, he has been an especially loud critic of the US government—both its hypocrisy and its militarism. After performing at an anti-war rally this Spring, members of Spearhead learned that they were under government surveillance when the US military visited the mother of one of the bandmates. The two plainclothes Army officers expressed interest in her son's involvement in the "resistance." In reality, the officers were there simply to intimidate.

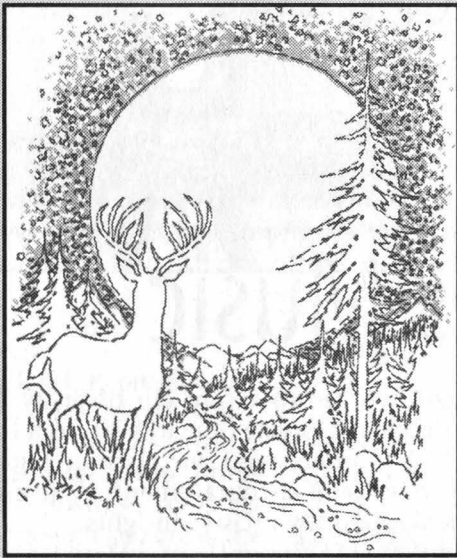
"What it signals to me is that there's a lot of us who are now making a blip on the radar, and the government is starting to pay attention and collect information," said Franti.

In the end, Franti believes that his role in changing the world is as a storyteller and a songwriter: "I'm somebody who is trying to keep the spirits of other people up, despite all the chaos and fear around us."

In "Pray for Grace," Franti sings, "I was dead for a million years 'fore I was born, and I'll be dead for a million more after I'm gone. So I live, to give somethin' that can live on, like the way you hum a song when the music's gone." With *Everyone Deserves Music*, Spearhead has given us a welcome addition to our musical collections, one that will revive our senses and live on for years to come.

For more info., visit www.spearheadvibrations.com.

announce



Keep Space for Peace

International Days of Protest
October 4-11

Look up tonight. The magnificence of the sky is nearly obscured by competing light from crowded cities. Yet outer space belongs to all of creation, not to the powerful, aggressive forces that seek to lace it with nuclear poison and military instruments of destruction.

The Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space is calling for coordinated local actions to increase consciousness about how space is being used to promote US-sponsored warfare on Earth. In addition to protests at US military bases, Department of Energy facilities, NASA installations or academic institutions working on militarizing space, groups are urged to organize events throughout the week—including visits to political leaders, community teach-ins, meetings of religious leaders and presentations to schools.

For more information, visit www.space4peace.org.

Buffalo Field Campaign East Coast Roadshow

The Buffalo Field Campaign will be bringing its roadshow to the East Coast in October. The Yellowstone bison herd's current situation will be presented through video footage, readings from a newly compiled manuscript of bison-inspired essays and open discussion.

For more information, contact the Buffalo Field Campaign, (406) 726-5555; bfc-media@wildrockies.org.

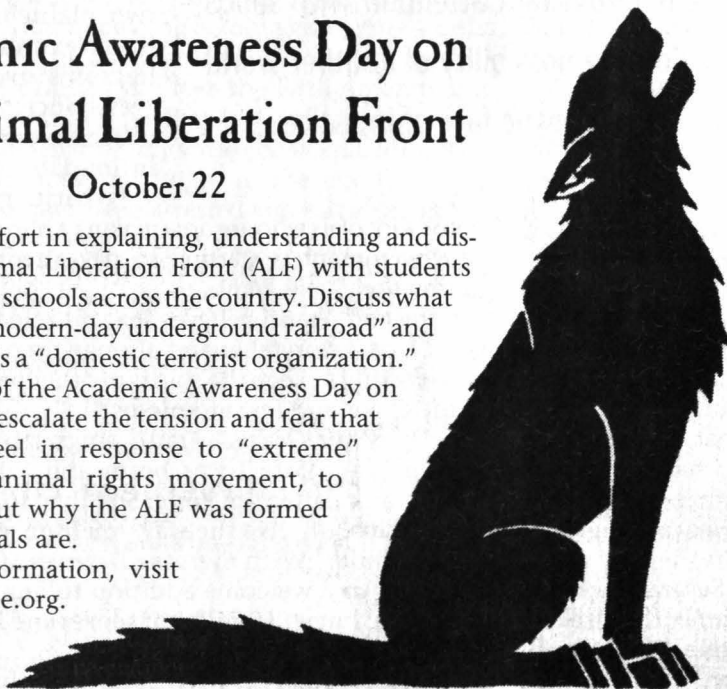
Academic Awareness Day on the Animal Liberation Front

October 22

Support the effort in explaining, understanding and discussing the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) with students and professors at schools across the country. Discuss what many call "the modern-day underground railroad" and what the FBI calls a "domestic terrorist organization."

The purpose of the Academic Awareness Day on the ALF is to de-escalate the tension and fear that some people feel in response to "extreme" tactics in the animal rights movement, to learn more about why the ALF was formed and what its goals are.

For more information, visit www.cala-online.org.



SWAMPFEST

September 19-22 · North Carolina

Swampfest will include discussions and do-it-yourself skillshares on a wide variety of subjects within our growing movement. Planned activities include radical canoe and kayak tours, edible and medicinal wild plant walks, acoustic music, screen printing workshops and a talent show. Hampton Roads Food Not Bombs will be keeping all fed.

For more information, contact feral_reality@ziplip.com.

ments

Katúah Bioregional Gathering

October 10-12 · Black Mountain, North Carolina

The Katúah Bioregional Gathering will provide opportunities to explore problems and celebrate solutions in agriculture, the local economy, environmental protection, health and culture. The gathering is a time to come together to strengthen networks and to make connections with others who care for the fate of the living world.

For more information, contact Earthaven, (828) 669-7552; katuahbioregion@hotmail.com; www.earthaven.org.



Endangered Forests, Endangered Freedoms

September 26-29 · Ohio

Grassroots activists will gather for the fifth annual National Forest Convention to create a response to stop the Bush administration's logging frenzy. This will be accomplished logging project by logging project, community by community and national forest by national forest.

Sessions will include: direct forest defense, legislative strategies, market-based campaigning, ecologically based forest restoration and organizing students for forest protection. There will be daily hiking, stargazing, a slideshow presentation by Lou Gold and a talent show.

The conference is being held at Camp Oty 'Okwa, which covers 617-scenic acres in Hocking Hills State Park. Steep terrain, mature woodlands, rock formations, hollows and two large caves surround the site.

For more information, contact the Buckeye Forest Council, (740) 797-7200; info@buckeyeforestcouncil.org.



Wildroots Eco-Village

Wildroots is a newly acquired collective land project located in the mountains of western North Carolina. Nestled up against the Walnut Mountains, the land sits at the bottom of a tributary of the French Broad River and borders the Pisgah National Forest.

The uniqueness of this land is in its ruggedness. This land is "raw," and in choosing it, Wildroots made an agreement of sorts to maintain that.

Wildroots' focus is on developing skills for rewilding and reclaiming lost knowledge and awareness from a biocentric perspective. Sound like a vision similar to yours? Help is needed with basic infrastructure, permaculture and natural building projects. Folks are invited to come to Wildroots, where camping space and food are offered in exchange for work on projects.

For more information, contact Wildroots, POB 1485, Asheville, NC 28802; wildrootsnc@ziplip.com; www.wildroots.org.

World Carfree Day September 22

The World Carfree Network promotes alternatives to car dependence that support walking, cycling, public transit and the transformation of cities into pedestrian environments rich in public space. In this spirit, World Carfree Day will celebrate life without cars. Join local events or organize your own!

For more information, visit carbusters.ecn.cz; www.mobilityweek-europe.org.

Anarchist People of Color Conference October 3-5 · Detroit, Michigan

The Anarchist People of Color (APOC) conference aims to lay the foundation for an anti-authoritarian grassroots movement of people of color that will organize against racism and repression.

The APOC conference is a people of color only event. It is sponsored by the Student Movement for Justice at Wayne State University, the Black Autonomy Network of Community Organizers-southwest Michigan chapter and friends in the anarchist movement.

For more information, contact POB 19962, Kalamazoo, MI 49019-0962; komboah@hotmail.com.

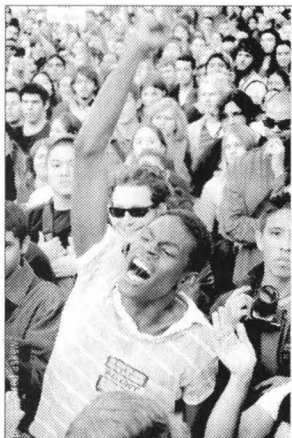
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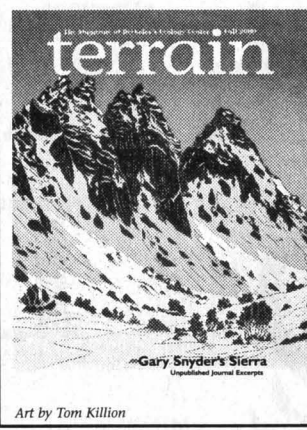
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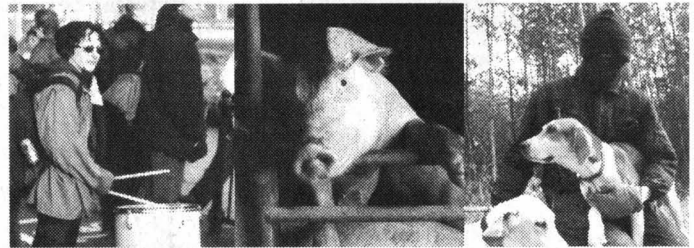
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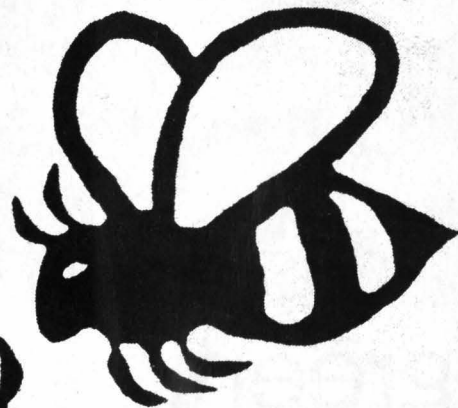
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POB 11331 Eugene, OR 97440

May Day Infoshop

151 1st Ave, New York, NY 10003
(212) 777-8169

Slingshot/Long Haul Infoshop

3124 Shattuck Ave, Berkeley, CA 94705
(510) 540-0751



For information
on how to start an EF!
affinity group or for address
changes, contact:

EF! Journal
POB 3023

Tucson, AZ 85702
collective@earthfirstjournal.org

International

www.eco-action.org/ef

AUSTRALIA

EF Australia
efoz@earthfirst.org.au
EF! OZ-Jervis Bay
7 Verge Rd, Callala Beach, NSW, 2540
(61) 2-44-466-477

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EF! Montreal & Diffusion Noire
c/o Librairie Alternative, 2035 St.
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2 e étage, Montréal, Quebec H2X 2T3
Elaho EF!
(604) 682-3269 x.6144

CURACAO

EF! Curaçao
POB 4893, Willemstad, Curaçao,
Netherlands Antilles
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Zeme Predevsim
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zemepredevsim@volny.cz

Car Busters

Kratka 26, 100 00 Prague 10
(420) 2-7481-0849; 2-7481-6727 (fax);
carbusters@ecn.cz

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An Talmah Glas (Green Earth)
54 Avora Park, Howth Co, Dublin, Ireland
353 (0)1 8324087; atgblue@yahoo.com

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Sussex BN2 2GY
doordtp@yahoo.co.uk

EF! Action Update

POB 487, Norwich NR2 3AL
0160-321-9811; mail@actionupdate.org.uk;
www.actionupdate.org.uk

Leeds EF! c/o CRC

16 Sholebroke Ave, Leeds LS7 3HB
0113-262-9365; leedsef@ukf.net

Manchester EF!

A30, c/o Dept. 29, 22a Beswick St,
Manchester M4 7HS
0161-226-6814;

mancef@nematode.freemove.co.uk

London Rising Tide

62 Fieldgate Street, London E1 1ES
info@risingtide.org.uk

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01-40-95-09-06; contact@earth-first.org

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Steinstrasse 10, Seitenfluegel rechts, 12045
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green.rage@web.de

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Bander Bagicha

Near Maurya Lok, POB 229 Patna-800 001
Bihar

ISRAEL

Green Action Israel
POB 4611, Tel-Aviv 61046
972 (0) 3 516 2349

THE NETHERLANDS

Groenfront!

Postbus 85069, 3508 AB, Utrecht
tel/fax 31-84-8666018; groenfr@dds.nl

NIGERIA

**Environmental Rescue International/
EF! Nigeria**

20 Dawson Rd, by Forestry Junction,
Benin City, Nigeria
234-52-25-45-29;
environmentalrescue@yahoo.co.uk

PHILIPPINES

EF! Philippines
44-20 Elenita Heights, Mintal,
Davao City, 8000

POLAND

In Defense of the Earth

Towarzystwo Ekologiczne,
"W Obronieziemi" Dominika Baryla,
ul. Limanowskiego 138/42 91-038, Lodz
48-42-653-38-16

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ECODEFENSE!

POB 1477, Kaliningrad 236000
(0112) 44-84-43; ecodefense@online.ru

Rainbow Keepers

POB 14, Nizhni Novgorod, 603082
(8312) 34-32-80

SCOTLAND

Glasgow EF!

POB 180, Glasgow G4 9AB
44 (0) 41 636 1924

Fife EF!

c/o 91 South St, St. Andrews, Fife KY16 9Q
01334-477411

SOUTH AFRICA

Earth Action!

POB 181034, Dalbridge, Durban 6016

SOUTH KOREA

Green Korea United

110-740 #605 Korean Ecumenical Bldg 136-
56 Youn-ji-Dong, Jongro-Gu, Seoul
82-2-747-8500; greenkorea@greenkorea.org

SPAIN

Environmental Workshop

IES Xelmirez I, 15701 Santiago

SWEDEN

Morgan Larsson

Lagmansgaten 9C, 46-37 Vänersborg

UKRAINE

Rainbow Keepers (five local groups)

POB 322, Kiev 252187
7 38 (044) 265-7628; 550-6068

WALES

Gwynedd and Mon EF!

The Greenhouse, 1, Trevelyan Terr
Bangor, Gwynedd LL57 1AX
01248-355821

Resources

Animal Liberation Front
www.animalliberation.net

Earth Liberation Front
www.earthliberationfront.com

Bite Back
www.directaction.info

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To Activists Everywhere: A Love Letter

I am crouched on the floor over two thick documents, deciphering the logic affixed to the latest Forest Service project:

This is my position of resistance, where I first confront betrayals of confidence, of logic, and of the land.

I am lonely with sadness at what can happen when the magic of the last wild places is trespassed.

I want a forest of ferns and fast-moving streams and trees that have a history, where moss thickens on rock and each drop of water is registered, where the smell of earth and the presence of silence conspire and sudden wildflowers and bird calls catch my breath, where life can thrive wild and inscrutable

But there are holes bulldozed into these places and plans for more on these endless pages.

Resistance might seem hollow except for you. This is a love letter to you:

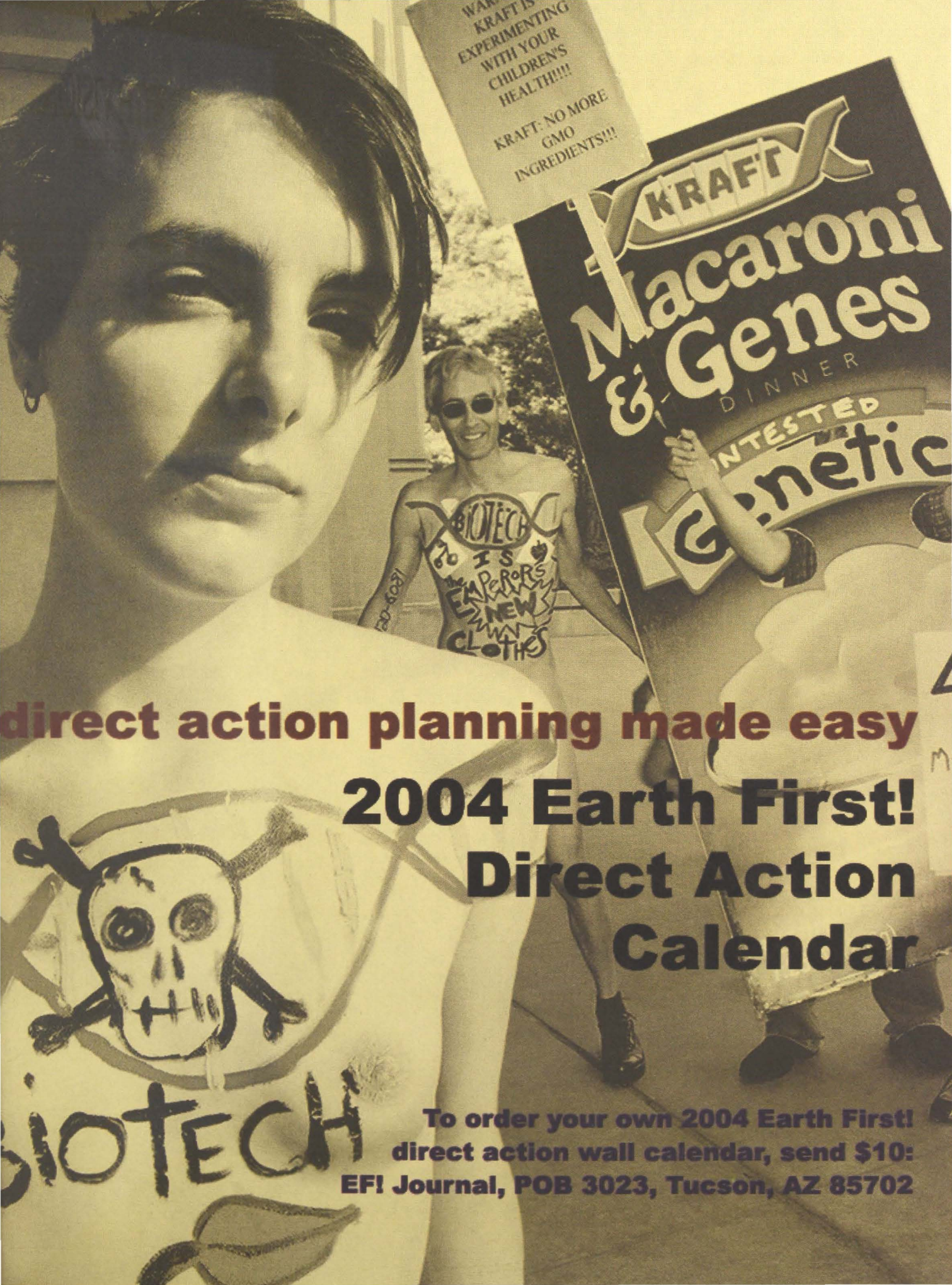
You are the man, the woman, the child who acts on behalf of the forest.

You are the people I know and those I've never met
You are the letter writer, the hiker, the birdwatcher.
You stand in front of bulldozers and live in trees.
You are on the frontlines, enduring
You cook food, hold signs, organize.
You speak out
You learn the law better than them and spend countless hours calculating their crimes.
You read.
You take the job with no money because you care
You donate equipment
You type the newsletter
You come to protests when you are needed
You make time to send a check, write a good word, write a letter.
You are the only other person who comes on the hike
You are the old growth guru who stays in touch after all these years
You hold me when I cry
You write appeals
You make signs, buy stamps
You hike the Sheltowee
You inspire school children, leave me notes
You feed me
You host meetings
You come to meetings
You are the person who works on other issues that matter
You volunteer
You play music
You say the difficult things first and inspire
You challenge the worldview
You raise children
You are young, old, poor, rich, alone or in community
You despair, grieve, hope, celebrate, rage and endure.
You are my heroes, every one
My heart is huge with love for you and this beautiful, wacky, stressed-out, courageous, visionary movement/inspired by you and driven by you.
You are perfect.
We should celebrate.

—Chris Schimmoeller of Kentucky Heartwood
February 25, 2003

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Send poems to: **Warrior Poets Society, POB 14501, Berkeley, CA 94712-5501**



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