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Earth First!



The Radical Environmental Journal
Eostar March-April 2004

Anatomy of a Raw Deal in Chile

Return to the Seals

How I Became an Ecowarrior

Bashing Bayer

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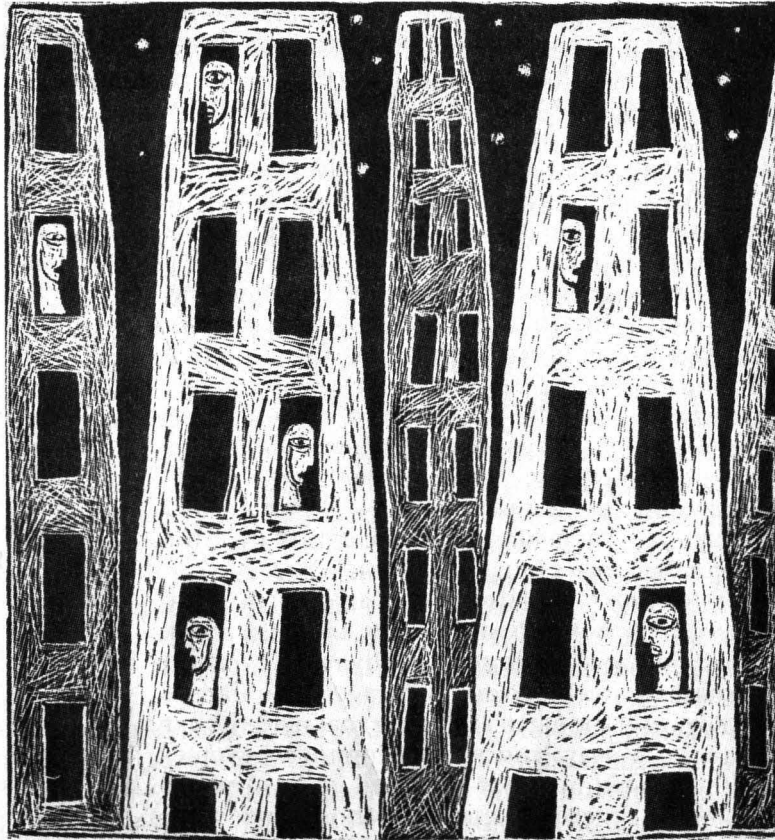
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Earth First!

Eostar March-April 2004

The *Radical* Environmental Journal



artwork by Rose Johnson

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In Defense of Anger



As a visiting Earth First!er from overseas, I want to use this chance to say thanks to y'all for being part of the illuminating green spark that caught my eye and led me to the place that I'm now in.

It was more than 10 years ago that reading tales of your monkey-wrenching, treesitting, blockades and raucous mischief-making gave me hope. It inspired me to join people in England taking similar radical action, but more than that, it gave me a sense of belonging to something that was real and meaningful in a tragically alienated and symbolic world. A feeling that as well as taking direct action, we were also rediscovering primal, healthy ways of relating to each other and the Earth.

It's been an incredible time, and the ideas and actions of Earth First! have been an inspiration to thousands of people around the world. These actions are partly responsible for kick-starting the global wave of radical ecological resistance in the last 20 years.

But, as you know, it's not all good news—the Earth is screwed. It has been for a long time, but it's quickly getting significantly worse. It should be obvious to all but the most rich, ignorant or alienated that the primary reason for this is that the world is dominated by an elite technocratic class who hold an anthropocentric and unecological worldview. The rest of us are being brainwashed and manipulated by the mass media and coerced into line by the repressive apparatus of the state.

The repression most talked about is police harassment, the harsh sentencing and the intimidation and

killing of activists by industry and its apologists. But the flip side to this overt repression is an equally vicious, yet more subtle, version that results from people internalizing the values of the dominant ideology.

We encounter the socialized patterns of behavior that result from this internalization even when we try to challenge the system with radical action. These patterns manifest themselves as the passive voices patronizingly explaining the need for compromise, the activists arguing for slow coalition-building work rather than militant action, the focus on "inclusive" activities and the willingness of some activists to engage in dialogue with the enemy. These manifestations of our domestication are as responsible for the failure of movements as much as the more brutal repression.

To resist and overcome this, we need to stay angry and also make efforts to continually rediscover and recharge our deep rage at the state of the Earth and those that made it that way. Instead of letting anger be something that we need to justify, we need to question those that seem able to smile, shake hands and make conversation with the profiteers of ecological genocide. We need to refuse the politeness and meaningless compromises dictated as "progressive" by our enemies, our "friends" and the apathetic. The only way to a free and ecologically sound world is through the total destruction of the values and institutions of civilization, and for this we need directed anger—lots of it.

For green sparks, and the fires they ignite...

—A STRANGER IN A STRANGE LAND

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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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Back Cover: Breakfast



Dismantling the Master's House with the Master's Tools

BY JULIA

Last Spring, Maxxam/Pacific Lumber (PL) and local law enforcement conspired to close a county road for the company's exclusive right to dismember old-growth forests in northern California. While the cops bullied and arrested protesters on bogus charges, PL-hired climbers assaulted and extracted treesitters throughout the Freshwater watershed. Some of the forest defenders would have their day in court. This is one of their stories.

I am sitting on the side of the road, hands cuffed behind my back, wondering... now what? I was arrested and charged with resisting or obstructing a public officer. A week later, my charges were dropped. Then a month later, without proper notification, my original charges were reinstated and a charge of trespassing was added.

The idea of resistance carrying through to the courtroom is by no means new. However, a resurgence in court activity in northern California has brought to light its critical place in our struggle. When an activist is educated about the roles of workers in the system and the workings of the system, strategic breaking of the rules can occur during the court process.

I have seen the panicked look in the eyes of the cops as night settles into the forest and they begin to no longer feel in their element. I had a similar feeling as I stepped into the Eureka courthouse for the first time.

At my arraignment, I pled not guilty and declined to waive time, in order to retain my right to a speedy trial. I had no money for a lawyer, so I had planned to accept a public defender. But I changed my mind in favor of representing myself.

I filed a suppression motion and was granted a hearing. This pre-trial hearing is usually used to stop evidence from being used in trial. I used it to get court-documented statements from cops. I knew the cops were lying, and I knew the witness' stories would contradict each other.

I must admit, in the beginning, I just wanted to be out of court. I would have pled "no contest" for a crime I

didn't commit, but the assistant district attorney prosecuting my case offered no deals. I think he wanted to make an example of what happens when someone represents herself.

My trial was about to start, and I had one last opportunity to accept a public defender. I declined. I knew my case well and could not stand the thought of someone else speaking for me. So my case went forward, and the trial officially began with jury selection.

This portion of the game is played by asking your potential jurors questions that will subtly tell you where they are coming from, without sending the prosecutor a red warning flag. About 75 percent of the potential jurors in my trial were excused due to their direct ties to the timber industry. Ironic, since all of the judges in the Eureka court system have worked for or have represented PL at some point in their careers. It is very difficult for anyone connected to forest defense to receive a fair trial in Humboldt County.

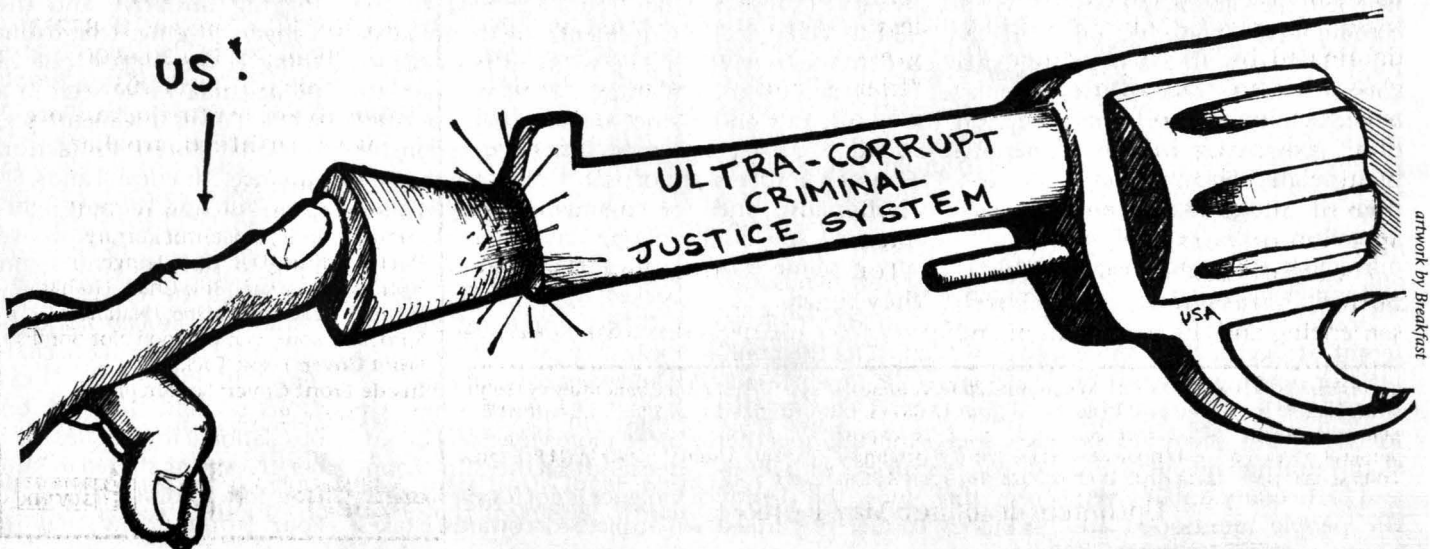
A jury was finally selected, and my trial could proceed. Evidence was presented in the form of witnesses, videotapes, transcripts and hand-drawn maps. My defense was coming together, and the assistant district attorney began to get nervous. How would it look for him to lose to a 21-year-old woman with no legal training?

The deals started rolling in. At one point, I was offered a misdemeanor, one year probation and 60 hours of community service to be spent driving around in a squad car with the cop who gave the order to have me arrested.

My case continued, and my defense became ever stronger. The assistant district attorney then came before the judge and offered me a \$10 infraction if I pled no contest. I refused. I told the judge I would have gladly taken the offer three months ago, but now it had all gone too far.

My trial proceeded, and right before the jury was scheduled to deliberate, the judge acquitted me of all the charges. The assistant district attorney prosecuting the case was laid off shortly thereafter.

Julia is an active part of North Coast Earth First!



Dear Shit fer Brains

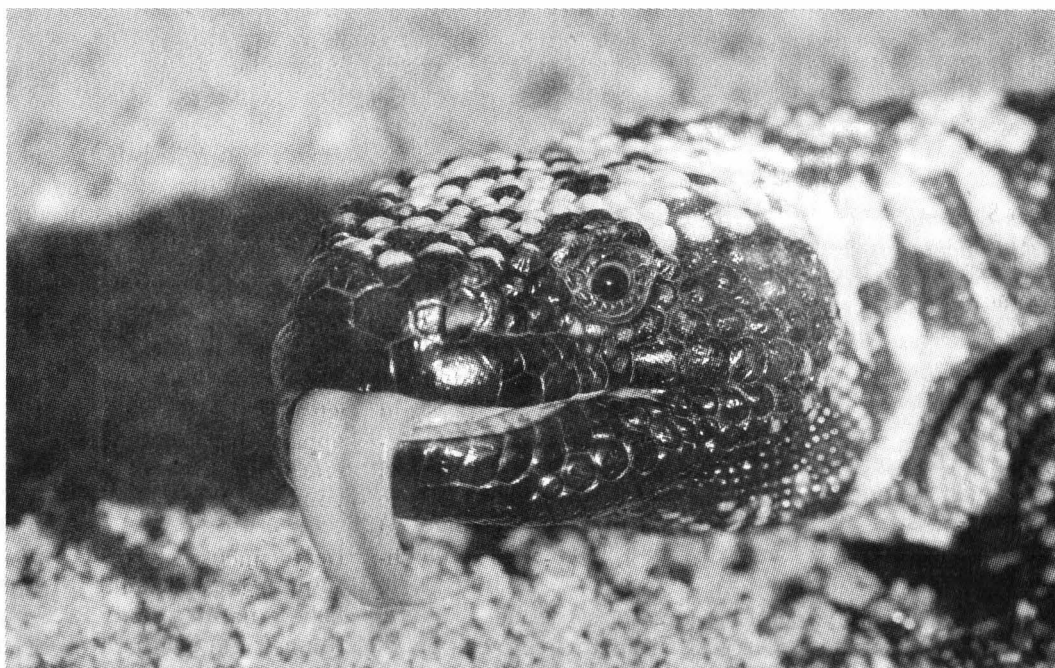


photo by Robyn Silver

Letters to the Editors

Dear Shit fer Brains,

In these times of increasing state repression and backpeddling liberals, it's really heartening to see the *Earth First! Journal* continue to cover radical and militant direct action—especially that which refuses to abide by the reformist and statist nonviolence code so loved by some sections of the “movement.”

However, some critique of certain elements of the Revolutionary Cells' actions reported in the *Earth First! Journal* Samhain/Yule 2003 is needed. One of the Revolutionary Cells communiqués (published on portland.indymedia.org) commemorates, “Those fallen before us in the war for liberation,” going on to list 10 of these people, including some from the struggle for animal liberation, Irish Republican movement, Basque separatists and anti-globalization activists.

Drawing together very different struggles that share little or nothing in terms of their desire for a free and ecological world seems to be slightly unthought out to me, and particularly unfair given the people mentioned are

dead and cannot complain about being aligned with others they may strongly disagree with, as I know at least one of them would.

The communiqué continues, signing off, “Up the Real IRA! Long live the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine! Viva Las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia! [FARC] Long live the *Frontu Di Liberazione Naziunalista Corsu!* For the creation of Revolutionary Cells! For Humyn, Earth and Animal Liberation!”

Whilst obviously I support effective radical, ecological direct action, of whatever type people see fit to take, I do not support the murderous and nationalist actions of FARC, the IRA, Palestinian bombers or Corsican Nationalists, and would be surprised and disgusted by any genuine eco-anarchist that did.

The Revolutionary Cells are to be welcomed for their militancy and commitment to radical direct action, but criticized for their drawing together disparate struggles with divergent aims under the slightly nebulous banner of “armed

struggle.” Revolutionary Cells, more critical thinking and less cheerleading for nationalist gun and bomb toting please.

—A NONNY MOUSE

Dear Shit fer Brains,

I confess I do not always read every single page of the *EF! Journal*. That is why the Revolutionary Cell communiqué on page 20 of the Samhain/Yule 2003 issue had to be pointed out to me. So I have to ask: What is with this recklessly violent braggadocio? Are we trying to attract more nut cases like Ted Kaczynski to the movement? Are we not keeping up with our nonviolence trainings? Have our nonviolence trainers been slacking? Besides being of questionable morality, violence is a completely impractical tactic. Does anyone really think they can beat a global corporate system backed up by United States military force by violent means? The Soviet Union tried it and went bankrupt and collapsed. Violence can only breed more violence. I do understand that the path of nonviolence is not for everyone. It is no place for cowards. It takes

rare courage and strength of character to fight evil without being seduced by it. If the *Journal* is going to print provocative little communiqués like this, shouldn't you be contextualizing it in a way that distances it from our movement? It is not “super-radical,” so much as dangerously stupid. Wise up.

Your friendly Peace Nazi,

—PEGGY SUE

Yo, Shit fer Brains,

It was really great to see all the articles on the stealthy logging initiative and the Tongass logging. That damn thing is the biggest pile of propaganda we've seen in a while. Power to Greenpeace, National Forest Protection Alliance, American Lands, Sierra Club and the rest fighting those suckers. Now we have to start all over again and watch the forests for our testimony. The *Journal* is looking up. I'd hereby like to challenge all my fellow Texas EF'ers to fight this stuff on our national forests! Remember, treesitting started in Sam Houston National Forest at Four Notch. Now they're

gonna carve it up all over again. Alas for ThunderCraig. I'm sad that I met him only once. That he is dancing in the wild land of promiscuity.

—OWLBEARD

Dear Shit fer Brains,

As I read "Open Letter," Mabon 2003, I began to feel a somewhat familiar, uncomfortable knot in my gut. After some reflection, I believe what I was feeling was shame. I'm not referring to the appropriate shame, which I feel whenever I'm driving a car or oppressing a lover. I'm talking about the guilt used often in my childhood to control or train me during my domestication. It's the same tool (among others) that was used to break us, put us in our place, our box, our cage. This too, like male violence, is necessary for civilization to continue. If we were allowed (or able) to be our own wild selves, the machine would sputter and quit—or possibly even explode.

I felt this old familiar feeling subtly throughout your letter, but was triggered most strongly by your statement, which began, "It is important to keep in mind that unless someone is a rich, white, heterosexual, able-bodied, Christian male, they are probably oppressed in some ways and have privilege in others." I understand the point which you go on to make: Our own abuse is never an excuse for the pain we inflict on others. What bothers me is that you seem to believe that there exists a class of people (the dominant class) who have not—or do not—experience oppression. As a reluctant member of this class, I can only say, I wish it were true.

The real world lies beneath the asphalt, just as our true selves lie buried under all the lies we were taught about who we are and how we should relate. As a rich, white, etc. male, I am not oppressed in the artificial human environment called civilization. However, all those categorizations have nothing to do

with who I could have been were I to be raised as a healthy human child in the real world. I too was robbed of my wild birthright, and my pain is as real to me as anyone else's pain is to them.

All of us have been children raised in civilization, therefore all of us have intimate knowledge (some more "intimate" than others, unfortunately) of what it means to be oppressed. Denying pain, their own and others, and especially the pain they themselves cause, is conditioned male behavior. To feel the pain of wildlands and roadkill, of nations slaughtered and species obliterated, as well as the pain that we inflict, and perhaps most frightening of all, the pain of what was done to us—that is the real work we have to do. A man who ignores his own pain is not likely to be able to show compassion (or responsibility) for others. This endless cycle of abuse, the passing on of trauma, is a defining feature of our culture, and it dwells at the heart of patriarchy.

I'll keep my eyes open so I can hold you accountable, but I want to keep my heart open too, so I can hold your pain.

Your friend in the struggle,

—SKUNK

Hello,

Thanks for the article on the important work of pirate radio. It might interest some of your readers to know that there is a progressive talk radio network at www.ieamericaradio.com that features a leading critic of corporate power, Thom Hartmann. The format is participatory, and they receive calls from progressive folk from all over the country. There are also opportunities to extend the messages of pirate radio by engaging the 50,000 watt AM stations mentioned in El Pico's article (see *EF!* November-December 2003). I've found it to be surprisingly easy to call into both local and national programs, which

often welcome respectful dissent. There are even some hosts who are privately hoping that more people would call in and say something in defense of the Earth. The hosts often can't be too "green" themselves, otherwise they'd get fired, but callers can break the silence.

Kind Regards,

—PRESTON

P.S. I think we could be more effective by networking with others and exploiting opportunities that the corporate media provides. What do you think?

Dear Knuckleheads,

In the last issue of the *Journal* (January-February 2004), the article about the cycle circus mentions *guelaguetza*, which it defines as "a time and place for people to come together to exchange ideas, traditions, politics, culture, dance, music and art." This definition is incomplete.

Guelaguetza is not an arts and crafts fair, but rather a traditional system of material exchange. In traditional Zapotec communities, women keep tabs of what they've borrowed from their neighbors and what they've loaned out. Using this record, which they often write down in notebooks reserved specifically for the purpose, they can call on their neighbors for assistance for capital intensive social events. Invitations to engage in this relationship of reciprocal exchange are extended strategically by women in order to secure important friendships. Instead of being a time to get together to exchange ideas, *guelaguetza* is a system of accounting that lets poor folks acquire social and material capital.

I will illustrate how *guelaguetza* works by providing a fictional example about a woman named Rosa. Rosa has been fulfilling requests from her network of friends. Next week, one of Rosa's daughters is getting married, and Rosa must find enough food to prepare a huge dinner.

Since she has no cash savings, Rosa looks in her notebook to find out which women she has given things to and then proceeds to the house of each one. During her visits, she calls in her favors. At the house of Inez, Rosa says, "Doña Inez, do you remember that I gave you a pig for your godson's baptism? I need you to give me one of your goats so that I can cook for my daughter's wedding." By visiting the numerous women with whom she has established a relationship of mutual exchange, Doña Rosa is able to assemble the materials needed for a wedding feast.

To be fair, there is a festival held once a year called "*lunes del cero*," or sometimes "*guelaguetza*." However, the festival is named after the exchange system, and not the other way around.

Journal readers interested in finding out more about *guelaguetza* will enjoy reading one of the many fine ethnographies of the Zapotec. Of these, I especially recommend *Zapotec Women* by Lynn Stephen.

Sincerely,

—DAN KAPPUS

Dear Shit fer Brains,

Grocery workers in California have been on strike for four months now in defense of their health care. Safeway, Ralphs and Albertsons have abandoned all pretense of competition, signing a profit-sharing agreement so they can crush the union. Consumers overwhelmingly support the strike and corporate profits are crashing.

Earth First!ers need to support these workers, standing with them at their picket lines and direct actions. This is a rare opportunity to tap into anti-corporate anger and open people's eyes to the perils of corporate rule.

Saving Mother Earth means toppling the corporate power structure entirely; aiding our anti-corporate allies will always forward the struggle.

—ATLATL

Bashing Bayer in Britain!

The Continuing Struggle Against Biotechnology

BY NORA LUDD

"The campaign against genetic engineering in Europe is the greatest block to global economic liberalization in existence."

—1999 US TREASURY REPORT TO THE SENATE

From the Americas to Australia, Brazil to Britain, Canada to Croatia, India to Italy, resistance to genetic engineering has been widespread and militant. The tactics used have been the tactics of the rebellious throughout history: crop trashing, destruction of machinery, arson, blockading and street demonstrations. There has also been the harassment of those that control the technology, be it through visits to their homes, phone calls, emails or the disruption and occupation of their corporate offices.

The first outdoor genetically modified (GM) test crop was planted in Brentwood, California, one day in April 1987. All 2,000 plants were destroyed by Earth First!ers the very next night. More than 16 years later, the global struggle continues as fierce and vibrant as ever, and it shows no signs of abating.

In Britain, strong direct action resistance, together with a huge amount of public support, has kept GM crops stuck in the research-and-development phase. Bayer Cropscience is at the forefront of a push by biotechnology companies to move forward and get certain GM crops approved for commercial growing. Until recently, Bayer owned nine of the 11 seed varieties under consideration for commercial use in Britain. At the end of December, it dropped six of these varieties, blaming the "significant actions of a criminal minority" for playing a part in its decision.

Bayer is a huge German-owned pharmaceutical and pesticide corporation. Historically, it was responsible for the trademarking of heroin (sold as cough medicine) and was part of the German chemicals conglomerate IG Farben, which made Zyklon B—the gas used in Nazi death chambers. Recently, Bayer bought Aventis Cropscience, the company responsible for many of the GM field trials in Britain. In doing so, Bayer turned itself into a big GM company, and hence it is now the number one target for anti-biotech activities.

Launched at last year's UK Earth First! Summer Gathering, the campaign to force Bayer Cropscience out of the GM

crop market has become increasingly effective. Since August, there have been both night and daytime office visits and occupations, glued locks, spraypainted messages, bricks through windows, electronic blockades and home visits. Following on from more than six years of militant anti-biotech activity in Britain, the Bayer campaign has successfully adapted to the new terrain of struggle that it finds itself in.

Previously, anti-biotech actions have focused on the destruction of small-scale GM crop trials. Despite the growing surveillance from police and private security companies, hundreds of locations have been destroyed by masked saboteurs during the last few years. Covertly organized, often done at night

and sometimes involving up to 100 people, these actions were hugely successful. However, many of the trials have reached their scientific conclusion, with the ones that were destroyed omitted from the final official reports.

The current GM trials are "farm scale," so-called because they involve areas of cultivation similar to an average, industrial-sized agricultural field. These fields are too large to be effectively destroyed, and many of the trials are now

nearing completion anyway. As a result, the focus of British anti-GM activity has changed, and it is now directed at the corporations and individuals responsible rather than the crops themselves.

With this shift in direction, the Bayer campaign has learned lessons from the inspiring Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign. A significant part of SHAC's success is due to its strategic targeting. This has led people to focus not just on the target company—that's expecting action against it and often responds with secure premises and a well-developed public relations department—but diversifying and looking for weaker points in the corporate matrix.



This growing campaign is not challenging Bayer and the rest of the GM corporate interests with morals and complicated arguments. Intense and consistent economic sabotage and intimidation are what will make the commercialization of GM crops an unattractive option.

In Britain, this way of identifying weak points has been utilized for the Bayer campaign—choosing targets that are connected to the company, but who often have no expectation of being hit and therefore usually have much lower security measures. This has meant that banks, insurance brokers, advertising agencies, food supply chains and other related elements of Bayer's essential support structure have been attacked. At times, this has led to interesting developments within the campaign. On some occasions, different parts of the same company have felt that they are being targeted for something that they are not doing and may not even agree with. Very useful situations have resulted from this approach, including some cases where some of the information used in the campaign has been supplied by employees of the companies targeted.

Another of the positive aspects of this campaign has been its emphasis on globalizing the struggle against Bayer. This has become even more important as Bayer has recently taken out a legal injunction against a number of groups, websites and individuals in Britain to attempt to prevent them from engaging in, or even reporting on, anti-Bayer activities. Of course, it will not work. Indeed, similar injunctions used in past cases have even seemed to mobilize resistance rather than crush it.

Nevertheless, it is partly with this injunction in mind that globalizing the resistance to Bayer is now a priority for the campaign. Already there have been anti-Bayer actions in Italy, and more throughout Europe will hopefully follow soon. Any actions happening in North America would be welcomed and supported.

It is important to note that this growing campaign is not challenging Bayer and the rest of the GM corporate interests with morals and complicated arguments. Most people in Britain are opposed to GM crops, and yet the government and corporations are going ahead with them regardless. The time for discussion of the rights and wrongs of GM crops has passed. Intense and consistent economic sabotage and intimidation are what will make the commercialization of GM crops an unattractive option for Bayer, and

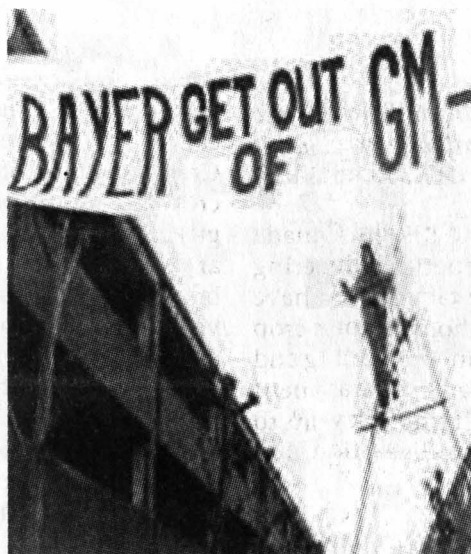
so those are the tactics being chosen.

The war against GM crops will continue. Winning the battle against Bayer, as one battle in the war against biotechnology, is a necessary victory to prevent the economic machinery from destroying the last of the natural world. For all those who oppose the domestication and continuing enclosure of life by state and corporate interests, continue the resistance against biotech and join the battle against Bayer!

For more information on Bayer's dirty history, visit www.bayerhazard.com. To find Bayer and related targets in the US, including individuals, companies, offices and supporting institutions, visit www.bayercropscienceus.com. For more information on the anti-Bayer

campaign in Britain and to report any actions, visit www.stopbayergm.org. And lastly, for longer reports and an analysis of the resistance to the biotech industry in Britain, visit www.eco-action.org/dod.

Nora Ludd feels much happier when making Bayer executives' lives miserable by visiting their homes at night. He lives in a muddy ditch in the north of England, but is currently on a yoga holiday in Outer Mongolia with his tortoise animal companion.



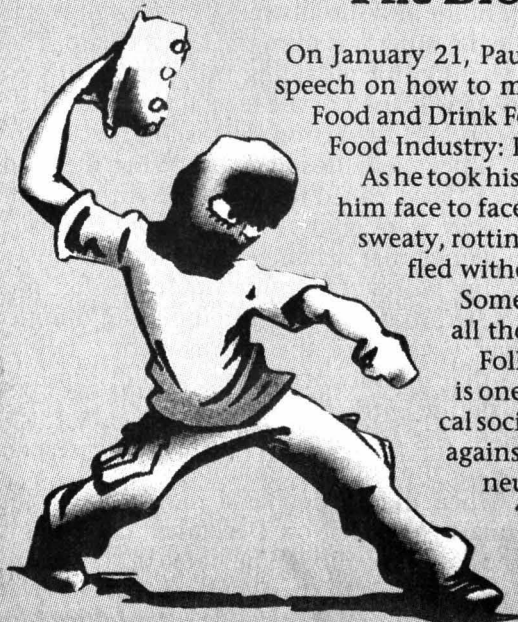
The Biotech Baking Brigade Strikes Back!

On January 21, Paul Rylott, top GM scientist at Bayer Cropscience, delivered a stirring speech on how to manage consumer response to biotechnology. Rylott was attending a Food and Drink Federation-sponsored conference in London, "Threats and Risks in the Food Industry: Predicting and Managing Issues."

As he took his place in line for the buffet dinner, a polite call of "Mr. Rylott?" brought him face to face with a stale, dumpstered chocolate fudge cake that was covered with sweaty, rotting whipped cream. The assaulting party shouted, "That's for GM!" and fled without arrest.

Some leaflets were given out to the surprised and immobilized crowd, and all those protesting left before the cops arrived.

Following the action, the Biotech Baking Brigade stated, "GM technology is one of the latest onslaughts of a bland and tedious industrial, technological society against the Earth. We are against monoculture and for biodiversity, against the domestication of people and land, and for the wild. There is no neutral ground: Everyone is called upon to choose their side. Whenever 'they' strike—be they governments, corporations or greenwashing quangos—we will strike back. They have declared war on us and our planet: We will answer it."



The Fight for Water

BY THE WATER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

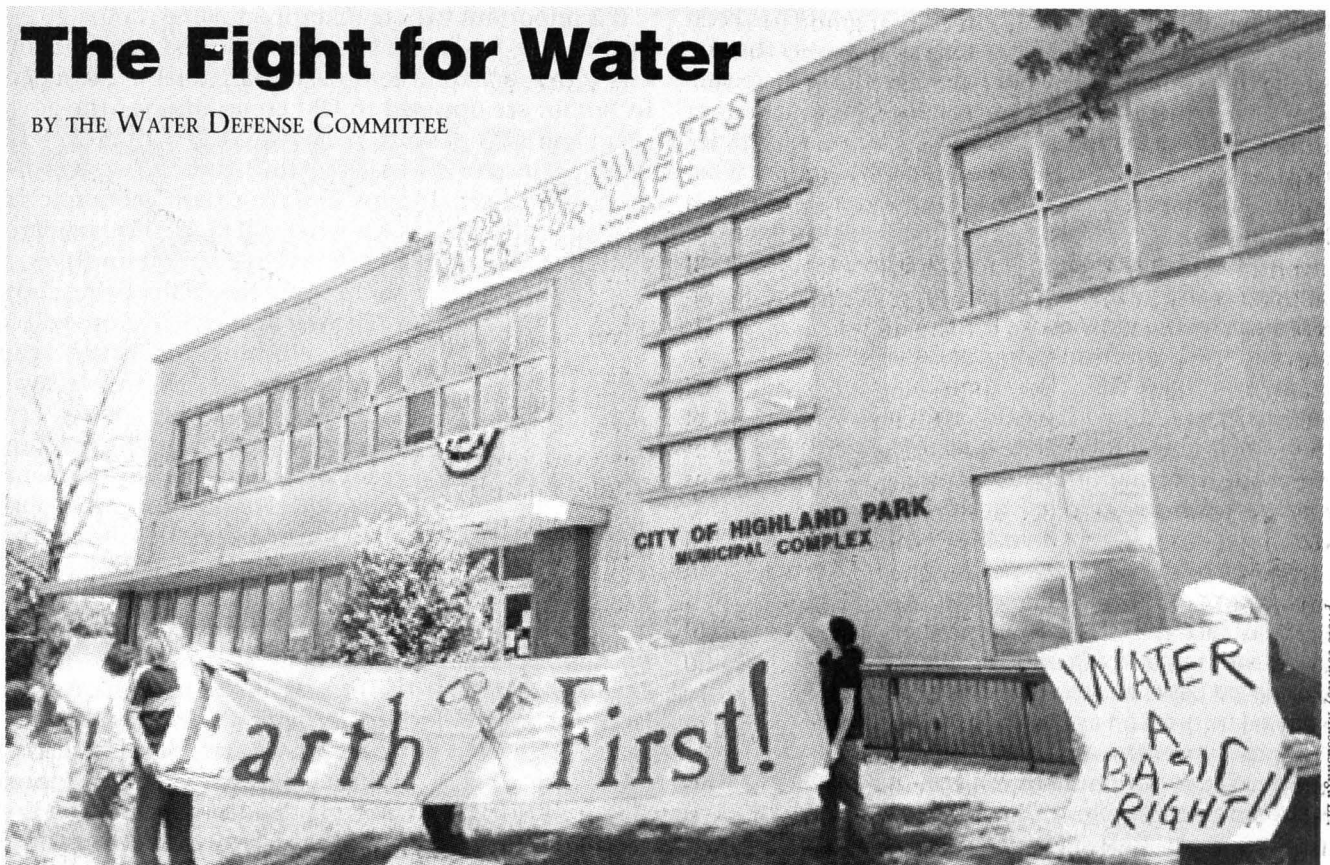


photo courtesy Massasauga EFi

Massasauga Earth First!ers occupy the roof of the Highland Park municipal building in July

The past few months have been busy and somewhat surreal for activists fighting water privatization throughout Michigan. More than 80,000 homes in Detroit have no water or other utility access or are in the process of having these utilities shut off. But neither Governor Jennifer Granholm nor any other public official will declare a state of emergency and stand up for these people's rights. It is in this climate that the push to privatize local water resources, and the ensuing conflict, intensifies.

Ice Mountain, a brand of water owned by Nestlé and drawn from Michigan's natural water systems, has been the target of attention from the Sweetwater Alliance since March 2002 (see *EF!* January-February 2003). The Sweetwater Alliance is a coalition of Michigan residents and environmental activists dedicated to the liberation of essential resources from corporate control, and it has an active boycott campaign against Ice Mountain.

The Meijer grocery store chain has refused to stop carrying Ice Mountain, despite direct demands by the Sweetwater activists. At a protest on October 18, in Flint, Michigan, Marie Mason was arrested when she attempted to enter the store wearing a t-shirt that read: "Ask Me About Ice Mountain." The arresting officer later stated that the Mason was "unpredictable" and "potentially harmful."

In September, the water issue garnered interest from a group that the FBI loves to hate. The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) attempted to burn down one of Ice Mountain's two pumping stations. Unfortunately, the incendiary devices failed to ignite. Soon thereafter, Massasauga Earth First! issued a statement supporting the attempted action, and the FBI decided to use the arson attempt as justification for harassing activists in the above-ground movement for

water protection. Some of the people listed as regional contacts on the Sweetwater Alliance's website were contacted by the FBI, as was the owner of a private camp where the group had held a statewide planning retreat. The FBI then issued a subpoena in late October to Mason and her husband, Frank Ambrose, to submit palm prints and DNA samples to a federal grand jury. They refused.

When the subpoenas were served, Mason and Ambrose were approached separately. Ambrose's subpoena was delivered to him at work. Immediately after the two FBI agents left, he called Mason. At that point, agents knocked on the door to their home and she answered. One agent was from the FBI while the other was from the Coast Guard. Thanks Homeland Security, for providing this opportunity to be harassed by a new branch of the federal government.

People responded to an action alert asking for calls to the US attorney's office about the subpoenas. When the couple's attorney, Buck Davis, called to inform US Attorney Lloyd Meyers that they were going to file a motion to quash, Meyers complained that his office could not get any work done due to the "scores of impolite and harassing" phone calls. Meyers said that he was contemplating filing contempt charges because of the "harassment." Davis reminded him that the subpoenas were also disrupting his clients' lives significantly. At this point, Davis also discovered that there was an alleged third subpoena issued to someone else for the same information.

Meyers reissued the subpoenas a month later, and a motion to quash was filed on December 17. The judge denied the motion. Even though he stated otherwise in his opinion, it was clear that the basis of the subpoenas was in fact Ambrose and Mason's political activity and past arrest

records. But his ruling also reinforced that grand juries do not need any basis of evidence to issue a subpoena. Simply thinking that someone may have been involved in a crime is enough to justify a subpoena to produce evidence or testimony. When dealing with a grand jury, you are guilty until proven innocent. Ambrose and Mason were forced to comply and gave the government their hand prints and DNA samples.

Given the October memo that was leaked from the FBI detailing its efforts to marginalize and isolate radical members of the anti-war movement, the situation in Michigan is interesting. If you were to substitute "anti-water privatization" for "anti-war," then the actions of the local police and FBI seem familiar. They are trying to marginalize and bad-jacket both the Sweetwater Alliance and Massasauga EF! as violent and extreme in the eyes of the more moderate organizations involved in the fight to protect water.

Meanwhile, activists had been awaiting a decision in a court case brought against Nestlé and the State of Michigan by another group, the Michigan Citizens for Water Conservation (MCWC). No matter what the decision, the FBI knew that conservative, moderate and radical groups would have to join together to stand up to a giant like Nestlé. To the FBI, a classic divide-and-conquer strategy was in order.

The court decision did finally come down in early December. In a stunning victory, Judge Lawrence Root ordered Nestlé to completely stop pumping water in 22 days. This decision effectively closed the 150-million-dollar plant that Nestlé had built with the hope of establishing itself in Michigan. But before activists could even begin to celebrate the victory, Granholm stepped in on Nestlé's behalf. She filed an amicus brief and helped to convince the appeals court to grant a stay to the order, allowing Nestlé to continue to drain Michigan. This was a tremendous shock, as Granholm has repeatedly stated her opposition to water diversion and Nestlé's operations at Ice Mountain.

In response, the more moderate environmental groups released a joint statement that complemented the governor's actions and compromised their original demands. The Sweetwater Alliance and Massasauga EF! were left alone criticizing the governor for her duplicity. It seemed pretty obvious that mainstream environmentalists wanted to be sure to distinguish themselves from Sweetwater. It also seemed pretty obvious that they wanted to make this distinction because of the adverse attention that Sweetwater has been receiving as a result of the FBI harassment.

So, at the end of round one, the divide-and-conquer strategy worked. Fortunately, movements remain fluid, and MCWC and others who had previously been afraid to criticize the governor seem to have reconsidered. On February 4, in Lansing, Michigan, they came together with Sweetwater to present a "State of the People" address and their united demand for environmental justice and water protection.

If you would like to help, calls are needed to the assistant US attorney in Grand Rapids, Lloyd K. Meyers. He can be reached at (616) 456-2404. Tell Meyers to disband the grand jury immediately and cancel the subpoenas for the anti-water privatization activists.

For more information or to donate to Mason and Ambrose's legal defense fund, contact the Water Defense Committee, POB 44173, Detroit, MI 48244; massasaugaef@yahoo.com. Also visit www.waterissweet.org.

The Battle for Blue Gold

BY TONY CLARKE AND MAUDE BARLOW

Along with population growth and increasing water consumption, massive pollution has placed great strain on the world's remaining supply of clean fresh water. By 2025, as many as two-thirds of all people are expected to be living under serious water shortage conditions, and demand for water could very well exceed availability by more than 50 percent.

This has attracted the interest of global corporations who want to sell water for a profit. The water industry is touted by the World Bank as a potential trillion-dollar industry.

Leading the charge for privatization are three corporations based in Europe: Vivendi, Suez and RWE. After a series of private-sector fiascos in the global South, these companies are now concentrating their investments on more secure markets in North America and Europe.

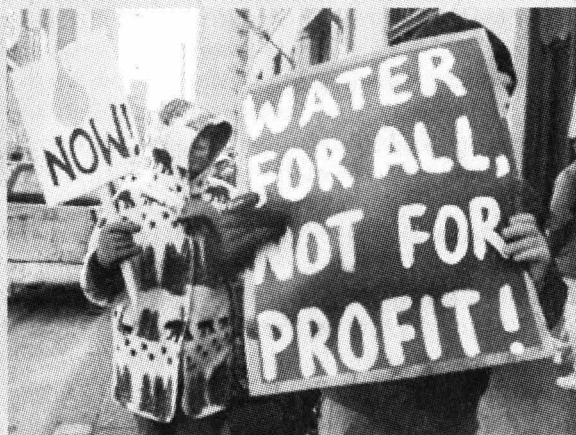


photo courtesy: Massasauga EF!

A picket calling for an end to water shut-offs

Eighty-five percent of all water services in the US are still in public hands. That's a tempting target. Within the next 10 years, Vivendi, Suez and RWE aim to control 70 percent of water services across the US.

Because the same corporate players are targeting communities around the world, we must forge alliances and connections, learn from one another and start to build a frontal attack. Our local actions should be informed by three global principles. One is water conservation. The second principle is that water is a fundamental human right, and the third principle is water democracy.

We cannot leave the management of our most precious resource in the hands of bureaucrats in government or private corporations. We, the people, must preserve this special trust.

Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke are co-authors of Blue Gold: The Corporate Theft of the World's Water.

Excerpted from the Winter 2004 issue of Yes! magazine.

The Water Defense Committee is a group of activists working to defend the anti-water privatization movement against government harassment.

Raiders of the Lost Biosphere: Conservation International

BY AZIZ CHOUDRY

Its website proclaims: "A passionate few can make the difference in the world." Colin Powell says that its work is "amazing." Its president, Russell Mittermeier, confesses to a lifelong Tarzan fixation, while its vice-chair is the actor who played Indiana Jones. In 2001, it received what the media dubbed the largest grant to an environmental organization—\$261 million spread over 10 years.

The organization is Conservation International (CI). Founded in 1987, with headquarters in Washington, DC, CI's stated mission is "to conserve the Earth's living natural heritage, our global biodiversity and to demonstrate that human societies are able to live harmoniously with nature." It operates in more than 30 countries—in the Americas, Asia, Africa and the Pacific. But like Harrison Ford, CI does a lot of acting, applying copious layers of green make-up. Unfortunately, for many indigenous peoples affected by CI's brand of "conservation," this is no movie set.

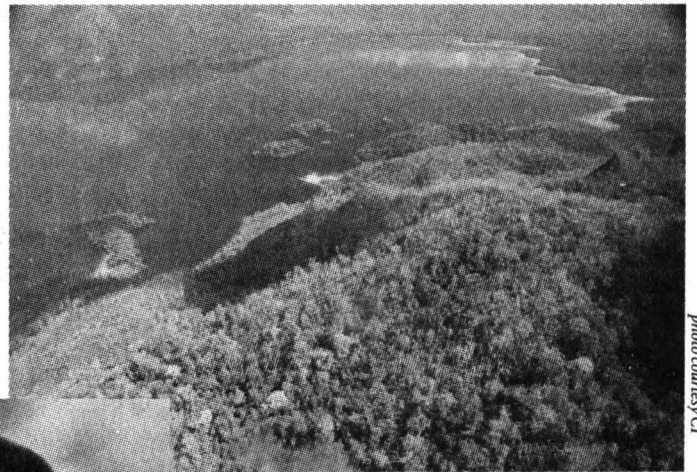
It is no coincidence that indigenous people live in the world's remaining biologically diverse regions. Yet CI frequently depicts them as threats to the environment, accusing them of illegal logging, overpopulation and slash-and-burn agriculture. Leave it to the experts to save these places, says CI, through "applying innovations in science, economics and policy."

CI's major supporters include Cemex, Citigroup, Chiquita, ExxonMobil Foundation, Ford, Gap, JP Morgan Chase and Co., McDonald's, Sony, Starbucks, United Airlines and Disney. Gordon Moore, CI's executive committee chair—and donor of the \$261 million grant—founded the Intel Corporation. CI claims that its corporate supporters "share a common concern about protecting the environment."

CI uses its considerable financial resources, political influence and

environmental sweet talk to quietly access, administer and purchase biologically diverse areas throughout the world, which it puts at the disposal of multinational corporations. CI's track record suggests a motivation to conserve natural areas as a resource for bioprospecting rather than out of concern for the rights of the people who have lived with and protected these ecosystems for so long.

In 1997, CI signed a comprehensive bioprospecting agreement with California-based Hyseq, which specializes in genomic sequencing. CI agreed to test flora and fauna samples for possible drug candidates and to provide



Chiapas, a bioprospector's paradise



CI's Vice-chair
Mr. Ford

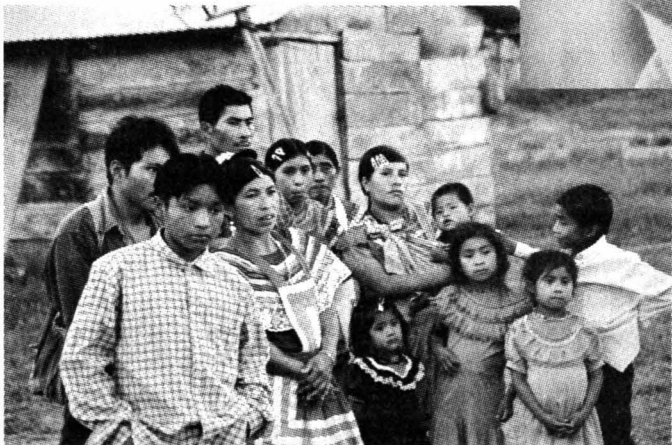
photo courtesy Harrison Ford's Shame Club

regular reports on its findings to Hyseq. In addition to an initial contribution, Hyseq pays CI on both a per-country basis and an annual fee. Hyseq is also free to pursue intellectual property claims over any results.

In Panama, CI has worked with Novartis, Monsanto and others in "ecologically guided bioprospecting"—seeking pharmaceutical and agricultural products from plants, fungi and insects. In Surinam, CI cooperated with Bristol Myers Squibb's ethnobotanists in collecting plant samples. It was here that CI worked to win the trust of indigenous communities and healers in order to negotiate a very dubious "benefit-sharing" agreement.

Half a world away, in the Solomon Islands, CI runs a project that sees local people harvesting the Ngali nut. CI claims that this provides a viable economic alternative to logging the country's tropical forests. The project supplies the operations of an Australian entrepreneur, Peter Hull.

On May 28, 2002, Hull was granted a patent by the US Patent Office for use of the nut oil in the "treatment of arthritis and other similar conditions." He is applying



Threat to the environment or a threat to CI's profit margin in Chiapas?

photo courtesy CI

for patents in 127 countries. Hull says that he works with CI to convince village elders "that it is in their best interests to preserve and protect their rainforest, in order to harvest the Ngali nuts from it."

While Hull can earn an estimated \$10,000 dollars for each kilogram of nut oil, last year the World Bank put per capita income in the Solomons at \$570. This seems to be yet another example of a CI collaboration that supports the rights of private companies to cash in on traditional knowledge and patent lifeforms. The locals—pardon the pun—get peanuts.

CI's involvement in the Selva Lacandona, Chiapas, is also deeply disturbing. Through a 1991 debt-for-nature swap, CI bought the right to set up a genetic research station in the Montes Azules Biosphere reserve.

It currently is urging the Mexican government to evict the indigenous communities in Montes Azules, accusing them of destroying the rainforest. And in the name of environmental protection, CI is pitting indigenous communities against each other, raising fears of conflict in an area that is already heavily militarized.

The giant Mexican agribusiness corporation, Grupo Pulsar, works closely with CI in Mexico. Between 1996 and 2000, it donated \$10 million to CI-Mexico.

Pulsar's claimed concern for ecology and biodiversity does not extend to its main activities, which include the promotion of monoculture in Chiapas and the planned planting more than 700,000 acres of non-native eucalyptus trees.

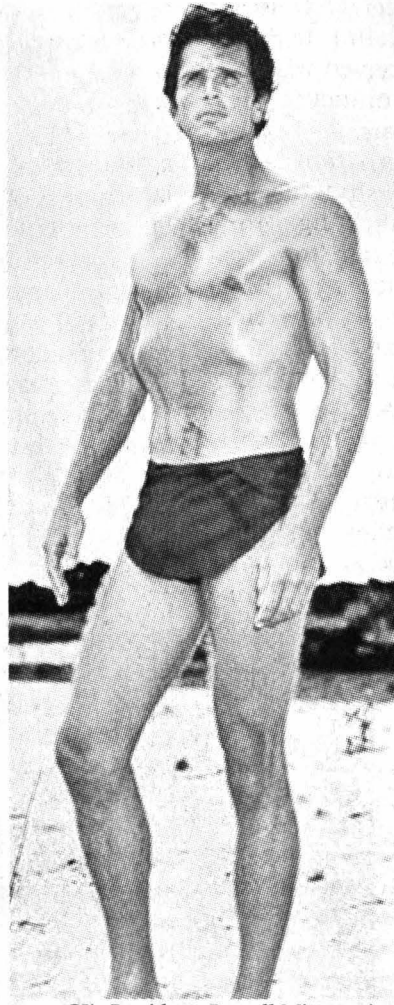
The Chiapas-based Center of Economic and Political Research for Community Action believes that the Pulsar Group's donations could more likely be a remuneration for CI bioprospecting within the Selva Lacandona.

Pulsar has the technology, the resources and the business knowledge to know that there are large rewards awaiting the "discovery" of medicinal properties extracted from the Lacandona. CI "facilitates" the Pulsar Group's entrance, and it helps orient technicians in the prospecting while projecting a conservation façade to the world.

The World Bank-backed Meso-American Biological Corridor project

is also supported by CI. Many indigenous communities, social movements and environmental organizations have condemned this project as an attempt to greenwash the massive Plan Puebla Panama infrastructure scheme and as a front for corporate biopiracy in the region.

In many countries, the establishment of CI-initiated protected areas



CI's President, Russell Mittermeier

have trampled on indigenous peoples' land, social, spiritual, cultural, political and economic rights, without consultation, in deals cut with governments and corporations in the name of "conservation." The Wai Wai and Wapishana in southern Guyana recently accused CI of "gross disrespect" toward indigenous peoples in its move to set up a protected area on their territories.

Given the significant involvement of mining, oil and gas corporations in CI's program it is sobering to note that many of its "biodiversity hotspots" and project operations are on or adjacent to sites of oil, gas and

mineral exploration and extraction—Chiapas, Palawan (Philippines), Colombia, West Papua, Aceh (Indonesia) and Papua New Guinea. Indigenous peoples continue to resist the corporate assaults on their territories, while CI actively champions the causes of these multinational corporations to be seen as environmentally and socially responsible.

In September 2002, mining giant Rio Tinto launched a partnership with CI in southeastern Guinea's Pic De Fon, giving support for a rapid assessment program of the rich biodiversity in a forest area where Rio Tinto was exploring (it has diamond and iron ore operations in Guinea).

Rio Tinto's environmental policy adviser Tom Burke sits on the advisory board for CI's Center for Environmental Leadership in Business (CELB), along with executives from International Paper, Starbucks and British Petroleum.

Another CI project is the Energy and Biodiversity Initiative (EBI). Convened by the CELB, participants include British Petroleum, Chevron Texaco, Fauna & Flora International, Shell, Smithsonian Institution, Statoil, The Nature Conservancy and IUCN—The World Conservation Union. Last August, the EBI released a report, "Energy and Biodiversity: Integrating Biodiversity Conservation into Oil and Gas Development."

Given its corporate nature and its "partnerships," it is easy to see why CI is so uncritical about the impact of economic injustice on the environment and biodiversity. Indeed, it proposes market "solutions" to address environmental destruction that has been caused or exacerbated by free market capitalism.

CI believes that the best way to conserve biodiversity is to privatize it. Yet those who are paying attention to CI's activities see this approach leading to tropical forests becoming "corporate-administered genetic colonies."

In the struggles for social and ecological justice, and against corporate colonialism, it is very clear which side Conservation International is on. Not ours.

Aziz Choudry is an activist, researcher and writer. He can be reached at notoapec@clear.net.nz.

Anatomy of a Raw Deal

Indigenous Mapuche Groups Object to Corporate-Environmental Alliance in Chile

BY JASON TOCKMAN

"I can't believe that I am witnessing this unfold," exclaimed Leo, the global justice activist to my left. "I always wondered how environmental groups could do this, how this sort of thing comes to pass."

The date was October 7, as four of us, two indigenous and two not, sat stunned, contemplating the moral precipice that a handful of professional environmentalists from the US and Chile sat perched upon. As we feared, a collection of forest campaigners—all living a great distance from the Chilean forests in question—were to sign their organizations up for an "unprecedented alliance" with the two most powerful and ecologically destructive Chilean forestry giants, Arauco and Mininco. The move was made despite pleas from indigenous Mapuche groups to cease negotiations with the companies, both of which are primary parties involved in the repression and displacement of the Mapuche, the largest population of native people in Chile.

"We are environmental, not social advocacy groups," was one of the rationales provided, despite the fact that many of the participant groups include advocacy for indigenous or forest-based communities in their mission statements. One of the organizations that would sign the deal was my own.

The Mapuche response came after much thoughtful deliberation:

"In almost all of Latin America, environmental groups have presumed to speak about the existence of native people. Nevertheless, almost always in moments of conversations, negotiations or agreements undertaken with companies and governments, they leave the proposals of the communities aside; forgetting about the people who face the direct conflicts and the damages that governments and businesses inflict on the ecosystems where the communities live. In this respect, we have the feeling that the process of negotiations that you have assumed with the forestry companies is not an exception."

How did a forest campaign get to such a point? And what lessons can ensure that this doesn't happen again?

The Chile Native Forest Campaign

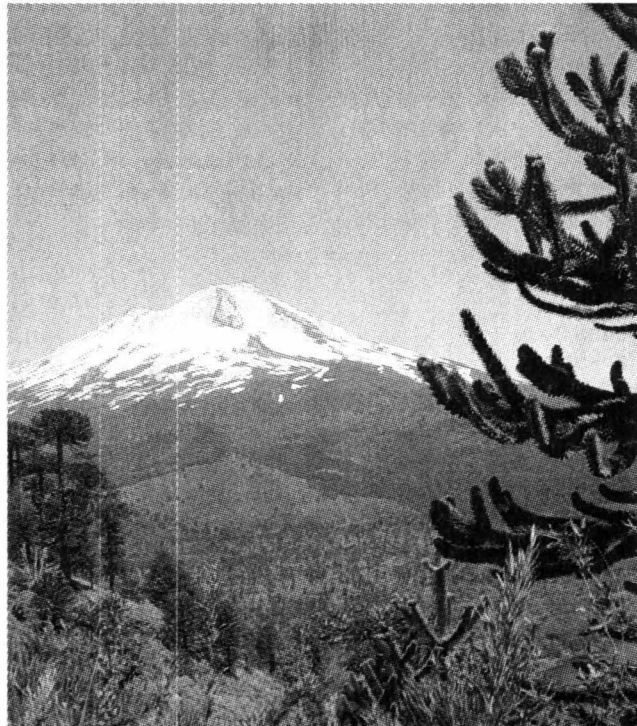
In early 2003, environmentalists from the US, led by ForestEthics, journeyed to central and southern Chile to garner support for the development of a "Chile Native Forest Campaign." The campaign plan followed the market-oriented strategy that many of us have seen used in campaigns like those targeting Home Depot, Staples and Mitsubishi.

For those unfamiliar with the strategy, market campaigns are variants of the time-tested concept of a boycott. The current forest market campaigns involve applying various forms of pressure—from letters to protests in front of stores—to force large, begrudging companies to change their policies of wood or paper acquisition, thus netting forest protection down the purchasing chain. In many cases, companies are dragged reluctantly to the table for a "solutions" negotiation process, at which environmentalists offer to stop tarnishing the corporation's image in exchange for the firm's commitment to change its policies and practices.

With the Chile Native Forest Campaign, initial support was secured from Chilean environmentalists and Mapuche groups alike. All parties saw the value in exerting market

pressures in the US, with the hope that this would curtail the extensive conversion of Chilean native forests to exotic eucalyptus and pine plantations. Everyone agreed that the proposed strategy could mean solid forest protection for the biologically diverse temperate rainforests of the region.

Two serious mistakes happened during this first trip to Chile. A strategic decision was made to bring the Chilean environmentalists into the campaign as full partners, while the Mapuche groups were relegated to a lesser status: Their issues would be profiled, but they would be denied input into decision-making. Additionally, the blessing of the Mapuche groups was received without a full explanation that the process, if successful, would include direct negotiations with two of the main agents of their



Araucaria trees in southern Chile, with the Llaima Volcano

photo by Jason Tockman

repression: Arauco and Mininco. These omissions would prove to be the undermining of trust and cooperation between the environmentalists and indigenous groups in Chile.

It is important to note that all of the US environmental groups involved—ForestEthics, American Lands Alliance,

Greenpeace, Rainforest Action Network and Natural Resources Defense Council—appeared to have been comfortable with bringing the Mapuche fully to the table from the start. It was the Chilean environmentalists that objected. As it was told to me, there is a great deal of racism in Chile, and our Chilean partners would never have joined the campaign if they had to share the table with Mapuche groups. The environmentalists generally found the demands made by the Mapuche groups to be unreasonably expansive, in that they extended to the relationship between the Mapuche and the nation of Chile.

To the Mapuche, it was unreasonable that their proposals and interests were disregarded, given that much of the land in question is rightfully theirs and the fact that their people's fate was to be directly influenced by the outcome of the environmental effort.

Struggle of the Mapuche

An indigenous people numbering more than one million, the Mapuche were never conquered by Spanish invaders, nor militarily by the modern Chilean state. However, decades of government and corporate pressures have taken Mapuche lands and eroded their cultural bonds, leading to the dispersal of the people and their placement in reservations called "reductions."

Chile, like all of South America, has a history of bloodshed and repression of native peoples. Unlike other South American countries, however, Chile has not made strides to rectify these conditions and has refused to ratify Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization, which requires states to consult indigenous peoples on the resource extraction processes that affect them.

Mapuche communities currently face severe hardship as a result of the extensive establishment of tree plantations. They have lost much of their land base, as diverse areas previously used for food and medicine collection have been converted into biologically sterile monocultures. The quick-rotation plantations drain groundwater supplies, and the pesticides sprayed by forestry companies contaminate what is left. Mapuche resistance to these incursions has been met with brutality by the Chilean authorities, acting in tandem with the corporations. Their lands have been militarized, and hundreds of Mapuche have been politically imprisoned. In November 2002, Alex Lemún, a 17-year-old Mapuche, was shot and killed for protesting on a Mininco plantation.

In August, Mapuche groups learned through the Chilean press that the Chile Native Forest Campaign had reached a turning point and that market pressures had achieved their intended result in getting the attention of the forest industry. Without notifying the Mapuche, Chilean and US

environmentalists had begun a series of meetings with Arauco and Mininco toward a "win-win" joint agreement.

However, there would be no win for the Mapuche. Their position was that "to establish any negotiation with these companies is to contribute to the washing of their image, to continue consolidation of the international wood export

markets and to continue to ignore the fundamental problems that exist in these territories." They explained:

"Our spirit and interest is to stop the forestry expansion for the protection of the natural resources in these areas and to transform the current social, political and legislative relationships that the Mapuche communities face with the Chilean state. It is fundamental to understand that our interests should not be opposed to your interests of environmental protection, specifically forest protection. However, we understand that to arrive at this end we must address the fundamental problems, not just address the symptoms of these problems, which we believe you are doing."

The Mapuche groups insisted that negotiations with these firms be discontinued

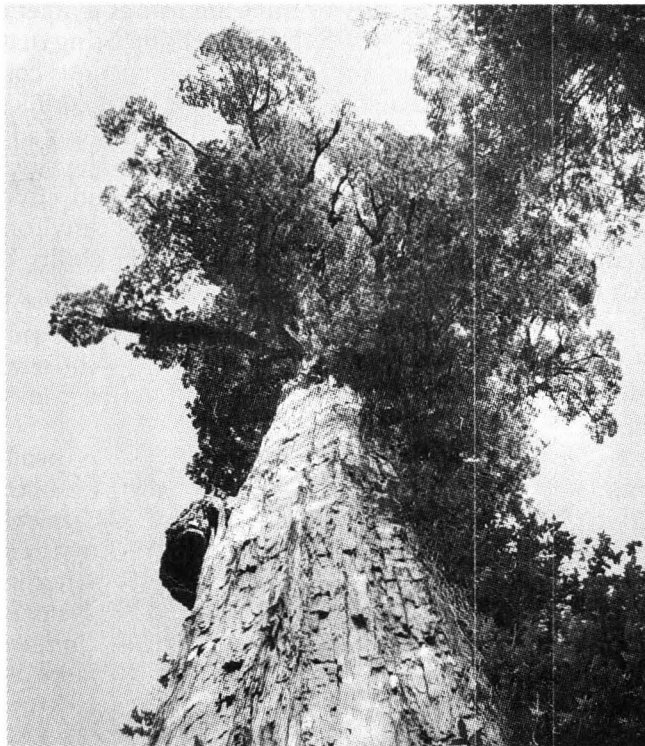
until, among other conditions, the repression of their people stops. They urged the environmental campaigners to refine their strategy, arguing that the path of negotiations with Arauco and Mininco would have disastrous consequences for Mapuche communities.

The environmental groups responded that the talks had proceeded too far and that Mapuche demands could not be effectively addressed through this process. While the market campaign could pressure the companies to alter their policies, the environmental groups felt that the core of the Mapuche complaints were aimed at the government and thus outside the scope of the initiative. In November, environmentalists signed a joint statement with Arauco and Mininco and declared victory for Chile's forests.

So What Was "Won?"

The major commitment made by the forestry companies was to neither convert native forests to plantations, nor to promote such conversion by third parties. Since, according to all accounts, Arauco and Mininco are no longer engaged in widespread conversion, the more significant element of their commitment is to not promote conversion by others. Presumably, this means that the companies will not buy wood from landowners who have recently replaced forests with plantations. If the companies make good on their word, the gains made by environmentalists in securing these commitments will likely lead to the protection of thousands of acres of Chilean forest

continued on next page



Three-thousand-year-old alerce tree in southern Chile

Photo by Jason Tockman

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(unfortunately falling far shy of the one million acres the "victory" press release implies).

Of lesser significance, the companies have also agreed to identify and map the native forest holdings that they own and conduct conservation assessments of their properties. The firms have stated that they do not plan to cut any native forests, although they have made clear that this could change in the future.

Market campaigners argue that there is another important aspect to the commitments made by Arauco and Mininco: raising the bar for forest products companies around the world. The pledge made by these firms, they believe, represents the latest and best in a progression of concessions offered by companies involved in the wood and paper industries. The logic is that these commitments set a new benchmark for companies to reach if they want to avoid being targeted by environmentalists. Once a critical mass of companies have been forced to change their wood purchasing policies so as to avoid sourcing from endangered forests, a new industry-wide standard will have been achieved.

The Limits of Market Campaigns

Foremost among the difficulties involving market-oriented strategies is whether the "wins" from these corporate campaigns can be sustained. When a company announces that it will no longer buy wood from endangered forests, the real accomplishment comes during implementation. It remains to be seen if environmentalists have the capacity to properly follow-up on and essentially enforce the various commitments made in recent years. As more "wins" are chalked up, forest activists will have to re-double efforts to ensure that the companies are making good on their word. Absent effective monitoring by environmental groups working with affected communities, the impressive string of market campaign victories will be nothing more than a list of hollow announcements.

Arauco and Mininco have said that their "implementation procedures will be open with a high degree of transparency and public disclosure, including reasonable observations by third parties." However, what they deem to be "reasonable" and how activists will watchdog these firms on the ground is unclear.

A related problem stems from the use of the phrase "endangered forests." The bold-sounding term allows companies wiggle-room to sign on to a less-than-certain commitment, while environmentalists get their foot in the door to influence a company's wood purchasing policies. The concept of

endangered forests also means that we often do not know what we have won when we send out the victory press release. It remains to be seen whether or not we will be able to leverage ambiguous commitments into real forest protection.

The situation that unfolded in Chile highlights one of the inherent limitations of how market campaigns are currently organized. I repeatedly heard the mantra that "there are things market campaigns can and cannot do," the implication being that they cannot effectively be used to address indigenous concerns.

The root of this conflict is that individual market campaigns can usually only address a single issue at a time, while the companies being targeted are typically guilty of a wide range of social and environmental abuses. Further, the perceived need for environmentalists to win victories could preclude the possibility of casting the net of issues too widely or from directly addressing fundamental problems such as the treatment of indigenous communities.

That said, if sequences of coordinated market campaigns and local protests targeting the forest products industry could be sustained—particularly in coordination with indigenous peoples—then it is not impossible to imagine such campaigns eventually contributing to the repositioning of the Mapuche vis-a-vis the Chilean state.

Forest activists need to closely scrutinize market campaigns, the process of decision-making, the players involved and the final agreements that emerge. While legitimate victories through this campaign strategy are likely, we need to be cautious of market campaign pitfalls.

It is not enough for us to express concern about the fate of indigenous communities. Our actions must reflect our sentiments and involve genuine respect and empowerment of native peoples. As the experience in Chile instructs, environmental campaigns need to involve indigenous communities, not as a cause to be championed, but as partners in the struggle. For these communities, overcoming centuries of colonialism—which means having autonomy and independent decision-making—is often just as important as environmental considerations. Environmental groups need to be aware of this when engaging indigenous communities in campaigns and need to make sure that if indigenous actors are affected by potential outcomes, then they be able to participate in negotiation and decision-making processes from the start.

Jason Tockman recently resigned from the position of international trade director for the American Lands Alliance. He can be reached at tockman@riseup.net.



Hills cleared for the next plantation crop of radiata pine trees

photo by Jason Tockman

CELEBRATING VICTORIES

A Look at the New Citigroup Environmental Policy

BY DAN FIRGER AND ILYSE HOGUE

On January 22, Citigroup—the largest financial institution in the world—announced its “New Environmental Initiatives,” after a four-year campaign spearheaded by Rainforest Action Network and supported by the work of many thousands around the globe. Now we hope to analyze our achievements and explore what this “victory” means for affected communities, ecosystems and for the power of the ecology movement as a whole.

The Global Finance Campaign chose to target the practices of one company, Citigroup, because of its visible brand name, its leadership role within the financial sector and, most importantly, its financial connections to egregious projects doing irreparable damage to the Earth’s natural systems.

The goals of the campaign were multiple: to shine a spotlight on an institution and sector that operates in anonymity and with impunity; to achieve tangible concessions that provide relief to ecosystems and communities threatened with destruction; and to experiment with a strategy that would bridge across movements.

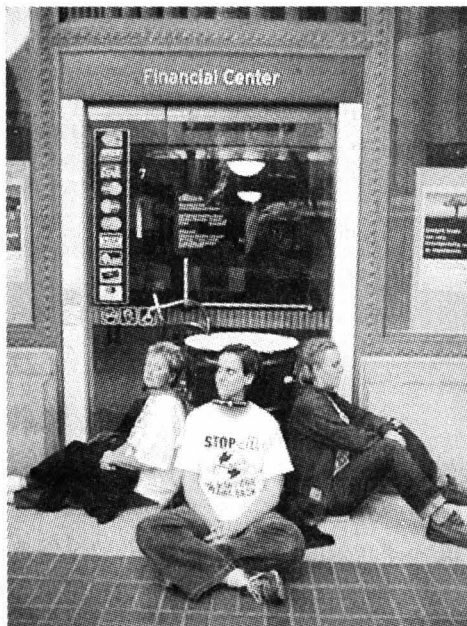
Some of these goals have undoubtedly been achieved, while others, of course, are a continual work in progress.

Concessionary vs. Transformative Campaigning

Citigroup has vowed to ban funding for commercial logging operations in tropical rainforests and to put strict restrictions on investments in ecological “no-go zones,” which are off-limits to industrial development projects. Citi’s new guidelines also include commitments that, if implemented fully, will require early and informed participation of communities potentially affected by its investments. Citi will preferentially invest in logging operations that are certified by the Forest Stewardship Council, and it has committed to report the greenhouse gas emissions from its power sector projects while simultaneously working to reduce these emissions and increase investments in clean energy sources.

While as of yet untested, we have confidence that these concessions are real. For the ecosystems and human communities facing the bulldozer blades, they may mean the difference between extinction and survival. Yet, clearly, they also fall short of what is needed to transform the economy into something that respects the Earth and the natural limits of its abundance.

The most responsible corporate campaigns work to reduce the distance between what is “possible” for a company and what is necessary for the Earth to survive. In 2000, Citigroup



Citibank protest in San Francisco, California

refused to acknowledge the fact that banks are responsible for the effects of their investment decisions. Gaining real concessions from a company like Citi makes room for deeper transformative work.

The Magic Bullet Trap

No single corporate campaign can ever be all things to all markets. The task of transforming the global economy requires diverse approaches, multiple campaigns and countless individual acts of resistance.

The urge to find—or claim we’ve found—a “magic bullet” solution can result in an unwillingness to support other struggles and approaches. The Global Finance Campaign has provided a powerful access point to real power-holders in the global economy.

We view the campaign as one way to bring about economic and social change while creating space for other ideas and campaigns. We hope that diverse campaigns and movements joining together in celebration of our varied strategies and tactics will provide unity around the shared vision of a radically different and better world for all of us.

Building the Movement

After four years, what is the legacy of the Citi campaign? What new opportunities and alliances have been created?

For starters, we have demanded and won accountability from the previously unaccountable banking sector. We are also proud of the relationships we have developed with those allies combating predatory lending in America’s inner cities, with diverse networks of global justice activists and with international partners working in Europe and the Global South. This coalition will only grow stronger, as accountability for one set of stakeholders can help improve the leverage of others. Perhaps most importantly, we’ve helped to demonstrate the benefits of campaigning against not just those drilling oil and felling trees, but against those who fund and profit from such activities.

The Citigroup victory is a milestone in the worldwide movement toward the great ecological U-turn. We pledge to put pressure on the likes of Bank of America and JP Morgan Chase to go even further than the Citi policy on global warming, indigenous rights and protection for endangered ecosystems. Most importantly, while staving off the ecological crisis, we hope to work with others to create locally grown solutions and alternatives.

Dan Firger and Ilyse Hogue work with Rainforest Action Network’s Global Finance Campaign.

return to the seals

the largest marine mammal slaughter in the world



photo courtesy Sea Shepherd

we fight for the defenseless against the remorseless. we fight for life against those who preach death for profit. we fight to stop the slaughter and to stem the flow of blood upon the ice. we seek a victory for gentleness, kindness, respect and harmony between humankind and sealkind.

BY CAPTAIN PAUL WATSON

The Sea Shepherd crew and I are off the coast of Labrador, surrounded by heaving and groaning packs of hardened sea-ice. It is a cold, harsh, wind-scoured and unforgiving place, a place no human has any business being. From across the surface of the ice, soft cries and mewling sounds drift toward us. Little, white, furry bundles look up at us with large, watery eyes as we pass slowly by. This is the nursery of the harp and hood seals.

Only two kinds of people come to this frigid, hostile expanse of blue salt ice at this time of year: Those who pursue the seals to slaughter them, and those who pursue the sealers to protect the seals.

My crew and I are on the marine conservation ship *Farley Mowat*. The steel hull of our ship has crashed and crushed through solid ice packs for a week to reach the seals and their killers, and we are now amongst them.

It is late March; the killing has begun.

I have been to the ice packs often enough to know where I will be and what I will be doing in March and April when this issue of the *Journal* is being distributed.

We are in the midst of the largest marine mammal slaughter in the world. More than 350,000 of these beautiful creatures will be destroyed by club and rifle or crushed by the merciless steel hulls of Canadian Coast Guard icebreakers, which use Canadian tax dollars to

make it easier for the sealers to reach their victims.

This is a glorified welfare project. There is no commercial profit to be gained from this wholesale massacre of seals. The hunt is subsidized by a government attempting to cover up the incompetence of the Canadian Department of Fisheries and Oceans, as well as the reckless policies motivated by greed that led to the infamous crash of the commercial cod fishery more than a decade ago.

The mechanized draggers destroyed the cod, and now the Canadian government argues that the only thing that will bring back the cod is the extermination of the harp seals. Toward this end, the Canadian government has ordered a kill of more than one million seals between 2003 and 2005, or 350,000 per year.

This is a bogus argument. The harp seal has never been, nor is it currently, an impediment to the survival or recovery of cod. In fact, the Canadian government would encourage an increase in seal populations if it were to take a scientific approach to the problem of codfish diminishment.

This is, of course, of no concern to the hired biostitutes in the employ of the government of Canada, who tailor their science to fit the political agenda.

History attests to this. In 1537, according to the logbooks of French explorer Jacques Cartier, the herds of seals were vastly larger than today. It is estimated that some 40 million harp,

hood, grey and harbor seals resided in Eastern Canadian coastal and offshore waters in the 16th century. While today's population of cod is less than one percent of the population at that time, the current total seal population does not exceed three million individuals from all four species.

I have spent a lifetime fighting this horrendous annual orgy of blood, gore and the destruction of innocence. It has been a long, painful odyssey that has exposed more abject cruelty than I had previously thought humans capable of. I have been going to the ice since 1976, intervening against sealers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off the coast of Labrador.

In 1983, the *Sea Shepherd II* blockaded the harbor outside of St. John's, Newfoundland, where we prevented the departure of the main sealing fleet. We then escorted three of the killing ships out of the ice in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. That year the kill was 76,000 short of the quota.

In 1984, as a result of direct action, the European community banned harp seal pelts and destroyed the commercial demand for seal fur. The sealing industry was crippled and only recovered in the 1990s following a government subsidy program in Canada.

And so, more than a quarter of a century after my first visit, I stand on the bridge of the *Farley Mowat*. We search for the killers with their cruel clubs and skinning knives.

They kill, we intervene. We are fighting to end a violent tradition, and tradition dies hard. It is a battle between life and death, between the rights of nature and the sadistic cruelty of humanity.

I remember back in March 1977, when I was standing on the deck of a sealing ship. I was a prisoner, arrested the day before after being dragged through the bone-numbing, frozen sea for 10 minutes and then through a gauntlet of kicking, spitting sealers across a gore-encrusted, blood-slimed deck.

I was still in pain, as I stood handcuffed to a Mountie on one side of me and a Canadian fisheries officer on the other.

As we waited for a helicopter to land and take me to custody on shore, I saw a sealer come arrogantly striding up to the side of the ship with a struggling baby white-coated seal on his shoulder.

The sealer tossed the innocent creature onto the hard ice like a sack of potatoes and viciously kicked it in the face, causing blood to spatter. He then flipped the young thing over and slit it from crotch to throat as it kicked and screamed piteously.

I turned to the Mountie and requested that the man be charged under the Seal Protection Act for cruelty to seals.

The Mountie answered that he had seen nothing.

I looked at him aghast and replied, "You never seem to see anything out here when the sealers break the law."

The Fisheries officer laughed and said

smugly, "And we never will."

I resolved that from that day onward, if those charged with upholding the law had such contempt for the law that they would intentionally discriminate on its application, then I could no longer have much respect for the law.

Today, it is a criminal offense in Canada to photograph or film the killing of a seal. Specifically, it is a violation of the Seal Protection Act to approach within a nautical half mile of a seal without permission from the government.

This Spring, Sea Shepherd volunteers will be taking pictures and shooting film. That in itself is an illegal and subversive action in Canada. It is not our intent to break Canadian law, but it is our intent to document cruelty and to protect seals.

This will be the first time since 1998 that we have brought a ship back into the ice packs. It will be a controversial campaign.

As the *Farley Mowat* crew takes action on the ice, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society is urging people to support efforts to protect seals by writing letters to Canadian newspapers and by joining the cyber seal activist email listserve at seashepherd@seashepherd.org.

For more info, visit www.harpseals.org; www.seashepherd.org.

Captain Paul Watson is the founder and president of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society and a national director of the Sierra Club.

BARE BONES

Bush Slashes "S & M"

Implemented under the 1994 Northwest Forest Plan, the survey and manage program forced the US Forest Service (USFS) and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) to "look before you log." Historically, the agencies had been found guilty of negligence in survey areas before approving management plans and timber sales.

Yet on January 23, the Bush administration released a Final Environmental Impact Statement, "settling" years of logging-related litigation by eliminating the survey and manage program.

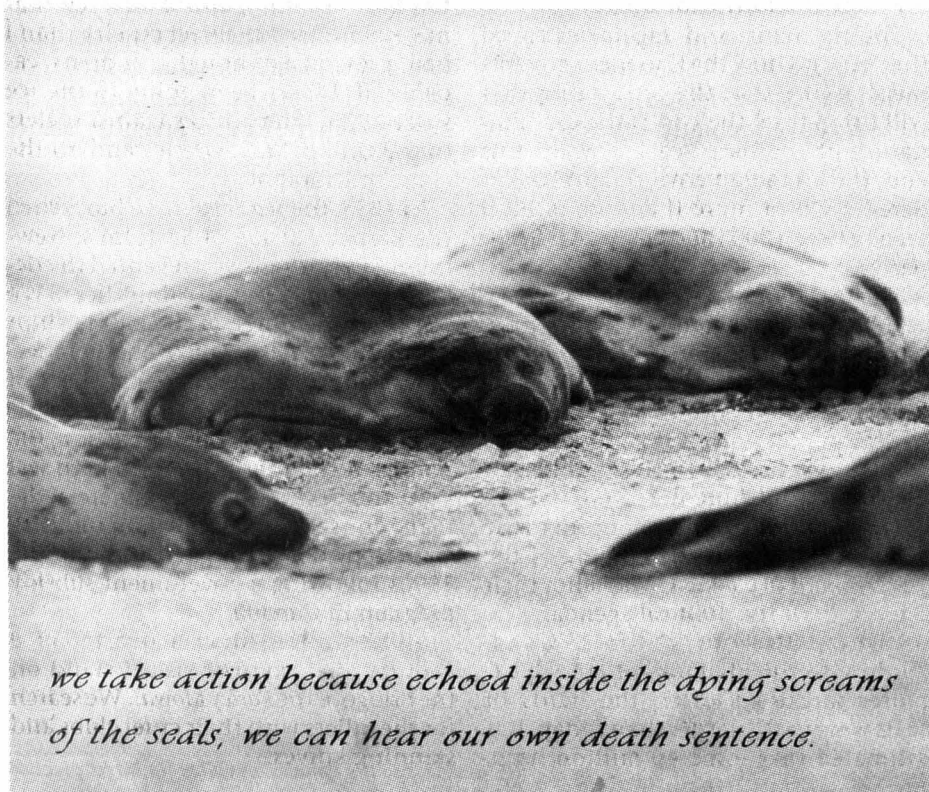
Environmental groups contend that the removal of the plan equals a death sentence for numerous rare species. According to the government's Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement, "It has been long-standing policy in both the USFS and BLM to avoid taking actions that would lead to the listing of endangered species under the Endangered Species Act."

Tongass Opened to Roads

On December 23, the US Department of Agriculture announced that it would no longer consider parts of Alaska's Tongass National Forest under the protection of the Clinton-era roadless rule.

The decision stems from the settlement of a lawsuit filed in 2001 by the State of Alaska challenging the protections, and it opens nearly 10 million acres to road building and eventual clearcutting. This includes the Tongass' 300,000 remaining acres of old-growth rainforest.

The Tongass is the largest, intact coastal temperate rainforest in the world and contains rich spawning ground for all five species of Pacific salmon. Of the 58 million acres originally protected under the roadless rule, more than 15 percent were in the Tongass.



we take action because echoed inside the dying screams of the seals, we can hear our own death sentence.

photo courtesy Sea Shepherd

Stop US Bombing of Mauna Kea

America Pissing Pelé Off

BY BRAVO ZULU & IRREGULAR UNIT 005

We were standing beneath the wild trees of Heaven, listening for the rarest birds on Earth. The drone of another black helicopter approached, a mechanical demon spewing dust. We patiently waited for it to pass before the endangered bird's call was replayed on tape, with the hope of attracting one of the last of the palila, the largest surviving Hawaiian honeycreeper.

On the slopes of Mauna Kea, in the last patches of dryland forest, the most endangered tropical birds in the US are facing extinction behind the barbed wire of the military's largest facility in Hawai'i—the 108,793-acre Pohakuloa Training Area. Because this military range contains at least 30 endangered species, more than any other military base in the US, it is mandated to contract with the US Fish and Wildlife Service to monitor and "protect" these species. Hence, our Strangelovian "endangered bird survey" ritual within a bombing range, searching for palila, 'elepaio and pueo, the short-eared owl.

Consider the area we are talking about: the entire valley between the most massive volcanoes on the planet and adjacent to the highest and most sacred Polynesian temple in the Pacific. Mauna Kea (the white mountain), also known as *Mauna a Wakea* (mountain of the sky god), is synonymous in Hawaiian culture with Heaven. An ancient proverb testifies: "*Mauna a Wakea, kuahiwi ku ha'o i ka malie*" or "Mauna Kea, the astonishing mountain that stands in the calm."

Since the 1950s, the calm has been brutally broken by US military bombing exercises in the vast volcanic valley, land that traditionally belonged to the native Hawaiians, the Maoli. The island has been perversely leased by the new state of Hawai'i to the US

military for 65 years, for the sum of one dollar. Yet no one on the US mainland seems to know that this military range exists. A surfer girl loses her arm to a shark and it's all over the US media, but B-52s bomb Mauna Kea to celebrate the Bush inauguration and not one peep from Americans!

Mauna Kea, the white mountain of the sky god, is synonymous in Hawaiian culture with Heaven.

Hawai'i: US Military Colony

From the coordinated "overthrow" of a sovereign nation with which the US had international treaties and the subsequent seizing of Pearl Harbor by the US military, the Hawaiian Kingdom and the Maoli people have suffered the same fate as all of the other First Nations occupied by US territorial expansion: exploitation, cultural genocide and marginalization. It is no coincidence that many of the bombing areas and military ranges that the US has desecrated and poisoned are located in some of the most sacred Hawaiian cultural sites, like

the devastated island of Kaho'olawe, the sacred guidepost.

The brutalized Hawaiian nation today is in the process of reformation and recognition, yet it continues to suffer cultural marginalization. How many Americans realize that native Hawaiians have yet to be recognized as other native nations are, due to the illegal "overthrow" of their sovereign kingdom and a century of cover-ups of the crime? While the pillage has taken place, the bulldozing of the Aloha spirit and the exploitation and theft of Hawaiian culture, America has looked the other way.

Environmental Crimes Disguised as "Readiness"

Since World War II, the US military has seized vast areas of Hawai'i. During much of this time, Hawai'i Senator Daniel Inouye has both deflected criticism and enabled expansion of military activity, using patriotism and economic leverage to allow the military to get away with anything it pleases with little oversight. Today, the true cost of military colonialism is beginning to emerge—in the form of an entire island,



US soldiers use the Pohakuloa valley for target practice



photo by Jack Jeffrey

Pueo, the short-eared owl

Kaho'olawe, filled with unexploded ordnance, which taxpayers have already shelled out nearly a half billion dollars to clean up, and a critical watershed, the Makua Valley, where rusting barrels of napalm have been unearthed.

The "impact zone" in the middle of the Pohakuloa Training Area is some 51,000 acres, larger than Washington, DC. No plans have been announced to ever clean up this volcanic valley—in fact, it continues to be a repository for unexploded munitions, which may or may not contain radioactive material such as depleted uranium.

Inouye and Senator Daniel Akaka recently pushed a plan through Congress to expand a Stryker (armored carrier) Brigade here. This includes the acquisition of 23,000 additional acres for maneuvers adjacent to Pohakuloa. Reading the fine print shows that the senators' intent is to expand the airstrip at Pohakuloa to accommodate an increase in military jets, to divert the Saddle Road directly into endangered bird habitat and to secure the Kawaihae Harbor in Kona as a smaller version of Pearl Harbor.

These changes will result not only in negative impacts for the endangered species that inhabit the area, but also for the most critical scientific studies

in Hawai'i as well. The dust that Pohakuloa generates will interrupt the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's observatory that measures global warming and solar radiation just above the barbed wire on Mauna Loa, and it will cloud the "seeing" from the astronomical observatories on the summit of Mauna Kea. The entire reason these observatories were placed in this remote location was to avoid such activities taking place on the rest of the planet.

Magical Implications for Gaia

Stepping into our wizard's cloaks for a moment, from a planetary perspective, this offensive abuse of Gaia's ocean-fire power in pursuit of global warfare appears to be endangering the entire human race. Immediately following

This offensive abuse of Gaia's ocean-fire power in perpetuation of global warfare appears to be endangering the entire human race.



photo by Jack Jeffrey

The endangered palila

one of the bombings at Pohakuloa, Gaia tossed up massive waves against the Hawaiian coast, washing away houses and flooding towns. The Maoli place great stake in the respect of elemental gods, particularly Poli'ahu, the snow goddess of Mauna Kea, and Wakea, the sky god for which the mountain is named.

Who will put the brakes on this military culture and its insane expansion? Obviously, not the establishment in Washington, DC. Apparently, not the hypnotized, mass-marketed American people, who have no clue about what goes on outside their borders in the continental US. The crisis in Hawai'i and on Mauna Kea truly has become an epic struggle for survival, for those creatures on the edge of extinction and for the local Earth-based cultures being exploited and overrun.

For more information, visit www.metamagic.org/pohakuloa.

Bravo Zulu is a veteran treesitter, agit-prop producer and member of the ultra-secret alien-mutant hybrid corps Irregular Unit 005 (www.mutanex.com).

BARE BONES

Courts Halt Sales

On January 11, a federal judge issued a decision in support of environmental groups that ordered the US Forest Service to stop logging the Burnt Ridge Timber Sale in California's Sequoia National Forest. The judge cited the threat posed to the California spotted owl and the Pacific fisher. Logging had been authorized in a designated old-growth zone under the auspices of fire prevention, yet the timber sale called only for the cutting of large trees, thus resulting in more flammable conditions.

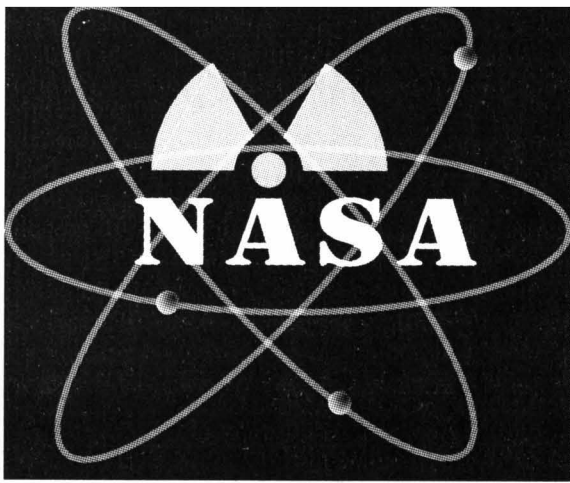
On the same day, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals halted the 1,700-acre Star Fire Timber Sale in the Eldorado National Forest, also in the Sierra Nevada, after the Center for Biological Diversity provided the court with evidence that California spotted owls still inhabit the burn area.

Goshawk Wins Protection

On November 18, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in a lawsuit filed by the Center for Biological Diversity (CBD) and the Sierra Club, thereby discarding a US Forest Service (USFS) plan to log eight million acres of critical Northern goshawk habitat in Arizona and New Mexico.

Then on January 18, the USFS rejected five petitions submitted by timber interests to remove protection for old-growth forests on 30 million acres, which included habitat for the Northern goshawk. The petitions violated forest protection guidelines developed by the USFS in response to more than a decade of efforts by CBD to secure protection for the goshawk as an endangered species.

The Northern goshawk hunts in the deep forest, and as such it requires a mature, dense canopy to survive.



Fire from the Heavens

Bush's Plan to Nuclearize and Militarize Outer Space

BY KARL GROSSMAN

On January 14, President George W. Bush announced plans to "build new ships to carry man forward into the universe, to gain a new foothold on the moon" and from the moon go on to Mars. "It's time for America to take the next step," he said at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) headquarters.

Last year, two days after the Columbia shuttle disaster, NASA presented its three billion dollar Project Prometheus budget to Congress. NASA Administrator Sean O'Keefe declared, "We're talking about doing something on a very aggressive schedule to develop the capabilities for nuclear propulsion and power generation."

Those challenging Project Prometheus see a link with the Bush space plan—and so do engineers working on the project.

Considering the fairly rapid time frame Bush has outlined to develop new spacecraft for the mission, "Nuclear power makes sense," says Kathy McCarthy, director of nuclear science and engineering at the US Department of Energy's Idaho National Engineering and Environmental Laboratory, where much of the nuclear rocket work under Project Prometheus is being done.

The notion of nuclear-propelled spacecraft is not new for NASA. In the 1950s and '60s, billions of dollars were spent by NASA and the US Atomic Energy Commission, the predecessor to the Department of Energy, on a

series of projects finally canceled in 1972 because of the problem of an atomic rocket falling back to Earth and spreading radioactive debris. If Columbia had been a nuclear spacecraft, cancer-causing nuclear debris would have been spread over Texas and Louisiana.

"Only nuclear can work in space," maintains Dr. Robert Zubrin, president of the Mars Society, a group lobbying the government for going to Mars. "By restarting the languishing space nuclear power program, NASA and the Bush administration

Space is viewed today as open territory to be seized for eventual corporate profit and for US military control.

are making a critical contribution to science and the human future."

NASA stresses that nuclear-propelled rockets would shorten voyages in space. "Project Prometheus will develop the means to efficiently increase power for spacecraft, thereby fundamentally increasing our capability for solar system exploration," says NASA.

Opponents of using nuclear power in space warn of serious accidents from Project Prometheus. And it's not a matter of the sky falling—accidents have already happened in the use of nuclear power in space. In 1964, there was an accident in which a SNAP-9A, plutonium-powered US satellite fell back to Earth, disintegrating and spreading plutonium over every continent at every latitude. Dr. John Gofman, professor

emeritus of medical physics at the University of California-Berkeley, has long linked the SNAP-9A accident to an increased level of lung cancer.

Warning of a "Chernobyl in the sky," Dr. Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics at the City University of New York, points to alternatives to atomic power in space—among them solar power and long-lived fuel cells. "Some of these alternatives may delay the space program a bit. But the planets are not going to go away." Indeed, as a result of the SNAP-9A accident, NASA intensified its work on solar

energy systems, and its satellites are now powered by solar energy, as is the International Space Station. NASA has a division working on the additional uses of space solar power.

There is no "edge" or limit to solar power, says Dr. Geoffrey A. Landis, sci-

entist at NASA's Photovoltaic and Space Environment Branch in Cleveland, Ohio. "In the long term, solar arrays won't have to rely on the sun. We're investigating the concept of using lasers to beam photons to solar arrays. If you make a powerful enough laser and can aim the beam, there really isn't any edge of sunshine."

Still, there is a more powerful push for space nuclear power being driven by the Department of Energy and its national nuclear laboratories, the manufacturers of nuclear space systems led by Lockheed Martin and Boeing and dominant pro-nuclear forces within NASA.

Space nuclear power also has boosters among the military, which has been considering space-based weapons—

devices that need substantial amounts of power. Additionally, the military has been interested in nuclear-powered rockets. In the late 1980s, an earlier series of nuclear rocket projects was first revived with Project Timberwind, a program to build atomic rockets to loft heavy Star Wars equipment and also for trips to Mars.

This kind of "dual use" now runs through all NASA operations, says Bruce Gagnon, coordinator of the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space. "Right after Bush swore the new NASA chief into office, O'Keefe told the nation that from now on every mission would be dual use. By that he meant that every mission would carry military and civilian payloads at the

same time. This is further evidence that the space program has been taken over by the Pentagon."

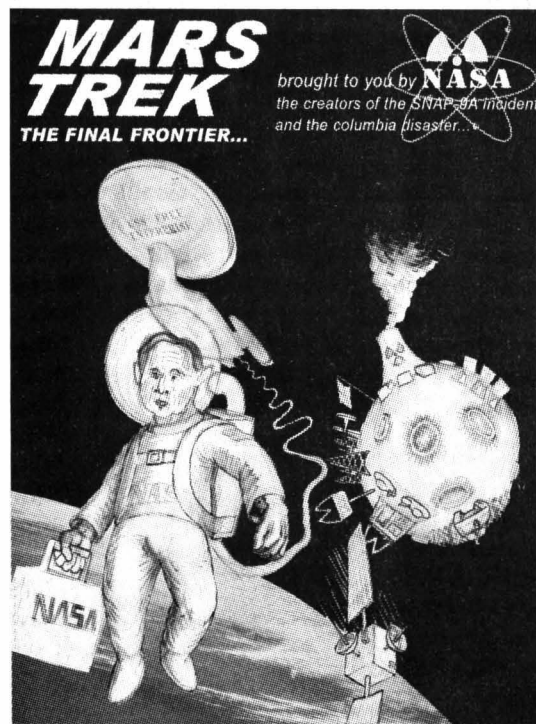
"Space is viewed today," says Gagnon, "as open territory to be seized for eventual corporate profit" and for US military control.

Gagnon speaks of proposals to "mine the sky"—to extract minerals from celestial bodies, with the moon considered a prime source for rare Helium-3. This elemental substance would be brought back to Earth to fuel supposedly cleaner fusion-power reactors. Gagnon says that the US military wants to establish bases in space, including on the moon, to protect these operations and to control the "shipping lanes of the future."

"The Bush space plan will be enormously expensive, dangerous and will create unnecessary conflict as it expands nuclear power and weapons into space," notes Gagnon, "all disguised as the noble effort to hunt for the 'origins of life'."

For more information, contact the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space, POB 652, Brunswick, ME 04011; (207) 729-0517; globalnet@mindspring.com; www.space4peace.org.

Karl Grossman, professor of journalism at the State University of New York/College at Old Westbury, is the author of The Wrong Stuff: The Space Program's Nuclear Threat to Our Planet and writer and narrator of the Nukes in Space television series available from EnviroVideo at (800) ECO-TV46.



artwork by Euan Wilson

Resisting Empire:

Understanding the Role of Space in US Global Domination

April 23-25 • Portland, Maine

The Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space is hosting its 12th annual conference this year in Portland, Maine, near the home of Bath Ironworks (BIW), where the Aegis Destroyer is built. The Aegis is outfitted with interceptor missiles as part of the Theatre Missile Defense system that will be "forward deployed" in the Middle East and used to surround China. Representatives from peace groups worldwide will be in attendance at the conference to share their work to stop Star Wars. Included in the events will be a protest at BIW and a keynote address by Dr. Helen Caldicott. For more information, visit www.space4peace.org.

BARE BONES

Ravensford Swap Ordered

On November 10, President Bush signed the Department of the Interior appropriations bill into law. This included an order for the National Park Service to trade the 143-acre "Ravensford" tract of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in exchange for 218 acres that was adjacent to the park and owned by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI).

The provision was inserted into the legislation by Representative Charles Taylor (R-NC), author of the 1995 Salvage Rider.

The EBCI has sought Ravensford since 1971, and it plans to use the area to create an educational complex. Though the land exchange was opposed by many environmentalists, Katúah EF! considered it a fair trade and opposed a fight that would only divide natural allies (see *EF!* September-October 2003).

Protesters Cash In

US District Judge Marsha Pechman ruled on December 29 that police made illegal arrests during the World Trade Organization Ministerial Summit in November 1999. Pechman's ruling stated that 157 arrests made on December 1 lacked proper documentation. The police had formerly argued that the protesters were inside a no-protest zone, which was incorrect.

In her ruling, Pechman cited "atrocious" record keeping by police, including the use of photocopied arrest warrants.

On January 19, the day before a hearing was set to determine if the City of Seattle was liable for damages, a settlement of \$250,000 was awarded to the protesters.

Meanwhile, a case addressing the constitutionality of the no-protest zone tactic is still waiting to be heard by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.



A Stab in the Dark

The Feds' Frantic Search for the ELF and ALF

BY #1 FAN

On November 12, Harjit Gill was charged with lying to a grand jury investigating the March 2003 Animal Liberation Front (ALF) firebomb threat at a McDonald's in Chico, California. Gill was arrested, held overnight and charged with one count of giving false testimony to a grand jury and two counts of lying to a federal officer. Each carries a possible five-year sentence. As a vegan and an anti-war activist, Gill said that while he agrees philosophically with the ALF, he has no knowledge of any crimes committed in its name.

On January 12, three self-identified Earth Liberation Front (ELF) activists—Adam Blackwell, Aaron Linas and John Wade—pled guilty to charges of conspiracy to destroy by

fire vehicles and property used in interstate commerce. These charges stemmed from actions that caused more than \$200,000 in damages near Richmond, Virginia, in 2002. Some of their actions involved the destruction of SUVs, damage to a crane at a mall construction site and the monkeywrenching of electrical systems and doors on a new housing development.

Sentencing for the three will occur in April, although they have already agreed to pay restitution of \$200,000 as part of a plea agreement. Blackwell, Linas and Wade could each face up to five years in prison for their involvement in the actions. It is unclear as to how these activists were tracked down, though it has been speculated that law enforcement intimidated their community into giving over the names of those involved.

An outspoken animal rights activist, Allison Lance Watson, was arrested on January 15 during a grand jury investigation. Watson was accused of lying

to the panel about her potential links to ELF and ALF actions. This particular grand jury is investigating the May 6, 2000, arson at Holbrook, Inc. timber company in Olympia, Washington, and the rescue of 228 chickens from Dai-Zen Egg Farm in nearby Burlington the following day. If convicted, she could face as many as five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine.

At the grand jury proceedings, FBI agent Fernando Gutierrez testified that at 8:30 a.m. on May 7, 2000, about six hours after the fire, a rental truck pulled into a convenience store 12 miles south of Olympia, and, according to employees, the occupants dumped plastic bags into a trash bin. A sheriff's deputy found five bags containing "three sets of dark clothes, two black ski masks, three pairs of gloves, a wrapper from a pair of bolt cutters and a wrapper of wire ties," according to the FBI's statement. The clothes were wet and covered with grass.

According to the FBI, images on the

Frontlines

Symbolic Buffalo Rally Against Slaughter

More than 30 buffalo supporters rallied at a January 22 meeting of the Greater Yellowstone Interagency Brucellosis Committee (GYIBC) in Bozeman, Montana. After they marched down Main Street, the activists hung a banner from the roof of a nearby hotel. The banner, which featured pictures of buffalo and elk, read: "GYIBC: What Brucellosis Risk? Kill the Myth, Not the Wildlife." The protesters, many wearing buffalo masks, then entered the meeting to speak out against the ongoing bison harassment and slaughter near Yellowstone National Park.

While ranchers and the government claim that bison can infect cattle with brucellosis, the Buffalo Field Campaign points out that no cases of bison-cattle transmission have ever been recorded.

Activists Damage Thousands of Traps

According to Britain's Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, activists have done nearly \$720,000 worth of damage to badger traps in the last five years. The British government has killed 5,600 badgers—a protected

species—as part of a study to determine what role the animals play in transmitting bovine tuberculosis. Of 15,600 traps placed since the study began in 1998, more than half had to be repaired or replaced. While farmers have claimed that badgers spread bovine tuberculosis, animal rights activists maintain that poor animal husbandry techniques are to blame.

Burger King Drive-thru Hacked

Unknown pranksters hacked into the wireless frequency of a Burger King drive-thru in Troy, Michigan, during the second week of January. Among other things, the hackers told customers, "You don't need a couple of Whoppers. Pull ahead!" and "We don't have Coke. We don't have anything. Pull ahead!"

Police were unable to locate the hackers, who they believed were broadcasting from a nearby location. As a result, local police called in the Federal Communications Commission, which has the necessary radio direction-finding equipment. Hacking into a drive-thru is a federal crime.

store's surveillance cameras showed that two people in the truck were Gina Lynn and Joshua Trentor, who "have lengthy histories of involvement in animal rights activism, including having participated in animal releases, and, in Trentor's case, being arrested in connection with ALF-claimed vandalism." The videotapes also showed the truck had the same license plate as one that Watson and her husband, Captain Paul Watson, had rented to haul equipment between the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society's offices in southern California and Friday Harbor, north of Seattle.

Watson refused to answer questions before a previous grand jury in August, invoking her Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. On October 23, she was summoned again, given immunity from prosecution and ordered to testify or face contempt of court charges. Watson then described Lynn as a friend with whom she spoke regularly and denied lending the rental truck to anyone. She said that she had always kept the vehicle in her possession and maintained that Lynn had never been in the truck.

The ELF Press Office is available to support activists in the underground (whether ELF or not) to get information out to the media and supporters, as well as to assist with gathering funds for legal defense. Donations are currently being accepted to support the press office and to go toward the legal fund of the three arrested in Virginia.

Contributions in the form of checks or international money orders (money orders preferred) can be made out to the ELF Press Office and mailed to Press Office, POB 21554, 1424 Commercial Dr, Vancouver, BC V5L 5G2, Canada. Please indicate if the money is for the legal support of those arrested in Virginia. For more info., visit www.earthliberationfront.com; www.animalliberation.net.

SUV Owners Demand Action!

On January 15, the Sport Utility Vehicle Owners of America (SUVOA) called on Attorney General John Ashcroft and Department of Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge to step up federal law enforcement action against the Earth Liberation Front.

According to Ron DeFore, SUVOA's communications director, "President Bush has told the nation that we have the terrorists on the run. Unfortunately, within our borders a roving band of ecoterrorists is indeed on the run—to the next SUV dealership or owner that they have targeted for devastation."

SUVOA encouraged SUV owners to not let these "cowardly" acts shake their confidence in their choice of vehicles, "which are among the safest available, in addition to providing exceptional versatility."

DeFore stated, "SUVOA was formed in 1999 to give voice to the 24 million SUV owners whose rights are being trampled by special interest and activist groups, as well as to provide consumers with practical information about their SUVs."

Fur Dyed, Foxes Live

Activists in Korsholm, Finland, raided a fox farm and dyed all 500 animals with henna, a permanent, plant-based dye. The raiders also took the animals' breeding cards. Finland is the world's largest "producer" of fox fur, slaughtering two million animals annually.

In an anonymous communiqué released December 5, the raiders report: "There were no alarms, no fence and even the doors to the sheds were not locked. No houses were nearby. There are many farms like this. Make your own conclusions."

Sarayacu Blockade Against Oil Exploration

The indigenous community of Sarayacu, in the Ecuadorian Amazon, declared a state of emergency on January 25 in response to the government's decision to allow Compañía General de Combustibles (CGC) to continue oil exploration in the tribe's traditional territory (see *EF!* March-April 2003). According to Mario Santi, president of the Sarayacu, "2,000 inhabitants will mobilize along the boundary where CGC last carried out studies." The ensuing "Peace and Life" encampments will be self-sustaining and remain in place until plans for oil activities are abandoned. Santi also denounced a military encampment set up to protect the oil company.

On December 4, thousands of people marched against oil and repression in the Amazonian town of Puyo. On their way to the march, several Sarayacu were assaulted by CGC workers, while government officials stood idly by in violation of the orders of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Naughty Breeder Gets Pre-Christmas Visit

British activists visited the home of guinea pig breeder John Hall's daughter, Sally Ann, just before Christmas. Under cover of night, the activists located the underground water shut-off valve to Sally Ann's house and turned it off. They then filled the cavity with quick-dry cement to "ensure her Christmas would be dry and that she will never wash that blood from her wizened hands!"

David Hall and Partners breeds guinea pigs for use in laboratory experiments. Tens of thousands of animals are imprisoned under squalid condition in Hall's sheds at any one time. As a result, a widespread campaign to shut the business down has targeted the Hall family and anyone they do business with.

Results have included employees leaving, companies refusing to do business with the family, John Hall quitting his private golf club and even pubs banning the family from their premises.

A triumphantly howling, all-my-relations wolf to Stop Primate Experiments at Cambridge (SPEAC) and the animal liberation movement for derailing Cambridge University's plans to build Europe's largest primate vivisection laboratory. If built, the British lab would have performed torturous experiments on the brains of primates. SPEAC's campaign was just beginning to build up steam when Cambridge University announced the project's cancellation on January 27. One university spokesman cited security costs as a major reason, saying, "We can't afford to build and run Fort Knox."

Brian Cass, managing director of Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), claimed that canceling the primate lab sends the wrong message. "We in the research community have been assured of personal support from the government, but this decision is saying that violence and illegal protest works." Hopefully, Cass will soon lose his job, as Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty brings HLS crashing to its knees.

A fangs-bared wolf scattering scavengers from its kill to Defenders of the Black Hills and its allies, who in mid-January successfully defeated a plan to build a firing range near Bear Butte, South Dakota. Bear Butte is sacred land to the Lakota and other Plains nations, yet private industry had been planning to construct a range where 10,000 gunshots would be fired daily—heedless of the impact on traditional ceremonies or local wildlife.

Defenders of the Black Hills and seven tribes sued the developers and the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). This led HUD investigators to uncover deception on the part of South Dakota officials and withdraw federal funding for the project, causing the plans to fall apart.

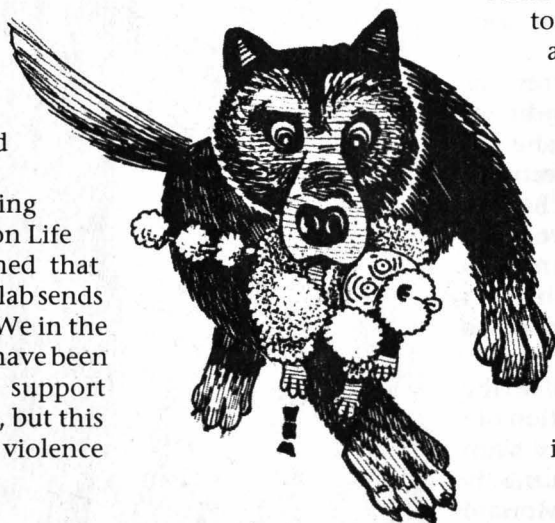
A born-to-be-wild wolf to Apache, the 19-month-old Mexican gray wolf who escaped from the Binder Park Zoo in Battle Creek, Michigan, on January 3. Apache and two fellow prisoners dug out from under their enclosure and proceeded to scale the nine-foot perimeter wall, leaping over the barbed wire at the top. While the other two wolves were quickly recaptured, Apache has evaded discovery.

In response, the zoo set up a telephone hotline and brought in expert wolf trackers who have searched the area, set traps, played simulated wolf howls and encouraged real ones. The Michigan State Police have used a search helicopter, complete with thermal-imaging, still without a trace of Apache. Trackers have found evidence that he remains in the Battle Creek area, subsisting on deer.

After being hunted to the brink of extinction, the last five known Mexican gray wolves were captured in the late '70s. A captive breeding program continues today, and though some wolves have been reintroduced into Arizona and New Mexico, they remain endangered.

A blood-drenched poodle suffocating on its own vomit to former terrorist-in-chief George H.W. Bush, keynote speaker at the 32nd annual Hunter's Convention, held by Safari Club International (SCI) January 21-24. SCI claims to be a hunting and conservation organization, but in actuality it promotes the killing of rare and endangered animals for pleasure. In his address to SCI, Bush said, "Outside our family, the thing I enjoy the most is being outdoors or taking in the majesty and wonder of the creator's work." A secret, thought-bubble cam recorded him mentally adding: "And blowing the hell out of it!"

A sedentary, classist, asthmatic poodle to the City of Shanghai, China, which banned bicycles from its major streets at the end of 2003. "Bicycles put great pressure on the city's troubled traffic situation," said police official Chen Yuangao, seemingly unaware that forcing people into automobiles as public transport



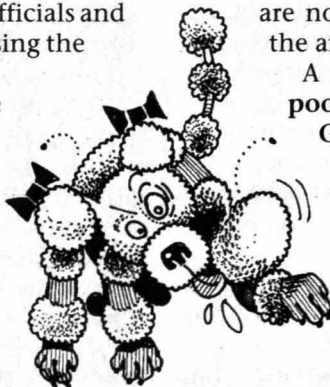
Wolves and Poodles

becomes even more overcrowded is unlikely to solve Shanghai's congestion or pollution problems.

Formerly promoted by the Communist Party as a cheap, egalitarian vehicle for the working class, bicycles are the most common form of transport in China. Shanghai, with a population of 20 million, has nine million bicycles. But as the number of private automobiles increases—doubling in Shanghai in 2002—bicycles are now regarded as interfering with the lives of the affluent.

A psycho-somatically hyperventilating poodle firing a shotgun in the dark to China's Guangdong Province, which in the second week of January slaughtered every masked palm civet it could find in a misguided attempt to prevent a SARS outbreak. A variant of SARS—a respiratory disease with an 11 percent fatality rate, killing mainly the sick and elderly—was recently discovered in the animals. Masked palm civets are mongoose-like wild animals consumed as a delicacy in China.

The World Health Organization maintains that no clear evidence implicates them as the source of the human disease, but more than 10,000 civets were nevertheless rounded up and slaughtered. Officials rejected the idea of releasing the animals, which were not tested for SARS before being killed.



REFRAMING THE FOREST MOVEMENT

to end forest destruction

BY KAREN COULTER
ARTWORK BY ASANTE RIVERWIND

Part I: A Summarized Early History of US Forest Destruction

To become more effective in protecting forest ecosystems, it helps to know what forces caused today's devastation and our powerlessness. As George Orwell wrote in 1984, "Who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past." Who controls the past—and thereby the present and future—now and why? How can we regain control of the past? Knowing the past is essential for deriving implications for the present and future. This will be a whirlwind tour of that history, meant to raise some good questions for moving out of current forest activism ruts.

As early as 1673, the sugar industry and slavery in the West Indies were fueled by imported wood from New England's forests. Instead of allowing wood scarcity to end the sugar business in places like Barbados, plantation owners relied on wood imported from North America to construct and repair sugar works, make staves for casks in which sugar was stored and exported and to build houses. Already, the unsustainable drain of global corporatization on the world's forests was underway. Between 1771 and 1773, the British West Indies received 77 million feet of board and timber, 60 million shingles and 58 million staves from North American forests—the equivalent of more than 240,000 trees.

Colonial traders bartered timber for thousands of gallons of molasses, which was distilled into rum in Boston then exchanged for pelts from Native Americans. While the colonists made a lot of money off the trade of furs in England for manufactured goods to sell at home, the rum killed more native people than all wars and diseases.

European liquidation of forests in Madeira, Portugal and Spain resulted in additional exploitation of New England's forests. By the late 1600s, Madeira's great cedars and other large trees had been replaced by grape vineyards and the island relied on New England to supply staves for its wine casks.

Reckless over-use of the forests was fostered by the settlers being urbanites long since removed from the once expansive native forests of Europe. To the Puritans, both the forests and the native people were part of the "hideous wilderness." "The forest was a 'dismal thicket' considered separate from God, where Christians might lose their way both literally and spiritually, falling back into pagan heresies." Natural noises like "the wolves' hideous howlings," an early colonist attested, "made night terrible to the settlers." "The pilgrims' first foray into the primeval forest illustrates their awkwardness in the

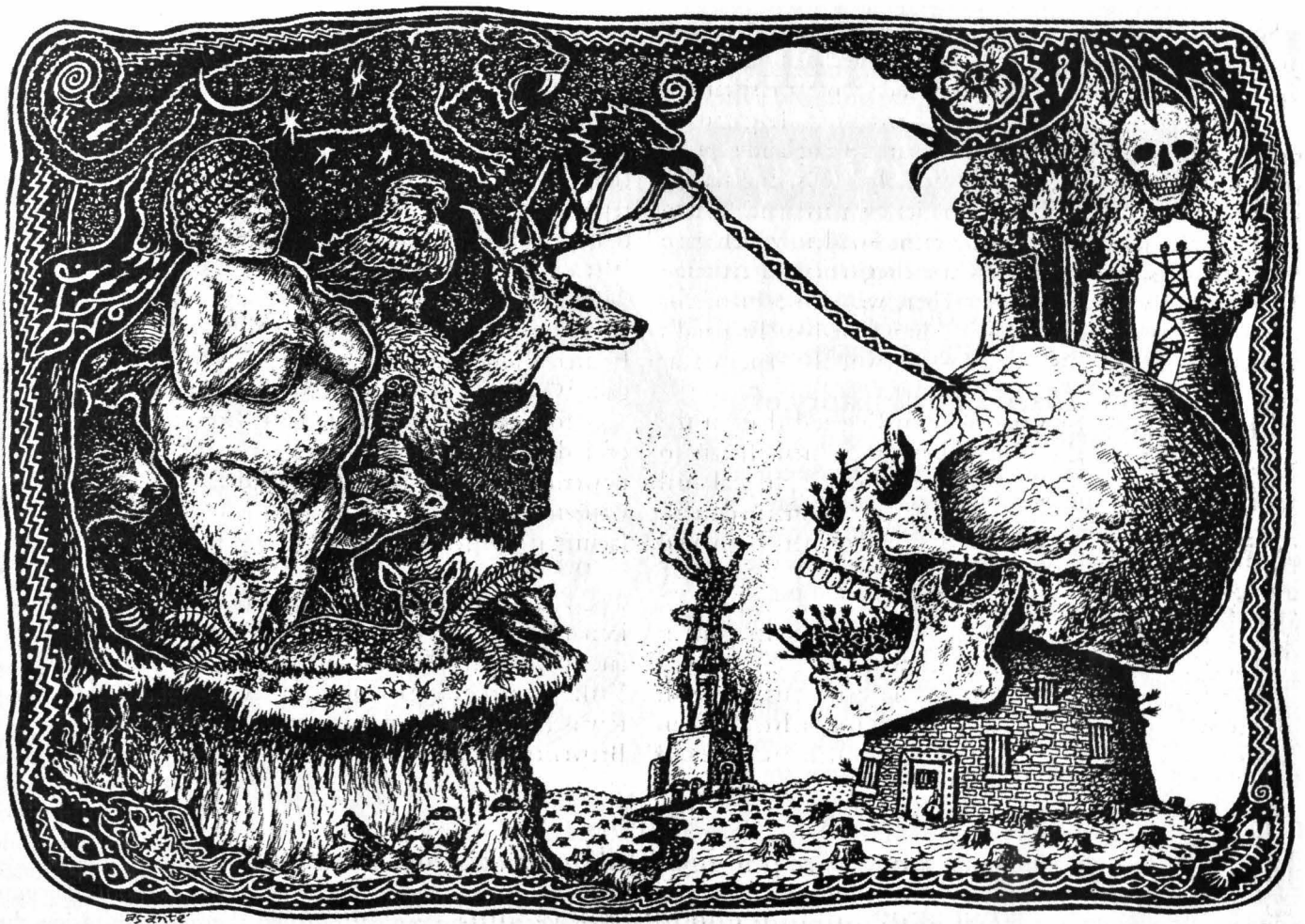


New World. A

group of curious Native Americans, watching as the Mayflower came into view, fled into the woods when the pilgrims disembarked. The settlers pursued them. Once inside the forests, the Englishmen stumbled and fell over boughs and branches, tearing their clothes to pieces." The change from the wilderness of an uncut forest to the human order of towns, farms and woodlots was seen as wholly positive.

The first mill to saw timber in New England was said to be erected in the 1630s. "By 1665, more than 20 sawmills were cutting wood on the Piscataqua River, which empties into what is now southern New Hampshire... 40 years later the surveyor of the woods for North America reported no fewer than 70 sawmills on the same river." North American lumbermen could earn with one cargo of timber originally valued at 300 pounds (sterling) five times the original investment—about 1,600 pounds, twice the average yearly income of the 10,000 richest Englishmen.

Wildlife were casually sacrificed as their habitat was leveled. "So numerous were the bears that one early naturalist claimed to have encountered as many as 40 walking together during rutting time." "Immediately after setting up the ubiquitous log cabin, almost everyone built an accompanying sawmill. Frontier people chiefly supported themselves by selling planks and staves destined for the international market. Each mill destroyed about 14 pines a day. With sawmills being built on almost every river and brook, the surveyor of woods in New England predicted in 1719 that the influx of settlers 'will very soon destroy all the pines in the province.'" The native people came to the same conclusion. Loran, a native leader, wanted colonists who had settled in the interior to be relocated to the coast because "we remember the place... was filled with great...



trees.” “If the settlers were not out in three weeks, Loran warned, they would face the ‘loss of their cattle, the destruction of their dwellings and the sacrifice of their lives.’” The native people kept their pledge; the whites took up arms and offered bounties for Indian scalps and prisoners, and the “Indian wars” started, sparked by the colonists’ destruction of the forests.

Destruction of North American forests also contributed significantly to fomenting the American Revolution for independence from England. There was a major dispute between the British Crown and Massachusetts over the vast forests of Maine (which Massachusetts claimed as its own), with the Crown wanting the biggest white pine for masts for the British fleet (including its imperialist war fleet) and Massachusetts colonists wanting the lumber to keep Boston running. At least 10 shiploads of masts arrived in England from New England each year, with each ship carrying 20 to 40 masts. An observer in Massachusetts recorded one mast tree that had to be pulled by 36 yoke of oxen. Around the turn of the 18th century, it became evident that the Baltic region had little timber left of the size needed for the masts of England’s largest battleships. To preserve the few truly large trees still growing in Norway, the principal European source of British masts, the King of Denmark (who then controlled Norway) forbade the export of timber over 22 inches in diameter. Many of the trees growing in New Hampshire and Maine around that time measured between 29 and 37 inches in diameter, the dimensions the British navy sought for their principal ships’ masts.

King Charles and King James asserted direct control over the woods of New England to restrain the colonists from cutting down all the big white pine by making all of Massachusetts and Maine the property of England. After the colonists protested, when they were given a new charter for renewed self-government in 1691 by King William, it was with the restrictive clause that all trees in Massachusetts and Maine having a diameter of 24 inches or more were reserved for the Crown “for the better providing and furnishing of masts” for the British Royal Navy. King William’s administrator to enforce this rule found on a visit to forests of New Hampshire and Maine “great waste and havoc of timber” there, with more than 50 sawmills in New Hampshire of up to four saws per mill and 40 sawmills in New York with 12 saws in each mill. Official surveyors of the woods for the Crown were themselves trading in lumber and building sawmills and governors of the province (later states) gave their favorites large tracts of land which were usually well-forested, transferring ownership from the Crown to private property of colonists. Local officials refused to enforce the charters’ provision to preserve all the largest trees. Dr. Elisha Cook, a politician and owner of sawmills in Maine, used the fight over the woods to inflame colonists with desire for independence from England, calling into question the King’s right to the woods.

During the 1720s and 1730s, “swamp law” ruled in Maine, where disputes with surveyors over colonists’ rights to the timber were settled in remote places with fists and clubs. The victory of local lumber capitalists over the Crown’s colonial authority fanned the people’s inflammatory desire for independence.

Squatters also contended with sawyers cutting trees for the owners of forested lands, using mob jail breaks to free fellow squatters who were incarcerated for their violent resistance.

Meanwhile there was growing pressure in England to exploit American iron to relieve pressure on England's dwindling forests for iron-making. By the early 1700s, England no longer produced enough iron for its own use and had to import large quantities—mostly from Sweden, which gave rise to shortage when hostilities in the region cut direct trade between England and Sweden. There was also demand for importing tar and pitch for sealing ships from New England's forests to avoid dependency on Sweden, who also exported tar and pitch to France, England's enemy.

Since wood cost 14 times more in England than in the colonies, tar, pitch and iron-making posed new threats to New England's forests. Fearing reduction in the colonial market for British manufactured goods and threats to domestic labor—ironmasters, woodgrowers and tanners (who used bark) in England passed the "act to encourage... iron from... America" but included prohibition of construction of all new engines or mills for making ironware in the colonies, further provoking colonists toward independence.

New Englanders started conducting brisk business with France and Spain (two of England's primary adversaries) in lumber for their ships. Although Great Britain responded to colonists "trading with the enemy" and higher Scandinavian prices for lumber with elimination of import duties on American lumber, they also imposed further restrictions on the colonists' international trade in timber and iron. Every English restriction was seen as a tax and some, like the restriction on cutting large white pine, were seen as more injurious than the infamous Stamp Act. Inadvertently, by shifting English lumber, tar, pitch, iron and ship production to the colonies, England enhanced the colonies' ability to throw off the English yoke as they raised capital and built their own ships, guns, cannons and means for self-sufficiency in manufacturing.

At the time of independence, "the most striking feature of the new nation was still an almost universal forest." C. Volney, a French naturalist visiting the US right after its independence came to this conclusion after traveling "from the mouth of the Delaware [River], through Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky to the Wabash River [which today forms the southern portion of the Illinois and Indiana border], northward to Detroit, through Lake Erie to Niagara and Albany," throughout which he "scarcely passed, for three miles altogether, through a track of unwooded or cleared land." Other visitors confirmed this assessment for Virginia, New Jersey, New York and the Allegheny Mountains of Pennsylvania.

The forests west of the Appalachians were characterized as "a grand assemblage of gigantic beings which carry the imagination back to other times before the foot of the white man had touched the American shore." Ohio oaks were calculated to be 140 feet tall. An Englishman reported in his

diary in 1818, "Yesterday I measured a walnut tree almost seven feet in diameter... and just by [its side], were rotting... two sycamores of nearly equal dimensions... I also measured a white oak, by the roadside, which at four feet from the ground, was six feet in diameter..." A French botanist collecting samples in the Ohio area between 1800 and 1810 reported finding a sycamore with a circumference of more than 40 feet. Indiana, southern Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin were all reported as heavily forested in the early 1800s. Ohio presented "the grandest unbroken forest of 41,000 square miles that was ever beheld" on this continent. Immense pine forests covered the northern parts of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Unfortunately, this situation was soon to change. The rise of industrialization in the US started with water mills powering most industries prior to the Civil War. Most US water mills and their machinery were made of wood. Manufacturing villages spread across the country. A report issued in 1835 documented more than 2,000 grist mills, almost 7,000 sawmills, 71 oil mills, 965 woolen fabric mills, 293 iron mills, 141 sheet iron mills, 96 clover mills, 70 paper mills and 412 tanneries, run by water power—just in New York. Water mills gave birth to the factory system, factory towns and consequent consumption of goods by workers. Breweries, distilleries, salt and potash works, casting and steel

furnaces and works for animal and vegetable oils and refining drugs all needed heat to produce a finished product and used primarily charcoal from the forests. Steam engines, which began to

free factories from dependence on water sites in the 1830s, usually burned wood as fuel. Charcoal from the woods fueled US iron mills, which produced 19 million tons of iron between 1830 and 1890, as compared with only a little more than one million tons of iron produced by all of England in 60 years of its coal-burning iron industry. In 1790, the US had only four million people living in its territories, by 1880 there were more than 50 million residents. This created a great demand for wooden housing, wooden carriages, wagons, bridges, river boats, steamboats (fueled with wood) and railroads. By the 1830s, the Atlantic states didn't have enough wood of their own to meet these demands. New England's indigenous wood was scarce by 1835. Lumber was hauled across Lake Michigan and along the Mississippi by steamboat to the "new territories" westward. The biggest raft pulled down the Mississippi contained nine million feet of timber. Of the 38,619 ships in service in 1880, only five or six were built of iron, with the rest of wood.

Early railroads used wood not only for trestles, ties and bridges but also even for the rails. US trains also used wood as their only fuel up until the Civil War, stopping every two hours to refuel. Railroads also increased access for logging. Railroads opened thousands of acres of untouched woodlands in Wisconsin to logging and sawmill owners on the lower peninsula of Michigan built railways to access formerly unobtainable trees.

"I hate you. I hate you. I hate all the white people. You have taken away our land and made us outcasts, so I hate you."

—Chief Sitting Bull

Expanding settlement represented an enormous depletion of remaining forests. The presence of wood, rather than soil quality, was the deciding factor in where settlers established farms. Until the railroads transported sufficient lumber for building west, the majority settled in wooded areas.

Increase Lapham, a respected scientist, recognized the value of cheap lumber and cheap fuel wood in building the white nation but also the indirect environmental impacts of such widespread forest removal. In 1867, he wrote for the Wisconsin legislature a *Report on the Disastrous Effects of the Destruction of Forest Trees Now Going on So Rapidly in the State of Wisconsin*, in which he discussed “the experience of other countries, ancient and modern, whose forests have been improvidently destroyed... the effects of clearing land of forest trees, upon springs, streams and rainfall... how [forests] temper winds, protect the Earth... enrich the soil and modify the climate...” Between Lapham’s birth in 1811 and his warning in 1867, “almost five billion cords of wood had been consumed for fuel in fireplaces, industrial furnaces, steamboats and railroads. To obtain five billion cords meant the cutting of about 200,000 square miles of woodlands, an area nearly equal to all the land that comprises the states of Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Half of all these cords were consumed in the 17 years that preceded the publication of Lapham’s work.” In

just one decade—1850-1860, farmers eliminated 31,250 square miles of forests to plant crops.

Hogs rooted up young pines and other species to get at their roots and also gorged on the seeds of a wide variety of trees, showing a preference for the nuts of beeches, chestnuts, pine and white oaks over inedible seeds of other species, seriously changing the natural growth in the woods, especially in hardwood forests.” The amount of forest lost due to pasturage and clearing land for cultivation, lumber and fuel-cutting increased from 1,600 square miles per year in 1835 to 7,000 square miles 20 years later. In 1850, 25 percent of US land was densely forested; 20 years later, only 15 percent.

Frederick Marryat, an English novelist, saw from the roof of a boat on the Erie Canal in the 1840s “the giants of the forest, which had for so many centuries reared their heads undisturbed, but now lay prostrate before civilization.” In Ohio a decade later, an Englishman observed: “The plough was at work amid stumps... [the few remaining trees] had received notice to quit... their bark had been stripped all around from their great [trunks] just about the Earth; their boughs were bare; no leaves intercepted the sun and air from the crops beneath; and there they stood in their great nakedness, the last of their race, and soon to topple over at the feet of the conquering intruder.”

An early settler in Ohio returned to his old homestead 30 years later (in the early 1840s) to make a sketch of it: “In place of the towering beech,” he wrote, “stands a fine brick house”

and “instead of a view confined to a few rods [one rod equals 30 square yards] by a dense forest, the tops and ridges may now be seen for miles.” An irate sawmill owner responded to a critic: “You have scolded the lumbermen for cutting so much timber... now quit scolding us for trying to live... when we are out of timber, then we will curtail, but until that day, never so help us, Moses!”

Although “innumerable herds of... elk [and] buffalo” were seen “sheltered in the groves” in Ohio in 1787, the bison had just about disappeared by the 1840s as their great forest habitat diminished—thousands of bison swam the Mississippi in search of new wilderness to the West, with native people following. The great seal of the state of Indiana shows a cut log lying on the ground as a pioneer fells another tree and a bison flees to escape the devastation.

Two census reports—of 1810 and 1880—reveal the enormous change in the landscape over 70 years and the beginnings of environmental consciousness after the destruction. The 1810 census was concerned that “our forests [en]cumber a rich soil... and prevent its cultivation” and suggests specific ways to use up individual species of trees and general uses (e.g. iron-making, potash, boards, charcoal, shingles, fuel, etc.) for all the rest.

Charles Sargent, the author of the 1880 census, instead wrote of protecting the trees: “Forests perform... important duties

in protecting the surface of the ground and in regulating and maintaining the flow of rivers. In mountainous regions they are essential to prevent destructive torrents, and mountains cannot be stripped of their forest covering without entailing serious dangers upon the whole community... if the forests

“We have never said we were on a sustained yield program, and we have never been on a sustained yield program. Let’s get to the heart of it. Sure, it’s extensively logged, but what is wrong with that?”

—Plum Creek, Rocky Mountain

Regional Operations Director Bill Parson

which control the flow of the great rivers of the country perish, the whole community will suffer widespread calamity which no precautions taken after the mischief has been done can avert or future expenditure prevent.” Sargent also advised: “The American people must learn that a forest, whatever its extent and resources, can be exhausted in a surprisingly short time through total disregard in its treatment.”

The 1880 census then went through comprehensive assessment of the loss of tree species by state, including white oak, elm, ash, hickory and “merchantable pine” over the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota (the New England states presumably having been already decimated). An 1877 report claimed that “the states of Ohio and Indiana, and the southern part... of... Michigan, so recently a part of the great East-American forest, have even now a greater percentage of treeless area than Austria, and the North-German Empire, which have been settled and cultivated for upward of a thousand years.”

One of the leading US forestry authorities, N. Egleston, wrote in an 1882 issue of *Harper’s Monthly*, “We are... following... the course of nations which have gone on before us. The

nations of Europe and Asia have been as reckless in their destruction of the forests as we have been, and by that recklessness have brought themselves unmeasurable evils, and upon the land itself barrenness and desolation. The face of the Earth in many instances had been changed as the result of the destruction of the forests, from a condition of fertility and abundance to that of a desert. The mass of people... should have set before them the warnings from history."

George Perkins Marsh was one of the first scientific reformers to write about complex dependencies between humans and nature, including indirect effects of forest destruction. He was concerned about the overlogged eastern forest and assumed that intense logging would continue since the recently imposed white society was unlikely to decrease its demands for wood. So to prevent "timber famine," he argued that science should transform the forests: "The sooner a natural wood is brought into the state of an artificially regulated one, the better it is for all the multiple interests which depend on the wise administration of this branch of public economy." This general line of

reasoning later drove most Forest Service policy, predicated on the overriding concerns that timber be provided and the natural forest be brought under "scientific" management for more efficient and faster wood production, as well as on the belief that a federal agency would manage the land better than the corporate timber barons and entrepreneur settlers.

However, rather than ensuring "wise administration" of the forests, meanwhile in 1864, during the Civil War, President Lincoln and the US Congress created the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, empowered it to construct a rail line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound and conditionally granted it nearly 40 million acres of mostly forested public land to aid in construction and maintenance of the railroad. Forty million acres is the equivalent of two percent of the land of the 48 contiguous states and more than the nine smallest states put together. The railroad was granted every other square mile of land in a band 40 miles wide through states (Wisconsin, Minnesota and Oregon) and 80 miles wide through territories (North Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Washington) plus additional land in lieu of that already claimed by settlers

and land containing minerals other than coal or iron, increasing the width of the giant checkerboard of public-private land designation. The grant contained numerous conditions, including: starting date of construction, type of land Northern Pacific was allowed to claim and completion date.

Also Congress reserved the right to "add, alter, amend or repeal this act." The Northern Pacific Corporation failed to meet the conditions of the land grant repeatedly: "Congress had specified that failure to sell two million dollars worth of stock to the public within two years of the 1864 act would void the grant. Northern Pacific failed to do so. Further, Congress specified that work was to begin within two years. However, Northern Pacific did not begin construction for six years. In 1870 Northern Pacific approached Congress for permission to sell bonds mortgaging the as-yet-unowned grant lands. Northern Pacific was assisted in this request by the largest banking house in the nation, Jay Cooke and Company. Jay Cooke used his money to "gain the votes of recalcitrant Congressmen"... opponents argued that in the original grant Northern Pacific had at its own request been given twice as much land per mile as other railroad companies in exchange for not issuing bonds. To allow Northern Pacific to now issue bonds would defeat the purpose of the original grant's size. Northern Pacific—and Jay Cooke's money—prevailed, and Congress allowed Northern Pacific to issue bonds on the grant lands. It also granted lands for the previously excluded spur to Portland and increased the size of both indemnity strips by 10 to 20 miles. Northern Pacific's path of potential ownership thus was enlarged to 120 miles in the territories.

These violations of contract should have been enough to cause Congress to take the granted



...the earth is being destroyed, and the people who are destroying her have names and addresses...



Sandé '97

lands back from Northern Pacific corporation and re-designate them as public lands. Two new significant restrictive stipulations were made in the 1870 legislation (that violated the public trust) that Northern Pacific also failed to abide by, giving further cause for reinvestment of the extensive granted lands to the public commons.

All lands granted to Northern Pacific Corporation “which shall not be sold or disposed of or remain subject to the mortgage by this act authorized” were to be subject to “settlement and preemption like other lands” at a price not exceeding \$2.50 per acre five years after the completion of the entire railroad. Further, if the mortgage became subject to foreclosure “or other legal proceeding” or the granted lands were sold “such lands shall be sold at public sale... to the highest and best bidder.” Northern Pacific failed to meet both conditions by foreclosing in 1873 yet failing to auction the land publicly after foreclosure and then in effect selling the land without opening it up to the public by merging with other corporations when Northern Pacific failed again in 1893.

The significance of all this for protecting both public and (theoretically) “private” land forests is that some of the biggest timber corporations logging on public and “private” lands—Plum Creek, Weyerhaeuser, Potlatch and Boise Cascade—are based on railroad grant forests which, in turn, are based on the conditions of the 1864 and 1870 contracts.” Plum Creek corporation was a direct spin-off from the Morgan and Hill merger that formed Burlington Northern Corporation, which segregated into a railroad and a holding company for railroad grant lands—Burlington Resources. “Despite the law requiring that the Northern Pacific grant lands be opened to settlement within five years of completing the railroad, Northern Pacific sold large tracts of the land-grant forests to Frederick Weyerhaeuser and his associates. Weyerhaeuser purchased millions of acres of land-grant forests in the Great Lakes region and the Pacific Northwest, mostly during the 1890s and early 1900s. The largest of the many Weyerhaeuser purchases was 900,000 acres in Washington state in 1899. Weyerhaeuser subsequently incorporated Potlatch and Boise Payette (later Boise Cascade) to cut lands obtained in Idaho.”

“The largest purchase of Northern Pacific grant lands in Montana was about a million acres bought by Amalgamated Copper Company (later Anaconda) in 1907. About 670,000 acres of these land-grant forests were purchased by Champion International corporation in 1972. Champion began liquidating the land-grant forests in the 1970s, and in 1993 sold these lands to Plum Creek.”

These corporations (based on stolen public lands) have caused some of the worst and most expansive clearcuts and some, such as Boise Cascade, are also involved in logging national forests. Further, “The checkerboard pattern of the land-grant forests complicates management of the national forests. Management philosophies alternate by the square mile, precluding efforts to manage forests as ecosystems” and leading to hopeless habitat

fragmentation and destruction of necessary wildlife corridors, frustrating the aims of conservation biology.

Part II: So Where Do We Go From Here? Reframing the Movement

Obviously this is not a complete history of US forest destruction. However, this early history and more well known recent history is enough to derive some general principles to guide our strategy in protecting and restoring forests:

- Historically one native forest after another worldwide has been totally eliminated, with disastrous consequences, including increased exploitation of other forests and forest-dwelling indigenous people. A biocentric ethic and respect for indigenous people needs to be strongly cultivated.

- US (anti-)culture has an ingrained anthropocentric, anti-environmentalist outlook that is only slowly and incrementally changing. We need more emphasis on organizing, coalition-building and movement-building.

- War-making and imperialism are historic major users of wood products and other natural resources (e.g. oil). We need to bring biocentric concerns into the anti-war and anti-corporate globalization movements.

- Industrialization and capitalism have led to unsustainable levels of exploitation and marketing to artificially stimulate consumption beyond basic needs, so there is much waste. So we need to dismantle the current neoliberal structure and create a

new economic and political paradigm.

- Direct action at the “point of assumption” can influence people’s acceptance of the current economic/political system.

- The corporate form

has greatly escalated the rate of forest destruction and now corporations are dictating policy to politicians rather than vice-versa, so we need to be targeting corporate power—especially corporate political power—as directly as possible.

- Corporations are interlocked and use joint institutions (e.g. North American Wholesale Lumber Association, the Business Roundtable, etc.) to leverage their collective power, so it is a *system* of corporate rule that needs to be dismantled, not just individual corporations.

- Financial institutions provide capital and political backing for corporate exploitation, so they must also be targeted.

- Unequal distribution of wealth and power create the leverage to buy-off Congress and other elected officials and to side-step Supreme Court rulings and must be addressed to stop forest destruction.

- The biggest corporations are now functioning on a transnational level so we need to be forming links of mutual solidarity and support across national boundaries so as not to let destruction flow from one region or country to another.

- Regulatory agencies are diversions, deflecting us with “public process” and bureaucratic shields from the real root causes of environmental destruction and real solutions. We don’t ask for what the ecosystem really needs in this set-up and don’t act on our rights as self-governing citizens to protect the Commons.

“Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.”

—Santayana



•Reclaiming public control over public lands should be framed as reclaiming the “Commons” of essential ecological functions and resources—i.e. no one should be able to privately own or profit from the air, the water, the forests, space. (see *Silent Theft* by David Bollier for a comprehensive description of types of Commons and threats to them.)

•Reclaiming public control over public lands (the Commons) could legitimately and legally be extended (with historical legal precedents) to “private” timber lands of the railroad land grant corporations, removing in the process major obstacles to conservation biology planning across artificial “checkerboard” railroad grant boundaries and reducing fragmentation of habitat over time. The area that could receive increased protection is vast. This strategy would also strike a severe blow to some of the most powerful timber corporations.

•We may be winning some “battles” but we’re losing “the war” on forest protection, so we need to make more efficient use of our time and resources by strategically targeting the root causes of forest destruction on a systemic level rather than the symptoms—on an abuse-by-abuse basis endlessly. The movement needs to place more emphasis on strategy rather than tactics.

•Teaching the history of forest destruction could be key to

getting others to realize the validity of new approaches such as those suggested above.

•There’s a lot of creative space for action we’re not exploring. We should look at the Midwest Academy model of power-mapping for strengthening our campaign strategies to meet long-term goals.

•We need to be more pro-active with our messaging and make “biodiversity” a household concept as well as making ending corporate rule a clear framework for our actions.

•There is a “Democracy School” in Pennsylvania which might be able to help activists bring new ideas into the movement for greater effectiveness toward ending corporate rule. Reframing our language (in outreach, media, strategy) to better match our long-term goals and create effective solutions could be a good starting place.

•A small group of people committing themselves to a process of learning the relevant history in one state, mapping out the corporate involvement and key institutions, finding vulnerable points... could also be a good starting point.

Karen Coulter has been an active part of the forest defense movement since 1984 in Oregon and Washington. She is co-director of the Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project and a principal activist with the Program on Corporations, Law and Democracy.

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SOURCES FOR MORE RECENT HISTORY

Plundered Promise: Capitalism, Politics and the Fate of the Federal Lands, by Richard W. Behan, 2001.

Deadfall: Generations of Logging in the Pacific Northwest, by James LeMonds, 2001.

OTHER USEFUL BOOKS FOR FORGING A NEW STRATEGY OR HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Elite Consensus, by George Draffan (\$15 with postage).

Defying Corporations, Defining Democracy, by Program on Corporations, Law and Democracy (\$17 with postage).

Available from the Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project, 27803 Williams Lane, Fossil, OR 97830.

How I Became an Ecowarrior

BY JEFFREY "FREE" LUERS

It was late February 1998, in Oregon. Several of us were making our way down a logging road so overgrown that it looked like a small trail, with young trees that stood nearly twice as tall as me in its middle.

This area was logged once in the early 1900s when they came only for the giant red cedars. Then, in the 1960s, they came back for the rest, leaving only pockets of untouched old-growth forest.

Relatively untouched, that is: There were only two giant red cedars where we were going.

We bushwhacked through unit 36 of the Clark Timber Sale. "Clark" is a low-elevation forest containing some of the last stands of old growth in the Willamette National Forest, near Eugene, Oregon.

The ferns grew higher than my waist, vine maples reached for the sunlight, and there was a plethora of huckleberry. The 400 to 600-year-old Douglas fir, Western hemlock and red cedar towered overhead. Standing before them was a humbling experience; like standing before a god or goddess, it was breathtaking. For hundreds of years, this forest has stood silent witness to the passing of time.

These trees were here before Christopher "Genocide" Columbus landed thousands of miles away. They stood as white people encroached further west. They protested "nonviolently" in shocked silence as their fellow forest dwellers and protectors, the indigenous nations, were massacred. They stood proud in defiance as their peers fell to the ax.

I looked upon the markings that slated the boundary lines of the clearcuts to come, and I shook my head. As I stood in the presence of something far greater than myself, I realized that there could only be one outcome: By any means necessary, I would save this forest.

I had never really been camping before, not real camping. But I did know how to build a fire and a shelter. I knew how to survive. That's what I thought, anyway.

Two other street kids and I committed to staying out in the forest. One was from New York, while the other, like me, was from Los Angeles. The three of us were your run-of-the-mill crusty squatter punks. The weather was hot and beautiful; there was blue sky and sunshine. The first morning, I woke up early and grabbed my climbing gear.

I'd been taught climbing basics and knew how to be safe. There was already a line set about 120 feet up in a Douglas

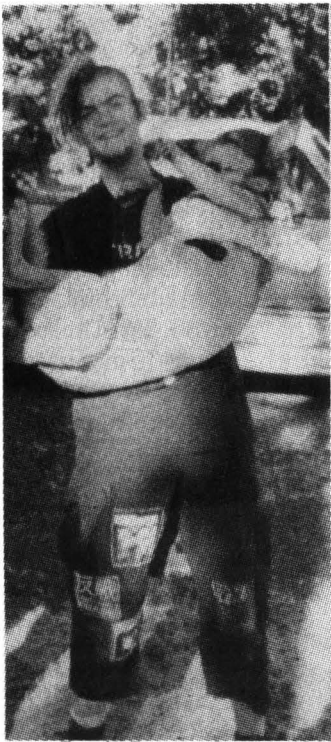
fir. My job was to get that line set near the top of the tree where we would put the treesit. By the second day, I had climbed to about 200 feet. I make it sound easy, but the truth is that I was scared to death. The tree turned out to be around 220 feet tall.

After setting a new line, I decided to wait for the pros to come up from town before going any further. Now, when I say pros, I mean exactly that. At some point, you get so good at climbing and setting up treesits that you know all of the tricks. I was counting on the support of people who had done this before to both teach me and help me.

That night, the three of us punks gathered under the beautiful, starry sky. There is almost nothing better than the company of good friends, a warm campfire and the light of a billion stars. We shared tales of adventure, hopping trains, shoplifting and running from the cops—or, in some cases, fighting them. We fell asleep in the fading light of a dying fire.

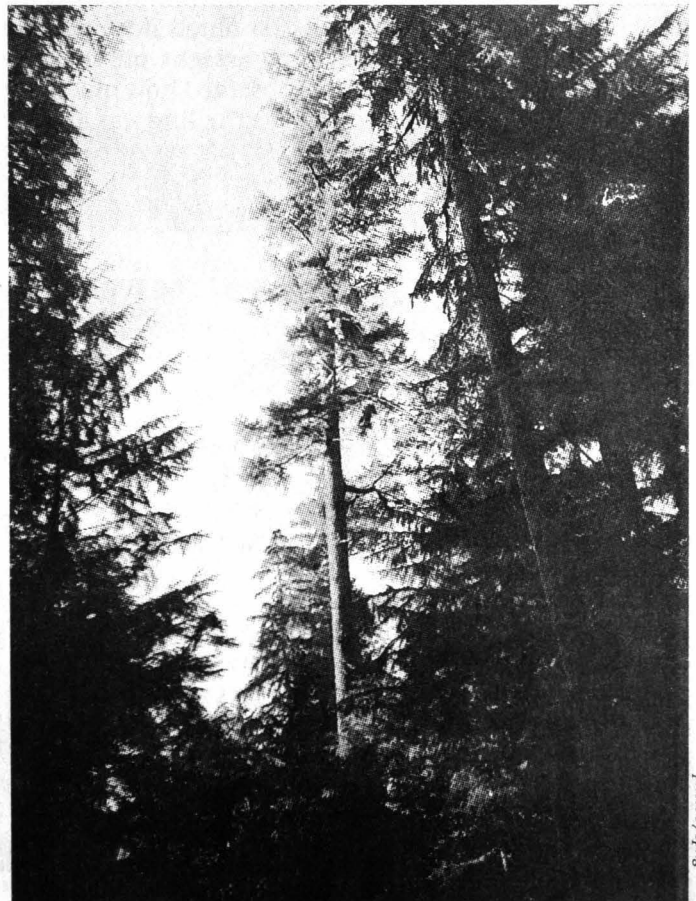
We awoke to a thunderstorm in the middle of the night. We three city boys were a little shocked by this. Hurriedly,

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Free in Eugene, Oregon, 1998

photo courtesy www.freefriction.com



Looking up at the former Guardian treesit in now canceled unit 36

photo by spf8

continued from previous page

we scrambled with the only tarp we had and made a dry, though cramped, place to sleep.

The next morning, the rain showed no sign of letting up. The pros came out, though, bringing supplies.

While some set up another tarp at the edge of the clearing so that we could build a fire, others stashed supplies and gear in buckets. The task may have been small, but their efficiency and coordination was amazing. These people had worked together and done this before. In 10 minutes, the tarp was up, the food and gear was packed away, and a fire was going!



photo courtesy www.freefeenanw.org

fire. I only had two sets of clothes and no rain gear. I lived out of my backpack, traveling light and fast. I was from the streets and not the woods. I was sorely unprepared for Winter outdoors in Oregon and blissfully unaware. Everyone went back to town that day, except for me.

I stayed to protect what I now considered my forest and my home. I checked the lines everyday. I hiked around, learned the deer trails and made them my own. I got to know the area like the back of my hand. At the end of each day, I would go back and build a fire, change into my one set of dry clothes and dry the others.

A week had gone by, but no one came back. I was alone and comfortable with

I stayed to protect what I now considered my forest and my home.

After that, I showed them the trail that I had made, complete with landmarks. I was proud of myself, and they were, too.

That day, we were determined to get into the second tree. I climbed up my tree—the one I'd been climbing for the last three days. At the top, I shouted down to the others. Three of them piled their weight on the line going into the other tree, while I observed how much the branch bent, testing its strength, as the line was at least four feet out from the tree. Satisfied that everything was secured and safe, one of them started to climb.

I can't describe the moment with the justice it deserves. The rain was coming down, and I was soaked to the bone. I was huddled on a branch so high up that there was no protection from the wind or rain. My friend's face grinned back at me from the first tree I had ever set a line in. It was one of those beautiful moments in life that you remember with absolute clarity. At that instant, I had no doubt that we would save this forest.

Afterward, we hiked back to what was now called basecamp. I dried off next to the

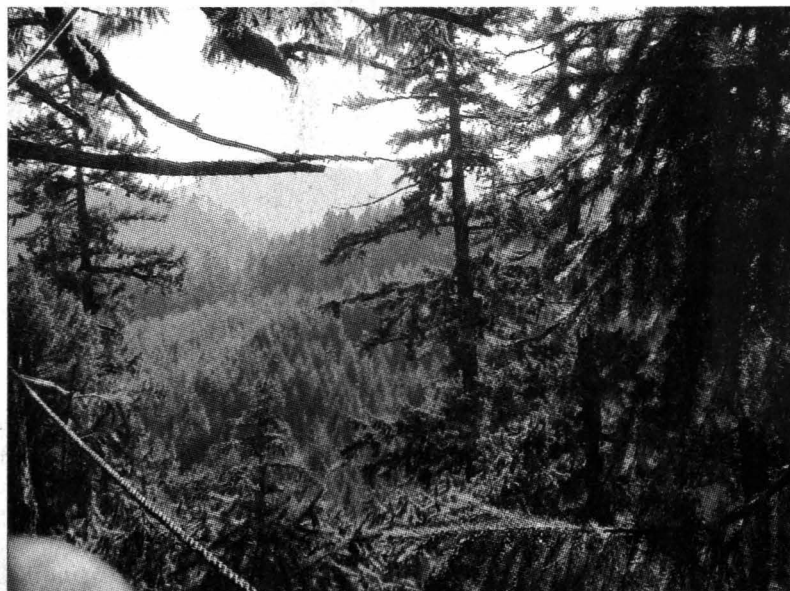
that. I'd made friends with the forest, the trees and the creatures. Now, when I hiked around the forest, birds didn't treat me like an intruder. I didn't know it then, but I was about to experience something amazing.

A freak storm blew in one evening. It had been raining harder than usual, and I headed back to camp early. The temperature was dropping steadily, and the wind whipped as it began to hail.

I huddled around the fire, drying my wet clothes, when a sudden gust tore the grommets out of the tarp where it was tied. The tarp flew like a flag secured at only one corner. There was so much rain mixed with the hail that as I struggled with the tarp, my fire was extinguished.

I was able to rescue the tarp. With a little effort, I rekindled the fire, and again I set about drying my clothes. The hail became a heavy sleet, and the wind began to blow down instead of up. Under the weight of the wind and sleet, my tarp collapsed on top of me. I managed to put the tarp up again, and I struggled to get the wet wood to burn.

As I shivered around my pathetic fire, the temperature dropped



The view from Yggdrasil and Grandma in the Fall Creek treevillage

photo by spirit

even further. The sleet turned to heavy snow. It was really coming down. Every few minutes, I had to knock it off of the tarp. But the storm was determined to put out my fire. The wind came in so hard and fast that it split the tarp right down the middle. For the third time, my fire went out.

My hands and feet were numb, my clothes wet, and my body was shivering uncontrollably. I knew it would be impossible to hike out and get to a warm, dry place at that time of night. I was simply too far away from the nearest town. For the first time in my life, I wondered if maybe I wouldn't make it through the night.

I crawled under my other tarp in the woods, thinking that the wind would have a harder time getting this one. Slowly, I set up the propane camping stove, which was almost out of fuel. I fumbled with a lighter for about five minutes. When your hands are too numb to make a fist, flicking a Bic is a hell of a challenge.

It worked. Oh, yeah, I made it work. I warmed my hands over the low, blue flame. When I could feel all 10 fingers, I took off my boots and warmed all 10 toes. I was still shivering, but I could feel my hands and feet again.



Kalima, Fall Creek's highest treesit, Winter 2000

photo by
Buds

was worried about the storm and my tarp. My body never got warm, but I did stop shivering after a while.

To pass the time, I talked with my favorite tree, the one that my tarp was tied to. I spoke out loud to hear my voice, but I was speaking with my heart. Now, for some people this may sound crazy, but I've spoken with trees and animals all of my life, with the knowledge that all life has the ability to communicate with each other. I'd never gotten

an answer until that night. I've had many since then.

On this night, I distinctly heard, or rather felt, the tree ask why I was scared. It was a sensational feeling, like instinct. You just feel it, and if you ignore it, it goes away. If you pay attention, a whole new world opens up. I calmly explained my situation. We actually talked like this for a while. It may have been my imagination, but in my mind, the young tree sounded like a child. It was astonishing. It came to light that the forest understood why I was there, that I was there to protect it. I understood that within this forest, I would be safe.

I felt this calm and peace wash over me, like a kind of magik. The snow still fell, and the wind still blew. I

I understood that within this forest, I would be safe.

I wasn't about to try and build another fire. The tarp I was under was too low, and I was not at all confident that I could keep a fire lit without a shelter above it.

Resigned, I decided that my best bet was to get out of my wet clothes and get into my somewhat wet sleeping bag. I broke out my emergency space blanket and covered my sleeping bag with it. I was still cold inside my sleeping bag, but I felt confident that I would be fine if my tarp held and that I could hike out in the morning. The wind still rattled the tarp, but I was more worried about the weight of the snow, which I regularly shook off of the tarp.

I knew that I needed to stay awake, not so much because I was worried about my body temperature but I



photo courtesy
www.freefreedom.org

knew I would be fine, though. I sang a few songs and chanted until I fell asleep. When I awoke in the morning, the snow was still falling. There was about three inches on the ground. However, there was no snow on my tarp. In fact, there was a perfect circle of forest floor completely bare of snow around my tarp.

I was amazed and humbled.

I thanked the forest for its protection. I promised that I would return soon. Of course, the forest already knew.

To be continued...

Free is serving a more than 22-year prison sentence for burning SUVs at a car dealership in Eugene, Oregon, in June 2000.

Learning from the Past to Defend the Forest Today

BY TIM REAM

In December 2003, the US Forest Service proposed the largest timber sale in modern history in southern Oregon (see *EF!* January-February 2004). While I feel confident that the Oregon forest defense community can substantially roll back the Bush logging plan for the Biscuit Fire Recovery Project, it will require assembling a full-blown campaign in a very short period of time. Reviewing lessons from past forest campaigns will help us to quickly create a powerful network of activists and actions. A review is offered here, and it may apply to any of the above-ground campaigns you are working on.

•Identify a path to victory. The living world does not need us to merely try hard; it needs us to be effective. We have to be able to articulate a series of events that will allow us to go home from the forest and celebrate success. Far too often, this requires pressuring a white man to sign a piece of paper. So be it: If we choose this kind of campaigning at this time, how do we create the right pressure to make that happen? Which paper? Which man? What steps are next? This path becomes the centerpiece of the campaign.

•Use every tool in the toolbox. The identified path to victory is in flux; it evolves. It generally will require constant pressure. Often this means a campaign of increasing tactical intensity. Start simple, since fewer people will be working at the beginning of the campaign and because less intense tactics won't scare new people away. Increasing intensity means that we also create a sense in our opponent that things keep going from bad to worse.

If an action occurs that is not in line with campaign guidelines, don't support the action, but don't denounce it either. Use it as an opportunity to again talk about the seriousness of the issue. We need to hit our opponents from every side.

•People don't save places; places use people to save places. If you want



Lockdown at Fisher Gate, Headwaters forest, northern California, 1997

to protect a place, you must take as many people there as possible. Put folks in a beautiful wild area that is threatened and then empower them to help. Let the magic of the wilds do its work.

•Organizing has to happen somewhere, not just inside the telecommunications system. Campaigns require a physical location where people can meet and talk. It can be a coffee house, infoshop or warehouse. It works best when it is not a single house of an individual or group working on the campaign. That generally only works for a short time before stress creates dysfunction.

•Meetings are imperative. If you can't handle meetings, don't go. Campaigns are won by communities, not individuals. Communities must gather and communicate. If meetings aren't working, review consensus basics to figure out what's going wrong.

•Leadership and hierarchy are two different things. We all come to campaigns with different levels of skill and experience. Ideally, we will draw upon each other's strengths to complete our collective goal. Sometimes people in key roles hoard skills and information to maintain control. Other times people find themselves in key roles by virtue of

the fact that they are accomplishing a lot. Hierarchs will try to hold onto those roles. Leaders will be happy to pass off work to anyone with the skill to accomplish it. Good leaders will also find the time to train people with a proven record of commitment and responsibility.

•People not posters; friendship not flyers. The number one predictor of a successful campaign is whether the people involved get along well. When people generally like and respect each other, they will stay involved. Unfortunately, few people get involved in this work by reading a flyer. What generally brings someone into a new campaign is a personal connection with those already involved, even if that connection is brand new. At events, drop the cliques and meet the new folk. Most want to help; they are simply scared or don't know how.

•Don't forget Organizing 101. Experienced people often forget the basics. Get every phone number and email address you can. Follow up. Someone might not show up for months then suddenly have the space in their lives to become key campaigners. Keep inviting people back.

•If they don't get paid, it better be fun. Most activities, including actions, need to be empowering or fun or

both. On the other side of the issue, don't substitute lots of partying for the hard work of protecting threatened ecosystems.

- Radicals are most effective in coalitions. Radical groups working very hard by themselves often accomplish very little. It is far more effective when radical groups act as catalyst and conscience.

- Make allies, not enemies. Few people share our worldviews, and often there are highly divergent opinions even within our own groups. We have reasons to fight with nearly everyone. If we do so as part of a campaign, the Earth will be the loser. This does not mean that our erstwhile allies will not try to pick fights with us. Radicals need thick skins if they plan to leave the porch and get into the street.

- Above-ground direct action is usually symbolic. The age of civil disobedience may be coming to an end. We literally shut down the WTO meetings for a day in Seattle, Washington in November 1999. But people in the US today are often too afraid to act en masse and those of us at the radical edge get picked off whenever we rise up and show our faces. It is a rare campaign that physically can keep the loggers out for long with blockades nowadays. Nonetheless, when we do illegal actions they should include the core of what we stand for—actually shutting down the destruction if only for a time, be it in the woods, lumber mills, offices or stores.

- Tactical evolution is necessary. Don't assume the ability to replicate easily an impressive action from another region. People forget that past successes usually had a lot more behind them than appears in retrospect. Duplication is harder than it looks. Plus, the authorities study us, developing techniques to circumvent our efforts. Always be thinking about the next big thing. Sometimes that involves increasing technical complexity. Sometimes it means unnoticed simplicity. Usually it is outside of the campaign box. Follow the whole process of greed and destruction from start to finish to find new and easier targets.

- Imagery is key. Most people who take small actions do so based on imagery: photos, video, and written

stories. Produce your own media, it will directly affect people and spur them to act.

At the same time, it is difficult to win a campaign by ignoring corporate media. Most people believe the TV news and believe the local paper unless they hear otherwise. If favorable coverage is impossible, we need to aim to neutralize unfavorable coverage through op-eds, letters to the editor and coverage in alternative sources. Always hold reporters to their own imagined sense of journalistic integrity. Never let a hit piece go without making demands to the editor to run your version of the story.

Here are a few campaign killers.

- Sexual assault and sexism destroy campaigns fast. A paragraph here cannot do the issue justice. This behavior needs to be addressed quickly, openly and by consensus whenever possible and with appropriate measure. Men who make women feel unsafe need to hear about it right away, then be given an actual chance to show quick improvement. Abusers must, at the very least, be removed from all campaign activities immediately.

- Bad actions drain energy. The key is identifying ahead of time what a "bad action" is. For example, a colorful rally at a federal building might fire up new people and encourage them

to visit a threatened place. At the same time it may feel totally disempowering for a seasoned activist. Identify the goals of an action ahead of time. If you cannot act in a way that feels empowering, it is sometimes better to do nothing for a while.

- Brutalization and intimidation disempower. The movement for the Earth has lost untold thousands to tear gas, batons and pointed guns. People get scared, especially at their first few actions. This is now the main tactic of our opponents: fear. We need to sidestep situations that will lead to intimidation unless we see significant gain. In rare cases, where people have been properly prepared and cameras are rolling, intimidation can backfire on the authorities. The more experienced people are, the less they will react to threats of violence or violence itself. But remember, despite our repetition of the phrase, the whole world is not watching.

It is, of course, all easier said than done. The forest defense movement, however, is in a much more experienced position now than it was in the Salvage Rider years of '95-'96. If we can build on what we've learned, this wave of resistance should eclipse the past.

Starting in the mid-'90s, Tim Ream earned his splinters in forest defense campaigns throughout Cascadia.



Anti-clip mill action against Willamette Industries in Kane, Pennsylvania, October 1998

photo courtesy: EFi Journal archive

Zoar Valley

The Fight to Preserve What We Cannot Replace

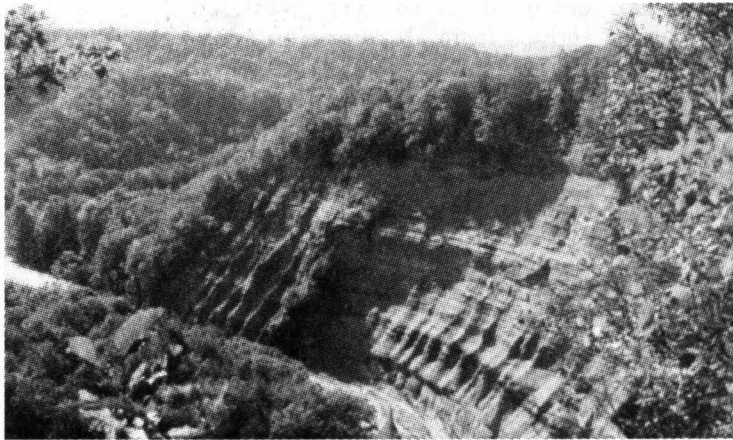
BY JULIE BROYLES

Zoar Valley is a stunning series of rugged gorges carved out by Cattaraugus Creek as it winds its way across western New York to Lake Erie. Zoar offers awe-inspiring scenic beauty and a true wilderness escape, with sheer cliffs towering 400 feet above the canyon floor and 20 waterfalls cascading up to 140 feet.

One of the last predominantly unspoiled wilderness areas in western New York, Zoar Valley is an irreplaceable ecosystem with plant and animal life in need of protection. With the state Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) poised to issue a master plan for the area that consists primarily of resource exploitation, saving this wilderness is the number one environmental preservation concern in western New York.

Bald Eagles Soaring Over Ancient Forests

The gorges and uplands are habitat to an abundance of endangered, threatened and rare species of plants and animals thriving in exemplary habitats. Nesting American bald eagles, red-shouldered hawks and osprey are frequently spotted soaring in and around the canyons. The wetlands and mature forests of Zoar Valley are home to a rich and diverse array of native plants. Thanks to the efforts of the Western New York Old Growth Forest Survey—which has been surveying forests in this part of the state since 1989—Zoar Valley has been scientifically recognized as one of the largest remaining eastern old-growth forests in the US. Having escaped development and been left to grow undisturbed, many of the trees in Zoar's ancient forest are 150 feet tall and exceed the venerable age of 350 years.



The awe-inspiring beauty of western New York's Zoar Valley

photo courtesy Friends of the Ancient Forest

Zoar Valley Gifted to the People of New York

The Zoar Valley gorges were donated to the people of New York in the early 1960s by the late Herbert Darling, Sr. The DEC accepted three such land gifts from Darling on behalf of New York's citizens and, at Darling's request, promised to "preserve the area's wild, aesthetic values."

When asked during a public meeting why the state has failed to honor the restrictive language in the deeds gifting the land at Zoar Valley, DEC Regional Forester Wayne Cooper replied, "We don't have to honor that. It's not binding." This arrogant disregard for Darling's wishes and

the wishes of the people has galvanized the environmental community in western New York.

DEC Ignores Public Will

The DEC and the State of New York have refused for decades to provide the public land at Zoar Valley with protected status, steadfastly and irresponsibly ignoring the urging of botanists, forest ecologists and even their own scientists, as well as ignoring the letters, petitions and outcry from tens of thousands of its citizens who demand that Zoar Valley's ecosystem be preserved.

The DEC is now drafting a master "resource management" plan for Zoar Valley to be presented for public comment in the coming months, their third attempt at such a plan in the past decade. In response to ongoing public pressure, previous attempts were abandoned. At the outset of this most recent attempt to create a master plan, the DEC conceded to unofficially designate 1,000 of the 3,000 acres of public land at Zoar for protection. Displaying a stunning lack of understanding of the

interconnectedness of the environmental communities at Zoar, the DEC's position is that the remaining 2,000 acres should be open for logging, gas exploration, the devastating effects of open pit gravel mining and other resource exploitation.

Simply put, the state cannot ignore the presence of endangered, threatened and rare species and engage in habitat destruction. With more than

135,000 acres of managed state land in western New York, much of which is already managed as timber plantations, and with 62,000 acres of public land in the region about to open to bidding for mining and gas exploration, the state cannot justify destroying this 3,000-acre natural paradise.

We must preserve this unique wilderness area and its natural heritage. Friends of the Ancient Forest is about to make its voice heard loudly by launching a direct action plan—with an action taking place every month—to convince the DEC to protect Zoar. We will continue the fight until Zoar Valley is protected, forever wild.

For more information, contact Friends of the Ancient Forest, (716) 228-1430; zoarpreservation@yahoo.com.

Julie Broyles is an environmental activist in New York who is working on a number of preservation and pollution issues. She is actively working to build an environmental coalition in western and central New York.

Greenpeace Fights Illegal Logging and Federal Persecution

BY LENNY

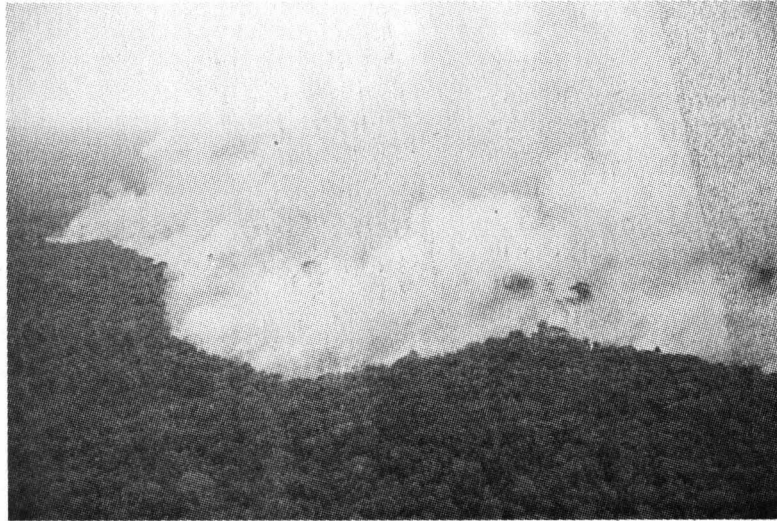
Illegal logging accounts for 80 percent of all Amazonian timber on the market today. Because of the dynamics of Brazilian logging, Greenpeace has focused on putting an end to the illegal cutting of mahogany. The results have been good for the forest but chilling for free speech here in the US.

Mahogany, often called "green gold," can be worth up to \$130,000 per tree on the retail market.

Therefore, it acts as the only product worth the financial cost of road building in the Amazon. Because mahogany trees grow isolated from one another rather than in groves, mahogany loggers leave the Amazon spiderwebbed with roads—each built to harvest only a few trees. When the mahogany loggers move on, other loggers will use these roads to cut the less profitable trees. And when these loggers have finished, cattle ranchers and soy farmers move in, clearcutting the remnants of the forest for whatever profit they can make. As the loggers, farmers and ranchers continue to move deeper into what is left of the forest, Greenpeace has chosen to target the illegal mahogany trade, hoping to cut off the chain of destruction at its source.

After years of investigation by air, water and land, Greenpeace presented the Brazilian government with comprehensive documentation of widespread illegal logging throughout the Amazon. In response, a moratorium was placed on all logging or transportation of mahogany in October 2001, pending a complete investigation.

In April 2002, Greenpeace activists boarded the *APL Jade* off the coast of Miami, Florida, which was carrying 70 tons of Brazilian mahogany in violation of the moratorium. The activists hung a banner that read, "President Bush: Stop Illegal Logging." While the



Cargill burns large areas of Amazon rainforest to prepare for soy plantations

photo by Daniel Beltra/Greenpeace

president has claimed that his Initiative on Illegal Logging—announced in February 2002—will put a stop to the practice, this has proved to be just another example of greenwash propaganda from the Bush administration. The initiative is wholly composed of 19 already existing programs, with no new funding allocated to any of them.

At the time of the protest, Greenpeace was challenging Bush to make good on his word and to seize the illegal mahogany in compliance with the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). Instead, the activists were arrested, and the mahogany was unloaded for sale.

In November 2002, mahogany was granted increased protection through CITES. Under these new rules, the logging of mahogany can only be authorized if it is proven that no damage will come to the species as a result. Brazilian President Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva has also committed to protecting mahogany and enforcing Brazil's environmental laws, which provides some hope for the Amazon. In the wake of the CITES victory, the government of Brazil praised Greenpeace for helping bring the changes about.

In the US, however, the Bush administration presents a different attitude, instead seeking to prosecute Greenpeace for its forest defense work.

Fifteen months after the Miami action, John Ashcroft's Department of Justice (DOJ) indicted Greenpeace USA on charges of conspiracy and boarding a vessel about to dock. In its charges, the DOJ invoked an obscure 1872 law designed to prevent boarding-house owners from making sailors unavailable for departure by luring them from their ships with alcohol and prostitutes. This is the first use of the "sailor mongering" law

since 1890, and only its second invocation ever.

If found guilty, Greenpeace faces not only a \$10,000 fine but also the loss of its tax-exempt status. More sinister still, Greenpeace faces a five-year probation, during which the government would have unlimited access to all of the organization's internal records—including financial records and even membership lists. Greenpeace could be even more harshly punished during its probation if any of its members committed acts of civil disobedience connected to a Greenpeace campaign. This prosecution is a clear attempt to destroy an organization that has, from day one, been a thorn in the Bush administration's side.

On December 12, a federal judge heard pretrial motions in the case. Greenpeace filed three motions—to dismiss, for a jury trial and for access to government documents related to the prosecution. Several other nonprofit organizations filed friend-of-the-court briefs urging the judge to dismiss the case. The judge is expected to rule on these motions in the coming months, and trial may begin as early as May.

Nonetheless, Greenpeace continues its efforts to stop illegal logging in Brazil. In April, US corporate giant Cargill opened a soy processing and export terminal in the Brazilian town

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of Santarem, displacing 25 families during construction. This facility was built illegally, and it has accelerated deforestation in the region, causing land prices to skyrocket. With these inflated prices, many rural residents have been convinced to leave their land for the city, although in some cases they have been violently expelled. Loggers and farmers have also seized and destroyed indigenous lands, in violation of Brazilian law.

In November, Greenpeace released a report documenting the links between illegal logging, soy farming and slavery in the Brazilian state of Pará, "the largest producer and exporter of wood products in the Brazilian Amazon." The report, "State of Conflict," reads:

"Pará's story is one that resonates throughout the Amazon. It tells of a 'boom and bust' cycle whereby loggers exploit the land, strip it of forest cover and abandon it to cattle ranchers or other large-scale farming ventures.

"Fueling this cycle is a state of lawlessness in which land invasions and illegal occupancy of public land are backed by violence and even murder. Pará has Brazil's highest rate of assassinations linked to land conflicts, and these are hardly ever investigated. As local forest dwellers who depend on the land for hunting, fishing and small-scale farming are forced away from their territory, the gulf between rich and poor in Pará widens.

"In remote, hard-to-police areas of the forest, deforestation is frequently driven by slavery. Workers are lured into forest areas with promises of well-paid farm work, and they become trapped in debt bondage, working under dangerous and inhumane conditions for little or no pay. Those who try to escape are sometimes killed."

This is, of course, the age-old pattern of colonialism and globalization: the vicious oppression of the poor for short-term economic gain. Earth First! activists interested in targeting the US corporations bankrolling these crimes with illegal wood purchases should visit www.greenpeaceusa.org.

Lenny doesn't know why anything the Bush administration does surprises him anymore. He is not affiliated with Greenpeace.

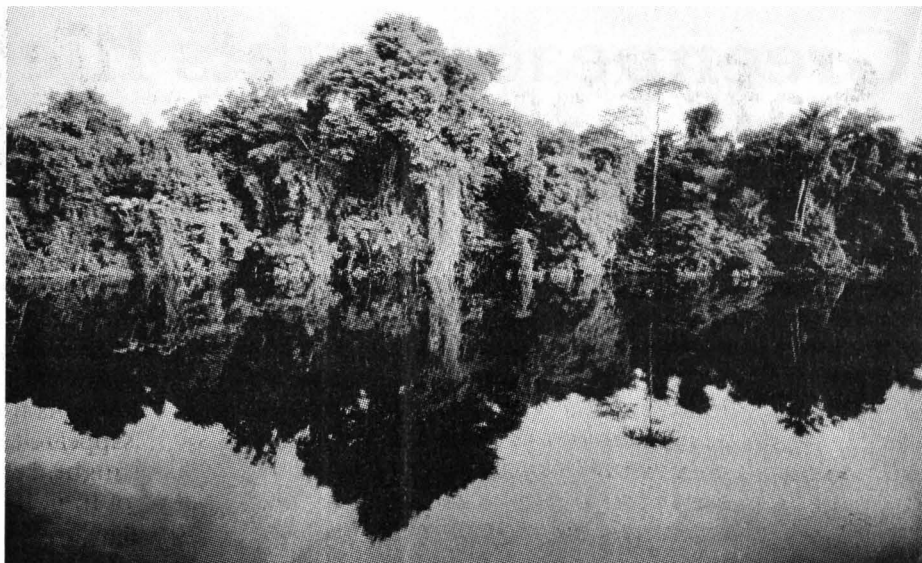


photo by Flavio Camalongo/Greenpeace

Remembering Emily Craddock

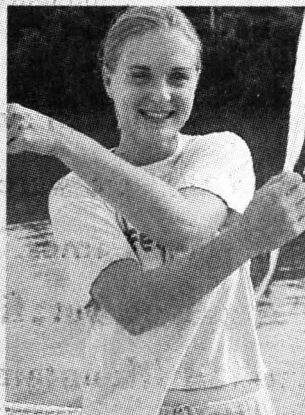


photo courtesy Greenpeace

Emily Craddock, 27, was sailing with the *Arctic Sunrise* as part of Greenpeace's campaign against illegal logging in the Amazon when she was found dead in Brazil's Xingu River on December 15. Her death was ruled as accidental.

In 1999, Emily was in Australia visiting her brother when she saw Greenpeace's ship docked in Fremantle for repairs after clashes with a Japanese whaler. She marched up the gangplank and asked for a job—any job. She was thrilled to be working with Greenpeace—albeit as a garbologist, sorting the rubbish!

Emily studied hard to learn about the essential equipment on board the ship to eventually become a radio operator, where she was the smooth voice on the other end of the line calling her fellow campaigners home after a long day chained to an anchor or conducting investigations in the field.

Emily's family and friends followed her travels via the Internet—relieved that by the time Greenpeace actions were posted, the greatest danger was often over. They held their breath during the bold, courageous campaigns in Emily's four years with Greenpeace, including the whaling campaigns and when she sat in a small dinghy in the path of an American missile being tested.

Emily died in the most beautiful place on Earth that she had ever seen, and in her years of sailing with Greenpeace, she had seen much. In November, she wrote of the Amazon in a crew diary:

"When you imbibe all the beauty here, you cannot help but pray to Gaia or God to protect this area. This is to me how the Amazon should be, lots of trees overhanging the river and heaving with bounty. Not the deforested, naked grasslands that we have been seeing too much of during this trip. We need to ensure that this way of life is passed on for more generations to come."

For the many who were touched by Emily's life, her words are emblematic of the love and hope that she inspired.

Safe Passage for \$ETH!

BY CLEO WOELFLE-ERSKINE

Growing up in Long Beach, California, \$ETH! helped to start the local Food Not Bombs chapter, the kaos revolution (which encouraged people to revolt using pranks and mockery of the system) and played in the punk band garblecrat. Later, he moved to the San Bernardino Mountains to help run his family's music camp, the site of a now-legendary anarchist gathering in 1995 as well as the 1997 EF! Organizers' Conference. Seth eventually relocated to Los Angeles to become a recording engineer, where he continued playing and recording acoustic grindcore on his guitar.

In late October, as the wildfires raged, Seth disappeared in the mountains of southern California.

What I want to write about my friend Seth is partly about him but also about me.

This is as it should be: We live through each other. There are pieces of Seth I have carried for half of my life: They have grown in me. I open my mouth and his words come out. Sometimes my face flashes with his quick smile, my eyes shine with his light. To remember this—and death is such a sharp reminder—is to value the presence of those who live on.

I met Seth when I was 11 and he was 18. I went to the Summer camp his parents ran up in the mountains two-and-a-half hours east of Los Angeles, California. Later, we wrote to each other. He sent me my first punk record, my first zine, a vegan cookbook he made.

Seth was the first person that I met who really lived in the mountains. He needed no trails. He knew how to read the natural history of those mountains in their eroded, rocky soils that were logged in the '20s to make fruit crates. He taught me my first lessons on how to read a landscape. On our hikes, he'd tear down the fluorescent tape the US Forest Service (USFS) used to mark trees it was going to cut down. One October, he sent an envelope full of dried manzanita berries, and I tasted the mountain's dry, mealy sourness for the first time. All these lessons served me well later on.

Seth knew the mountains, but he wasn't from there. One of the last times I saw him, just after I moved to the San Francisco Bay area, he talked about moving back to Los Angeles. We were both trying to escape isolation. He said,

"If everyone who was from Los Angeles stayed, instead of moving to the Bay area, then maybe something could get started there." He sounded bitter, then flashed that grin.

I was staying with my sister in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, when I heard he was missing. She knew him too; she told me he had written suicide letters to a handful of his friends, then drove his truck "up the hill," parked on a USFS road and disappeared into the mountains.

That night, I dug through my sister's CDs looking for traces of him. In one of his songs, Seth sang of fire that burned away a rotten system and that we were the spark that ignited those flames. This wasn't a metaphorical fire, but a fire in the San Bernardino Mountains, a stand-replacing fire. Fueled by fire suppression and vacation homes, it was a fire that could clear the way for a healthier forest to grow up. That night, in southern California, a week after his truck turned up, 750,000 acres burned. But my mind shut down when I thought about Seth out there. Instead, I read the lyrics to all of his songs. Maybe it was

only the circumstances that made those lyrics seem steeped in death.

Death, especially suicide, is not something I think about often.

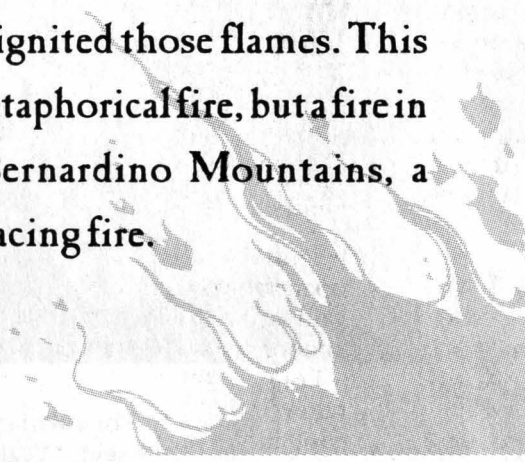
Yet each death of a friend cuts so close to the bone. I have lit candles for them to bridge the time between not knowing and the solid certainty of death. They light the dark time into which the heavy weight of the unknowable descends and is rendered somehow solid in the world of the living, when death is shaped and formed to fit a space between us.

During that time, I can't stand to wake up alone in the dark, imagining ghosts walking through the same darkness outside. I occupy a liminal space, and as such, a space full of possibilities. The veil between worlds grows thinner. In those times, the dead, the night and the world of the dead flicker through my waking world. At night they pass effortlessly through gates sleep has flung wide open. And when I wake up, heart pounding, into an unlocatable darkness, a flickering candle flame is my only path back to the living.

But Pittsburgh's Giant Eagle chain doesn't sell novena candles. I asked my sister if I could use the one she'd brought from Los Angeles to make a safe passage candle for Seth. These candles, I told her, we don't only make them for the

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Seth sang of fire that burned away a rotten system and that we were the spark that ignited those flames. This wasn't a metaphorical fire, but a fire in the San Bernardino Mountains, a stand-replacing fire.



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dead. We lit one for a friend who had lost his mind deep in Los Angeles. That time, we had to tape the picture around eight different candles before he found his way back. We lit the candle, and that night I dreamed of fire raging through dry mountains, leaving charred wood, bone black.

I woke up to rain on the windows. The candle had gone out in the night.

I kept thinking that of all the people I know, Seth could walk off into the woods—even as they were going up in flames—and walk out two or three weeks later doing just fine. “He knows those mountains like the back of his hand,” I said to myself over and over again. If he had wanted to drop out of sight, no Los Angeles Police Department missing persons bulletin was going to flush him out.

I called my friend Oskar late one night as a full moon rose and glinted on the icy air. Oskar said, “Whenever I’ve had

a friend kill themselves, I’ve never been able to sort out their reasons for doing it or what chain of events led them to it. I don’t think there’s any way to ever understand it completely.” I sat in the dark, shivering by candlelight, blowing on my fingers wrapped around the phone. “I guess if I did decide to do it, I might just swerve off the road one day or put a gun in my mouth in the middle of the city,” he says after a moment. “But I would want to be able to plan it out like he did. I would like to be able to go to a beautiful place to die.” I have nothing to say. The thought makes the bottom fall out of my world.

A few days later, alone in another kitchen, I feel the world dissolving underneath my feet. In the bevel-cut mirrored door, I catch my reflection, a visual manifestation of that moment of dissolution. I stare. “You have to let them carry you,” I hear in my head. No one’s home. I speak it aloud. In my head I run down the list of who I can call; who would expect it and be hurt if I didn’t. Who will wait on the other end of the silent space and fill it with words?

I call up Skot!, an old friend of Seth’s who I haven’t seen or spoken to in more than two years. He has no news. Seth sent him a letter a few weeks back saying, “By the time you read this, I’ll be dead.” His voice is soft; it brings me back to Summers gone by. We each seem to be waiting for the other to fill the pauses in our conversation with information that we don’t have. He, too, seems to think Seth may be gone.

I come back to Oakland, where I have more to hold onto. A month has passed by since Seth was last seen. In the mountains, the fires have burned out. He has not been found. Some friends have an anarchist harvest feast, dubbed “In November we Remember,” on what Seth would have called *thankstaking*. I start to talk about him and see several eyes widen. “You’re talking about Seth, right?” Jeff interrupts. Afterward, we talk.

“For a while, I thought he might walk out of the woods,” I said. “Yeah, we were all wondering if he was up there starting all the fires,” Jeff laughed. “But he hasn’t contacted anyone, hasn’t used his ATM for a month.” “I had never thought of him as one of my volatile friends who might kill themselves one day,” I ventured. “But when I heard, somehow I wasn’t surprised.”

In the weeks that follow, I stop having nightmares about being caught in a forest fire. Instead, into my mind come images of those hills covered by a fine layer of ash that dissolves, finally, under hard, cold rain.

I’m not sure what this image means until we go to watch the salmon spawn. We drive from Oakland, through refineries, suburbs, upscale towns, into the rolling grass and oak-covered hills. Once, 6,000 coho salmon spawned in this creek. We watch them: tired, covered with white scars from their long journey upstream. They are so beautiful;

Spark

*we are a spark
a spark that turns to flame
a flame that is a light
faint but clear
we are a light
a shining new hope
amidst a world of dark
our light grows
we light a path
a path of life and freedom
of showing a new way
lives of deeds and actions
our light goes forward
but carries the whole past
wisdom from the ancients
to show us once again
a map of the world
suspended in darkness
a tiny flame blazes up
followed by more
burning with the blue flame
of bitterness
and outrage
one thing throws light on another
one uprising sparks another
and another
forming a burning necklace
of revolution
that surrounds the americas
followed by the world
we are the spark
the spark that leads to flame
the flame that burns it all
to the ground*

—Song lyrics from A Rehearsal for the Great Uprising by The \$ETH! Project

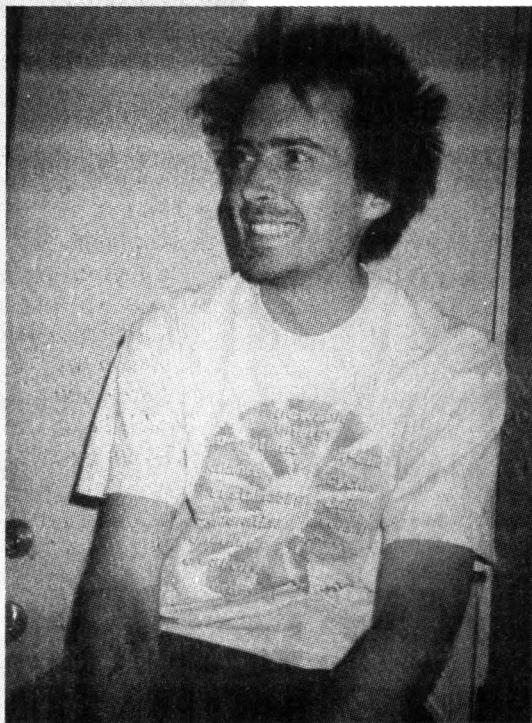


photo by Alice Woeffe-Erskine

the males a bright silver-red, the females the color of pewter, splashing pink only when they turn on their sides to dig a nest with their tails in the spawning gravels. There are so few of them.

We walk alongside them up a tributary of San Geronimo Creek. A half mile up from the mouth, two massive concrete spillways of a giant dam block their way. Lisa SF and I are talking about what happens to the salmon when people build dams. I tell her the fish born upstream of a dam die by the thousands in its shadow when it blocks their way home. "How many die when the dam is not there?," she asks. "All of them," I reply. "After they have spawned." "They die a good death," she says. "They have accomplished their mission." The corpses wash up on the creek banks and get dragged away by raccoons, they get scooped up by otter and bear, they decompose, slowly turning back to forest.

Oskar's right, I'll never know what Seth was thinking as he parked his car and walked off the road one last time. I can't say whether he should have stuck around. I know that sometimes we, like the salmon, are up against something too big for us. Like them, we struggle how we can while we are here. Like them, we leave pieces of ourselves behind and know that others, coming after, will continue to struggle.

I do think that his was a good death, as crazy-making as it was for his friends and family to not know for so long whether he was gone. It is a beautiful way to go: cremation by forest fire, in a rush that overpowers internal combustion's roar; ashes tossed aloft on Santa Ana winds, far above the freeways. What's left of his body lies buried under snow that will melt in the Spring, bringing life to the rocky gorges.

That image, finally, brings me some clarity. The world of the dead recedes. Seth has joined all the others. What part of him still resides in this world has come to rest under snow. The rest lives on in us, as light behind the eyes.

Cleo is the editor of *Urban Wilds: Gardeners' Stories of the Struggle for Land and Justice*, www.urbanwilds.org, and co-founder of the *Guerrilla Graywater Girls*. These days he can be found restoring urban creeks in Oakland, California.

Leaf in the Wind

*I am watching everything spin
the world is changing, everything is flying
Nothing stable more than three minutes long
maybe that's why I like the rocks and trees
This all must seem like nothing to them
just a leaf blowing in the wind
I wonder should I even write this song
will it all be over by the time it's heard
I just want to jar you
maybe get you to think and to look around
Maybe you might feel or begin to care
and maybe you'll do something about it
She said there's a fire burning in my eyes
but it's flaming from a deep kindness
I loathe all this but then I flip coz I care too much
I want to burn and to hug
Hate and love they're not opposites
just two different emotions
Frustration, Bitterness and Rage
It's quite defined but stems from most of you
and I will fan the flames and carry them further on
You may discredit this all with some childhood
trauma
broken homes or idealistic dreaming
But I Refuse to be whatever you want me to be
will you say that I'm too angry, too negative
Or not punk enough, maybe too eccentric
or are you tired of hearing too many ignored politics
Well fuck you 'cause this is all for you
can this be taken seriously?
An' I can never be normal 'cause that fires always
there*

—Song lyrics from *The First Snack* by \$ETH!

Goodbye Dear Yenta Yareak

BY HAMBONE

My friend Yareak died on January 21. Yareak might have been your friend, too. Ze (the pronoun that Yareak preferred) was known to me as a wicked fun, trusted travel companion and known to many of us as a teacher.

Yareak traveled around the country with Rath in a workshop project known as Deviant Information by Yentas (DIY). This project sought to shine a light on the different forms of oppression and abuse within our radical communities; the domination by men and the abuse of family and friends. Yareak fought against the domestic violence that leaves so many behind—afraid, rejected and left to feel the alienation from those who would ignore or ridicule one of our own when they need our collective strength most.

I'm much luckier than I know to have had the

opportunity to ride in Tantrum, the DIY RV, and see Yareak and Rath make space for survivors and their allies around the country.

They helped direct those of us with the good fortune to participate in their workshops toward solutions and resources that will help us heal survivors and abusers. They helped us determine a course of action through much of the confusion and aggression that continues to dominate in the wake of sexual violence and abuse. This is vital to any hope of us realizing true community in our struggle, and I'm eager to see our communities continue to do this much-needed work.

In the eight months before ze's death, Yareak lived in Maine and worked at both a teen runaway shelter and a domestic violence shelter. This loud, Jewish, anarcho-feminist, radical genderqueer tranny will be deeply missed by many. Goodbye, dear friend.



Armed with Visions

Clear as cut glass & just as dangerous...

Spanish on My Mind

Sit mountain side
in a glade now
expanded to be Cowboy Heaven
Lot 1

Gouged trees stand on
side, molding in a pile
streams trickle into
pools in D9 tread tracks
that supply the mosquitoes
around my head

A tall dead 10ft stump
of ponderosa stands
untouched, a memory
of what once was
the cloak of
the peaks called spanish

Stand on the edge of
decimation
overlooking a broad
neon green valley
spotted with dark
pines, sun beats
through clouds to
cast a long shadow
back from me

Magnificent, drank
two beers and spooked
a buck mule deer
it turns out I'm only
popular with
mosquitoes

Climb upwards
past yellow behemoths
engine and gas compartments
locked upon inspection

Two woodpeckers sing
and make what I
wish I was doing
now in nature to
the rhythmic grind of
pine against pine

Back on top, clouds
shield the orb
but slices of wavy
light descend on
pale blue peaks

Sit and watch
planted on dry
moose prints

Look across at
Earth's teeth and
daggers encrusted
in snow, down to
lodge pole pines
each an individual
despite the distance

The wind picks
up solving the
mosquito problem

Wait now for
the sun to set
one more time
feeling I am at a
fleeting
home

—ANDERS CARLSON



Send poems to: Warrior Poets Society,
POB 14501, Berkeley, CA 94712-5501
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She Wore a Housedress to the Rodeo

There was no one she wanted to impress
Not any more.

Gone were the days of petticoats
Fancy boots
And cowboy hats
Emblazoned with red rhinestone roses

He left her
Not the get up and go sorta leavin'
But the lay down and die sorta leavin'
Which is the worse kinda leavin' of all
Cause there's no coming back.

They said it was cancer
She knew it was justice
For years of pumping poison into the ground
Fighting back nature
One... crop... at a time

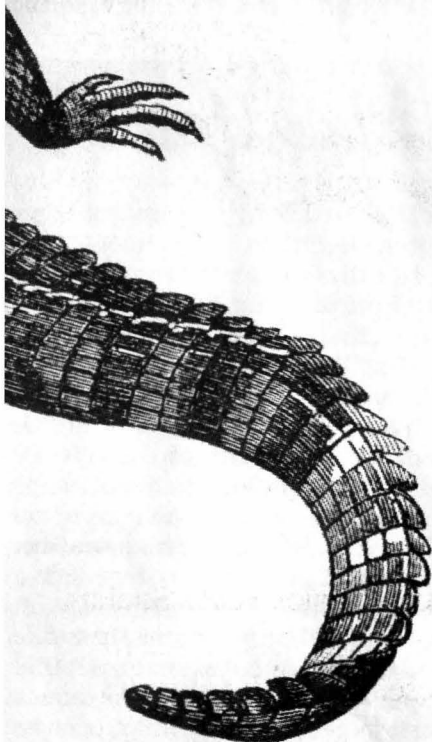
He always said the bugs would be the death of him

She knew he was right.... the first time he said it.

Cause nobody can lay down a toxic legacy
Without feeling its sting.

She wore a housedress to the rodeo

—ROBERT T. NANNINGA



Obsidian Trail

Fist-sized jewels
Shiny smooth and ridge sharp
Hand-sized thumb-hold scrapers
Hammers,
Tools from the older, lasting culture
That cleaved to this land.

Three loons on the lake
Vocalizing the wildness in our hearts,
Running across the water
Wings waving, beaks aflutter
Without becoming airborne,
Instead submerging for a slippery fish.

"Wild elk tense when they see you"
Eyes, nostrils freeze
Til they bolt like lightning.

Thirteen year-old lodgepoles
Cluster like kindergartners
On the hillside that is their future.
Burned trees still coming down in strains of wind,
Charcoal logs sealed shiny
Reflecting off the tales of obsidian.

—JENNY MCBRIDE

Six Miles from Alaska

Speeding, spaced out, brains in hibernation,
Their jaded eyes see a starved lynx stalk
And grab a grouse, scatter
Bloody feathers on the snow.
The in-flight nature flick ends, and
They begrudge the minutes they must kill
Until the next entertainment: lunch.
Predators but impatient, they need action.

Bored, they look out and down
Through tiny window rectangles
At something that for most of them
Is even more surreal than movies:
The endless, silent, waiting wilderness,
Passing slowly far below, each white fang
Different from the rest, licked by rough green
Tongues of tamarack and spruce in the valleys.

With a shiver and a shudder they pull down
Plastic window covers, unsnap trays as lunch
Is served on yet more grey smooth rectangles.
The pilot announces the weather is perfect
In Tokyo, their destination. They gnaw
And rip their perfect squares of half-thawed
Chicken, moment by moment
Roaring farther from Alaska.

—RICHARD ARNOLD

Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs

BY PATRICK REINSBOROUGH

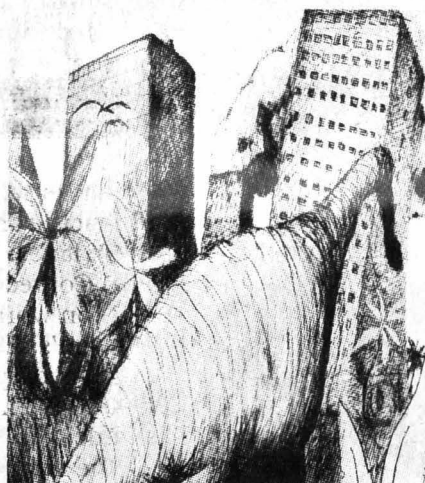
Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs, by Curious George Brigade, CrimethInc., 2003.

This little book is more of what we've come to love and expect from the CrimethInc. moniker—poetic revolutionary propaganda that makes anarchy accessible, inviting and romantic, while poking into some of the big questions that face radicals of all stripes. As books go, it is a quick read with funny illustrations and well worth an afternoon of your busy life. The authors describe the book as “our broadside for anarchy today.” To their credit, they do a good job of transcending the ideological clunkiness and self-marginalizing jargon that many people associate with anarchists.

The book is written in the spirit of previous CrimethInc. publications, as a passionate seduction intended to actively liberate our imaginations and expand our vision of what is possible. It urges us to forget the Spanish Civil War and other fossilized anarcho-lore in favor of creating our own contemporary “heroic communities” that actualize the utopian ideals of anarchism today—now!—in our own lives. Likewise the authors' humble, semi-anonymous style constantly reminds us—without being preachy—that it is we, the readers, who must be the agents of change. No brilliant author, super activist or self-appointed movement leader is going to save us.

But there is much more to *Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs* than just inspiring rhetoric. It is also filled with pragmatic organizing suggestions, gems of lost radical history and important analysis. It has plenty of thoughtful contributions on nuts and bolts issues like organizing structures, race, privilege and even a surprisingly interesting section on mutiny.

One of the book's main arguments is against the “dream of mass”—the hierarchical and homogenizing tendencies of the dinosaurs that the book's title refers. These dinosaurs are not only Capitalist-Rex, State-asaurus and Multinational Business-saur but also lefty mass movements. These critiques have value and are worth reading, although those from a more traditional organizing background might raise a skeptical eyebrow in a few places. In particular, some of the sweeping attacks on coalition work, the not fully successful



ANARCHY
in the age of
dinosaurs

effort to reclaim “chaos” (perhaps complexity might have been a better word choice?) and calling today's traveler kids the “sociopolitical descendants” of the Wobblies!? (Let's see... the Wobblies hopped trains as part of the working-class cultural norm of their time while building a highly organized, disciplined, anarcho-syndicalist union compared to today's traveler kids who hop trains and... yah).

In general, if I had to level a criticism at the book it would be to say it suffers from a somewhat unexamined tension between making mass change and small group radical organizing. The authors are obviously wary of mere lifestyle-based resistance, but their vision of how we can reject mass movements and still avoid becoming ghettoized subcultures is unclear.

But hey, who wants to read a book where you agree with everything? I'm

sure the authors would be the first to be appalled if you uncritically swallowed all of their opinions.

Ultimately, you should read *Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs* because it will remind you (even if you haven't forgotten) that struggle should be joyous and resistance creative. The book is not only thought provoking and poetic, but it eloquently lives up to its authors' intentions to be both “a love letter” and, most importantly, “a dare.”

For more information, visit www.ageofdinosaurs.net.

Patrick Reinsborough works with the smartMeme Strategy and Training Project.

Instead of a Manifesto

We live in an age of dinosaurs. All around us enormous social, economic and political behemoths lumber through destroyed environments, casting life-threatening shadows over the entire planet. There is a titanic struggle taking place in our communities as Capitalist-Rex and State-asaurus struggle to fill their bellies with more resources and power while fending off the claws of competing species, such as the newly savage Pterror-dactyls. The battle between these giants is terrible and rages on, but it cannot last. Evolution is against these doomed tyrants. Already their sun is dimming, and the bright eyes of others gleam

in the darkness, demanding something else.

Not all of these eyes are much different from the struggling reptilian overlords that currently dominate the globe. They have inspired smaller dinosaurs waiting their turn for dominion. These smaller ones are the fossilized ideologies of the Left. Despite alluring promises, they offer only a cuddlier version of the current system and in the end are no more liberating than the larger masters, such as the “socialist” governments of Western Europe. Their talons may be smaller and their teeth not as sharp, but their appetite and methods are the same as their larger kin. They long for mass:

The Fourth World War



BY PUBLIC

The Fourth World War, a 76-minute documentary directed by Richard Rowley and Jacqueline Soohen, Big Noise Tactical Media, 2004.

A war without a battlefield, without an enemy. A war that is everywhere. A thousand civil wars. A war without end. The war for capital and for empire is raging everywhere, on every front. It is a war for the consolidation of riches at any cost. The narrator intones this mantra, and this film aims to prove it true.

Covering the recent history of the anti-globalization, anti-empire, equality and labor struggles, *The Fourth World War* spans five continents. It aims at a broad audience, and the film is suitable for those who are not necessarily educated about globalization or even aware of its existence.

At its start, the film refers to the cooperative political, military, industrial dictatorship of the world as a system of terrible violence, and it documents the ongoing resistance. The overriding idea in *The Fourth World War* is the connection between struggles in Argentina, South Africa, Palestine, South Korea and Mexico.

In Chiapas, we see Zapatistas protesting a military base. They enter and proceed to shut it down. In Argentina, there is the revolution of December 2003. During the failing of the economy, men and women dressed in business suits are smashing ATMs. In South Africa, we

witness thousands as they march and dance, first for the end of racism and then again against the private takeover of their lands. The film visits South Korea during the Korean Confederation of Trade Union's strike involving 12 million workers.

The film's attempt to include the Palestinian conflict may be its only real stretch. The inclusion might make sense to those involved in and educated about the intricacies of the conflict in Palestine, but for most it will likely seem the wild card. Palestine is popularly considered a religious or ethnic conflict, which may marginalize the other issues covered by the film.

Set to an inspiring soundtrack, the filmmakers effectively utilize the popular method of editing—flashing from scene to scene and skipping from one issue to another—to hold with people's short attention span in today's day and age.

As *The Fourth World War* makes its US debut this Spring, we can hope for its success on the edge of the mainstream and that it might inspire others to begin to look at the world outside of their own borders. Watch for April showings in the Southwest, Texas, the Northeast and Midwest.

For more information, visit www.bignoisefilms.com.

Public is a humyn of the mountainous type. He likes to research ethnogens, emulate wolves, sleep all day and eat your trash. You can find him wherever the people are fighting and the sun is shining. Death to civilization.

the eternal dream of the child to be mass-ive. They believe if they can reach enough mass—through parties, organizations and movements—then they can challenge the master dinosaurs and tear power away from them.

In the cool shadows of the night, in the treetops of forgotten forests and in the streets of devastated cities, there are still other eyes. Quick eyes and slender bodies fed on hope; eyes that gleam with the possibility of independence. These small creatures live in the periphery, in the footsteps and shadows of dinosaurs. Their ears do not respond to the call of the smaller dinosaurs who want to consume them and create "one big dinosaur" to usurp all others. These small, warm-blooded creatures are many and varied, living on the discarded abundance of the

world that the dinosaurs, in their arrogance, trample over. They scheme together in the shadows and dance while the exhausted giants sleep. They build and create, find new ways to live and rediscover forgotten ones, confident that the tyranny will end.

We know that this draconian reign will not last forever. Even the dinosaurs know their age must end: the meteor will surely hit. Whether by the work of the curious, warm-blooded ones or by some unknown catastrophe, the bad days of gargantuan, reptilian authority will end. The drab uniform of armored scales will be replaced with a costume of feathers, fur and supple skin of a million hues. This is anarchy in the age of dinosaurs.

Excerpted from Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs by the Curious George Brigade.



Prisoners in the Struggle: Support Them!



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 the authorities read everything you write to a prisoner. The following list is a small sample of the total number of political prisoners worldwide. The EF! Journal offers discounted subscriptions for prisoners. Please contact us for more information.

Prisoner and Legal Updates

•Native Youth Movement warrior Hawk was taken captive in November and held in a Philadelphia county jail on charges of breach of probation. Hawk was unable to meet the conditions of his probation, as he was actively standing in defense of traditional lands threatened by massive exploitation and destruction. To donate to Hawk's legal defense or for more information, contact nymcommunications@hotmail.com.

•On January 23, Betty Krawczyk was released from jail on compassionate grounds so that she could visit her son who has been diagnosed with cancer. Krawczyk was serving 10 months for participation in a logging blockade on Vancouver Island, Canada.

•Helen Woodson is to be released March 9. She will have 72 hours unsupervised before she is required to turn herself in at a probation office in Kansas City, Missouri. Woodson was 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.

Animal Liberation

•Dave Blenkinsop, EM7899, HMP Bullingdon, Oxfordshire OX6 0PZ, UK. Serving 10 years for attacking the

THERE ARE NO BARS
STRONG ENOUGH,
NOR WALLS THICK
ENOUGH, TO CAGE
THE LOVE WE
CARRY IN OUR
HEARTS

managing director of Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), rescuing 600 guinea pigs from a lab supplier and planting incendiary devices under slaughterhouse vehicles.

•Benjamin Persky, #03R3916, Lakeview Shock Correctional Facility, POB T, Brocton, NY 14716-0679, USA. Serving up to six years for property destruction at the homes of multiple HLS affiliates. Please send only letters and photos.

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

Ecodefense

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

•Marco Camenish, Hörnlistrasse 55, 8330 Pfäffikon/ZH, Switzerland. Serving 10 years for using explosives to target nuclear facility powerlines. He reads French, German, Spanish and Italian.

•Iñaki Garcia Koch, Carcel de Pamplona, C/San Roque. Apdo. 250, 31080-Iruñea Pamplona, Navarra, Spain. Serving nearly 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 the attempted arson of an oil truck.

•Craig "Critter" 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.

Indigenous Resistance

•Byron "Oso Blanco" Chubbuck, #07909-051, POB 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048, USA. Serving 80 years for aggravated assault on federal agents, escape and bank robbery. Chubbuck funneled money that he stole from banks to the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in Chiapas, Mexico.

•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.

MOVE

The "MOVE 9," members of an eco-revolutionary group, were framed for the murder of a cop and sentenced to 30 to 100 years each. Although many of the MOVE prisoners are listed together, they must be written to separately.

•Debbie Simms Africa, #006307, Janet Holloway Africa, #006308, and Janine Philips Africa, #006309, SCI Cambridge Springs, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238, USA.

•Michael Davis Africa, #AM4973, and Charles Simms Africa, #AM4975, SCI Grateford, POB 244, Grateford, PA 19426-0244, USA.

•Edward Goodman Africa, #AM4974, SCI Mahanoy, 301 Morea Rd, Frackville, PA 17931, USA.

•William Philips Africa, #AM4984, and Delbert Orr Africa, #AM4985, SCI Dallas, Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612, USA.

•Mumia Abu-Jamal, #AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Dr, Waynesburg, PA 15370, USA. Abu-Jamal, a politically active journalist, was framed for the murder of a cop in 1981.

Political Prisoners

•Sherman Austin, #51565-054, FCI Tucson, 8901 S Wilmot Rd, Tucson, AZ 85706, USA. Serving one year for maintaining a website that contained links to information on how to make explosives.

•Thomas "JJ" Hicks, McDowell County Jail, 593 Spaulding Rd, Marion, NC 28752, USA. Currently facing marijuana and weapons charges. The FBI has tried to link Hicks, a longtime Earth First!er, to various Earth Liberation Front actions.

•Matthew Lamont, #T90521, A-5-248 UP, Centinella State Prison, POB 901,

Imperial, CA 92251, USA. Lamont, an Earth First!er, is serving three years for possession of an incendiary device.

•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 in Eugene, Oregon.

•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.

Vieques

Demonstrators celebrated the end of US military maneuvers on the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, in May 2003. Actions taken

during a victory celebration led to the arrest and conviction of several activists, who were charged with conspiracy to destroy federal property. Although they share the same address, they must be written to separately: MDC Guaynabo, POB 2147, San Juan, Puerto Rico 00922-2147.

•José Vélez Acosta, #23883-069. Serving two years and nine months.

•José Pérez González, #21519-069. Serving five years.

•Néstor de Jesús Guishard, #21716-069. Serving one year and two months.

Prisoner Support Groups

•Anarchist Black Cross Network, www.anarchistblackcross.org.

•Anarchist Prisoner Legal Aid Network, 818 SW Third Ave, PMB 354, Portland, OR 97204.

•Books Through Bars, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Philadelphia, PA 19143;

www.booksthroughbars.org.

•Break the Chains Prisoner Support Group, POB 12122, Eugene, OR 97440; www.breakthechains.net.

•Critical Resistance, 1904 Franklin St, Ste 504, Oakland, CA 94612; www.criticalresistance.org.

•Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network, www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk.

•Free's Defense Network, POB 3, Eugene, OR 97440.

•Friends of Free, www.freefreedom.org.

•North American Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group, POB 69597, 5845 Yonge St, Willowdale, Ontario M2M 4K3, Canada.

•Prison Activist Resource Center, POB 339, Berkeley, CA 94701; www.prisonactivist.org.

•Prison Moratorium Project, 388 Atlantic Ave, 3rd Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11217; www.nomoreprisons.org.

Writing to Prisoners: The First Letter

One major hurdle that keeps people from supporting prisoners is intimidation about writing for the first time. It can be hard to write a letter to someone you don't know. People often find that they don't know what to write, or they feel that there are things they can't write because prison authorities will read a prisoner's mail. Others think that prisoners either won't be interested in what they have to say or won't want to hear about things happening on the outside. The following are some suggestions to help you write that first letter.

First Things First

Some prisons restrict the number of letters a prisoner can write or receive, plus prisoners have to buy stamps and envelopes. So don't necessarily expect a reply to a card or letter. Prisoners may not write back or may take awhile. A lot of prisons allow stamps or a self-addressed stamped envelope to be included with a letter, some don't.

Always include a return address since some prisons do not allow letters without one. Of course, it doesn't have to be your address. Keep in mind that letters also get stopped, read, delayed and "diverted."

Writing for the First Time

Say who you are, and, if it is relevant, that you're from such and such group. It is better to be upfront about your politics to give prisoners the choice to stay in contact with you or not.

The first letter can be reasonably short, maybe even a postcard. Obviously, when you get to know people better, you'll have more to talk about.

Some people who write to prisoners are afraid to talk about their lives, thinking that this may depress people

locked up—especially prisoners with long sentences. Yet a letter can be the high point of the day for most prisoners. Prison life is dead boring, and any news that livens it up—whether it is about people they know or not—is generally welcome. Especially if you didn't know them before they went to prison, they want to know about you, what your life is like, etc.

Many activists have ideas about who prisoners are, why they're locked up, the system, etc. While it's good to have political clarity about incarceration and the nature of the criminal justice system, it is not helpful to romanticize a prisoner, anything they might be locked up for or their lives. They're people like everyone else and have strengths and weaknesses.

Often, well-meaning people will write letters offering support or make offers to help out of good will. Unfortunately, most never follow through and build false hope in a prisoner. This is not fair to them. If you're writing, don't make promises you won't keep. Don't offer to do a support campaign if you can't make the time. Don't offer to send items when you can't afford it. Be honest.

They're in There for Us, We're Out Here for Them

For people imprisoned from our movements and struggles, it's vital to keep them involved in the ongoing resistance—telling them about actions, sending them magazines or discussing ideas and strategies with them. Use your sense though, and don't write about anything that is likely to get anyone in trouble with the cops. Some people will just want to keep their head down until they get out.

For more information, visit www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk; www.anarchistblackcross.org.

announce

Call to Action for April 2004 Mobilization Washington, DC · April 22-25

2004 marks the 60th Anniversary of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These institutions and structures have designed neoliberal economic programs for more than 100 countries—the new form of colonialism!

Help end global economic injustice driven by the policies and programs of international financial institutions by joining the movements and campaigns challenging the IMF and World Bank's economic reign. Organize events throughout the year: speaking tours, monthly coordinated local and global actions, global justice film festivals, direct action, street theater, conferences and teach-ins, popular education, vigils and more.

For more information, contact 50 Years is Enough, (202) IMF-BANK; info@50years.org; www.50years.org.

International Day of Action Against Dams March 14

Highlighting the 60th anniversary of the World Bank, this year's "International Day of Action Against Dams and for Rivers, Water and Life" will focus on the World Bank's legacy of environmental and social devastation, as well as the debt it owes to the millions of people who have been adversely affected by large dam projects. Actions will call attention to the Bank's recent announcement that it intends to re-engage in contentious water projects in what it refers to as a "high risk, high regards strategy."

For more information, contact International Rivers Network, (510) 848-1155; dayofaction@irn.org; www.irn.org.

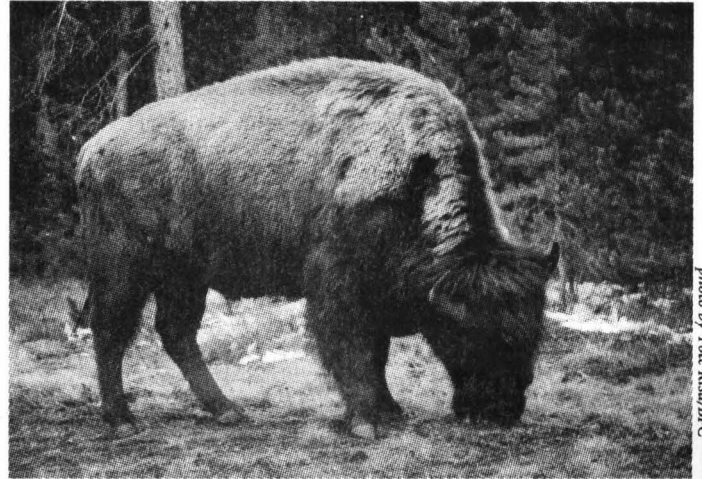


photo by Yote Risa/BFC

WEEK OF ACTION FOR THE BUFFALO WEST YELLOWSTONE, MONTANA · MAY 1-8

There were once more than 30 million buffalo in North America. Today, the Yellowstone buffalo herd is the only continuously wild herd left in the US. In the Spring, wild bison at Yellowstone National Park commonly migrate to the adjacent national forests of Montana where they are then hazed, captured and killed. The Montana Department of Livestock has spent more than three million dollars since 1996 on bison management operations that have killed more than 2,000 wild bison.

Volunteers are urgently needed during the Spring at the Buffalo Field Campaign (BFC). BFC monitors the herd's migration, performs acts of nonviolent civil disobedience and documents all actions taken against the buffalo. Volunteers are provided with housing, training and equipment.

The Week of Action for the Buffalo is an opportunity for activists to gather in a concentrated effort in defense of the buffalo.

For more information, contact BFC, (406) 646-0070; buffalo@wildrockies.org; www.wildrockies.org/buffalo.

Fourth Annual Do It Yourself & Do It Together Fest Athens, Ohio · April 9-11

This year will be the fourth annual Do It Yourself/Do It Together conference hosted by Positive Action. The festival seeks to promote skillsharing within our communities and encourage autonomous living. Expect workshops on pirate radio, bike repair, tofu making, do-it-yourself dentistry and more. Admission is free; food and housing will be provided.

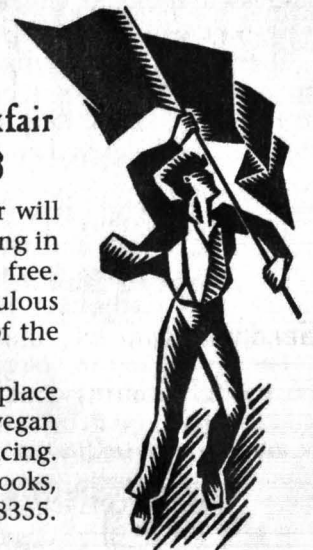
For more information, contact pos_act@yahoo.com.

Ninth Annual Bay Area Anarchist Bookfair San Francisco, California · March 13

The ninth annual Bay Area Anarchist Bookfair will take place on March 13 at the County Fair Building in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. Admission is free. There will be more than 50 exhibitors and fabulous speakers, including Starhawk and Agent Apple of the Biotic Baking Brigade.

The Anarchist Café, an annual benefit, will take place the night before the bookfair. There will be a vegan dinner, spoken word, poetry, music, video and dancing.

For more information, contact Bound Together Books, 1369 Haight St, San Francisco, CA 94117; (415) 431-8355.



ments

Anti-NATO Summit and Green Anarchist Gathering Istanbul, Turkey · May 20-22

On May 20, a North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit will be held in Istanbul, Turkey. There will be a Green Anarchist Gathering held simultaneously. Green anarchists and anarcho-primitivists from Turkey want to show their opposition to the techno-industrial system, civilization and all kinds of authoritarians through anti-system demonstrations and direct action. This will be an important place to meet, share ideas, skills and experiences of primitive lifestyles with the green anarchist movement worldwide.

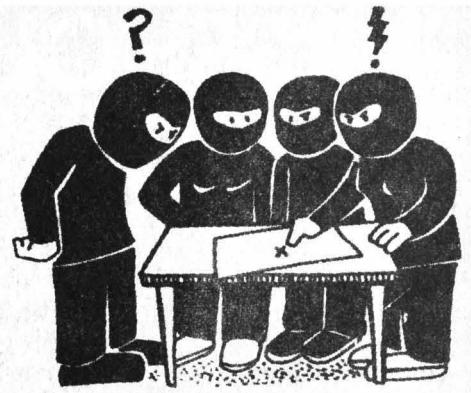
For more information, contact veganarsi2003@yahoo.com.



Global Days of Action Against Empire June 8-10

In June, the reigning politicians and bosses of the world's eight most powerful nations will gather on the southeast Atlantic coast at Sea Island, Georgia, near Savannah. In response to the G8 Summit, activists are calling for days of decentralized and autonomous direct action against ecocide, capitalism, exploitation and empire across the globe.

For more information, visit www.g8resistance.org.



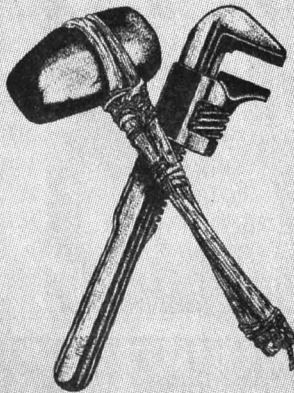
Invisible Networks Convergence Chicago, Illinois · April 16-May 1

An opportunity for creating connections between programmers, artists, scientists, musicians, filmmakers, activists, tactical media provocateurs, designers, architects, critical thinkers and culture workers of all kinds. Come together to share, communicate and organize.

The convergence will feature workshops on video production, publication and performance. Also featured will be documentary, experimental and socially relevant work by artists and makers from around the world. There will be the creation of stickers, posters, stencils, murals and other graphic havoc as well.

For more info, visit www.versionfest.org.

Earth First! Round River Rendezvous Maine · June 28-July 5



The Round River Rendezvous (RRR) is the annual tribal gathering of Earth First!. The RRR includes workshops on important issues and campaigns, campfire music, performers, speakers, networking and, of course, direct action.

Come on out for an action-filled Summer on the East Coast!

With the Boston Social Forum on July 24 and the Democratic National Conference in Boston, July 27, as well as the Republican National Convention in New York, August 29, the Maine-iacs would love y'all to stay for weeks of action and northeastern adventures before heading to Massachusetts.

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For more information, contact maineef@yahoo.com.

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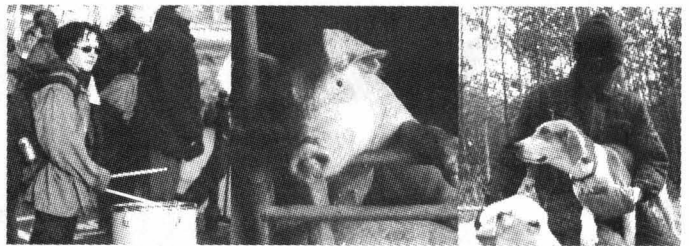
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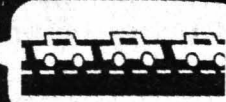
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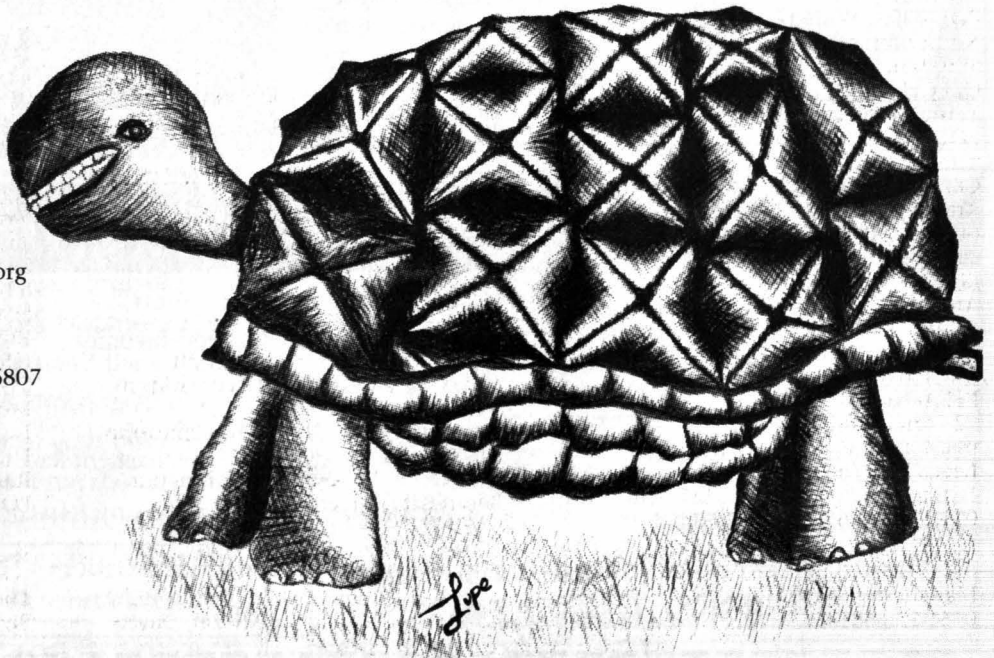
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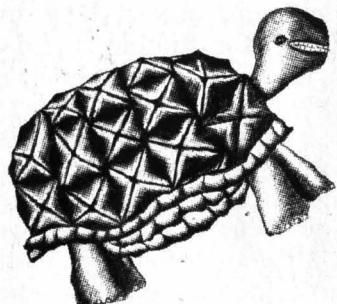
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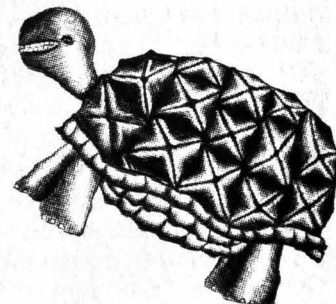
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Ask an EF! Lawyer

He's Working on *Your* Side!

BY STU SUGARMAN

Dear EF! Lawyer,

As the expansion to the PATRIOT Act is moving through Congress, what implications are there for us eco-advocates out there defending the wild?

—TREESITTER FROM OREGON

Dear Treesitter,

Court-appointed "President" George W. Bush signed the USA PATRIOT (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) Act of 2001 into law on October 26, 2001. The USA PATRIOT Act (or "UPA" for short) passed Congress without any meaningful review by the House or the Senate. It is a sweeping law that has removed many civil rights once enjoyed by Americans and non-Americans alike.

Among other things, the UPA allows the FBI to secretly peruse anyone's bank records while making it a crime for the bank to tell their customer the FBI has been spying on them. The FBI, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and other agencies are also authorized under UPA to conduct "roving wiretaps." This means the government can follow and spy on a particular person rather than getting authorization for every phone number monitored. The FBI and the CIA can now share information, and the government is permitted to detain non-citizens for up to seven days without being charged with a crime (instead of the previous two day limit).

Since the UPA became law, citizens everywhere have fought against it in Congress and the courts. In February 2003, the public learned of US Attorney General John Ashcroft's plans to dramatically expand the UPA, and widespread outrage led even the arrogant Bush administration to scrap plans for a comprehensive UPA II. Last summer, Ashcroft's US tour supporting the legislation failed miserably, resulting in a record number of cities and counties officially opposing the UPA's intrusions. Then in early October, the SAFE Act, which would limit the UPA, was introduced in the Senate, joining other anti-UPA legislation already introduced into the House of Representatives.

Most interestingly, on January 23, US District Court Judge Audrey Collins struck down UPA's ban on providing "expert advice or assistance" as impermissibly vague as to

the nature of the advice or assistance provided, in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments. Under the UPA, advising a group about where to dig a well was treated the same as advice about where to plant a bomb.

On December 13, Dubya quietly signed into law the Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004 (IAA), only the second time he has ever signed a bill into law on a Saturday (the first was an emergency bill in 2002 to keep the government running that following Monday). The IAA subtly redefined the term "financial institution" to now include airlines, casinos, credit card companies, insurance agencies, the US Postal Service and any other business "whose cash transactions have a high degree of usefulness in criminal, tax, or regulatory matters." That, folks, means

any business at all. Under the IAA, the FBI can now ask for your records from anyone with whom you do business, and if that business tells you about the FBI's snooping, then the business could be charged with a crime.

Does a judge oversee the FBI's spying? Of course not!

Look for other frightening UPA II debris to show up in routine bills in the coming months. Some of these bills would:

- Authorize government agents to seize any records or to compel any testimony they wished, without judicial review;
- Allow government agents to deny anyone's release from jail for any "crime" the government says is terrorism related; and
- Expand use of the death penalty for "domestic terrorism," a term so broadly defined in the UPA that it could include civil disobedience.

What can we do about all of this? As always, start by further educating yourself. The Electronic Privacy Information Center's website,

www.epic.org/privacy/terrorism/usapatriot, is the best one I have found. Next, this is an issue where we find allies in mainstream Americans. So you might want to publicly agitate against the UPA and any UPA II provisions. Finally, you may want to follow the letter, if not the spirit, of Department of Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge's advice and conduct your lives as you normally would—don't be afraid, but be alert. Once we become afraid, they will have already won.

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.

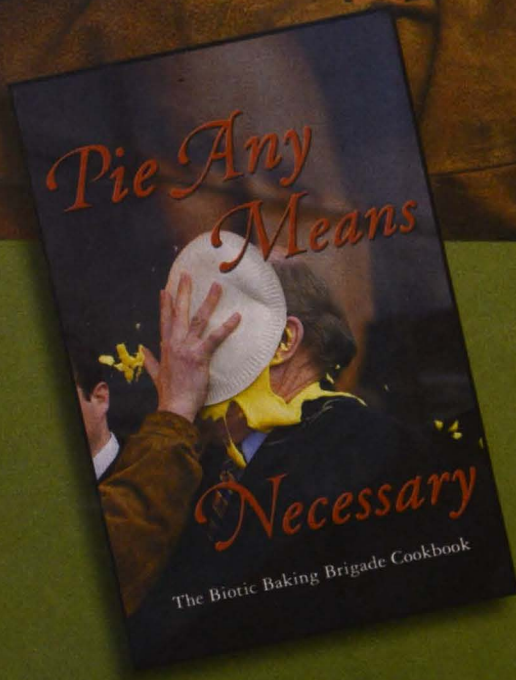


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