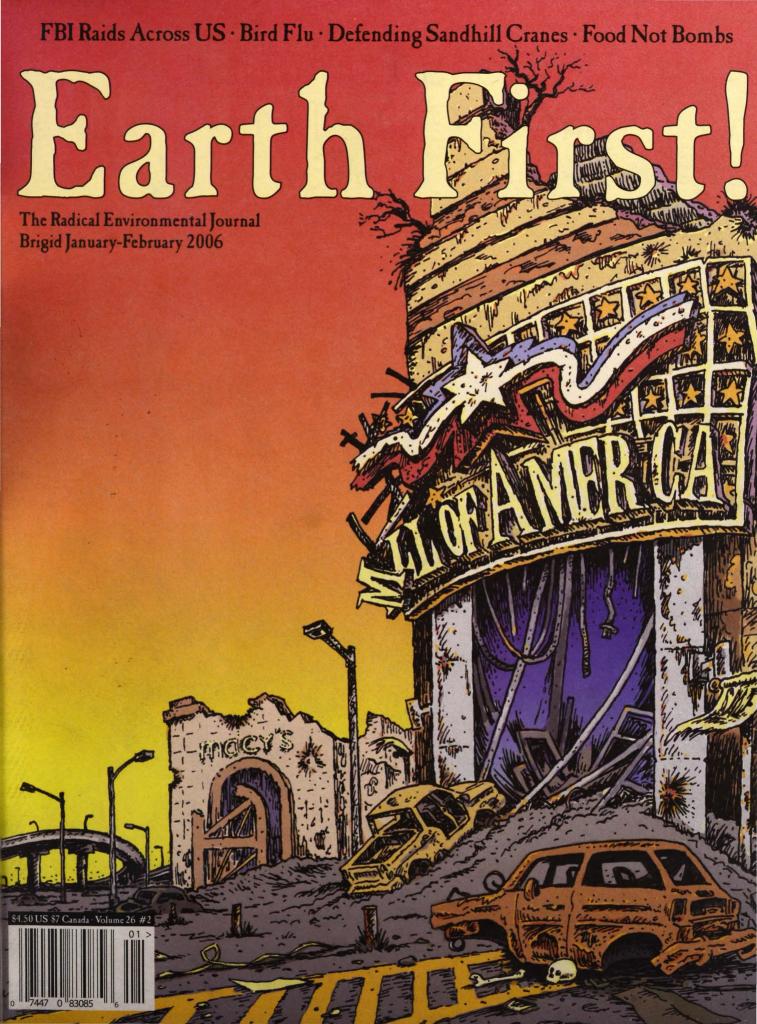


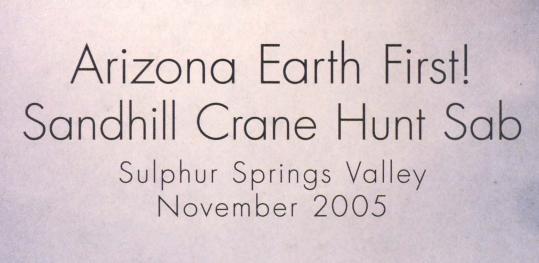
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# Earth First!

The Radical Environmental Journal January-February 2006 Brigid



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## The Times That Try Our Souls

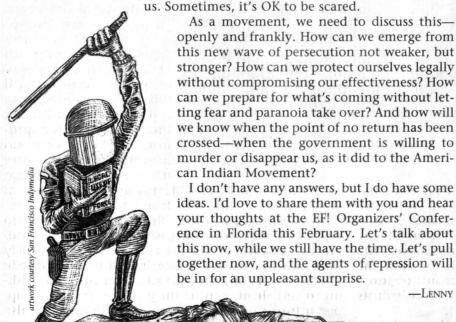
On December 13, two of my friends—Rod Coronado and Matt Crozier—were convicted of conspiracy to interfere with a federal officer in an EF! sabotage of a mountain lion hunt. They face up to six years in prison for that charge alone. Only days earlier, FBI agents arrested six people in a series of surprise raids across the country, charging them for a litany of ecotage actions.

In future issues of the *Journal*, you can expect to read more detailed analyses of these serious blows to the radical environmental movement. But based on what we know now, there are already some things that we need to be thinking about.

From 1989-1991, EF! suffered one of its most intense bouts of state repression, from the Arizona 5 trial and the targeting of cofounder Dave Foreman to the bombing and subsequent framing of Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney. It is a testament to our movement's tenacity that EF! survived—but the hard fact is that it emerged smaller and weaker, and remains so today.

Now a new generation of organizers will face the same trials. The ground-work has been laid in recent years with the USA PATRIOT Act and the prosecution of seven Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty activists for having a web site. The escalating government rhetoric over "ecoterrorism," the vindictive glee with which the feds targeted Rod after his arrest and the latest nationwide roundups are clear signs that a serious, coordinated attack has been launched against the Earth and animal liberation movements.

Yet up till now, the stories we have told ourselves about coping with state repression have been too trite. It's easy to say that underground activists shouldn't associate with aboveground campaigns; that ignores the painful fact that when authorities can't catch underground activists, they will simply charge aboveground activists instead. The stunning verdict here in Tucson is further evidence that even a good lawyer and innocence of the charges against you are no guarantee of acquittal. Likewise, defiant statements proclaiming our refusal to be cowed may lift our spirits, but they run the risk of keeping us from an honest appraisal of the threats against



#### Earth First! Brigid

January 1, 2006 Vol. 26, No. 2

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

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

Submission deadlines are the first of every odd-numbered month in the calendar year. Articles should be typed or clearly printed. We encourage submissions via email. Art or photographs are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. 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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## Six Arrested on "Ecoterrorism" Charges

BY JOSH

On Wednesday, December 7, federal agents arrested six people in a series of well-orchestrated raids that spanned four states. The six were charged with a number of Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) actions that took place in the Pacific Northwest between 1998 and 2001. All six were indicted separately and all denied any involvement with these or any other ALF or ELF actions.

William Rodgers and Kevin Tubbs were arrested in Prescott, Arizona, and Springfield, Oregon, respectively. They were charged with the arson of an Animal and Plant Health Inspection Services facility in Olympia, Washington, on June 21, 1998. A joint ALF/ELF cell claimed the action, which caused an estimated 1.2 million dollars in damage. If convicted, Rodgers and Tubbs each face sentences of up to 20 years.

Sarah Kendall Harvey was arrested in Flagstaff, Arizona, and charged with the arson of the US Forest Industries

headquarters in Medford, Oregon, on December 27, 1998. The ELF claimed the fire that destroyed the logging company's corporate offices and resulted in a half million dollars in damage. Harvey faces up to 20 years in prison if convicted.

Chelsea Gerlach was arrested in Portland, Oregon, and charged with the toppling of an 80-foot-tall, Bonneville Power Administration transmission tower near Bend, Oregon, on December 30, 1999. She faces up to 25 years in prison if convicted.

Stanislas Meyerhoff of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Daniel McGowan of New York, New York, were ar-

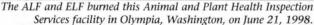
rested and charged with the ELF arsons of Superior Lumber Company's offices in Glendale, Oregon, on January 2, 2001, and Jefferson Poplar Farm in Clatskanie, Oregon, on May 21, 2001. The latter action was a response to the farm's experiments with genetically modified trees. The combined damage from both ELF actions exceeded one million dollars. If convicted of the 16 counts of arson, property destruction and conspiracy, both defendants face a maximum sentence of life in prison.

But the persecution does not end there. A seventh individual, Josephine Overaker, was also indicted for the Bonneville action, but not arrested. Authorities suspect that she may be living in Germany. Darren Thurston, a former ALF prisoner and a Canadian citizen, was also arrested and is awaiting deportation at a US Citizenship and Immigration Services detention facility in Tacoma, Washington. Thurston was also subpoenaed to appear before a Eugene, Oregon grand jury. Moreover, on December 7, federal agents served grand jury subpoenas to six others.

In the days following the arrests, authorities produced even more charges and accusations—an apparently random attempt to connect the defendants with virtually every major, unsolved ELF and ALF action that occurred in the Northwest between 1998 and 2001. Meyerhoff was indicted for the destruction of the Bonneville tower, while Tubbs was charged with 35 counts of arson for the March 2001 destruction of an SUV dealership in Eugene, Oregon—one count for each of the vehicles destroyed. Prosecutors at Gerlach's arraignment presented her as a suspect in six additional arsons, including the ELF's destruction of a ski resort in Vail, Colorado, in October 1998. Rodgers has also been named as a suspect in the Vail arson. The fact that the statute of limitations on many of these actions was set to expire is a likely reason

for the government's sudden determination.

Defense attorneys, family members and friends have all accused the government of launching a fishing expedition against aboveground social justice activists (Rodgers is a founding member of the Catalyst Infoshop in Prescott, and McGowan and Harvey have both worked with nonprofit, women's rights groups). Indeed, much of the evidence cited by prosecutors at arraignments and bail hearings seemed weak and circumstantial: The fact that Gerlach shared an apartment with Thurston was presented as clear evidence of her guilt, and a trip that



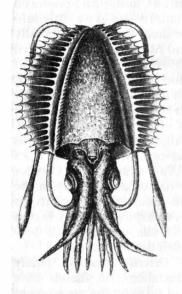
McGowan took to British Columbia in 2001 was treated as proof that he had fled the US following his alleged arsons.

At this early stage, the best thing that people can do is to support the six in accordance with the prisoners' individual wishes. Solidarity actions and statements are generally discouraged. Since each prisoner is likely to have a specific defense strategy and a unique set of requests, those wishing to help should contact the prisoners' individual support networks before proceeding. Those networks will also have prisoners' addresses as they become available.

For more information, contact the Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network, BCM Box 2407, London WC1N 3XX, England; ELP4321@hotmail.com; www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk.

# Dear Shit for

Please keep your letters to the editors to 300 words or less.



Earth First!,

I want to send you all my best. I have been moved to what I hope is my last prison. It's ironic, but the prison is located at the base of Mount Graham, so there exists a rather incredible view! One must find the beauty of the Earth where they can.

I wanted to mention that I really found the piece "Violation & Liberation" to be very powerful and relevant (see EF!J September-October 2005). Part of building a new world is to destroy the patterns of the past. Paternalism is certainly (and Patriarchy) at the root of our destructive behaviors. The article addressed these issues as they pertain to real-life situations (even amongst those of us who believe ourselves to be truly liberated). The School of the Americas Watch has issued a pamphlet addressing these same issues.

I want to wish you all my best.

Peace, love and liberation,
—LARO NICOL

Dear SFB,

Just got my 25th Anniversary Issue (see *EF!J* November-December 2005).

Re: The Betrayal of the Endangered Species Act. I couldn't think of a more appropriate thing to put on the cover—that vote was a Dark Day for America.

I guess now we have to all become "Avon Ladies for the environment" (to paraphrase a Paul Watson characterization of Greenpeace) and go door-to-door registering people to vote for our cherished environmental laws.

Why let *any* tool in the toolbox go unused?

For the Critters,

—Dennis P.S. "Armed with Visions" looks great, as usual. Thanks for putting it in the middle of the magazine.

Dear wonderful EF! staff.

Thank you all very much for sending me that July-August issue. I got it yesterday at last. I love this issue.

Honestly, I wish there were words to express how vital and meaningful you all are to the struggle. I wish I had the low key method you people display—but I'm just too Loco to do things the right way and play it cool. You reach so many people and have so much love for life.

I love you all,

—Oso Blanco

Dear Editors,

I was reading the 25th Anniversary *Journal* when I came across your ad looking for a new editor. I was shocked to see the words "preference will be given to women and people of color."

I'm sure that you are encouraging anti-racism and anti-sexism, but it doesn't come across right. First off, by "preference to people of color" it seems like you are going racist against whites like they are less important. Let me make it clear that I am not in favor of any race or sex, we all shit brown and piss yellow so who is better than others? No one!

I feel when you say or write things in that manner (even though it is for a good reason/anti-racism) it creates separatism. Why, after all this time, is the term "people of color" or "colored people" still in use? Especially in *Earth First!* or any other free speech, equal rights, environmental journals/magazines.

I firmly believe that people no matter who they are do not want to be handed a job because of a racial or sexual preference. They want to earn the job because they are better qualified than others. Based on their own achievements in life. So come on let's stop separating each other racially, ethnically, and sexually while we try to create and sustain equality.

Other than that, *Journal's* great. Keep it coming everyone!

—Stephen "Wheels" Marshall Editors' Note: First, in contrast to the archaic and racist term "colored people," the term "people of color" is used self-descriptively by many people of African, Asian, Middle Eastern, and indigenous American and Australian descent to express solidarity with each other in the struggle against racist oppression. The group Anarchist People of Color is an example of this usage.

Second, in discussing "preference," we refer mainly to the order of scheduling. Women and people of color who are interested in the long-termer position will be placed higher on our short-termer waiting list. Men and white people are ob-

viously not dis-



# Brains

Finally, the notion that vhoever is better qualified deerves the job overlooks issues of systemic oppression, which penefits white, straight males at the expense of everyone else. Besides, a major qualification for working at the Journal is naving a unique perspective on the movement and vision for the Journal. For this reason, vomen and people of color are better qualified to bring a palance to the current Journal collective, which is predominantly white and male.

Dear EF!J,

In 1992, when the Cove/Mallard campaign in central Idaho was barely a month old, I made the long drive from western Montana into the remote highlands of central Idaho, way up high on the Salmon River breaks, to deliver a few recruits in my rusty old Landcruiser.

Among the new recruits was a fresh, newly minted protester from somewhere in Maryland. She was pie-eyed at how remote this place was, and not quite prepared for the landscape or for the legions of grubby, shell-shocked hippies milling about the campfire when we arrived.

Although we arrived late, well past sunset, Cindy Strand welcomed us as, I would learn, she welcomed just about everyone not in a uniform. She offered us dinner.

Knowing the limits of this shoestring, nascent campaign, I quickly urged her to give us whatever was handy, but Cindy immediately suggested spaghetti with pesto, a salad, and a side of her homemade butter beans. Pretty impressive for somebody living

out of the back of school bus that was sinking into a bog, and four hours by car to the nearest olive oil, greens or pepper.

But the new recruit was allergic to wheat, didn't eat butter and the greens, sadly, weren't organic.

So Cindy suggested grilled cheese—oops, no, that's out—lentil soup and rice? No, turns out the new recruit's allergic to rice, too. Okay, peanut butter and jelly—woops, no wheat—oatmeal? No can do, new recruit is allergic to oatmeal. Couscous with carrots, almonds and tamari? New recruit doesn't like couscous and might be allergic to nuts.

"Sweetheart," Cindy said.
"I sure hope you brought something to eat, because if not, you're going to get pretty hungry around here."

Cindy died this Summer after a long illness, along the Clearwater River in Idaho with her family. When the Cove/Mallard campaign ended, she moved with her bus to the Clearwater breaks, where she gardened and worked as a caretaker. Visitors like me were always served a meal and given a tour of her bus, which was an astonishing kaleidoscope of art and color, all created with found objects she installed and modified herself.

It is very important to me to note that there are trees—many trees—standing in the central Idaho highlands that would not be there if it were not for Cindy's contribution. It's a point she very often made about others, but those who were there know just how much it applies to her.

-ERIK RYBERG

# Are you looking for a new way to contribute to the EF! movement?

Do you like hearing about the latest direct-action news as it happens?

Do you like big, starry skies, mild Winters and Summer monsoon rains?

If so, you may be the person we need!

The Earth First! Journal is looking for someone to join our long-term editorial collective in Tucson, Arizona. Ideally, we are seeking a computer-literate person with direct-action and publishing experience, familiarity with the Journal and the radical environmental movement, and excellent editing skills. All of the work on the collective is shared, so a successful editor must be responsible, diligent and play well with others. Enthusiasm and a willingness to learn are a must! Preference will be given to women and people of color.

We are looking for someone who can commit to at least a year and a half. To apply, send a letter of interest, resumé, writing sample, activist history and the names of some EF! activists who can vouch for you to *Earth First! Journal*, POB 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702; collective@earthfirstjournal.org.



Fauna: n. Animal life.

Cabala: n. An esoteric, secret matter or mysterious art.

Gracing the ocean's depths are substantial squid tousling in tricky, slippery sex. Giant squid (Architeuthis spp.) can boast a one-ton bulk spanning 60 feet. Though sporting smackers strong enough to cut cable, these carnivorous mollusks usually enjoy the ocean's smaller delicacies, such as calamari, although they occasionally take on whales. Coupled with this large appetite are well-endowed nether regions. A male's penis is almost as long as his body, and acts somewhat like a high-pressure fire hose as he aims to inject his sperm packages into his lady's arms. However, it's quite difficult to accurately wield such a penis and coordinate eight legs and two feeding tentacles, all the while dodging a protesting female's crunching jaws in the dark. Indeed, it appears that sometimes in the confusion, a sexed-up cephalopod injects himself, leading to his demise. Death by insemination also occurs when an unlucky chap is fertilized by another philandering fellow. Such insights into the sex life of these mysterious creatures are thanks in part to a rash of males found dead recently off the coast of Spain. All were inseminated.

# The Real Story

BY RODGER SCHLICKEISEN

The article, "Pombo's Extinction Bill: Brought to You by Defenders of Wildlife" is wrong on the facts and naïve on the politics (see *EF!J* November-December 2005).

Contrary to the article, there was no need for either Defenders of Wildlife or its executive vice president, Jamie Clark, to seek to make themselves players on Endangered Species Act (ESA) reauthorization. Defenders has long been a leader on ESA matters, and Ms. Clark is a former director of the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) in the Clinton administration. Thus, when Representative Nick Rahall,

the ranking Democrat on the House Resources Committee and a longtime defender of the ESA, was asked by the committee chairman, Representative Richard Pombo, to search for common ground, he turned to Defenders of Wildlife and other environmental organizations with ESA expertise for technical assistance. We assisted Mr. Rahall to ensure that if any bill emerged, it would uphold and, if possible, enhance endangered species conservation. When negotiations failed to produce a bill true to those principles, both Defenders of Wildlife and Mr. Rahall vigorously opposed the bill that Mr. Pombo ultimately introduced.

The article blames Defenders for suggesting the elimination of critical habitat, but ignores what we have repeatedly and publicly stated would be necessary to replace critical habitat. Defenders believes that habitat necessary for recovery should be identified during the development of recovery plans, that this recovery habitat should be protected by requiring fed-

eral agencies to consider the impact of their actions on it, and that agency actions that make it less likely that a species will recover, significantly delay the recovery of a species or significantly increase the cost of achieving recovery should be barred. This is a stronger standard than is provided by the current ESA and its implementing regulations, and it would provide considerably more protection for listed species than is currently provided by critical habitat. This standard was embodied in the substitute bill offered by Representatives George Miller and Sherwood Boehlert, longtime champions of the ESA. The substitute

failed to pass the House by a narrow margin, 216-206. A shift in a mere six votes would have resulted in passage of the substitute and derailment of the Pombo bill. Without this substitute, Pombo's bill would have passed overwhelmingly, creating even more pressure on the Senate to adopt an ESA bill.

The article also fails to acknowledge the dramatic loss, in recent years, of political support for critical habitat. This loss is largely the direct result of irresponsible litigation unleashed by some environmental groups without any forethought given to the political repercussions. This onslaught of critical habitat litigation, which industry has now joined,

has hamstrung the FWS and, more so than any other issue, eroded political support for the ESA, even among its traditional supporters on Capitol Hill. The fact that 229 members of the House of Representatives voted to eliminate critical habitat by supporting the Pombo bill and that 206 House members voted to replace it with the stronger measures included in the Miller-Boehlert substitute is hardly a ringing endorsement of critical habitat. Moreover, the political firestorm created by critical habitat did not just happen overnight. Nearly three decades ago, a proposal to designate critical habitat for the grizzly bear resulted in amendments to the ESA authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to exclude important habitat areas for economic or virtually any other reasons. A decade ago, a proposal to designate critical habitat for the golden-cheeked warbler in Texas stimulated Congress to impose a funding moratorium on the FWS's listing and critical habitat budget. And more recently, the ESA was amended for the first time since 1988

to statutorily prohibit the designation of critical habitat on Department of Defense land.

As the fight over the ESA moves to the Senate, Defenders of Wildlife will continue to strongly oppose the Pombo bill and work to enhance species conservation. Rather than wasting time casting aspersions on our colleagues in the conservation community for real or imagined differences, we look forward to working with all who share our goal of providing effective conservation of endangered species and their habitat.

Rodger Schlickeisen is the president of Defenders of Wildlife.



#### ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT



With some exceptions, the Endangered Species Act (ESA) requires the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) to map out "critical habitats" encompassing all areas essential to the recovery of endangered species. All federal agencies are prohibited from "destroying or adversely modifying" critical habitats. Private lands are also often protected by critical habitat because they can not be logged, mined or developed on a large scale without a federal permit.

Critical habitat is the only ESA provision to expressly protect habitat for the recovery needs of species. So central is the role of critical habitat that when Congress created the provision, it stated:

"It is the committee's view that classifying a species as endangered or threatened is only the first step in ensuring its survival.... If the protection of [a] species depends in large measure on the preservation of the species' habitat, then the ultimate effectiveness of the ESA will depend on the designation of critical habitat."

A closer look at two species shows how critical works on the ground. The Palila and the Po'ouli are Hawaiian birds limited to small patches of forest atop volcanoes. The primary threat to each was the destruction of state-owned habitat by invasive feral ungulates. The Palila was given 10,000 acres of critical habitat in 1977; the Po'ouli was never given any.

Environmentalists took the State of Hawai'i to court for destroying the Palila's critical habitat and won, obtaining orders to remove feral sheep. With sheep numbers greatly reduced, the native forest has significantly restored itself, and Palila numbers have grown.

With the Po'ouli, however, although scientists showed a clear correlation between declining bird numbers and increased habitat degradation by feral pigs, they could not demonstrate that any individual bird was being harmed by pigs. Thus, the provision of the ESA that protects individual animals from "take" was never invoked. As state and federal agencies looked on, the species declined by 90 percent between 1975 and 1985. The last known bird, an elderly one-eyed male, died in captivity on September 26, 2004.

Scientific studies show that overall, species with critical habitat are *twice as likely* to be recovering as species without it. It's no surprise—habitat destruction is the primary cause of species endangerment. The elimination of critical habitat from the ESA—including proposals to merely require that the FWS "consider" impacts to it—would be disastrous. If the goal

is to "protect" habitat, we need a protection standard. Anything less will ensure that essential wildlife habitats continue to be lost.

Kieran Suckling is the policy director at the Center for Biological Diversity.

Dear Editors:

The National Wildlife Federation disagrees with, and is disappointed by, your recent article "Pombo's Extinction Bill: Brought to You by Defenders of Wildlife" (see *EF!J* November-December 2005). The article unfairly attacks Defenders of Wildlife's motives and actions concerning Congressional actions to rewrite the Endangered Species Act, and in the process demonizes Defenders' Vice President, Jamie Clark, in particular.

Both Defenders and Jamie Clark have a long, distinguished record of environmental commitment and contribution that this article recklessly tarnishes. In the day-to-day world of environmental politics, it is routine for organizations to disagree on strategies, tactics and methods. When this happens, we all have the right to disagree with each other, but should resist the temptation to attack each other's character, values and fundamental motives.

Frankly, this is irresponsible journalism more in keeping with the far-right-wing attack machine's scorched-earth methods that we all find abhorrent. The country has changed after 9/11, the Iraq War and the Gulf disaster. People are looking for leadership that unites, not further divides, people around important priorities facing the country. And when facing the myriad of daunting challenges to our environment and the future of wildlife, now more than ever, we need to find ways to bring people together.

—LARRY J. SCHWEIGER PRESIDENT, NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

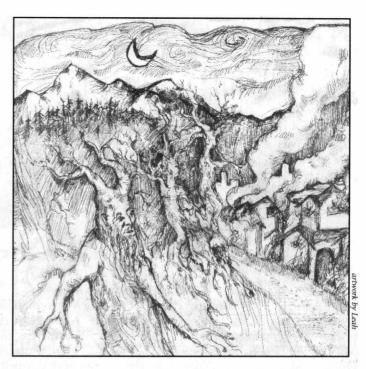
Where is your money going?...

Along with Defenders of Wildlife, three additional environmental groups collaborated on Representative Richard Pombo's bill to gut the Endangered Species Act (see *EF!J* November-December 2005). One of these was Environmental Defense; the identities of the other two are not clear. Although these groups helped Pombo attract support by claiming that he was working with respectable environmentalists, in the end none of them would publicly support the bill.

Over the objections of the Unified Endangered Species Campaign, the Democrats' alternative bill would also have eliminated critical habitat. The following groups endorsed this alternative bill: the American Bird Conservancy, Defenders of Wildlife, Environmental Defense, Izaak Walton League of America, Nature Conservancy, Ocean Conservancy, Trout Unlimited, Wilderness Society and the World Wildlife Fund.

-EF! JOURNAL

# "The Ents Are Going to War"



## Earth Liberation Front Strikes in Maryland

BY BREGALAD

On November 20, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) struck at a housing development construction site in Hagerstown, Maryland. The ELF set four separate fires, damaging three town houses and burning one entirely to the ground. It is believed to be the ELF's first action in the state.

The ELF claimed the action in a communiqué sent from an email address containing the name "Treebeard." In J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, Treebeard is an elder among the Ents—animated trees responsible for defending the forest from exploitation. "We warn all developers that the people of the Earth are prepared to defend what remains of the wild and green," read the communiqué. "The Ents are going to war."

The fires dealt more than \$225,000 in damage to Hager's Crossing, a 930-unit subdivision being developed by the Rachuba Group and subcontracted to Ryan Homes and Patriot Homes.

It was Ryan Homes that the ELF named as its target: "Last night we... put the torch to a development of Ryan Homes... to strike at the bottom line of this country's most notorious serial lands rapist." The company has been targeted by the ELF before. In December 2002, the ELF did \$20,000 in damage to construction vehicles at a Ryan Homes development in Pennsylvania.

Hager's Crossing sits on 230 acres of former farmland, but according to Shelby Daniels, a sales and marketing representative for Ryan Homes, there has been nothing particularly controversial about the project.

Although Hager's Crossing is one of the first large-scale "planned residential communities" in Hagerstown, such

communities are a growing trend in the region as Washington, DC workers seek affordable homes far from the city. Hager's Crossing is situated about 70 miles northwest of Washington, next to a Wal-Mart and at the intersection of two highways.

Although not mentioned in the communiqué, the utterly artificial nature of the development may have contributed to its selection as a target. In January 2005, the ELF burned housing developments near Sacramento, California, "in honor of everyone who has felt helpless to sprawl and development, everyone who feels [that] their rural lifestyles are being threatened by these mass-produced, designer communities" (see *EF!J* May-June 2005).

The price of houses at Hager's Crossing starts at \$250,000. Although the entire project is only 30 percent complete, the four damaged units were nearly finished and had already been sold; in fact, the destroyed house was scheduled for occupancy at the end of December. Nothing remains of that building but metal pipes and charred wood, and the developers will have to scramble to rebuild it or face some very frustrated customers. Factoring in the public relations expenses and those associated with hasty reconstruction, the cost for that unit alone will probably far exceed the reported \$200,000. In addition, Ray Rachuba, vice-president of the Rachuba Group, reports that the company has hired security guards for the duration of the project.

Perhaps the company is concerned that, like the Ents in The Lord of the Rings, the people of Maryland will heed the call to war put forth in the Treebeard communiqué: "We encourage all who watch with sadness while developers sell out the future of us and our children to join us in resisting them in any and every possible way."

# A Bird's Eye View

# Arizona EF! in the Stronghold Against the Crane Killers

BY CLOVER

The Arizona Earth First! (AZEF!) sandhill crane hunt sabotage ("hunt sab") was the first grassroots, direct-action campaign that I've ever been a part of. At first, my involvement was just going to be the creation of a giant crane puppet—but a few weeks later, I found myself freezing cold, crouched in a field and waving an empty potato chip bag with hunters only 100 yards away.

AZEF! remains a small but strong coalition between Chuk'shon EF! and Phoenix EF!. Our campaign to stop the hunting of sandhill cranes in the Sulphur Springs Valley of southeastern Arizona started in November 2004, with the first ever sabotage of a sandhill crane hunt (see *EF!J* January-

February 2005). Sandhill cranes migrate south every Fall from as far away as Siberia, wintering in Arizona or going on as far as the Valley of Mexico. These birds were almost eradicated by hunters and habitat destruction in the first half of the 20th century, and they are still recovering from their brush with extinction. Yet in typical Arizona Game and Fish Department (AZGFD) fashion, the crane population is "managed" with a sport hunt rather than species recovery in mind. Determined to stop this senseless slaughter, AZEF! launched a campaign last year to force a cancellation of the hunt

through a combination of public pressure and direct action. In January 2005, AZEF! tabled at Wings Over Willcox, an annual birding event celebrating the sandhill cranes' arrival. Birdwatchers from all over the country were shocked to learn that sandhill cranes are legally hunted. AZEF! was also the only environmental group at the May 2005, AZGFD meeting to adopt regulations for this year's hunt. Perhaps in retaliation for our ongoing success in the field and embarrassment of AZGFD in the media, the number of permits to be issued—for 730 cranes—was the largest since the

hunt began in 1981. Eight AZEFlers testified about abuses and violations witnessed during the 2004 sandhill crane hunt and demanded the hunt's cancellation. Unsurprisingly, the five-member AZGFD Commission voted to adopt the hunt—but surprisingly, Bob Hernbrode, representing southeastern Arizona, voted against it. This was a small victory, but not enough to keep us from the field.

#### In the Stronghold

Arizona's sandhill crane hunt would be broken into four shotgun seasons, each three days long. Our strategy would be to steer the cranes away from the hunters as we had the previous year, and also to capture the barbarity of the hunt on video. The continuing federal inves-

tigation and prosecution of AZEF! for sabotaging a government mountain lion hunt in March 2004 was a constant reminder of the consequences of effectiveness (see EF!] May-June 2005). Luckily, for this hunt, being effective did not require us to break the law. With our own hunting licenses, sandhill crane permits and birdwatching gear, we headed back to Kansas Settlement, Arizona, where cranes wintering on the nearby Willcox Playa are hunted.

On November 1, the opening day of the hunt, three teams of AZEF! hunt



Crane hunters? Nope—AZEF! hunt saboteurs!

saboteurs departed our basecamp in historic Cochise Stronghold, where Apache guerillas held out against the ecocidal US army not that long ago. We hastily deployed to cornfields where we expected the hunters to be stationed, waiting for the birds to come in to feed. As the sun began to rise over the Chiricahua Mountains, we could hear the cacophony of warbling crane cries announcing the approach of the morning's flocks. No sooner did we hear the cranes than we heard the accompanying shotgun

continued from previous page

blasts. Unfortunately, the birds were coming from the opposite direction as the previous year, leaving us on the

wrong side of the hunters and unable to warn the cranes before they were ambushed. Between our three teams, we saw 10 cranes shot from the sky that day.

With a grim realization of our ineffectiveness on opening day, we strategized our next move. I felt a great sense of pride the first time that I was asked to share my opinion on where I thought

the first time that I was asked to share my opinion on where I thought we would be most useful. I was proud not only that my opinion was valued as an inexperienced newcomer, but also as a woman. For most seasons, we were lucky to have one girl—but there were times when we almost outnumbered the boys, and it was great to have so much woman energy around the campfire. Having a female presence during this campaign was helpful in many ways. When I was out in the field with another

woman, no one suspected that we were anything more

than a pair of annoying birdwatchers who didn't know

We quickly adjusted our positions for the second day to reflect our new knowledge about hunter location and bird flight patterns. We built blinds that would put the cranes over us before the hunters. The following morning found us hidden in place, and when the birds began to move toward us, we waved reflective Mylar from the inside of corn chip bags to alert them to our presence.

to stay out of the hunters' way!

Immediately, the birds altered their flight away from the hunter-occupied fields, and we noticed an immediate drop in hunter success. Still, our numbers did not allow us to cover every side of a field, and it wasn't long before our camera followed a flock of 12 cranes com-

ing under fire. One bird took a hit to the wing and immediately broke from the flock, descending into the hunter's field. Right behind the wounded bird followed his mate, risking death by refusing to abandon her pair-bonded partner. The wounded bird crash-landed, with a family group of four birds right behind him. The birds surrounded the wounded bird with outstretched wings, filling the air with their trilling warning cry.

After 20 minutes, the hunter left his blind to finish off the crane. The crane family escaped into the air, with the wounded bird trying desperately to also lift off. When he couldn't, he fled on foot from the now-running hunter, who fired off four more shotgun blasts before finally downing the crane. With the bird still too tough to die, the hunter held him by the feet and swung him repeatedly against old farm machinery in the field. The tactic became one we would witness repeatedly. A crane would

be wounded, bringing itself and others flying to its aid within shotgun range, where they also would be killed.

Another AZEF! team saw Steve Ward, a hunting guide,

driving around in his SUV and stopping when cranes were overhead so that clients could jump out of the vehicle to shoot at them. This was only one of many hunting violations that we would witness or that friendly hunters, thinking us fellow "sportsmen," would confide to us. When we spoke to Ward, he complained about his clients' poor marksmanship—taking 20-30 shots apiece without killing a crane, hundreds of which are crippled by hunters every year. Ward claimed to be the individual responsible for starting the sandhill crane hunt in Arizona.

Our numbers grew in time for the start

of the second season, with animal liberation activists joining us from California. It was also the first season that we were legally insured with crane-hunting permits, allowing us a greater degree of overtness in our tactics.

On November 5, an AZEF! team set up 12 sandhill crane decoys in an empty field directly between the cranes' line of flight and the hunters. When the birds began to fly toward him, the EF! "hunter" would nervously jump up from his hiding spot, surprising the cranes into veering away—from him *and* the other hunters. Roving AZEF! "birdwatch-



The wing of a sandhill crane, discarded by hunters

ers" also deployed throughout the area, pointing and marveling at the cranes with abrupt motions that caused the birds to change direction. By the second day of this season, we had dropped hunter success to zero—an achievement that we would consistently repeat for the rest of the sab.

#### **Bringing the Cranes to Tucson**

I ended up missing most of the second season, closed away in my house and frantically at work on the giant puppet. When I first moved to Tucson, AZEF! was already holding meetings to decide what could be done, in addition to direct action, to draw more attention to the hunt. So we decided to create a giant crane puppet for the annual Tucson All Souls Procession—a Day of the Dead-style march open to any member of the public who wants to honor the spirits of the dead with masks, puppets and costumes.

When some friends asked me to design the puppet, I was delighted; I felt that I had found my role in the campaign. But once I did some Internet research to make the puppet look realistic, the images and sound clips that I found fueled my desire not just to get this puppet made, but to be out there in the field with the people who were saving the lives of these amazing, prehistoric birds.

Every moment leading up to the procession was consumed with the creation of a 12-foot-high crane with a 20-foot wingspan. My home was turned into a workshop and in the end, we showed up with a great-looking banner, a black flag with a painting of a skeletal crane, and the puppet, dubbed "Sandy." While wearing the body of the bird on my back, I suddenly felt the sorrow of this creature; I felt the sadness that you feel after losing a loved one, the fright of being hunted. It was a very powerful evening, and we brought the spirit of the crane to Tucson.

The hunt sabbers out in the field came back into town for the procession, swelling our numbers to 18 AZEF!ers marching alongside Sandy in desert camouflage, carrying crane decoys and distributing flyers about the hunt to the

thousands of attendees. Over the next few weeks, people would keep coming up to us, thanking us for being there and telling us that Sandy had been the highlight of the procession.

Keeping the pressure on in town, we gathered 25 people to rally at the AZGFD office on November 8, the day before the start of the third crane hunt. AZEF! filed a complaint against Steve Ward with AZGFD's law enforcement chief for the region—John Romero, who also happens to be the key

witness against AZEF! in our lion hunt case. Then in the predawn of November 9, we once again crawled from our sleeping bags at 4 a.m. and trekked across the Willcox Playa to take up our positions in the unfolding of a drama that we knew all too well.

#### "Here to Protect Them"

The early mornings were a challenge to some, but for me the 4:00 wake-up was a mere 30 minutes earlier than when I get up for work. Cold and tired, we were quickly warmed by the fire and awakened by coffee from our swanky French press. Our morning drives to the hunt were heavy and silent; we felt like warriors leaving for battle with sorrow in our hearts. Being in place early enough to avoid detection often meant sitting in cornfields before dawn with frozen toes and cramped legs, waiting for the hunters to take their positions.

The birdwatcher role became my thing. While hiding in a cold, dark cornfield may be effective, I was unable to find a creative way to relieve myself of the morning's cup of coffee. Instead, I enjoyed being able to drive around, becoming familiar with the roads and locating hunters in the fields we were designated to "patrol." When confronted by hunters, I played the role of a visiting birdwatcher. One hunter

talked to us about how he loved to birdwatch with his wife and how all the doves flying by made him wish that it was dove season; we distracted him this way for a good hour.

By the fourth and last shotgun hunt on November 13, our numbers swelled to an unprecedented dozen people. Again, the hunters had moved—this time right up to the border of the refuge, and our hearts would break each time a shot was followed by a limp crane body tumbling from the sky. Yet on the second and third days, we completely surrounded the hunters, and once again the birds were safe. The last day of the hunt, we celebrated by having Sandy "fly" over the Whitewater Draw Wildlife Area with a group of nine AZEF!ers in tow. Since the hunt, I have been asked how it went, and my response has always been that it was fun.



Arizona EF!ers and "Sandy the Crane," triumphant after a successful hunt sab

almost seems wrong to think of my time on this campaign as being fun, having witnessed the murder of beautiful birds, having listened to hunters boast about their kills, and having spent many long hours in cold, dark cornfields surrounded by white men with guns. On the other hand, we were out of the city, in a beautiful campsite surrounded by mountains and old Apache trails, in the company of good friends, great conversations, a campfire, food and beer!

In the end, I know

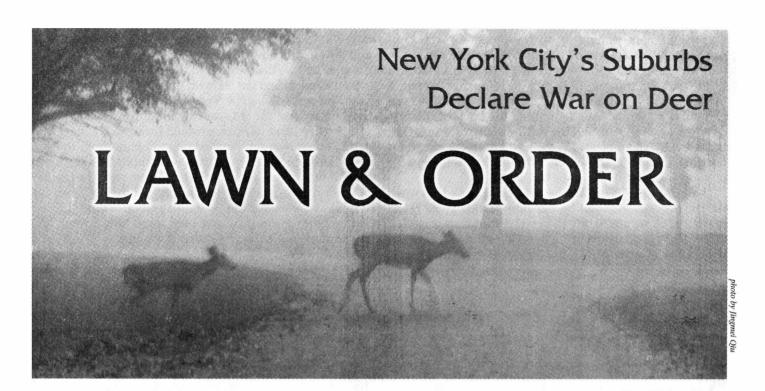
that we saved the lives of countless sandhill cranes—and with more people participating and more familiarity with the land, we will be able to save even more lives next year. The media attention that we hoped to draw never materialized, and yet for the hundreds of birds that we steered away from hunters, that didn't matter. The nights without sleep were all worth it every time a hunter departed the field cursing.

We returned to the cornfields of Kansas Settlement on November 25. A heavy wind was blowing across the Willcox Playa, keeping the birds grounded. Driving next to Whitewater Draw, there was a noticeable absence of hunters, but many carloads of birdwatchers there to appreciate the thousands of cranes gathered within. For the first time since the hunt had begun, we simply watched the cranes. No waving of CDs or potato chip bags—just marveling in the beauty of a sandhill crane in flight. The child of a hunt sabber asked, "Are these the birdies the hunters are trying to kill?"

To which we replied, "Not anymore, Honey, because we are here to protect them."

For more information, contact Chuk'shon Earth First!, sabthebastards@hotmail.com; www.azef.org.

Clover is thankful that an Arizona cornfield at dawn is still warmer than a Minnesota Winter.



BY JOSH

A specter is haunting suburban New York City—the specter of wilderness. If you read the newspaper, listen to the radio or watch the evening news, you'll learn that record numbers of white-tailed deer have overtaken the metropolitan area. They're spreading Lyme disease like wildfire, making it unsafe for children to play outside. Deer are running amok on the expressway, turning your daily commute into a terrifying gantlet. Most dishearteningly, they are feeding on your flowerbeds and trampling your manicured lawn. And if that's not enough, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) has sided with these beasts and against civic-minded hunters, resulting in a truly horrific alliance of deer and ecoterrorist. Clearly, you are told, this invasion of human territory, this sneaking menace must be stopped.

That residents of New York City's main suburbs—West-chester County on the mainland and Nassau and Suffolk counties on Long Island—should react in this hysterical way is not surprising. These three counties pack more than 3.7 million humans into only 1,632 square miles, resulting in a population density of more than 2,300 humans per square mile! Then there are the booming deer populations. An estimated 6,500 deer live in Westchester, for example, with some areas reported to contain as many as 80 to 100 per square mile. Factor in the suburbanite sense of entitlement, thirst for development and fear of the wild, and you've got a recipe for disaster.

The irony of this situation is that the deer population in these counties has increased not in spite of intensive development, but *because of it*. Humans have destroyed the thick woodlands that are the native habitat of white-tailed deer, shaping the area to meet some bizarre pastoral ideal—the outdoor equivalent of interior design. The result, naturalist Anne Matthews writes in *Wild Nights: Nature Returns to the City*, is a "chopped and changed

and simplified landscape, a mosaic of fragmented habitats: a subdivision next to a small woodlot, a golf course beside a mall beside an old farm.... Good deer habitat has been transformed into ideal deer habitat, a surfeit of edges." The region can now easily supply the five to seven pounds of forage that an average deer requires daily to survive. Moreover, centuries of settlement and development have extirpated wolves and mountain lions, the deer's natural predators. The result is an explosive deer population, regulated only by accidental collisions with automobiles or deliberate culling in the guise of "wildlife management."

In more rural regions, this culling is typically achieved through recreational hunting. Defending this practice, New York state biologists emphasize how deer overpopulation is harmful to woodlands: selective browsing can eliminate specific plants from an entire region, leading to their endangerment or even extinction; consumption of acorns and oak saplings inhibits forest regeneration and places deer in direct competition with other animals that rely on these plants for sustenance; and destruction of the forest understory prevents some bird species from reproducing.

This rationale for suburban deer kills is flimsy for three reasons. First, these biologists often speak of the deer's effect on hardwood forests in economic terms, betraying their real agenda—not to mention the fact that recreational hunting permits generate revenues for the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation. Second, neither state officials nor local residents are in a moral position to blame deer for destroying woodlands when the primary threats to such areas are human industry and development. Finally, even though these ecological concerns may be entirely valid in rural areas with an abundance of native habitat, they hardly describe the behavior of suburban deer, who are more likely to eat trash or tulips.



Yet this uniquely suburban diet raises a new set of problems. Local residents, angered by the destruction of lawns and gardens, have demanded that the deer be wiped out. But hunting with firearms is not an option in these populous suburbs. Westchester and Suffolk counties permit only bow-hunting—a far less effective method of killing. Nassau, with the highest human population of the three counties, bans recreational hunting completely. However, New York does issue "nuisance permits" to individuals claiming financial losses, enabling them to destroy the pesky deer in a "controlled hunt." This consists of terrorizing deer with high-intensity lights and blasting at them with short-range shotguns.

Animal welfare advocates have attempted to convince the populace that such measures are counterproductive. According to Friends of Animals (FoA), hunting actually increases the likelihood of deer/car collisions threefold throughout the season and fivefold on opening day. FoA President Priscilla Feral describes hunters as "agents provocateurs who... incite the deer to incautious, evasive flight, resulting in collisions. Deer are normally very cautious when entering an open area, such as a road. When pursued, they will abandon this prudence and bolt across a road without even slowing down." If residents and state officials are serious about preventing collisions, FoA proposes, they should eliminate the hunt altogether.

Other welfare organizations also advocate non-lethal alternatives to hunts. The Humane Society of the US (HSUS), for example, has used contraceptive darts to limit deer populations on Suffolk's Fire Island. The Fund for Animals, on the other hand, has encouraged the use of fences, deer-resistant plants, odor-based repellants and electronic scare devices in order to prevent the animals from disturbing lawns and gardens. Animal Defenders of



Many deer repellants are marketed as "green" and "organic," but are actually derived from byproducts of factory farming.

Westchester has called for the creation of wildlife corridors to provide animals with free passage over or under the county's many busy highways.

Such organizations seem to have had some limited success. In November, the village of Lloyd Harbor, in Suffolk County, undertook a "controlled hunt" of 46 "nuisance" deer who had been frequenting local parks and the grounds of the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception. Fortunately, protests by the Animal Defense League-Long Island and other animal advocates persuaded the seminary's new priest to suspend the hunt there, pending a reassessment. The New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation followed suit.

Distrusting the bureaucratic doublespeak of local officials and seeking to pressure them into a more concrete assurance of the deer's safety, the ALF targeted Lloyd Harbor Mayor Leland Hairr on the night of November 15. The ALF painted anti-hunting slogans on Hairr's automobiles, the outside of his house and the inside of his unlocked garage. A communiqué from the ALF warned, "Do yourself a giant favor and *let the deer be, Lee.* The deer kill is a senseless move and we, the ALF, will *not* stand for it." The communiqué also provided Hairr's home address, phone number and the website of his business—an environmental consulting firm.

Despite local groups' effectiveness in saving individual animals, there have been no sufficient attempts to solve New York's suburban deer problem on a regional level. In fact, most of the alternatives proposed are questionable in one way or another. How will HSUS's introduction of synthetic hormones into deer populations affect other species, including humans? How can the planting of deerresistant flora be considered an environmentally friendly solution when most of the species recommended by the Fund for Animals are not native to New York, or even North America? How is it ethical to use "natural" deer repellants when most of them are made from eggs, blood, fat and other byproducts of factory farming? Most importantly, how can we even hope to protect deer from needless suffering and slaughter while ignoring the destruction of the region's native ecosystem and its replacement by a hodgepodge of alien species and artificial terrains? These and other difficult questions must be addressed before a true solution can be achieved.

For more information, contact Animal Defense League-Long Island, POB 1587, Huntington, NY 11743; adl@riseup.net; www.animaldefense.info.

Josh was born in Manhattan and grew up in Westchester. He eagerly awaits the day when all of it will be gone, and the wolves and mountain lions can get back to doing what they do best.

# Coming Home to Roost

#### HOW HUMANS ARE CREATING A BIRD FLU PANDEMIC

BY LEAFY SNEWTS AND JOSH

The influenza pandemic of 1918—the so-called Spanish Flu—was the deadliest plague in human history. What started for millions as a runny nose and a sore throat ended days later with many people drowning in their own blood. Corpses—tinged blue from suffocation—were said to have been "stacked like cordwood" outside the morgues as cities ran out of coffins. All told, up to one billion people may have been infected (more than half of the global population), and

between 50 to 100 million died. No war, no plague, no famine has ever killed so many in so short a time as the 1918 pandemic.

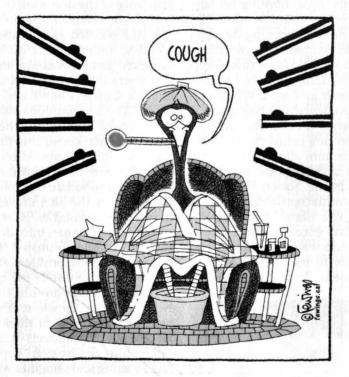
In 2005, medical detective work identified the previously-extinct Spanish Flu virus as a unique variant of H1N1, a now common form of influenza. H1N1-1918, it was discovered, began as a form of bird flu and mutated into a strain capable of infecting humans. But the most worrisome discovery was that the mutations that enabled H1N1-1918 to humanize are starting to occur in an equally virulent strain of bird flu: H5N1.

Already, the current mutant H5N1 strain is unprecedented in its ferocity. Deadly amongst birds, it is also lethal in humans. As

of December 14, the World Health Organization (WHO) had confirmed 138 cases of H5N1 in humans in Southeast Asia, including 71 deaths—a mortality rate of more than 50 percent. The virus has successfully jumped directly from infected birds to human poultry workers, and there are a few suspected cases of limited

human-to-human transmission. Further humanization and the birth of a full-scale pandemic might not be far off. According to WHO, it's not a matter of *if*, but *when*.

In recent months, mass media outlets have pounced on the story, discussing the likelihood of a global pandemic, tracking the disease's progress and reporting on official responses. However, few media reports have appropriately challenged the institution responsible for creating the potential pandemic: the global poultry industry.



Over the last few decades, meat and egg consumption have exploded in the developing world, leading to industrial-scale chicken farming and mass animal transport, and creating an ideal environment for the emergence of new influenza superstrains. Cramming tens of thousands of nearly genetically identical chickens into a

filthy shed the size of a football field, where they stand and lie in their own feces, is a recipe for increasing the virulence and transmission of H5N1.

In nature, the influenza virus has existed for millions of years as a harmless, waterborne, intestinal infection of aquatic birds. Ducks don't get sick, because the virus doesn't need to make the duck sick to spread. In fact, it's in the virus' best interest for the bird not to get sick. After all, dead ducks don't fly. The virus silently multiplies in the duck's intestinal lining, is excreted into the

pond water and then swallowed by another duck, and the cycle continues.

If an infected duck is dragged to a live poultry market, though, and crammed into cages stacked high enough to splatter virus-laden droppings over many different species of land-based birds, the virus is presented with a problem. No longer able to rely on the ease of aquatic spread, the virus must mutate or die. Fortunately for the influenza virus, mutating is what it does best.

In the open air, the influenza virus must resist dehydration, for example, and must invent a new way to travel. So it finds the moist lungs. To hitch rides in respiratory droplets, the virus has to start killing cells to trigger a hacking cough in its new

host. The more virulent the virus becomes, the more violent the cough and the quicker it can overwhelm the immune system. It can't become too deadly, though. If the virus kills the host too quickly, there may not be enough chance to infect another.

Enter intensive poultry production. When the next beak is inches away, there's no limit to how nasty the virus can get. Pass the virus through enough chickens, and you end up with a virus so deadly that it kills every chicken it comes in contact with. Unfortunately for us, through some quirk of nature, the respiratory tract

of a chicken is similar (on a cell receptor level) to that of a human. So as the virus gets better at infecting and killing chickens, the virus is getting better at infecting and killing humans as well.

And now, there is some evidence that the virus may be reinfecting its original hosts-migratory aquatic and shore birds. This suggests that migratory bird

species may play a role in spreading the virus and could potentially fly this factory-farmed virus to every continent in the world. The more birds the virus infects, the more people who will be exposed and the greater the likelihood that the virus will acquire the means to spread easily from human to human-via a sneeze or a handshake. The next pandemic is triggered, killing a broadly estimated two million to one billion people around the globe.

This is a harrowing prognosis, and the constant fear-mongering of politicians and pundits has only heightened

the tension. US Senator Bill Frist even called H5N1 an "immense potential threat to American civilization." Despite such stern sound bites, official responses have been both inappropriate and insufficient. The US National Strategy for Pandemic Influenza-released on November 1 and tellingly authored by the Homeland Security Council—focuses exclusively on secondary measures: the early detection of fully humanized H5N1, the production and stockpiling of vaccines, the creation of

emergency response strategies, the containment of local outbreaks, etc. The report does not mention the relationship between H5N1 and industrial poultry farming, and it encourages no effort on that front. This is an unacceptable omission, considering that a United Nations press release from October 24 called for "much greater emphasis by governments and local authorities on combating the role of factory-farming, trade in live poultry and wildlife markets, which provide ideal conditions for the virus to spread and mutate into even more dangerous

"We have to get away from the misconception that wild birds are the main problem, when in fact they are in many ways the victims of the disease."

-Niels Kanstrup, International Council for Game and Wildlife Conservation

> forms." By ignoring this connection and avoiding a much-needed critical re-examination of the poultry industry, the US and other countries have lost a valuable opportunity to stop pandemic flu before it starts.

> Instead, the blame has been cast on migratory wild bird species—that is, birds with little economic value. In September 2004, the prime minister of Thailand proposed a mass culling of the Asian openbill stork, a threatened species. In this case, public outcry prevented the culling from taking place, but other birds have not been



The milky stork is one of many bird species threatened by both avian flu and human attempts to combat the disease.

so lucky. Until the Vietnamese government banned such measures in December 2005, feral pigeons, egrets and herons were regularly exterminated in an effort to "empty the city skies of wild birds," as one local official put it. Wetlands may also be in danger; some countries are apparently thinking of

draining watering spots popular with migratory fowl.

While mass cullings of migratory species are still limited, the threat cannot be ignored. "We have to get away from the misconception that wild birds are the main problem,

when in fact they are in many ways the victims of the disease," explains Niels Kanstrup of the International Council for Game and Wildlife Conservation. Indeed, a recent UN task force identified threatened aquatic bird species that may be particularly susceptible to H5N1, including the Northern bald ibis, Orien-

tal stork. Siberian crane and sociable lapwing. The last thing that these and other vulnerable species need is a concerted effort to kill them and destroy their critical habitat, which is what may end up happening if a full-blown hysteria begins. And even if migrating birds are responsible for the spread of the disease, says Jan Veen of Wetlands International, killing them would "interfere with group migrations and disperse individuals or small groups of birds over a much wider area, thus magnifying the risks of contact with

> domestic birds." It is clear that persecuting migratory birds and the ecosystems that support them is a dangerous distraction from the real threat posed by factoryfarmed poultry.

Yet, even domestic fowl cannot be held responsible for this deadly flu strain. Chickens did not create the virus, humans did-with all the greed, cruelty and ignorance that so often define our interactions with other species. Now more than ever, it should be obvious that humanity's lust for cheap meat

not only leads directly to the suffering and deaths of billions of animals every year, but threatens the health of our planet, as well as our own.

Josh is an editor at the EF! Journal.

Leafy Snewts is a potted plant and Josh's imaginary friend. Both are currently domesticated.

## Indigenous Diaspora Farmers in

# A Struggle for Autonomy

## the Los Angeles Urban Core

BY DR. DEVON G. PEÑA

At the urban core of one of world's most important cities—Los Angeles, California—lies the amazing, 14-acre urban farm known as the South Central Community Garden. South Central is very likely the largest urban farm in California and one of the biggest in the US. A diverse community has grown up around it, organized and led by women from across an assorted rainbow of indigenous Mesoamerican cultures—Mixtec, Conjobal, Tojolobal, Triqui, Tzeltal, Yaqui, Nahuatl, Zapotec, Chicana/o and other lines of descent. This diverse, multiethnic community has relied on a toorare piece of urban open space to grow food, while becoming

more self-reliant, creating a sense of place, and producing the social and cultural capital that underlies its search for sustainability and camaraderie.

South Central Farmers Feeding Families is a grassroots organization of 350 families with plots at the garden. The farmers created this collective in September 2003, in response to development-oriented city land-use politics, which consider the self-organization of urban communities to be a threat. The City of Los Angeles betrayed the community by reversing a 1992 de-

cision dedicating the land for a community garden, and sold it back to a developer. The farmers are resisting this act of malicious development with nonviolent civil disobedience.

The farm is the community's space for the production of food sovereignty and environmental security. For many families, it is the only thing that separates them from hunger and allows them to pursue healthy nutrition through traditional cuisines, thus avoiding the obesity, diabetes and related problems that come from switching to a super-sized diet of Big Gulps and Big Macs. To be displaced in this case is to suffer the loss of a relationship between people and the land that the rest of us should be emulating as a model of just sustainability.

In a collective fashion, the farmers manage a green landscape mosaic filled with native row crops, fruit-bearing trees and vines, medicinal herbs and cacti. The biological and cultural abundance created by the indigenous farmers represents a threat to the neoliberal development model of privatized urban space that is championed by developers, in concert with city planners and attorneys.

There is a larger context. Mexico's Native ethnic groups have created one of the world's great centers of agricultural innovation and botanical knowledge. Mexico is a "Vavilov Center," one of the world's only ancestral spots involved in the original domestication of wild plants, including mainstays of the global diet like maize, beans,

squash, chocolate, tomato, sweet potato, avocado, guayaba and chayote. The South Central Farmers are contemporary stewards of a significant world cultural and ecological heritage.

I visited South Central in June and July to initiate a pilot study of plant biodiversity in this remarkable urban agro-ecosystem. Many of these plants have spiritual significance and are keys to sustaining a sense of place and a connection to the Earth. The pochote is an example of a sacred tree cultivated at South



"Casita," or little house. Many South Central farmers build a sense of place and create a space for family and community gatherings by gracing their garden plots with a little shade.

Central, a tree called the "Tail of Mother Earth" among the Mixtec. The botanical range at the South Central garden includes an estimated 100 to 150 species, and nine out of every 10 is a pre-Contact landrace variety—meaning that these plants are, essentially, 5,000-year-old Native heirlooms.

The urban garden created by South Central farmers replicates the *huerto familiar*, or hometown kitchen garden, of Mesoamerica. A quick comparison of the classic Maya kitchen garden in Mexico and the typical modern family plot at South Central reveals that the gardeners are growing the familiar sacred trinity of maize, beans and squash. They are also growing avocado, banana, and the

traditional aromatic and medicinal herbs that are mainstays of the classic Mexican *hortaliza*, or herb patch.

The gardens are important as sources of fresh organic vegetables, fruits and herbs to supplement a family's food security. South Central farmers link the field to the kitchen table, a subsistence and barter approach that is especially important to low-income, "food insecure" households. Urban kitchen and collectively organized gardens are impressive for their scope, vigor, cultural significance and role in struggles for more sustainably just cities.

These jardincitos are iconic spiritual and political symbols of a process involving nothing less than the reterritorialization of place as a home by transnational communities. How the gardeners at South Central manage their space collectively is thus a work-in-progress and is, by necessity, an adaptive process that seeks to be responsive to the needs of a diverse community. In this sense, South Central Community Garden is a significant cultural ecological heritage landscape that merits protection as a world-class

example of a just and sustainable form of new urbanism.

So why has the City of Los Angeles decided to sell the land to a developer and evict the 350 farming families at South Central? The Los Angeles city charter allows it to sell property that it determines it no longer needs, but only after complying with various procedures designed to ensure that the city does not squander resources in the sale. The sale of the garden property to development interests did not comply with these procedures. Nev-

ertheless, the California Court of Appeals held that the city did not have to comply with these provisions because it had not determined that it no longer needed the garden property. This situation leaves the South Central Farmers exposed to the impunity of developer Ralph Horowitz, who has expressed an extreme desire to demolish the community farm as soon as possible.

Since mid-October, the farmers have been squatting the land in an act of nonviolent civil disobedience. They have created a vibrant and growing network of supporters, including groups as diverse as Mujeres de la Tierra, Southern California Anarchist Federation, ANSWER-Los Angeles, Service Employees International Union Latino Committee and the Los Angeles Coalition to End Hunger and Homelessness. They are also attracting national media attention. Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa was recently queried by students at Harvard University, who demanded to know why his city wanted to evict grandmothers and mothers who tend garden plots while sharing traditional knowledge with children and

keeping youth away from gangs and drugs.

This space has a long-contested history in the decadeslong struggle against environmental racism in Los Angeles. In the 1980s, the Concerned Citizens of South Central, led by Juanita Tate, successfully resisted the city's efforts to use the site for trash incinerators. The activists instead created an alternative "third space" compatible with the needs of the community—the South Central garden.

"The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world," wrote Michel Foucault. South Central is a relatively small parcel of agricultural land in the behemoth of Greater Los Angeles. The process of re-envisioning a sustainable and just city must not be diminished by the encroachment of the heartless soul of post-industrial, urban neoliberalism.

Deep-rooted social movements for ecological democracy have indeed arisen in urban core communities across the US. The emergence of these movements is a result of decades-long struggles by communities to control

their own ecological and economic futures. Against the surveillance grids, jacked-up ecological footprints and fragmented, pastiche-like architectural echoes of failed suburbia, inner-city urban forms are being reinvented and reshaped from the bottom up.

Los Angeles needs a dozen more urban farms like South Central, not to destroy a singular natural and cultural asset and replace it with more of the same: an impoverished, concrete-laced and homogenous landscape, and more com-

the same: an impoverished, concrete-laced and homogenous landscape, and more community displacement and environmental degradation brought about through the enclosure of our cherished common spaces.

The creation of the "third space" at South Central over the past 13 years must be valued and defended as a key moment in the struggle for environmental justice. It is an iconic struggle, going deep into the roots of human relationships with the land as the source of life; going deep into the cultural values that define the self-governing practices of grassroots new urbanism; and thus bringing the social and ecological sides of sustainability into focus and fusion.

For more information, contact South Central Farmers Feeding Families; (909) 605-3136; southcentralfarmers@hotmail.com; www.southcentralfarmers.com.

Dr. Devon G. Peña is a professor of anthropology and ethnic studies at the University of Washington-Seattle and is a faculty member of the interdisciplinary graduate program in environmental anthropology. His most recent book is Mexican Americans and the Environment: Tierra y Vida.



A "milpa" or garden plot at South Central. Notice the edible cactus fence emerging astride the chain link, a permaculture feature the farmers describe as an "edible landscape."

## US RENEWS WAR ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT:



#### THE ANNA MAE PICTOU-AQUASH STORY

BY BILLIE PIERRE

In the past few years, the memory of Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash—an American Indian Movement (AIM) leader from the Mi'kmaq Nation in Nova Scotia, Canada—has been reduced to that of a helpless woman who was murdered by her own allies. In reality, her murder is part of a ruthless campaign waged by the US government—a campaign that, far from being ancient history, is still unfolding today.

Thirty years after the death of Pictou-Aquash, the US government has renewed its war against the last remnants of AIM. As in the 1970s, this attack is only part of a larger war to gain control over Native lands and resources.

#### The New Indian Wars

The US made its first violent attack against AIM in 1973, in what became known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Takeover. Natives had been conducting a peaceful protest outside the BIA headquarters in Washington, DC, when they were attacked by riot police. In response, the Natives barricaded themselves inside the building, smashed up offices and took top-secret documents. These documents proved that the government was illegally handing out reservation land, water and mineral rights to corporations.

That same year, AIM launched a campaign on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Dick Wilson, the corrupt tribal president,

had created a paramilitary force with stolen federal program funding. With his control of the reservation secured by force, Wilson set about ceding uranium-rich areas of the sacred Black Hills to the federal government. AIM assisted in protecting Pine Ridge's traditional families from the constant onslaught of violence, which culminated in the AIM occupation and government siege of Wounded Knee in the Spring of 1973. From 1973 to 1976, the people of Pine Ridge lived under the "Reign of Terror"-more than 76 Natives, mainly traditional Lakota and AIM members, were murdered, primarily by Wilson's Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOONs).

On June 26, 1975—while Wilson was in Washington, DC, signing away an eighth of the reservation—the FBI launched an attack on an AIM camp at Pine Ridge. The US was dealt a humiliating blow-two FBI agents lost their lives. Although Joe Stuntz Killsright, a Native warrior, was killed in the shoot-out, an estimated 40 Native men, women and children escaped.

#### The FBI Gets Personal

In extreme rage, the FBI violently harassed Lakota families. They drafted a list of people that they suspected were present at the shoot-out, and they blamed Leonard Peltier, Bob Robideau, Dino Butler and Jimmy Eagle for killing the agents. The four young men went on the run. Butler and Robideau were eventually arrested, tried and acquitted by an all-white jury, so the FBI targeted Peltier for the "murder" of the agents. Of course, there has never been an investigation into Stuntz Killsright's death.

At this time, Pictou-Aquash was "snitch-jacketed" by the FBI. This tactic of the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) undermined valuable members of a group by casting them in suspicious situations. Wherever Pictou-Aquash went, arrests would follow. She'd be released, while other AIM members were slapped with charges and high bail. In September 1975, FBI Agent David Price attempted to force her to sign an affidavit implicating Peltier for the murder of the two FBI agents. She refused to cooperate, and Price promised her that she wouldn't live to see the year's end.

Pictou-Aquash went underground, turning to AIM for protection and putting her fears of the FBI in writing. In late February, her body was found outside of Wanbli, on Pine Ridge. Four FBI agents joined the "investigation," including Price. They cut off her hands for "fingerprint analysis," and despite the visible bullet hole in the back of her head, they determined that the cause of her death was exposure. They quickly arranged for her to be buried as a Jane Doe.

After this cover-up came to light, the FBI released a statement announcing that Pictou-Aquash was not a government informant. As intended, this statement insinuated that AIM might have believed Pictou-Aquash to be an informant and murdered her.

#### Resurrecting the Investigation

After nearly three decades of dormancy, law enforcement attempts to "solve" the murder of Pictou-Aquash recently resumed, with a surprising number of former AIM members accepting and promoting the FBI's version of events. On March 30, 2003, two Native men were accused of her murder-John Graham and Arlo Looking Cloud. There is no credible evidence linking either man to the crime, and their prosecution seems like nothing more than an effort to destroy what little remains of AIM.

US Marshal Robert Ecoffey has played a prominent role in resurrecting the investigation. Ecoffey got his start in law enforcement as a GOON in the 1970s, and he participated in the Oglala shoot-out. In the 1990s, after becoming the first Native US Marshal in history, Ecoffey resurrected the Pictou-Aquash murder investigation and followed FBI claims that AIM was responsible. Ecoffey and Denver, Colorado Detective Abe Alonzo spent years visiting and questioning Looking Cloud about the murder.

#### The Arlo Looking Cloud Trial

Looking Cloud is an Oglala Lakota and a father of two. He also has serious substance abuse problems that were exploited by Ecoffey and Alonzo during their investigation. In March 2003, in an alleged confession videotaped by Ecoffey, Looking Cloud admitted to being under the influence of alcohol. Alonzo then fed him leading questions, and Looking Cloud slurred contradictory answers. He allegedly confessed that he had been the unwitting accomplice in Pictou-Aquash's execution by AIM. He stated that he witnessed Graham take her to the edge of a ravine and shoot her in the back of the head.

Looking Cloud was denied the right to choose his own lawyer. During his trial, every witness for the prosecution presented AIM in the most negative light possible, and they contradicted each other in their testimonies. Many people could have been called as defense witnesses, to testify that Pictou-Aquash had been afraid of the FBI, not AIM. But the defense called only one witness-FBI Agent Price! He was questioned for 10 minutes on Pictou-Aquash and whether she was continued on next page

## BARE BONES

Global Warming is **Hammering Oceans** 

The theory that global warming could paradoxically send Europe into the next ice age garnered support on December 1, with the release of a report that Gulf Stream currents are slowing. According to Britain's National Oceanography Centre-Southampton, there has been a 30 percent slowdown in this warm, northeast-flowing current during the past 12 years. If this trend continues, temperatures in Europe could drop by more than 10 degrees Fahrenheit in the next 20 years.

Meanwhile, rising temperatures in the Pacific Ocean and North Sea have caused an unprecedented collapse in sea life. With plankton unable to survive in warmer waters, massive numbers of birds and fish have starved. In 2005, 80 times as many dead cormorants as usual washed up on Pacific Northwest beaches. "In 50 years, this has never happened," said Bill Peterson of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

#### **Tongass Protected for Now**

A federal appeals court has struck down a management plan allowing the logging of roadless areas in Alaska's Tongass National Forest. In an overarching decision, the US Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the US Forest Service (USFS) had failed to take into account the impacts of logging on wildlife and did not consider management plans that would reduce logging in roadless areas. The ruling also charged that the USFS grossly exaggerated the demand for timber in the Tongass to justify logging in roadless areas.

The Tongass is the largest national forest in the US, containing 17 million acres-nine million of which are roadless. It also holds the largest intact, temperate rainforest in the world.

continued from previous page

an FBI informant. Looking Cloud's lawyer made few motions and did not challenge Ecoffey and Alonzo's manipulation of his client. Looking Cloud was not allowed to take the stand to defend himself; all that was shown was the videotaped interview that he had given. In February 2004, after a four-day trial, Looking Cloud was convicted of aiding and abetting in the murder of Pictou-Aquash, and he was sentenced to life in prison. Looking Cloud's subsequent appeal was denied.

In October, Looking Cloud fired his most recent lawyer. Unfortunately, without much more widespread support in the US and Canada, he is unlikely to challenge the dirty tactics used to convict him.

### AIM Cooperation with the FBI

Sadly, many former members of AIM are now cooperating with the FBI's renewed war on the movement.

Robideau now lives in Spain, where he operates a "Native museum" and does workshops on "Native art" for Europeans. Robideau has also profited from Robert Redford's Incident at Oglala, a documentary about the 1975 shoot-out. In this movie, Robideau perpetuates rumors of a "Mr. X"—the man who really murdered the FBI agents. Rather than exonerating Peltier, this creates an opportunity for the FBI to possibly prosecute more AIM members for the shootings. Robideau also perpetuates the

rumor that Peltier once interrogated Pictou-Aquash with a gun, suspecting that she was working for the FBI.

In the wake of Pictou-Aquash's death, Robideau stated that the FBI killed her "because they knew she was one of us and wouldn't talk." But in February 2004, he claimed: "I for one applaud the verdict of guilty in the Arlo Looking Cloud case." A month later, Robideau resigned from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee (LPDC) "after several discussions with this group regarding the ongoing

support and comfort that the LPDC... continues to give to John Graham and the John Graham Defense Committee.... I personally will be overjoyed when the Canadian courts rule to return John Graham... to the US to answer for this brutal murder. I will pray that his extradition contributes to an escalation of this case."

Another turncoat is Russell Means, the charismatic national director of AIM during the 1970s. Since then, he has moved on to Hollywood, starring in *The Last of the Mohicans* and Disney's



Anna Mae Pictou-Aguash

Pocahontas. Means also has assisted the Republican Party in campaigning on Pine Ridge.

In 1998, Means publicly accused Graham and Looking Cloud of murdering Pictou-Aquash and demanded that the courts hand down indictments. Following Looking Cloud's conviction, however, Means called it a travesty of justice. Obviously, he is on whatever side brings him the most attention.

Kelly White, a former AIM member, runs a Native issues radio show in Vancouver. A few years before Graham was arrested, she began to target him for defamation. At a Peltier support event in Vancouver, she got up on stage and accused Graham of murdering Pictou-Aquash, although she didn't have any evidence to back this up. Her personality is vindictive, and over the years she's targeted various people in the community, including those who have supported Graham's struggle against extradition.

This behavior is unacceptable; a basic principle of any resistance movement is non-collaboration with the

enemy. As Peltier has written regarding the arrest of Graham: "When we talk of sovereignty, we must be willing to solve our own problems and not go running to the oppressor for relief.... We have been and still are at odds with the most dangerous, well-funded, strongest military and political organization in the history of the world."

#### **Active Betrayal**

John Trudell, a onetime AIM spokesperson turned actor and musician, is also helping the FBI pin Pictou-Aquash's murder on former AIM members. Trudell's testimony at Looking Cloud's trial can be summed up as: "Though I have no recollection of ever meeting Looking Cloud, he tracked me down and confessed his role in Anna Mae's murder—but until this time, I chose to stay silent." Graham's extradition was made possible by Trudell's positive identification of him to the FBI.

Former AIM member Kamook Nichols also gave testimony at Looking Cloud's trial. She stated that Dennis Banks, her former husband and cofounder of AIM, and Peltier believed that Pictou-Aquash was working for the FBI. Nichols stated that they had planned to bomb strategic locations on Pine Ridge and wanted Pictou-Aquash's fingerprints on the explosives.

Not only did the FBI give Nichols immunity, it also gave her \$42,000 for her cooperation. She also admitted to wearing a wire for the FBI over the years. It is suspected that Nichols may

have implicated her ex-husband for personal reasons; it has been documented that Pictou-Aquash and Banks were having an affair—something Nichols has known of since August 1975.

Nichols' testimony is suspect for another reason: In September 2004, she married Robert Ecoffey, following a five-year-long relationship.

#### John Graham

On December 1, 2003, John Graham, a Southern Tuchone from the Yukon and a father of eight, was arrested in Vancouver, Canada, for the murder of Pictou-Aquash. To raise his \$50,000 bail, his family had to sell their trap-line, their traditional way of living off the land. In early 2005, the government of British Columbia approved his extradition to the US. His appeal is scheduled for June.

Graham is a warrior. As a young man, he went to South Dakota to join the AIM campaign on Pine Ridge. Over the years, he has continued to make great contributions to indigenous resistance to uranium mining. I've met many people who've worked with him and have heard only good things about him. Unlike many former AIM members, he refuses to cooperate with the FBI and refuses to implicate anyone for any reason.

Graham has stated that Pictou-Aquash was his sister and that they stuck together because Natives from Canada tended to be given a hard time by their US brothers and sisters. His job was to transport Pictou-Aquash, who was hiding from Agent Price and a violent infiltrator named Douglas Durham. Graham has stated that he drove her from Denver to a safe house on Pine Ridge.

Graham says that the FBI started to visit him in the Yukon during the mid-1990s. On four separate visits, they offered him immunity and a new identity if he testified that any of the former AIM leaders had ordered Pictou-Aquash's execution. He refused. On their last visit, they stated that this would be his final chance to cooperate; if he would not testify, they would charge him with her murder.

During Graham's extradition hearing, Peltier submitted an affidavit stating that he had been offered his freedom within ten days if he signed an affidavit to implicate John Graham in Anna Mae's murder. Peltier refused.

There is no physical evidence against Graham, only more unreliable, FBI-tainted testimony. Furthermore, US and Canadian court systems have no jurisdiction or authority over indigenous people. We have the right to practice our own justice system—something recognized in Canadian law.

#### Ongoing Political Repression of Indigenous Resistance in British Columbia

Graham's current legal struggle reflects the political repression faced by Native activists who have defended their land and their traditional way of life. Most of British Columbia has never been ceded to any colonial government, and the indigenous nations living there have full jurisdiction over their lands and resources.

British Columbia is very rich in natural resources—it has the eighth-highest mineral potential in the world. The province also has plans to carve up the mountains with wall-to-wall ski resorts by 2010. Currently, there is much indigenous resistance to mining and resort development. The most extreme case was the Gustafsen Lake stand-off in 1995, when the government deployed 400 Royal Canadian Mounted Police tactical-assault-team members to kill about 20 Natives who had defied a trespass notice and were living within their traditional tribal territories. Since then, dozens of Native people who have defended their lands have been criminalized.

John Graham and Arlo Looking Cloud's current struggle for their own freedom is a clear message being sent out to all Native land defenders. This is a threat being made against anyone who dares to stand up to the corporations that are stealing our lands. Now is the time to come together and make a strong stand. We will be tested more in the coming years.

For more info., contact the John Graham Defense Committee, 15 Firth Rd, Whitehorse, Yukon Y1A 4R5, Canada; (867) 633-2480; info@grahamdefense.org; www.grahamdefense.org; Native YouthMovement(NYM)-CoastSalishTerritories, nymchapter604@hotmail.com; users.resist.ca/~wolvesnotsheep.

Billie Pierre is a Nlaka'Pamux/Saulteaux woman based in Vancouver. She's a NYM OG and joined in 1995.

### BARE BONES

#### **Wolves Increase Diversity**

Thanks to the 1995 reintroduction of wolves to Yellowstone National Park, willows are thriving once again, after decades of nearabsence. The Yellowstone Wolf Project reports that with wolves once again roaming the area, many elk have sought the safety of higher ground. As a result of less intensive grazing, willows, cottonwoods and aspen stands have all come back to life.

This increase in vegetation has had many other beneficial effects. The trees stabilize stream banks and shade creeks, improving water quality for native fish. They provide food for beavers, which have consequently returned to the area. Bird populations have also increased in areas where vegetation stands have grown. These findings point to the interdependence of species in ecosystems and to the important role that predators play.

#### GE to Clean Up Hudson

Three decades after General Electric (GE) stopped dumping polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) into the Hudson River, the company has agreed to partially clean up its toxic legacy. Starting in 2007, in what will be one of the largest industrial cleanups in history, GE will dredge the PCB-contaminated mud from the Hudson and bring it to a processing facility.

While some have applauded GE, others note that it has not agreed to the full plan. Phase one involves dredging the heaviest PCB deposits, at a cost of \$100 million. Phase two involves dredging mud with lower PCB concentrations over a much larger area, and will cost up to \$500 million. GE refuses to commit to phase two until it is done with the first phase. Federal officials have threatened legal action if GE does not cooperate.

# The World's Largest

# Fighting for Pantanal

BY SKYLER SIMMONS

The struggle to save Brazilian wilderness was taken to a new level on November 13, when Francisco Anselmo de Barros set himself on fire to protest the construction of sugarcane alcohol factories in the Pantanal wetlands.

Barros, a dedicated environmentalist for more than 30 years, immolated himself in Campo Grande, the capital of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, at the end of a large protest against the proposed alcohol plants, which would provide millions of Brazilian cars with "biofuel." In a note left to family and friends, Barros said that he took this action because it was "the only way to wake people up," and called on others

to "continue the struggle." Barros died the following day in a Campo Grande hospital.

The Pantanal covers almost 64,000 square miles of western Brazil, making it the largest freshwater wetland in the world. Rich in biodiversity, it contains more than 650 bird, 190 mammal, 50 reptile, 270 fish and 1,100 butterfly species. The region is under increasing attack from industrial agriculture, infrastructure megaprojects, irrigation and mining.

The alcohol plants and their accompanying sugarcane plantations are particularly devastating to the Pantanal wetlands, due to their voracious consumption of water. In this case, the proposed factories would suck water out of the Paraguay River, a major life source for the Pantanal.

In the words of Alcides Faria, Barros' wife, operating these factories would be like "cutting the veins" of the Pantanal. Furthermore, sugarcane plantations disrupt the natural water flow in these delicate wetlands, turning vibrant aquatic ecosystems into monoculture wastelands. One only has to look at the devastation caused by the sugar industry in the Everglades of south Florida to see what will become of the Pantanal if this industry is allowed to thrive.

Barros is not the first Brazilian to take drastic measures in defense of the Pantanal wetlands. In October, Roman Catholic Bishop Luiz Flavio Cappio went on a death fast, saying that he wouldn't eat until the government gave up plans to divert water from the Sao Francisco River for

# Frontlines

#### **ELF Torches Greek Biotech Lab**

On November 13, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) in Greece torched a truck that was being used as a mobile laboratory for testing genetically modified plants. The truck was owned by Pioneer Hi Bred, a subsidiary of Du-Pont; damage was estimated at \$100,000.

In a communiqué, the ELF accused Pioneer and Du-Pont of genetically polluting more than 260 acres of corn being raised by more than 100 Greek farmers. The ELF further declared that "the intervention in the genetic material of humans, plants or animals represents an attack on all of life."

#### Brazilian Pulp Mill Occupied

On October 6, approximately 300 Tupinikim and Guarani indigenous people in Brazil occupied three of the largest pulp mills in the world—all owned by pulp and timber giant Aracruz Celulose. The mills had been built on the ancestral Tupinikim village of Macacos.

The communities were protesting the damage that Aracruz Celulose has done to their rivers, forests and culture, and demanding that the corporation withdraw from their traditional lands. In addition, the protesters demanded an end to the timber company's interference in the government process to demarcate indigenous lands.

#### Plum Creek Scum-Splattered

Three Plum Creek Timber offices and three private homes in Portland, Maine, were vandalized in the dark hours of October 31. The Halloween spree was the latest in a string of incidents aimed at the Seattle-based timber firm for its plan to develop thousands of acres in the Moosehead Lake region (see *EF!J* September-October 2005).

The damaged homes belonged to Plum Creek executives. In addition to splattering paint and breaking windows, the saboteurs dumped animal carcasses, feces and foul-smelling chemicals at the sites.

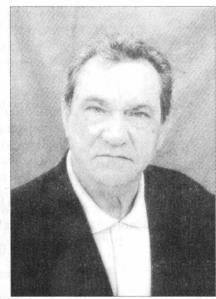
#### **Blockades Against Amazon Pipeline**

Residents of the Peruvian Amazon are rising up against the Camisea natural gas project, which has been

## Wetlands Under Attack

northeastern Brazilian agriculture. President Luiz Inacio "Lula" da Silva intervened, saying that he would reexamine the plan, and Cappio ended his fast. But the bishop warned that his fast will resume if the irrigation plan moves forward, implying that the death of the river would be his death.

Unfortunately, irrigation and alcohol production are just the tip of the melting iceberg in terms of threats to the Pantanal. According to a study by the United Nations University, a rise in temperature of just 7 degrees Fahrenheit caused by global warming could completely "eliminate" this wetland ecosystem. Since wetlands hold approximately one-sixth of the terrestrial carbon on the planet, significant disruptions such as the drying out of the Pantanal could lead to further releases of carbon dioxide, creating what is known as a positive feedback loop: more carbon would be released because of the higher temperatures created by excess carbon,



Francisco Anselmo de Barros

leading to still higher temperatures and the release of more carbon....

On another front, the governor of Mato Grosso do Sul has proposed to sell mining rights for the entire Pantanal reserve to a London-based mining giant called Rio Tinto. This company mined 100 million tons of ore last year worldwide, and says that if granted the rights to the Pantanal, it will increase its production fivefold. Part of its plan is to build a new steel mill, as well as railways through the wetlands.

Another proposed project for the Pantanal is the Parana-Paraguay waterway, to open the area to large ships. This project would require massive amounts of dredging and would change the course of the river in several places, doing permanent damage to the surrounding wetlands.

The people of Brazil are still fighting these projects in the hopes of protecting this magnificent wetland where giant anteaters, jaguars and howler monkeys spend their lives. In the words of Francisco Anselmo de Barros, "As we cannot vote to save Pantanal, we will give our lives to save it."

Skyler Simmons fantasizes about throwing corporate CEOs into sludge ponds when he's not busy chopping wood or digging gardens.

devastating river ecosystems and the communities that depend on them. On September 30, thousands of indigenous residents, armed with spears and arrows, blockaded ships from transporting materials for the project. On October 16, locals seized the airport at Atalaya and blockaded a highway in protest.

In the past nine months, Camisea's liquid gas pipeline has ruptured three times, contaminating local rivers and prompting mass evacuations. The indigenous protesters are demanding 12.5 percent royalties from the project as compensation.

"The contamination of the Ucayali and Urubamba rivers has left us without fish, the main food source for our people," said Dante Navarro, mayor of Atalaya. "Our rivers have become a trash dump, and... our people are poisoned with skin diseases."

#### **Kyrgyzstanis Block Mine**

On November 14, protesters from three Kyrgyzstan communities blockaded the sole road to the Kumtor gold mine, demanding compensation for health problems caused by a 1998 cyanide spill. They set up three large yurts in the road in order to maintain the blockade round-the-clock. It was the third such blockade within a year.

Canada-based Centerra Gold has paid two million dollars in compensation to the Kyrgyzstani government, but the protesters are demanding \$8,500 for each family affected by the accident.

#### **ALF Reaches Beyond the Grave**

On October 13, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) in Sussex, England, burned and destroyed a BMW belonging to the widow of Alexander Grant, the late managing director of Swiss pharmaceutical giant Roche.

In a communiqué, the ALF sent a warning to "people who sign contracts with or deal with" the notorious vivisection firm Huntingdon Life Sciences: "Your decisions will come back to haunt you forever, even when you have gone."

#### ELFs on the Loose in Montana

On October 3, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) vandalized a lumber company construction site in Bozeman, Montana. An electrical box and several construction vehicles were damaged, to a cost of \$3,000. The letters "ELF" were spray-painted at the site.

Rick Ogle, co-owner of Kenyon Noble Lumber and Hardware, declined comment except to say that the company has never been targeted before.

# armed with visions

Clear as cut glass & just as dangerous

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#### Deep World

Walking up our road home, the children piling down the ravine suddenly come scrambling back, dust and rocks rolling and it's something is dead down there as they grab our arms and rush off, the dog careening below them in a rattling slide.

We come slowly, picking our way, not sure that we want to see it, this deer, perhaps the one who ate the pink impatiens last week from our flower boxes or the one with her two fawns caught in our headlights down on Silverado Trail.

Two huge turkey buzzards, their blood-red beaks, loom above us in the bare oak branches, their shadows moving on the muddy creek beside the carnage — The boys go close, cry out its guts are spilling out! with such relish that we know they are stunned, cannot believe it really. I look away. The backbone, legs and skull are all that will remain tomorrow. But then

the dog, our dog, has plunged into the mess and stands in it. She is eating the deer. Everyone rushes forward at once, shouting, pulling her away. Climbing the ravine the children look at her out of the corners of their eyes. No one pats her. We have remembered: She is not one of us.

The vultures, standing now by their meal, turn back for a moment and meet our eyes: the deep world gazing back.

-Gail Rudd Entrekin



As Is

As the setting of the sun reveals at nightfall the beauty of the stars So the fading chlorophyll reveals in autumn the leaves' bright yellows, reds, and oranges.

As the autumn to the year So the sunset to the day. And the winter is the year's starry night.

-Kirk Lumpkin

#### 38 ACRES FOR SALE ZONED FOR LIGHT INDUSTRIAL

I wonder as I drive my poorly made American car across the Southern piedmont what industry do we have that is lighter than a strand of pine trees, a jagged creek, a cow or two, a horse, a rusty hay wagon, some red dirt, a rotted leaning shed, a tin roof above a green field, or a flat piece of empty landscape.

I wonder as I drive what we are doing to ourselves to let this all go poof in the air faster than a moon rocket without one thought save a quick shrug of sadness.

I wonder what is lighter than land. Can an industry float in the mind like an eagle?

-Alan Bisbort



the wolf sees clearly into the distance it is not obscured

she sees the mists freeze as though stalked, and dissipate

up through the boughs

of the tangled wild forest that exist within the depths of her lovers eyes

he breathes them away, and they drift up to meet the clarity of the brilliant moon

which casts shards of recognition

and clears the way to glimmering dancing waifs of truthful souls

along paths of invisible radiant lichen seen only when the dark and senses are combined by the gift of trust and the strength of being alive and true

the wolves outrun the mist they desert the valley of sickness

and keep climbing to where the mother's breath is fresh and her moon's gaze steady.

they find the reality they seek.

-little bear

#### Sleeping on Our Property

I hear them in the autumn darkness
Singing and calling
In great musical fecundity
Crickets and cousins
Enlivening the night with tiny voices deafening
And I don't think
They crawl away to rest,
I think they must be
Sleeping on our property.

Probably a dozen species, or more!
And individuals—hundreds!
Sleeping here unauthorized.
Or are we sleeping on their property?
Hm...what is sleeping here?
What muscles of Earth resting
To someday rise as tiny voices deafening
Unaware for miles around
That anyone has ever understood
The concept of property?

—Jenny McBride

#### Contemplating Black Bear

I contemplate the evening black bear It's like a spirit animal has come calling "I've never had a black bear rummage my garbage cans before" say I "you've never had garbage cans before" replies the daughter, teenagers!

Must I enter trance states
Go w/o sleep, eat sacred brownie
Then sit, blanket over lap & wait?
Go deep into spirit world
Garbage rattles signals spirits arrival, anticipation fills night.

"O sensei,
we must not fail"
I send prayers
to kitchen goddess
Sustenance carries hunters
far into
dream worlds
eternal darkness,
black bear stalks unconsciousness.

-Stan Wilson





# SO LONG AND

Sea Shepherd Scuttles
Relations with
Earth First! Journal

In November, the Earth First! Journal received a letter from Sea Shepherd Conservation Society Captain Paul Watson, who was bothered that the Journal collective had decided not to print a previous letter (which he had sent for consideration in the 25th anniversary issue). The editorial collective feels that Watson's newest letter is worth printing, along with the subsequent exchanges between the collective and Sea Shepherd staff.

Established in 1977, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society is an international, nonprofit conservation organization whose mission is to defend, conserve and protect the world's marine wildlife and ecosystems. For more information, visit www.seashepherd.org.

November 17, 2005

Dear Censorship for Brains,

In response to the editorial decision by the *Earth First! Journal* to not allow me to defend myself and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society from letters that attack the society and myself, I am informing you that I will no longer write any letters to the *Journal*, nor will I submit any articles, photographs or provide any information to the *Earth First! Journal*. The society will not send media releases to the *Journal*. We will not allow anyone from the *Journal* to participate on a Sea Shepherd campaign or board a Sea Shepherd vessel. The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society hereby disassociates itself from the *Earth First! Journal*.

If the Journal can make the decision to censor our defense

from criticisms and misinformed and nonfactual attacks, we will retaliate by censoring the *Earth First! Journal* from any association, involvement or correspondence with the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society.

Quite frankly, I am tired of defending our actions from the anthropocentric editorial stance of the Earth First! collective. I have dedicated myself to living in accordance to the laws of ecology, and my life has been guided by these laws. When ecology conflicts with hominid social agendas and relative trivialities, I side with the Earth. To me, the words "Earth First!" mean the Earth is first, not second to the priorities of any particular group of people.

In the last issue that I was not allowed to respond to, I was called a nationalist when I am not even an American. I've never been a nationalist anything. I despise nationalism. I was called an anti-breeder, like that

is some sort of condemnation. I was told that I was misinformed on the history of Native Americans. You refused to allow me to respond.

Then in the next issue you published another letter of criticism. It is a one-sided forum.

You people should really change your name to People First!.

I have been involved with Earth First! and the *Earth First! Journal* since the early '80s. No more. I should have had nothing to do with Earth First! after David Foreman left, a man for whom I have the utmost respect and who is also the object of misdirected hostility from the politically correct anthropoids who have infested the movement.

Consider this the very last correspondence from me that the *Earth First! Journal* will ever receive.

—CAPTAIN PAUL WATSON



# THANKS FOR ALL THE FISH...

November 28, 2005

Dear Paul,

You've got to be kidding! The word length for the Dear Shit for Brains section is 300 words per letter. With this most recent submission, you've come relatively close to that (at 400 words!), and we plan to print your email in the next issue so that all of our readers can get a chuckle reading it. We sure did. We also felt it warranted a more thorough response to you personally.

Let's recap the back and forth so far this year:

In response to Problem Animal's piece, we printed your article "defending" yourself in our Beltane issue. The following two issues, the collective decided to print letters from you that greatly exceeded our word length, yet we felt you had important things to contribute to the discussion, and we were feeling generous. On the third occasion of your submitting an overly long letter, we still felt like

you had a few new ideas, however we weren't feeling as charitable. So we responded and asked you to respect our guidelines by shortening your letter to 300 words.

You have dominated the space allotted for the entire letters section printed in each of the recent issues, but still you declined to shorten this particular letter. It was your choice, not ours. We don't edit people's letters, and we weren't going to shorten it for you. You refused to do it yourself, so the responsibility lies with you. And yet, you claim we censored you.

Let us point out that your shortened letter would have appeared in the 25th anniversary issue if it had been printed. It was in this issue that we printed another letter from someone who agreed with you and who agreed to comply with our word count. We also printed a letter bringing up new arguments about Jerry Vlasak being kicked off the Sea Shepherd board of directors (a different topic that you are free to respond to).

We have a few questions for clarity:

We are curious if the Sea Shepherd board of directors made the decision to disassociate itself from the *Journal*, or was it you acting alone?

Does the board realize that Sea Shepherd as an organization was not mentioned in the letter we "censored" and that you are creating a professional split over a personal grievance?

How will you publicize your actions to the direct-action environmental community—solely through the Sea Shepherd Log?

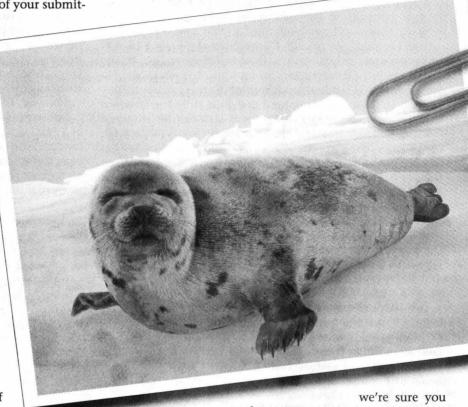
We actually get all of the media releases we print about Sea Shepherd news through the website, not from you. Does this mean we can't check the Sea Shepherd website anymore?

You won't provide us photographs? This sounds strikingly similar to the arguments Sea Shepherd has with the International Fund for Animal Welfare and Humane Society of the US-about the images from the Canadian seal hunt. Though in that case, Sea Shepherd is in the position to complain that these larger organizations won't share their resources when

we are all fighting the same battle. Are Earth First! and Sea Shepherd now on different sides because we wouldn't print yet another long letter from you about yourself?

If you are not going to allow anyone from the *Journal* onboard a Sea Shepherd ship again, does this include former editors of the *Journal*? At what point does someone become eligible to work with Sea Shepherd if they once worked for the *Journal*—or is your problem only with current editors?

Perhaps most importantly, will you forbid Sea Shepherd crew from communicating with us as well? Will this be a policy onboard the ship? What are we to say to current crewmembers who ask us if they can write about the Antarctica campaign? What about former crewmembers? We feel those interactions are between us and those particular individuals, but



have some outrageous answer to

these questions as well.

We'd like to add that we feel as though any attempt we make to monitor the controversies that follow you around, you interpret as betrayal. You confuse us, the moderators of the discussion, with the other side. Do you really read the magazine or just the content that mentions your name?

Since you say your "Dear Censorship for Brains" letter is the last correspondence any of us here will ever receive from you again, maybe you won't answer our questions. We'll see. We're kind of eager to see how long it takes until you decide that having your actions publicized in the *Journal* is beneficial to Sea Shepherd. In the meantime, we're going to frame your letter.

Sorry you're still bummed that Dave left,

—The Earth First! Journal Collective continued on next page

This is a message from the Farley Mowat.

Your letter was brought to the attention of the captain. He said to reply that he is not interested in corresponding with the *Journal* either now or in the future and does not care what you do with his letter—frame it, wipe your ass with it, burn it or blow your nose with it.

He also said that he found it amusing that the *Journal* would think that Sea Shepherd could not reach the "direct-action" community without the *Journal*, considering that the Sea Shepherd membership is many times the circulation of the *Earth First! Journal*.

Finally, he said that Sea Shepherd and the *Earth First! Journal* have been on different sides for some time now, because Sea Shepherd is not interested in the anthropocentric crap that has taken precedence over biocentric concerns.

And finally, he said that he is not bummed about Dave Foreman not being involved with Earth First!. Dave made the right decision to disassociate himself from a *Journal* that pretends to put the Earth first but in reality is more concerned with the social trivialities of humanity. Paul Watson's loyalty to Dave Foreman and to the memory of Edward Abbey will never change.

And I would like to add a note from the crew and myself. This crew is loyal to the ship and the captain, to the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society and to our cause. No crewmember is banned from talking to the *Journal* if they so wish to do so. Sea Shepherd does not stifle the freedom of speech of our crew. Sea Shepherd also cannot stop you from taking information from the website if you so wish to do so. What Captain Watson informed you of is that Sea Shepherd will not cooperate with any requests from the *Journal* for photos or information. You are not banned from using photographs because all Sea Shepherd photographs are freely distributed to the public—how you get them is your problem.

We have had enough of the Journal being used as a forum to bash our founder and our captain. Captain Watson has been consistent in his dedication to the defense and the protection of marine wildlife and habitats and, unlike most Earth First!ers today, he does not believe in compromising. The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society opposes all illegal whaling, sealing, fishing and marine exploitation without consideration for race or culture.

We found the tone of your email to be insulting. We do know that when Captain Watson makes a decision, he sticks to it. I believe that he has decided to no longer communicate with the *Earth First! Journal*, and you can count on him sticking to that decision.

-FIRST OFFICER ALEX CORNELISSEN

EF! Journal Collective,

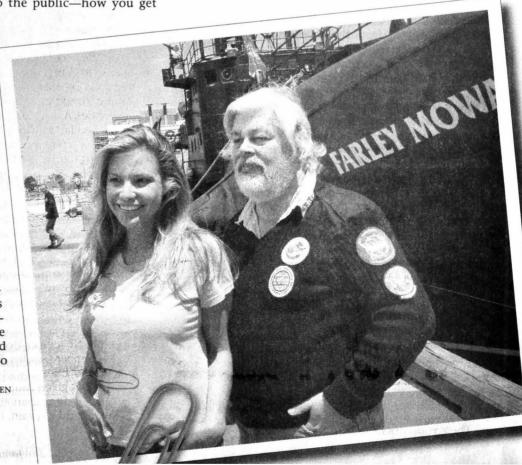
I do hope you save your reply to Paul and read it 40 years from now. Two reasons I say this is... one, let's see where each of you are at that time. Will you still be dedicated and active to say, well... anything? Secondly, I wonder if your respect for Paul and what he has done as one man will have changed in time, or will it be the same?

Paul has stayed steady and true to his course. Almost 30 years with Sea Shepherd Conservation Society (SSCS), which he founded with passion, moxie and the single purpose of stopping the most notorious whaling ship on the high seas, the *Sierra*. He was successful. Before SSCS there was Greenpeace—beaten and imprisoned for saving seals. Greenpeace viewed him as too radical and kicked him out of an organization he co-founded. But the earliest of clubs was the Kindness Club started by Albert Schweitzer; Paul was releasing trap lines at the age of 12. Pretty impressive course, and that course has saved countless lives, wouldn't you say? Nine whaling ships out of commission... do the math.

Sounds as though you are challenging his ego... why would you do that? Does it matter that he has an ego... he could not have pulled off what he has if he did not think much of himself, now could he? I think that the egos at the *EF! Journal* need a little maturity, and when you guys have been in the trenches and on the frontlines as long as Paul Watson, then you can square off... until then please be thankful to those that came before us to light the way, i.e., Dave Foreman, David Brower, Dian Fossey and Tim Treadwell.

I do wish you would sign your names as individuals not as a "collective"... I don't know what that means, makes no sense... kind of like the Ku Klux Klan. They were a collective bunch and hid behind their silly dunce hats.

—Allison Lance Watson



The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society held a board meeting in Playa del Rey, California, on December 1, 2005.

In attendance were: President Captain Paul Watson (on a call from Melbourne, Australia); Vice President Dr. Ben Zuckerman; Treasurer Kurt Lieber; Director Richard Dean Anderson; Director Bob Talbot (on the phone from the Bahamas; not present for the discussion of *EF!J*); Incoming Director Mary Angle (not present for the discussion of *EF!J*); International Director Tim Midgley; Outreach Director Michael Moore; Administrative Director Carla Robinson; Governmental Affairs Director Monica Coleman (not present for discussion of *EF!J*) and staff person Allison Lance Watson.

The following motion was passed by the Board of Directors.

Whereas the Earth First! Journal (EF!J) has been changing its editorial stance to focus more on human social issues and less on ecological concerns,

and whereas the EF!J has published insulting and misinformed articles on David Foreman and Edward Abbey,

and whereas the *EFIJ* has been allowing the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society (SSCS) to be attacked in its pages by writers who have employed misinformation, gossip and unsubstantiated accusations that have been routinely published without fact verification or prior notification to Sea Shepherd,

and whereas the *EF!J* has refused to provide the SSCS with equal time to rebut these unprofessional postings to the *Journal*, and whereas the *EF!J* does not contribute any positive benefit to the objectives of the SSCS,

with reference to these concerns Captain Paul Watson made a motion to request that the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society sever all communications with the *Earth First! Journal* Collective.

The Earth First! Journal has been increasingly hostile to Paul Watson and to the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. This was tolerable given the ability for Captain Watson to rebut letters and articles containing misinformation. In response to the Earth First! Journal disallowing equal time for Captain Paul Watson to defend Sea Shepherd and himself from these attacks, the Sea Shepherd Board has adopted the motion and will no longer regard the Earth First! Journal as a friendly ally in the conservation movement.

This means that any requests for photos, information or assistance from the *Earth First! Journal* will be refused. Earth First! will not be allowed to send writers, photographers or representatives on Sea Shepherd voyages. Sea Shepherd will not advertise with the *Earth First! Journal* and will not respond to any editorials, letters or articles critical of Sea Shepherd. Sea Shepherd staff and directors will not be interviewed by *Earth First! Journal* representatives and thus the *Earth First! Journal* "collective" is henceforth irrelevant to the operations of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society.

December 5, 2005

Dear Allison,

The irrationality of your arguments and the utter bizarreness of your accusations leave us almost speechless. Almost.

First, you insinuate that 40 years from now, each of us currently on the collective will have long since burned out or sold out. We would be incredibly insulted if your suggestion wasn't so silly and ignorant. You reference Paul's decades-long commitment to defending the oceans as if he is the sole example of an activist remaining dedicated to a cause throughout his/her life. This exposes either an ignorance of prolific activists or an attempt to falsify history in Paul's honor. Well done.

A better question might be: Where will Sea Shepherd be 40 years from now? Presently, the organization is so synonymous with Paul (due to both his ego and Sea Shepherd's hierarchical structure) that we seriously wonder whether it will continue when Paul is gone, particularly given the isolationist corner you seem to have backed yourselves into. That's really a shame; Sea Shepherd is a great organization. If it doesn't survive Paul, however, it'll be his fault and no one else's.

In an attempt to defend Paul, you pull out his résumé once again. It was impressive the first time we saw it, but honestly, we're tired of it. Every time a *personal* criticism is made toward Paul, either he or you or another star-struck fan pulls out his *professional* history—as if all the great stuff he's done excuses an equally lengthy history of egotism, divisiveness and plain bad behavior.

You even acknowledge Paul's egotism, but go on to defend it. You say that it was this ego that has enabled Paul to accomplish so much. Perhaps you're right. But think of how much more he could have achieved during the past 30 years if he had the capacity for modesty and self-reflection, or the willingness to listen to constructive criticism and take it to heart. Our recent interactions with him suggest that he possesses none of these qualities. We suspect that his ego has probably burned more bridges than it has built.

Then you criticize our decision to operate as a collective,

and you admit that you're not even sure what "collective" means. It means that we operate in an egalitarian fashion, with decisions made by consensus. Respect, cooperation and self-reflection guide our actions, along with a willingness to find common ground so that all parties will be satisfied and able to achieve our goals most effectively.

If you need to know who we are individually, our names appear on page two of every issue. We also attend every Earth First! Organizers' Conference and Round River Rendezvous.

Finally, and most absurdly, you compare us to the Ku Klux Klan! We're confused how our decision to write a collective response to Paul resulted in a comparison to a white supremacist organization that has spent more than 200 years kidnapping, raping, torturing, murdering and mutilating racial and ethnic minorities. As laughably idiotic and insulting as that comparison is, it's also factually baseless, since the KKK—which you characterize as a "collective bunch"—was and is rigidly authoritarian.

In closing, we want to remind you that all of this insane controversy is simply the result of us asking Paul to shorten a letter! Somehow, he perceived that to be proof of some sort of conspiracy to censor him and make him vulnerable to the hordes of assailants looking to demean his character and work. Apart from exhibiting signs of classic paranoia, his and your responses completely overlook the numerous, lengthy articles by Paul and/or about Sea Shepherd that the Journal has published: five pages about the Canadian seal hunt in July-August 2005; Paul's "The Bullshit that Must End" in May-June 2005; a three-page interview with First Mate Alex Cornelissen in March-April 2005; Paul's article about the seals of La Jolla in January-February 2005; a three-page interview with you, Allison, in November-December 2004; Paul's piece about Tuvalu in September-October 2004; several Dear Shit for Brains letters... and that's only in the last 18 months! The Earth First! Journal has given Paul and Sea Shepherd consistent, dedicated coverage—more than any other single organization receives.

So, remind us again, how are we censoring you?

—THE EARTH FIRST! JOURNAL COLLECTIVE

# Shell to Sea.

## **Shell Oil Get the Hell Out of Ireland!**

BY MORGAN KILCOLLINS

Ireland has a long history of resisting foreign oppression. Whether in the war against the conquest of Queen Elizabeth I, or the 1919-1921 War for Independence, the Irish have never accepted foreign rulers. In short, Ireland is like most other places in the world and like most other peoples, the Irish are now fighting against corporate imperialists.

Located 1,150 feet beneath the waves and 40 miles off the cost of County Mayo in west Ireland lies an oil deposit known as the Corrib Gas Field. Since its discovery in 1996, the Corrib Field has sparked a fierce, direct-action ecological resistance, the likes of which the island has not seen in years.

Shell Oil, which owns 45 percent of the rights to the Corrib Field, plans to construct a pipeline to pump untreated gas 40 miles across the sea, through sand dunes and coastal grasslands unique to Ireland and Scotland, and over a bog traveling from North Mayo to neighboring County Galway. Plowing through ocean, coast and land, the pipeline would be dangerous and ecologically devastating.

Putting aside for a moment all that can go wrong with deep-sea drilling, the waste from the project and from its inland refinery will doom many sensitive areas and water systems in County Mayo. For example, Shell plans to reduce Broadhaven Bay to a chemical bath; nickel, mercury, phosphorous, chromium, arsenic and radon are but a sampling of the toxic materials that Shell will vomit onto the marine life.

Contrary to what many Americans assume about European ecosystems, Broadhaven Bay still teems with life. Reports from University College of Cork (UCC) have recorded more than 220 sightings of several species of whales and dolphins, which use the bay as a breeding and rearing area. In addition, researchers have also seen sea turtles and basking sharks. Shell, however, claims that Broadhaven is of no real importance to whales or dolphins. Ironically enough, Shell is the one that commissioned UCC to survey Broadhaven Bay to begin with.

While dolphins and whales try to breed in poison, the mainland won't be doing much better. Carrowmore Lake, which supplies drinking water for the region, is already suffering from pollution caused by a Shell-related civil engineering project. If and when the land refinery at Ballinaboy becomes operational, Carrowmore Lake can expect to be destroyed along with Broadhaven Bay.

These are but two examples of the ecological damage that Ireland would suffer, not even considering the

impact from pipeline construction and the heavy equipment, traffic and support apparatus that would be needed to operate an offshore station, pipeline and inland refinery. The pipeline is dangerous as well. Most overland pipelines operate at 16-17 bar pressure; the Corrib Field pipeline would run at 345 bar. In addition to being highly explosive, the pipeline would run right through local communities and past individual homes!

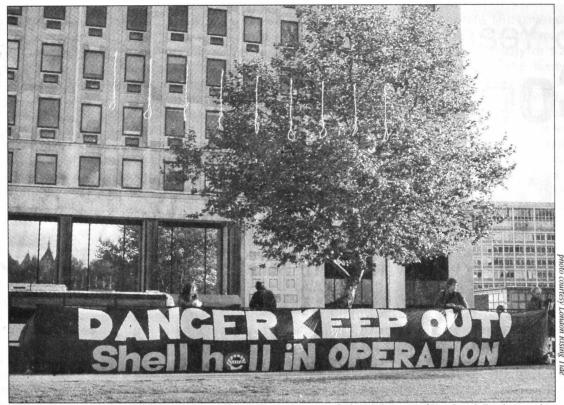
Normally, Ireland would charge a tax rate as high as 50 percent for drilling, with additional six to seven percent royalties. However, corporate pressure has reduced the tax rate to 25 percent, with the option for a 100 percent write-off. The royalties have been waived altogether. Shell Oil has created a nice bed for itself—the Irish give away their natural resources, only to buy them back from Shell. This is not to suggest that if the financial arrangements were more favorable, the sacrifice of Broadhaven Bay and Carrowmore Lake would be justified—it simply adds another footnote to the mountain of criminality that is Shell Oil.

Like the foreign raiders before it, Shell is not welcome in Ireland. This attitude has found expression in the Shell to Sea campaign, with branches in County Mayo, Dublin, Cork, Galway, Belfast and even London, England!

The fight began in County Mayo and has been advanced strongly by five farmers from Rossport—Micheal O'Seighin, Vincent McGrath, Philip McGrath, Brendan Philibin and Willie Corduft. As one would expect, Shell did not view the growing opposition to its \$800-million project with good humor and pressured the government into issuing a High Court order allowing for the imprisonment of anyone interfering with pipeline construction, trespassing on Shell property or harming Shell economically (such as by boycotts). The Rossport farmers, who were excelling at all of the above, were soon arrested. The judge offered to release the lads if they promised to not interfere in the future. Given the danger of Shell Oil, the men told the court that they simply could not obey the order. So the judge sent them to Cloverhill Prison to "purge their contempt," and they become known as the Rossport 5.

This action did not put a lid on the opposition; if anything, it had the opposite effect. While the Rossport 5 refused to bow, Shell to Sea began staging actions and rallies all over Ireland.

On September 10, Shell to Sea blockaded a Shell terminal in Dublin, where tanker trucks obtain gasoline for distribution to local gas stations. In Cork, similar actions have taken place with equal success. In Dublin, on September 26,



Nooses were hung outside Shell Oil's London offices in November to mark the anniversary of Ken Saro-Wiwa's execution.

10,000 people marched through the streets in protest of the Corrib pipeline and the imprisonment of the Rossport 5.

All the way in London, activists used a dump truck to deposit a large pile of sand outside Shell headquarters on September 30. They placed signs in the sand reading, "Shell Keep Out" and dropped banners proclaiming, "Stop Shell Hell in NW Ireland." Due to Shell's widespread unpopularity, police made no arrests and did not attempt to stop the dump truck. Three days later, 2,000 people rallied in front of the Irish Parliament building, Leinster House, in Dublin.

Finally, after 94 days in jail, the Rossport 5 were released in order to curtail the controversy. The court still plans to call the Rossport 5 back in order to seek their compliance to the High Court order, but for the time being they remain at large, organizing to send Shell back across the Western Ocean.

The threat posed by this multinational corporation is not confined to Ireland, and Irish organizers are making links to other communities that Shell has devastated. Among the speakers at a rally celebrating the Rossport 5's release was Dr. Owens Wiwa, brother of Ogoni leader Ken Saro-Wiwa, who was murdered along with eight others by the government of Nigeria in collusion with Shell Oil in 1995 (see *EF!J* November-December 2005).

On November 10, the ten-year anniversary of this atrocity, Shell to Sea attempted to deliver a letter of condemnation to Shell's Dublin offices. Ashamed of the blood on its hands, Shell locked the doors. Unable to confront Shell representatives in person, the protesters laid a memorial wreath at Shell's doorstep in honor of the fallen.

Meanwhile, hundreds of people gathered in the rainy weather of County Mayo near the Ballinaboy refinery, where a four-year old Nigerian boy unveiled a large mural in honor of Ken Saro-Wiwa. An African minister led the crowd in prayer. Nine Nigerians seeking asylum in Ireland walked in procession, carrying nine crosses to represent the lives of those who died to protect their people and the Earth. Hangman's nooses were draped over the crosses, which were planted facing the refinery.

County Mayo is also home to a Solidarity Camp, which has scored a number of hits against Shell. From June 18 onward, pickets prevented the delivery of any construction materials to the compound at Rossport. Starting June 30, pickets also closed the Rossport compound and the refinery construction site at Ballinaboy. In August, Shell was forced to cancel the arrival of the *Solitaire*, one of the world's largest pipelaying ships, due to a planned blockade by fishermen. The Camp is now recruiting for Spring 2006 and beyond.

There are many lessons that can be drawn from our histories, our cultures and resistance across the world. One such lesson is that it does not really matter what culture or country you come from—all that really matters is what side of the battle line you're on. You are either on the side of life and justice—real, not legislated—or you are on the side of the imperialists—evil and death.

A corporation that will conspire to murder in Nigeria will not think twice about poisoning the land and people of Ireland. The people of Mayo and all of Ireland know what they are up against and the kind of evil that they're fighting. Shell will not last long in Ireland, and that pipeline will never be built. The Irish have never accepted the imperialists, and we are not about to start now. Shell to Sea. Saoirse Eire. Saoirse Nigeria.

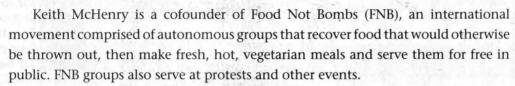
For more information, visit www.indymedia.ie/mayo; www.corribsos.com.

Morgan Kilcollins is an Irish lass who likes cherry pie and is morally offended by people who use sleeping bags in cold weather.

## 25 Years of

# Cooking for the Revolution

An Interview with Keith McHenry



These days, McHenry works to coordinate food delivery and volunteer support for Hurricane Katrina survivors and to support the creation of local FNB groups, with a current focus on Africa. May 24, 2005 marked the 25th anniversary of FNB.

BY LENNY

EF!J: How did FNB get started?

KM: FNB started in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1980, when one of the members of our affinity group in the Seabrook nuclear power plant protests and Clamshell Alliance was arrested for felony assault of a police officer. We were trying to raise money for his legal fees by baking cookies and brownies and trying to sell them in Harvard Square, and not too many people were interested. So we thought we should have a schtick, to try to get people to pay attention. And we had this big poster saying, "Wouldn't it be a beautiful day if the Pentagon had to hold a bake sale to buy a B-1 bomber?" And we went to thrift stores and got military uniforms and dressed like generals, and tried to get people to think that we were, you know, trying to raise money for a B-1 bomber, and would they buy our baked goods? And we got a lot of people excited—you know, we really didn't raise any more money, but we could see there was this kind of dynamic that was much improved by having this sort of street theater.

And then we had this other project called First National Bank project,

and it showed that the board of directors of the Bank of Boston were also the board of directors of the Public Service Company in New Hampshire. And we wanted to have a soup line that was like the Great Depression. We're saying, "Look, if you keep your policies like this, where you're lending yourself money on questionable projects, it could lead to a situation like the Great Depression." And the night before, we got worried there wouldn't be enough protesters, so we went to the Pine Street Inn and talked to the homeless guys there and said we're doing this protest, and we have free food, and would they wanna join in? And we had about 70 people show up.

And the hanging out with the homeless people, the interaction between homeless people and the businesspeople that were passing by, and the response of either anger toward us by the stockholders, or support of us by stockholders that hated the bank, was just so amazing that we just thought we should quit what we were doing and just start organizing by picking up food that couldn't be sold and making meals, handing it out on the street, doing like basic street theater with food.

EF!J: And how did it end up turning into a national thing?

KM: In 1986, I moved to San Francisco and started a second FNB chapter. And on August 15 of '88, we were serving food at the entrance to Golden Gate Park at Haight and Stanyan. And we'd been having conversations with the police; they were saying, you should get a permit, and we had written for a permit. But to our surprise, on this day, 45 riot police came out of the woods and arrested nine of us. So we then mobilized again to have another protest the next Monday, where we marched down Eighth Street with our food and with pots and pans and with all the tables and everything, and 29 people were arrested, and that made world news.

And shortly after that, people from all over, mostly the US but also Canada, started to contact us, saying, we want to start our own group, this must be a really effective way of organizing if it bothers them so much. So C.T. Butler and myself, who are cofounders of FNB, published this flier called "Seven Steps to Starting a Food Not Bombs," which then ultimately became a book called Food Not Bombs: How to Feed the Hungry and Build Community. And it's basically through the

flier, and word-of-mouth, and people seeing that we were arrested, that encouraged the creation of all these chapters all over the world.

EF!J: It's my understanding that when the first chapter was started in Cambridge, the response from the authorities was fairly favorable. Do you have any ideas why the reaction was so different in San Francisco, and why it sort of became a pattern in the US for FNB groups to get arrested?

KM: I would say that the biggest change was that when we started in Cambridge, homelessness wasn't a crisis, and we were considered a street

performance group. By the time we started in San Francisco, the city government was having to face the political problems of there being homeless people on the streets of San Francisco.

The business community was very concerned that they might have to pay increased taxes to support services for homeless people, and they felt that overall, a strategy of using the police to drive them from the city was more appropriate, even though it'd probably cost even more. But at least it sent this message that you shouldn't be a slacker, and you should be willing to accept whatever the lowest wages are and live, or otherwise face

this military presence. So we ended up getting attacked specifically because it appeared that we were aiding the struggle of the people they were trying to drive from the city, and that we were a bridge between the homeless and the housed, and that we were organized and therefore could potentially organize the poor. And so we were considered "the leadership necessary for the insurrection of the poor," and the police said that they were arresting us because we were making a political statement, and that wasn't allowed. We could feed people, but you couldn't be talking about changing the policies of society.

EF!J: Are you saying that somebody actually referred to you as "the leadership necessary for the insurrection of the poor?"

KM: Yeah, in a local newspaper, the general of the Salvation Army was quoted as saying, "FNB is the leadership necessary for the insurrection of the poor." Also, internal police documents said a lot of stuff about that; they would report, "Homeless people are now becoming more aggressive, and are refusing to accept their incarceration and arrest, and are starting to say that they have civil rights." And there were several internal police



Keith McHenry gets arrested by San Francisco police in 1988.

memos that said, "Homeless people have even started to free their friends from police custody, believing that they have the same rights as regular people."

EF!J: Do you consider FNB to be a revolutionary group or movement, and why?

KM: Yeah, I think of it as a revolutionary movement, and there has been a debate, particularly since about '88, about whether it's better to be a charity or a social change group or revolutionary group. And there also has been some debate about the definition of it being a revolutionary group or not, whether it's a charity or not.

But our idea is to be building close relationships with lots and lots of

poor people, and having this ongoing connection with them. So it's different than a charity or soup kitchens, where there's the homeless people and the people getting the food, and then the people providing it. We're really inviting the homeless people to join, or everybody to join. We also try to be providing information and education about how the society is working, and promote this idea amongst homeless people that their situation is not because of personal failing, but because of how society is organized.

You know, many people, for instance, are homeless because they

became ill, and because of the health care system in the US, and the lack of security and employment—so to show it's not a personal failing, and that we want to restructure society so people wouldn't be the haves and the havenots. And that, I think, is the basic idea that's revolutionary.

EF!J: Do you think that most FNB groups today are building toward that revolutionary idea, or do you think they've adopted more of the charity model?

KM: In the US, I would say it might be sort of roughly 50-50, that half the groups are sort of more focused toward charity, and that the other half are more toward revolution. And maybe

it's more accurate to say half of the people *in* FNB—where even in the groups that are sort of doing charity, many of the members are actually about revolution, but some of the people with more energy and time might be seeing it more as charity. And there's been this debate since '88.

Outside the US, it seems to be very clearly about revolution. Generally speaking, people are about ending capitalism and transforming society in the rest of the world, and American FNB activists are a little more confused about that.

EF!J: It's the 25th anniversary of FNB, and it's also the 25th anniversary continued on next page

continued from previous page

of Earth First!. And I've got two linked questions. The first one is, do you think it's a coincidence that both groups were founded in the same year, or do you see some connection, in terms of what was going on at the time? And what kind of relationships, in your experience, have FNB and EF! had over the past 25 years?

KM: I don't think it's a coincidence. In 1980, Ronald Reagan was running for president and then got elected. And so there was this crisis of how to deal with what we thought would be this corporate control expanding because of his election. And the other thing that was happening at that time was that a lot of the existing environmental and peace groups were kind of reformist, they

were kind of pro-state, and it was particularly clear that many of the environmental groups were also very closely linked to oil companies and things like that. So I think that an idea of having more decentralized movements that were focused on direct action-because of the failure of the more reformist groups since the Vietnam War-and with Reagan coming to power-was what influenced these two movements to start.

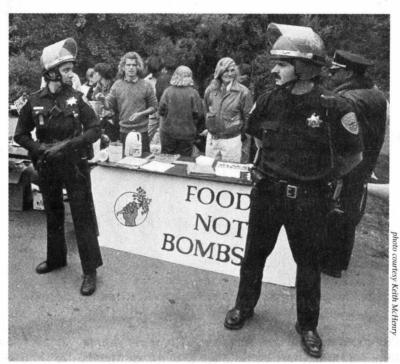
It took a little while before FNB people and EF! people in the US started coordinating activities—part of it being that in Boston there really wasn't an EF! happening. FNB itself started

sharing free food with EF! in Northern California—we would do the kitchens at basecamps and be providing food, and a lot of the FNB people were also EF! activists. And also around that same time, Prague FNB and Prague EF! were essentially the same people. They basically started both of those organizations at the same time. And you had some similar crossover with EF! and FNB in England around that same time. So now, I would say, often people are both in many, many parts of the world. You know, it's common

for EF! and FNB to have a lot of overlap in people.

EF!J: Do you think there's anything in particular that FNB and EF! have taught each other, or have to teach each other?

KM: Well, I think for instance that EF! doing direct actions out in the woods played a big influence in the FNB movement seeing itself as providing food for movements that weren't about homeless people. So I think in a certain sense, that helped influence us to start sharing food with Native sovereignty issues in different parts of the world. Although we did a little bit of that even at the beginning-we fed Mohawk Nation activists in 1980—but I think that gave more people the idea that a role FNB could play is in feeding resistance movements on a broader scale.



San Francisco police block access to a Food Not Bombs table.

I think also, it seemed to me when San Francisco FNB started, and the way EF! had been previous to that, EF! didn't seem to be so progressive or connected to the left-it seemed actually more like a right-wing kind of movement, even though the goals were something that the left certainly could support overall. But it seemed like the population of people that were participating in EF! were not really-you know, didn't share a lot of the politics that we had, and that there was some mixing of what FNB 1136; www.foodnotbombs.net.

was doing and the idea that we had with the people that were doing EF!. and that moved it more into a kind of a left radical movement instead of a conservative radical movement.

EF!J: Any last thoughts?

KM: The FBI seems to be very interested in FNB in the last year. And the Joint Terrorism Task Forces in Denver and St. Louis and North Carolina have been trying to do what they can to intimidate FNB activists and to get them to stop. But I think it's very important that people see more that the FBI's interest in FNB is actually a compliment, like the FBI's interested in EF!. Because we are effective. And they see us as terrorists, because we are terrorizing the concept of capitalism, not because we use violence

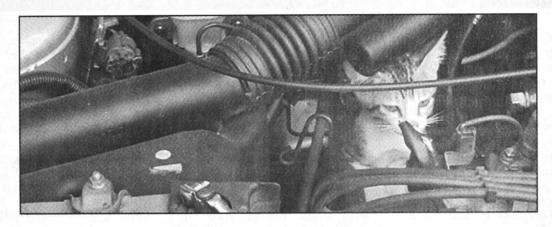
> or anything. As the FBI has kind of indicated in some of its memos and stuff, they're really worried about projects like FNB because many people who aren't activists at all, they come across FNB because it's public, it's in the streets, it's doing outreach to the general public, it's not just organizing amongst other activists, it's trying to really bring in the general community into the activist community and it's been effective at that. People often get their start as an activist by cooking with FNB, and that leads them to learn about all these other social movements.

So I really encourage people to either

organize with their local FNB or start their own chapter. And I encourage other organizations to contact FNB, to invite them to bring free food to their projects and to be able to think of their protest as not having a limitation because people need to go eat or something, but that their actions can last days and days.

For more information about FNB or for free information on how to start a chapter, contact FNB, POB 744, Tucson, AZ 85702; (800) 884-

## Environmental News of the Weird



#### **Fairies Sabotage Building Efforts**

Villagers in St. Fillans, Perthshire, UK, have forced a development company to change locations for a housing scheme because the original site is home to fairies. Genesis Properties had planned to build on the outskirts of the village, on a site that included a large rock in the center of a field. As ground was about to be broken, a neighbor ran over to workers, shouting, "Don't move that rock. You'll kill the fairies!"

The St. Fillans community council was considering lodging a complaint with the planning authority—which usually ends any plans to build in a national park—when Genesis Properties switched locations. "I do believe in fairies," said Jeannie Fox, council chairperson.

#### Biodiesel is Made of Kittens!

A German inventor has retracted claims that he uses dead cats as part of a recipe for biodiesel. Christian Koch had been quoted in several news sources as saying that dead cats, along with old tires and weeds, were an integral part of his mixture. Koch said that a 13-pound cat will yield 0.67 gallons of fuel—which means that about 20 animals are necessary to fill an average tank—and claimed to have driven his car 105,000 miles on his own mixture with no problems. The German Society for the Protection of Animals told Reuters that such use of animals was illegal and pledged to monitor the story.

Biofuels are projected to supply three percent of total Swedish fuel consumption by December, a move that is also powered by dead animals. Swedish Meat processors collect cow entrails, which are then shipped to biogas factories to be stewed to release methane. The gas is used to power public transportation such as the passenger train between Linkoping and Vastervik. The train will cost 20 percent more to fuel with biogas than with diesel, but Carl Lilliehook of Svensk Biogas claims that the cost will be justified by the environmental gains. Linkoping is also home to taxis, garbage trucks, privately-owned cars and 65 public buses that run on biogas.

#### Nature Bites Back: Chinese Bears Eat Man

In October, a man in northeastern China, Han Shigen, was killed and eaten by six bears who he was holding in captivity. The bears were being "farmed" for their bile,

which is harvested for use in a variety of products, including traditional medicines, wine and shampoo, and can fetch up to \$450 a pound in Asian markets, rivaling the prices of some narcotics. The bile is usually harvested by surgically implanting gall bladder catheters or by forcing a hollow steel rod through the bear's abdomen. Han was cleaning the bears' cage when he was attacked; the bears were so enraged that it took two hours to safely remove what was left of his body from the cage.

#### Nature Bites Back: Lions Go Car-Free

Lions in a Merseyside, UK, safari park have been stalking small cars, such as the Smart and Mini Cooper, the size of which may resemble that of typical prey animals such as wildebeest, gazelle and antelope. One group of lionesses in particular has been interested in the compact autos, but reports indicate that the cats show little to no interest in larger vehicles. One Smart was chased by a pack of three or four lions, frightening the occupants—although the park officials insisted that they were in no danger.

"Let's just say they got more of the African experience than they bargained for," said park manager David Ross.

#### Nature Bites Back: Sea Lions Reclaim the Coast

Along the California coast recently, belligerent packs of sea lions have been causing problems for locals. The Newport Harbor Sheriff's office has been receiving at least two noise complaints a day, as the lions' barking is preventing residents from sleeping. "It's like 40 barking dogs—in surround sound," says resident Darci Schriber.

On September 18, sea lions piled onto a 37-foot sailboat, capsizing it. And in Monterey, sea lions have trapped people aboard boats, attacked city workers, and defecated and vomited on docks. In other areas, the lions have attacked swimmers, eaten boogie boards and pulled people off of boats.

California sea lion populations have been estimated at 300,000 to 400,000 since the 1972 Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA)—which made it illegal to kill, injure or harass the creatures—let their numbers rebound from near extinction. The MMPA has frustrated local officials, who are unsure of how to deal with the lions. Failed methods include a fiberglass killer whale, rubber bullets, underwater noises and firecrackers.

### Prisoners in the Struggle: Support Them!

The following list is a small sample of the total number of political prisoners and prisoner support groups worldwide. Regulations for mail sent to prisoners vary according to individual prisons. Before sending monetary donations, stamps, books or packages, ask prisoners what the regulations are. Assume that the authorities read everything that you write to a prisoner. Although many prisoners are listed together, they must be written to separately. The EF! Journal offers discounted subscriptions for prisoners. Please contact us for more information.

#### **Prisoner and Legal Updates**

- •Rod Coronado and Matt Crozier of Chuk'shon EF! were convicted on December 14 of conspiracy and interference in relation to a March 2004 mountain lion hunt sabotage. They are to be sentenced on March 8 and face up to 7.5 years. For more information, visit www.azef.org.
- •Nicole Fink—the girlfriend of police informant Justin Samuel—has been released from prison, where she was being held for refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating an Earth Liberation Front (ELF) arson.
- •Francesco Gioia, C.P. Madrid II, ctra de meco km 5, 28800 Alcalá de Henares Madrid, Spain. A member of the Italian eco-anarchist group *Il Silvestre*, awaiting extradition to Italy to stand trial for allegedly participating in direct action, promoting sabotage and escaping house arrest. Gioia was transferred to the above address after he joined a protest in solidarity with other political prisoners in Spanish jails.
- •Sarah Gisborne, LT5393, HMP Cookham Wood, Rochester, Kent ME1 3LU, England. In October, Gisborne's sentence—for conspiracy to cause criminal damage to vehicles owned by people linked to Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS)—was reduced to 5.5 years.
- •Jan Lawrence, NR7220, HMP Downview, Sutton Ln, Sutton, Surrey SM2 SPD, England. In November, Lawrence was sentenced to eight months for sending threatening letters to people associated with HLS.
- •Ryan Lewis, #4101338 8W312, Sacramento County Main Jail, 651 I St, Sacramento, CA 95814, USA. On October 14, Lewis pleaded guilty to one count of arson and two counts of attempted arson in relation to a series of ELF actions against urban sprawl. He refused to name any other people involved with the arsons and is expected to be sentenced to six years in prison. Lewis' co-defendants—Eva and Lili Holland and Jeremiah Colcleasure—have all named him as being responsible for the arsons. The Holland sisters have both admitted to one count

- of attempted arson and are expected to be sentenced to three years each. They have also agreed to testify against Colcleasure, who denies his own involvement.
- •Keith Mann, KJ9365, HMP Guys Marsh, Shaftesbury, Dorset SP7 0AH, England. Mann was released on October 31 after serving six months for liberating 695 mice and threatening the lab's director in court. In return for early release, he has consented to wear an electronic tag.
- •Christopher "Dirt" McIntosh, #30512-013, FDC Seatac, POB 13900, Seattle, WA 98198, USA. Sentenced on December 15 to eight years for a joint Animal Liberation Front (ALF)/ELF arson against a McDonald's. For more information, visit www.supportchris.org.
- •Mikael, c/o DBF SG, Box 919, 114 79 Stockholm, Sweden. On October 31, Swedish ALF activist Mikael began an eight-month sentence for smashing all the windows at a fur farmer's house and then throwing red paint and a fire extinguisher inside, as well as for defending himself from attack by a group of fur farmers. Mikael reads and writes English.
- •Heather Nicholson, NR7271, HMP Bronzefield, Woodthorpe Rd, Ashford, Middlesex TW15 3JZ, England. On November 11, Nicholson was arrested and charged with using abusive words and behavior toward a fox hunter. Nicholson's supporters point out that fox hunting is illegal in Britain, and therefore the police should be arresting the hunters instead.
- •Saverio Pellegrino, Via Prati Nuovi 7, CAP 27058, Voghera (Pavia), Italy. Pellegrino, one of the Lecce 5, has been transferred to the above address.

#### **Awaiting Trial or Sentencing**

•Jon Ablewhite, TB4885, John Smith, TB4887, and Kerry Whitburn, TB4886, HMP Birmingham, Winson Green Rd, Birmingham B18 4AS, England. Awaiting trial for allegedly attempting to blackmail a farmer who supplied guinea pigs for vivisection.

- •Felipe Arreaga Sánchez, Cárcel Preventiva de Zihuatenejo, Calle Paseo de la Deportiva s/n, Col. Deportiva, Zihuatenejo, Go. CP 40880, Mexico. Awaiting trial on false charges of homicide, as retaliation for his environmental organizing. Arreaga only reads Spanish, but letters in English or German may be sent to him via econoticias@sosbahia.org.
- •Tre Arrow, CS#05850722, Vancouver Island Regional Correction Center, 4216 Wilkinson Rd, Victoria, BC V8Z 5B2, Canada. Awaiting extradition to the US to stand trial for alleged involvement in the arson of logging trucks and an ELF arson of vehicles owned by a sand and gravel company. For more information, visit www.trearrow.org.
- •Amanda Cerezo García, CP Alicante II, Ctra. N-330, km 66, 03400, Villena, Spain. Awaiting trial for allegedly burning a road-construction vehicle. She is also accused of sending a letter bomb to a neo-Nazi politician.
- •Manase Furima and Matius Nasira, Lembaga Pemasyarakatan Manokwari, Jl Sabang No 4, Manokwari, Papua, Indonesia. Awaiting trial for taking part in a road blockade to prevent illegal logging.

#### **Animal Liberation**

- •Dave Blenkinsop, EM7899, HMP Rye Hill, Onley, Warwickshire CV23 8AN, England. Serving 10 years for attacking the managing director of HLS, liberating 600 guinea pigs and planting incendiary devices under slaughterhouse vehicles.
- •Joshua Demmitt, #12314-081, Federal Prison Camp, POB 6000, Sheridan, OR 97378, USA. Serving 2.5 years for an ALF arson on an animal testing facility.

#### **Ecodefense**

- •Marco Camenisch, Postfach 3143, CH-8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland. Serving 27 years for using explosives to target nuclear facility powerlines and for the alleged murder of a Swiss border guard. Camenisch reads French, German, Spanish and Italian fluently. He can also read some English.
- •Ibai Ederra, Carcel de Pamplona, C/ San Roque Apdo 250, 31080-Iruñez Pamplona, Navarra, Spain. Serving nearly five years for sabotaging machinery at the controversial Itoiz dam construction site.
- •Aaron Linas, #38448-083, FMC Butner, POB 1600, Butner, NC 27509, USA.

Serving 3.5 years for a series of ELF actions aimed against a number of targets including McDonald's, Burger King, urban sprawl, the construction industry and an SUV dealership.

•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.

•John Wade, #38548-083, FCI Petersburg Low, Satellite Camp, POB 90027, Petersburg, VA 23804, USA. Serving three years for a series of ELF actions against a number of targets including McDonald's, Burger King, urban sprawl, the construction industry and an SUV dealership.

•Helen Woodson, #03231-045, FMC Carswell Admin Max Unit, POB 27137, Ft. Worth, TX 76127, USA. Serving eight years and 10 months for violating her parole by dumping a cup of red paint over the security apparatus of a federal court and making warnings ("threats") of weapons of mass destruction. In March 2004, Woodson completed 20 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.

#### Indigenous Resistance

•Byron "Oso Blanco" Chubbuck®, #07909-051, USP Beaumont, POB 26030, Beaumont, Texas, North America. Serving 80 years for aggravated assault on federal agents, escape and bank robbery. Chubbuck funneled money that he stole from banks to the Zapatista National Liberation Army in Chiapas, Mexico.

•Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, USP Lewisburg, POB 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837, 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.

#### Lecce 5

The Lecce 5 are awaiting trial, accused of damaging gas pumps in opposition to the war on Iraq, targeting Benetton in support of the Mapuche and damaging an ATM at a bank with links to an immigrant-detention facility. Annalisa Capone is free on bail.

•Marina Ferrari, via XXI aprile, 29 CAP 73042, Casarano (LE), Italy. Under house arrest.

•Cristian Paladini, Via De Mura C2/73100, Lecce, Italy. Under house

•Salvatore Signore, Casa Circondariale di Sulmona, Via Lamaccio 21, 67039 Sulmona (AQ), Italy.

#### Mapuche

The indigenous Mapuche people in Chile are fighting to defend their forests from multinational companies.

•Aniceto Norin Catriman and Pascual Pichun Paillalao, Carcel de Traiguen—Coronel Gregorio Urrutia N° 129, Traiguén, IX Región, Chile. Mapuche *lonkos* (chiefs) serving five years for intimidation and "terrorist arson."

•Víctor Ancalaf Llaupe, Complejo Penitenciario El Manzano Concepción—Dirección, Camino a Penco Nº 450 Casilla 70, Chile. Mapuche leader serving five years for "terrorist arson."

•Jaime Huenchullan Cayul, Juan Carlos Huenulao Tricauko, Florencio Jaime Marileo Saravia, José Patricio Marileo Saravia, José Nain Curamil and Patricia Troncoso Robles, Centro Detención Penitenciaria Pedro Aguirre—Cerda N° 80 y Los Confines s/n°, Angol, IX Región, Chile. Huenchullan is awaiting trial, accused of theft and intimidation. Huenulao is awaiting trial, accused of "terrorist arson." Troconso and the Marileos are serving 10 years for "terrorist arson." Nain, a Mapuche leader, is serving five years for arson.

#### 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.

•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**

•Harjit Singh Gill, #148118-097, 111 Taylor St, San Francisco, CA 94102, USA. Serving six months in a halfway house for lying to a grand jury that was investigating two ALF arsons of McDonald's.

•Robert "Rob los Ricos" Thaxton, #12112716, MCCF, 4005 Aumsville Hwy, Salem, OR 97301, 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 HU 1C, WERDCC, POB 300, Vandalia, MO 63382-0300, 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**

Actions taken during a May 2003 celebration of the end of US military maneuvers on Vieques, Puerto Rico, led to the conviction of several activists for conspiracy to destroy federal property.

•José Pérez González, #21519-069, Federal Prison Camp, POB 725, Edgefield, SC 29824-0725, USA. Serving five years.

•José Vélez Acosta, #23883-069, Federal Correctional Complex, US Penitentiary, POB 1033, Coleman, FL 33521-1033, USA. Serving two years and nine months.

#### **Prisoner Support Groups**

•Books through Bars, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Philadelphia, PA 19143, USA; www.booksthroughbars.org.

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

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

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

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

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



# Statement to the Court

BY PETER YOUNG

On September 2, Peter Young pleaded guilty to two counts under the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act relating to the release of more than 8,000 mink from fur farms. On November 8, he was sentenced to two years in prison. Because Young is currently in the "transfer process," in which he is repeatedly moved be-

tween prisons with little warning before finally being placed at a permanent location, he must currently be written to via letters@supportpeter.com. For more information, visit www.supportpeter.com.

The following is Young's statement to the court at his sentencing. As Young did a large amount of improvisation, what follows is an approximation based on his notes and the memory of supporters in the courtroom.

This is the customary time when the defendant expresses regret for the crimes they committed. So let me do that, because I am not without my regrets. I am here today to be sentenced for my participation in releasing mink from six fur farms. I regret that it was only six. I'm also here today to be sentenced for my participation in the freeing of 8,000 mink from those farms. I regret that

it was only 8,000. It is my understanding that of those six farms, only two of them have since shut down. I regret that it was only two.

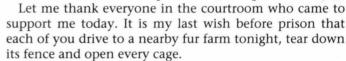
More than anything, I regret my restraint—because whatever damage we did to those businesses, if those

farms were left standing and one animal was left behind, then it wasn't enough.

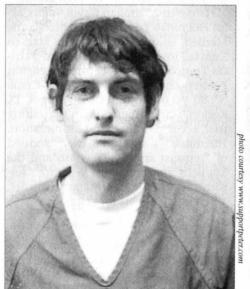
I don't wish to validate this proceeding by begging for mercy or appealing to the conscience of the court, because I know that if this system had a conscience, I would not be here, and in my place would be all the butchers, vivisectors and fur farmers of the world.

Just as I will remain unbowed before this court-which would see me imprisoned for an act of conscience—I will also deny the fur farmers in the room the pleasure of seeing me bow down before them. To those people here whose sheds I may have visited in 1997, let me tell you directly for the first time: It was a pleasure to raid your farms and to free those animals you held captive. It is those animals I answer to, not you or this court. I will forever mark those nights on your property as the most rewarding experience of my life.

And to those farmers or other savages who may read my words in the future and smile at my fate, just remember: We have put more of you into bankruptcy than you have put liberators into prison. Don't forget that.



That's all.



Peter Young

### Oregon Ecodefense Prisoners Freed

On December 6, Stephen Marshall and Charles Jordan pleaded guilty to "improper storage of dynamite," a misdemeanor, were fined \$25 and released. They appeared with their court-appointed attorneys in front of Judge Garr M. King, who dropped all the other charges against them. While the charge carried a maximum sentence of one year in jail, the district attorney had only recommended six months. Both men are now free on time served. Marshall will be staying at the Washington County Restitution Center for six months of post-prison supervision. Jordan had been released to a halfway house by a

judge's order in August, and he is now staying with family members. Neither man was sentenced to probation.

In October 2004, Marshall and Jordan were squatting an abandoned farmhouse in Hillsboro, Oregon, that had electricity but no running water. The house was raided by the Hillsboro Police Department, in response to a trespassing call made by neighbors. During their search of the house, police found dynamite in the basement and a bowl containing nitroglycerin. The dynamite is said to have come from a nearby barn, discovered during a more intensive search of the property. Marshall and Jordan were

originally accused of planning to destroy vehicles and equipment belonging to Morse Bros., a company that runs quarries throughout Oregon and operates a concrete materials and tool business.

Both men accuse Morse Bros. of polluting Rock Creek, which flows from the Tualatin Mountains to the Tualatin River. Rock Creek and its tributaries pass through rapidly urbanizing neighborhoods within the cities of Hillsboro and Beaverton, making water quality a vital issue.

The political aspect of Marshall and Jordan's intentions were not discussed in court.

# John Timoney Strikes Again

### Miami Adopts Counterinsurgency Tactics Against Citizens

BY ATLATL

On November 28, the Miami, Florida, police department unveiled "Operation Miami Shield," a plan supposedly intended to thwart terrorism through random and public displays of police force. The plan is brought to the people of Miami by Police Chief John Timoney, the same man who directed the brutal, counterinsurgency-style campaign against those protesting the Free Trade Area of the Americas Summit in 2003.

The basic principle of Operation Miami Shield is to keep people guessing. The police may dispatch small patrols of uniformed and plainclothes officers to randomly walk through high-traffic pedestrian areas like malls and subways. These officers may close off certain areas or demand to see identification and search particular people. On the more extreme end, officers might surround a bank, call out the manager and lecture everyone inside about good counterterrorism practices. The amount of time that officers spend at any given place will vary, from minutes to hours, and the operations will take place at all hours of the day and night.

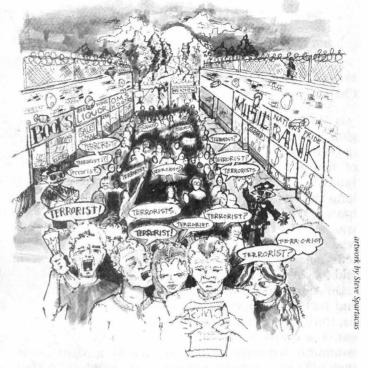
"People are definitely going to notice it," Deputy Police Chief Frank Fernandez said. "We want that shock. We want that awe. But at the same time, we don't want people to feel their rights are being threatened. We need them to be our eyes and ears."

That's right, because the other component of Operation Miami Shield is surveillance. Police may conduct long-term surveillance operations on high-traffic public areas to identify who is present, and when. But more importantly, they hope to enlist regular citizens into becoming a civilian spy force. Another crucial tactic of Miami Shield is... fliering. And giving out free pens.

The Miami police want everyone to have an Operation Miami Shield flier, business card or brochure, with information about who to call if they detect something suspicious. The police want to train local businesspeople to report... well, it's not clear what, but presumably whatever the police want to know about. And the pens? Those display the email address for the department's homeland security division: homelandsecurity@miami-police.org.

Reports are mixed as to whether random ID searches or detentions will be involved in Operation Miami Shield; police now deny it, but it's not clear why anyone would voluntarily take time out of their day to be lectured about terrorism if they really felt free to leave.

In one sense, the plan is absurd and deserves a good laugh—but in another, it is deeply disturbing. No serious terrorist or criminal (or direct-action activist, for that matter) is going to be foiled by police grandstanding. It doesn't take a genius to figure out that the police simply *cannot* be everywhere, and a plainclothes officer riding a bus isn't going to stop a suicide bomber from flicking a switch—unless maybe the cop has X-Ray vision.



The obvious target of Operation Miami Shield is the public—or, more specifically, the public's *psyche*. On the one hand, the police want people to get used to public shows of police force, and to accept it as a normal part of everyday life, the price you pay for safety.

At the same time, Operation Miami Shield mimics a crucial part of the counterinsurgency warfare tactic that the US military calls Low Intensity Conflict. Under this model, employed most notoriously in Latin America, military and paramilitary/police units set out to degrade people's quality of life, thus sapping their energy and destroying their will to resist the powers that be. Random searches and overt displays of paramilitary force are an essential part of convincing the people that the police are all-seeing and irresistible. They foster a sense of oppression among those who are hostile to government interests, creating stress and depression and making people less capable of organizing revolutionary movements.

It's a win-win situation for the cops: you make some people feel safer and thereby identify with you more strongly, while you simultaneously make the people who oppose you feel under siege, wearing them down psychologically.

"We want people to feel they can go about their normal course of business, but we want them to be aware," said Mary Ann Viverette, president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Of course. Go about your business, but never forget that the police are everywhere.

Atlatl actually believes that we can overthrow this ecocidal system, but only if we take its armed forces very seriously.

# International Earth First! Organizers' Conference and Winter Rendezvous

February 15-20 • Palm Beach County, South Florida

BY THE 2006 OC ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Is Winter in your bioregion a time of rest, a lull in activity in acceptance of nature's cycles? Maybe February is the peak of a long and frigid season that has you curious about what your bare skin looks like, or what it was like to have full sensation in your fingers and toes?

Down here in the swamps and beaches of south Florida, things are a little different: The ocean is a perfect

swimming temperature; the community gardens are in their full glory; with the mosquitoes at bay, it's the perfect time for hikes through the pine flatwoods, cypress swamps and dwindling scrub lands; what's left of local citrus trees offers a fresh-squeezed, daily immune-system boost; and our season of kicking ass against developers and venture capitalists is just about to reach its climax.

We're inviting you out of hibernation and back out onto the frontlines! It's that time of the year again, when the EF! network gathers up to hash out crucial movement decisions and direction, party its brains into mush and then invigorate the hosting bioregion with some badass action(s). So start making your travel plans and affinity group schemes.

#### Location and Schedule

The Organizers' Conference (OC) will take place in the swamps of the Everglades' northwestern border, along the Hungryland Slough. Organizing meetings will be February 15-17 at the Everglades Youth Camp inside the J.W. Corbett Wildlife Management Area, which has full facilities including cabin options, a swimming hole and, uh... alligators. Friday night will be the traditional "Night To Howl!" gathering of the Warrior Poets Society, so bring poems, songs and stories to share. The weekend will continue on a primitive campsite as the Winter Rendezvous and fiesta. Bring your workshops, music, and hiking gear... and plan on sticking around, potentially, for a following week of actions.

#### **International Invite**

South Florida is a very accessible location for international travel and is a social hotspot for global commerce and



Gators abound in south Florida.

politics. For several years, the globalization movement has influenced (and been influenced by) EF!, but rarely has it been possible to dialogue with eco-radicals in other parts of the world-especially the majority-world movements that have been inspiring direct-action efforts within the US empire. For these reasons, the invitation is being put out to help bring folks from other countries' radical environmental movements and indigenous struggles here for the OC and Winter Rendezvous.

#### What to Bring

We are requesting a \$25-50 donation to cover the costs of the gathering, and any extra to help with travel compensation (plus sending a few bucks to our neighbors in Katúah for the Summer Rendezvous). If your bioregion knows that it will need assistance, please get in touch ASAP. Also, we want to encourage people to bust out that old stack of *EF! Journals* and review the past years' OC write-ups before coming down. If you don't have access to some old timer's archives in your area, get in touch and we'll send copies of the past several years-worth. Bring basic camping gear and food. Please notify the planning committee soon if you will be needing childcare or have any other needs.

#### What's on the table for the EF! OC?

There have been a couple of ideas for OC topics kicked around in the network-at-large, and there are also some ideas that, as the hosting region, we would like to see attention given to. Last year's OC seems to have been a more reflective, inner-growth and recovery-focused conference. So this year, we are reaching toward the other end of the spectrum and will be oriented toward movement strategy and vision on the broader scale.

Below are some of the topics likely to end up on the final agenda (to be hashed out the Tuesday night before the OC and confirmed at the Wednesday morning opening circle).

Reports from the *EF! Journal*: This is a standard subject of *EF!* gatherings, but there are some recent happenings in the eco-radical publishing world that might make for interesting discussions/proposals. For example, two prominent movement publications, *Wild Earth* and *Do or Die*, have

ceased production, while newer projects such as *Green Anarchy* have grown in circulation and recognition. Does this influence how the *EF! Journal* should focus its content?

Evaluating strategies, tools and tactics: In the past year and a half, an article/proposal "Down with the Empire! Up with the Spring!" (from *Do or Die*, Issue 10) has been circulating the eco-anarchist networks. Essentially, it is promoting the Hotspot Theory as a global ecodefense/indigenous solidarity strategy and a Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty-style tactical approach for its grassroots application. Is it the most coherent vision of movement direction since EF! first promoted wilderness corridors for North American biodiversity restoration more than 20 years ago, or is it too rigid, lofty and spoiled with corporate/NGO influence? The original article(s) can be found at eco-action.org/dod/no10/empire.htm.

Examining our visions and aspirations: For the duration of EF!, the perspectives of deep ecology have been

a driving and unifying factor of the movement. In the past decade, an anarchistic worldview has had a growth spurt within EF!. Certain elements of anarchy have, of course, been there all along, but most would agree that a shift of some sort appears to be occurring. In certain ways, it is as cultural as it is ideological. The "green anarchy" tendency still seems to reflect the principles of deep ecology but also brings some of its own aspirations, visions of a future world and ideas of how we might get there. Is the growing energy around the Feral Visions/ Green Anarchy gatherings evidence of that? What, if anything, does that mean

Review of state repression: How has the antiterrorist legislation of the past several years affected EF! and related groups? How have folks been effective in fighting back?

for EF! as a "movement?"

Anti-oppression check-in: How have racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia and other oppressive tendencies been manifesting themselves in our organizing and direct-action efforts? How are people challenging them successfully? Are there still anti-immigrant sentiments in our midst? How can we expose them and send 'em on their way for good?

Bioregional/international roundup: What are people up to within the EF! network, the environmental direct-action movement and its extended web of affinity? How do we fit into the bigger picture? Where are our strengths and weaknesses? Whose

campaigns could use some extra hands, who has hands to spare? We can also expect a direct update from the Alternative Social Forum in Venezuela.

Evening presentations: We, as a planning committee, will try to arrange evening presentations from organizations and/or individuals for Wednesday and Thursday night. If you have ideas on who this should be (and can help make arrangements), please get in touch as soon as possible.

#### Winter Rendezvous!

The Winter Rendezvous, February 18-20, is a time to kick back, enjoy each others' company, inspire each other with our skillshares and workshops, eat damn good food and revel in the good times so that we can more clearly know what kind of relationships with people and with the land that we are fighting for in our day-to-day lives.

There is a growing list of workshops in the works, but you can expect to see some of the following topics pop-up over the weekend. From Defensive to Offen-

Fighting Gentrification: Connecting with Community-Led Urban Land Struggles; Probing the Techno-Nightmare: Bio, Nano, Robo, Cellular, etc.; Primitive Skillshares; Plant Walks; Indigenous Solidarity in North America; Coastal Ecology Issues; A Radical Look At Climate,

sive: Resisting Ecocide in Latin America;

Energy and the Eco-Intifada; Defending Ancient
Forests in the Pacific Northwest; Kicking Mountaintop
Removal Out of Appalachia; Community Gardens: Claiming Space
for Nature in the Heart

of the Beast; Earth and

Animal Liberation Prisoner Support; Exploring the Deeper Effects of Civilization on Our Bodies and Communities; and Making Your Own Homebrew.

Also, anyone who has been attending recent EF! gatherings knows that there has been a lull in musician participation, so tell

your friends to bring their songs and instruments. We're not gonna promise Utah Phillips or anything (of course you're invited, Utah, we just don't wanna get all the hopes up. Maybe you can make it a surprise this time!), but we are hoping that some of the newer generation of radical folkies who have been rousing the rabble in the streets will come serenade us in the swamps, too.

For more information and to find out about ongoing campaigns in south Florida, contact the 2006 EF! OC Committee, POB 961, Lake Worth, FL 33460; (561) 547-6686; jeagaearthfirst@riseup. net; www.earthfirst2006oc.info.

# announce



### Support Chris McIntosh T-Shirts Available

Eco-prisoner Chris McIntosh's support campaign is selling t-shirts to raise money for his commissary account and support fees. The t-shirts are printed with red, yellow, black or green ink (your choice!) and have the words "I ♥ Chris McIntosh." Shirts are \$10, and please don't forget to specify size and color.

Also, newly released is a zine containing more than 20 pages of original writings and artwork from McIntosh. You can order one for a donation of \$2.

To order a shirt or zine, send money to the Chris McIntosh Support Fund, POB 8943, Collingswood, NJ 08108; supportchris@riseup.net; www.supportchris.org.

### Treaty Conference February 9-12

The International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) will hold its Annual Treaty Conference at the "Redbay Stronghold" Grounds, hosted by the Independent Traditional Seminole Nation of Florida (ITSNF).

Since 1974, the IITC has worked to build indigenous unity, address human rights violations threatening indigenous peoples' survival and achieve international recognition for indigenous peoples' rights.

The ITSNF has maintained its traditions, culture, language and sovereign way of life though many years of struggles. The conference will support the efforts of the ITSNF and indigenous nations around the world to protect their homelands and traditional territories, subsistence practices and ecosystems, and to safeguard their traditional cultures, ceremonial practices and languages for future generations. Workshops, presentations on critical human rights issues and traditional cultural programs will be presented.

The conference site is on 2,600 acres located near the community of Ft. Drum, Florida, 25 miles northwest of Okeechobee, about an hour's drive south of Orlando and about four hours drive north of Miami. Registration is free of charge.

For more information, visit www.treatycouncil.org.

Anarchist People of Color Conference March 3-5 · Houston, Texas

The Anarchist People of Color (APOC) Conference is scheduled for March 3-5, 2006, in Houston, Texas. It was previously postponed due to a myriad of urgent circumstances such as the Katrina hurricane disaster.

Anarchist people of color have a great need to figure out how to build solid networks, foundations and goals; engage in a critical analysis; create strategies; and define common visions and goals.

Houston is one of the Southwest's most diverse cities, with a majority black and Latino population and robust Spanish-language media and resources. It also has a rich oppressed-people's history, including the Camp Logan Rebellion (where black soldiers clashed with police in 1917) and Moody Park Riot (the 1979 uprising in response to the murder of Jose Campos Torres).

As with past conferences, the Houston event is only open to people of color. Those sympathetic to the conference are encouraged to offer political support, solidarity and deep and honest understanding. Anarchist and autonomous movements of color are encouraged to attend. People of color interested in what APOC has to say are welcome, whether they agree with anarchism or not (although obviously, those wishing to disrupt the conference are not welcome).

Registration fees will cover food, materials and other expenses to put on the conference. No one will be turned away because they do not have resources to pay; the organizers only ask that you be honest about your situation. At this point, there is a small amount for helping attendees defray costs, but it is limited.

Housing in Houston's communities of color will probably be provided for attendees on a first-come, first-served basis. Although organizers will do everything possible to provide housing for all attendees, pre-registration is necessary, and housing for those who don't pre-register is not guaranteed.

This conference will provide childcare. You are also welcome to bring your little one along with you to sessions. Facilities will be equipped for those with different needs. If you have particular needs that go above and beyond things like wheelchairs and visual aids, please note it in your comments on the registration form.

For more information, contact APOC-Houston, POB 667110, Houston, TX 77266-7110; conference@illegalvoices.org; www.illegalvoices.org.

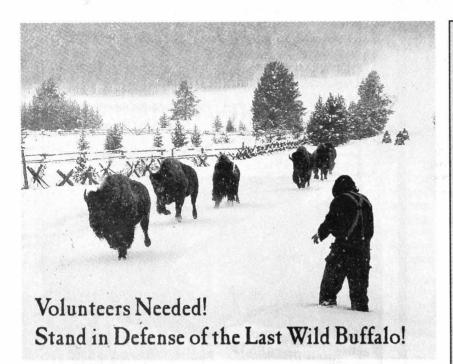








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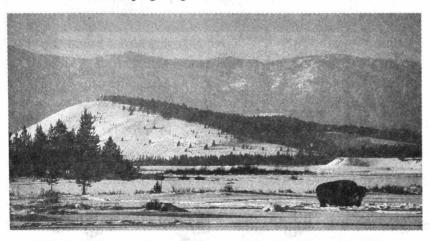
If you are serious about wanting to help protect the last wild herd of buffalo in the US, please join the Buffalo Field Campaign (BFC) on the frontlines. BFC is the only group living and working in the Yellowstone ecosystem full time, on patrol all day, every day that buffalo are in danger. BFC patrols defend the buffalo on their critical, native Montana habitat and document every move made against them.

Volunteers are greatly needed during the Winter, when the buffalo migrate to lower elevation in search of forage, and the Spring, when the mothers venture to their traditional calving grounds outside the park. Any buffalo outside the park is in danger of being shot, hazed, or captured and slaughtered.

All volunteers are provided room and board. We respect vegan and vegetarian diets. We are located in a warm log cabin by beautiful Hebgen Lake, just a few miles outside of West Yellowstone, Montana.

There are many jobs to choose from—patrols, cabin projects, educational projects, etc. Patrols are done with cars, skis or snowshoes. If you do not know how to ski or snowshoe, do not fret, we will teach you.

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



### Call to Action Against Animal Torture Center!

Oxford University in Oxford, England, has started work on an animal torture center ("primate research lab") that was previously brought to a halt in July 2004. SPEAK (formerly Stop Primate Experiments at Cambridge, SPEAC) has always expected this day to come, and is neither surprised nor unprepared for the battle ahead.

This is just the beginning of the next stage of the battle. In phase one, the animal rights movement worldwide took on the might of Oxford University, the pharmaceutical industry and the British government, and defeated them. Now it is time to redouble the efforts to defeat them once again.

Oxford University can rest assured that SPEAK will never go away, will never give up as long as the new animal torture center stands. Even if it takes years, SPEAK will be highlighting the university's lies and animal abuse. SPEAK will follow its every move, and nothing it does will escape notice.

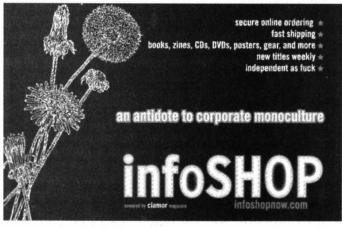
No matter where you are in the world, you can help in this fight. The next year's campaign promises to be hard fought, and SPEAK will oppose Oxford University every inch of the way.

Let the battle begin.

For more information, contact SPEAK, POB 6712, Northampton, NN2 6XR, England; www.speakcampaigns.org.uk.







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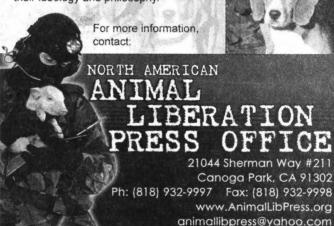
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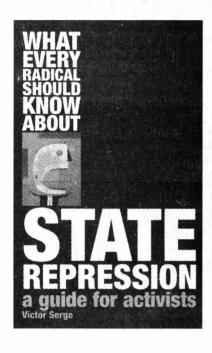
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# Simple Advice to Revolutionaries



BY SOLEDAD

What Every Radical Should Know About State Repression: A Guide for Activists by Victor Serge, Ocean Press, 2005.

The radical environmental movement is under attack by police surveillance, political repression, infiltration and provocation. Is the intensity of this attack a reflection of the vulnerability of contemporary capital? Are individual attacks merely moves in a larger game, within which our own organizations and actions have become pawns? Does our own fear of surveillance increase the likelihood that our organizations will collapse?

We are not the first movement to grapple with these questions. In planning our security train-

ings, deciding what level of paranoia is most appropriate and implementing strategies to respond to repression, lessons learned in other communities and movements must be consulted.

Ocean Press has re-released Victor Serge's 1926 What Every Radical Should Know About State Repression: A Guide for Activists, with a new introduction by Dalia Hashad of the American Civil Liberties Union. In this still-timely treatise, Serge recounts the training and strategies used by the Tsarist military police in their surveillance, infiltration and provocation of Russian radicals. He provides "simple advice" to revolutionaries, analyzes when and how repression is effective, and presents the strategies that he believes revolutionary movements should respond with. We would do well to take some of that "simple advice" to heart.

Some parts of this book are more useful to our movement than others. Read the preface. Read the section entitled "Simple Advice to Revolutionaries." Read Chapter Two, "The Problem of Illegality." While our movement responds to increased repression by an increasing retreat to legal actions and civil disobedience, Serge offers an eloquent defense of illegality. The laws, after all, are designed to

represent the interests that we oppose. To respect their laws is to accept defeat and betray our own revolutionary tendencies. Yet to ignore their laws would be folly. Rather, Serge argues, we need to view those laws as a "purely material obstacle" to our cause. We need to cease fetishizing legality, while maintaining a strategic awareness of it.

You will need to read through the lines of the revolutionary Marxism that structures much of Serge's thought. For example, Serge argues that even when faced with severe repression, revolutionaries are invincible, as the laws of history are on our side. I maintain no teleological faith in the historical inevitability of Marxist or ecological victory. Yet, Serge credits this very confidence, as much as any historical inevitability, for revolutionary triumph in the face of adversity. Do we, perhaps, need more confidence in the possibility of our own victory to face the fears and challenges posed by increased police repression? In Heartcheck, Jeff Luers and Rob Thaxton challenge us to move outside of our own comfort levels. We need, they perceive, to risk it all for the change we desire to see. Perhaps that risk is more easily taken if we cultivate faith in our ability to win, rather than the cynical defeatism that is currently so prevalent in our movement.

# Ask an EF! Lawyer

He's Working on Your Side!

BY STU SUGARMAN

Dear EF! Lawyer,

What is going on with the criminal defense of the people caught up in recent FBI sweeps? [Editors' note: see article on page 3]
—Standing by the Righteous

Dear Righteous,

Right now, people are talking with lawyers, and at least one defendant has retained high-powered counsel. Other defendants and witnesses without funds are using federal public defenders or panel attorneys to help them. Some activists are trying to unite different defendants and grand jury witnesses so that there will be less confusion and more unity of knowledge and tactics amongst them. However, we probably won't know what defense strategies will be employed until motions are filed or matters are heard in court.

Federal public defenders' offices are well staffed, well funded and highly specialized. They know what they're doing. Panel attorneys—private attorneys hired by the state to defend indigent clients—are typically regarded as the best and most experienced lawyers, period. People using federal public defenders or panel attorneys are not lacking in any way for legal skill, experience or resources.

Do you have a legal question? Contact Stu Sugarman, c/o Walker, Warren and Watkins, 838 SW 1st Ave, Ste 500, Portland, OR 97204; quixote516@yahoo.com. Please write "Dear EF! Lawyer" in the subject line.



# Trinkets and Snake Oil

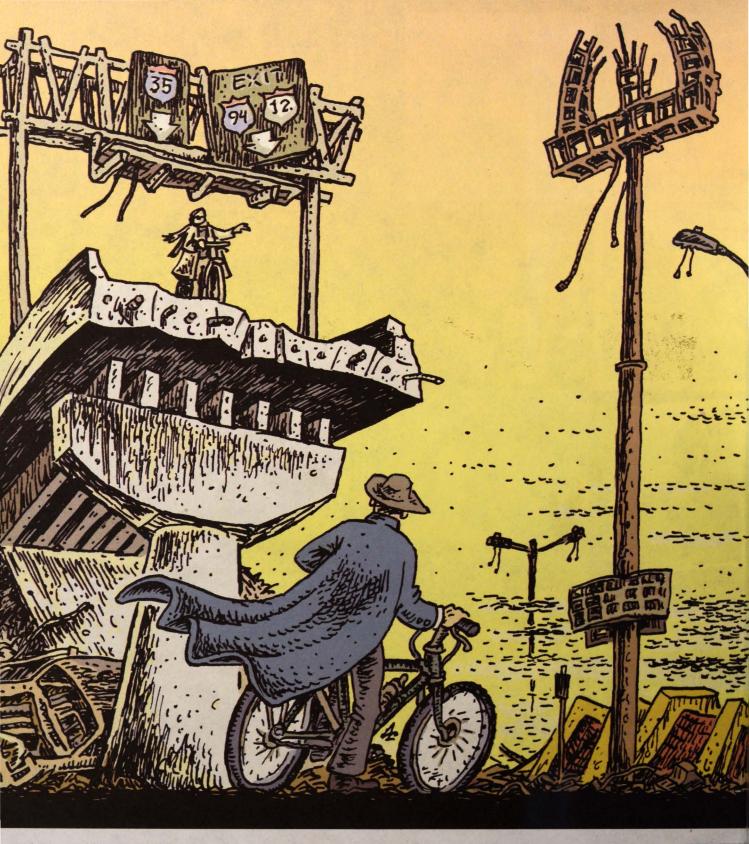
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-Ethan Miller

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