



Suggested citation: Josh, Rodin, Sophia, and Texas, eds., *Earth First!* 28, no. 5 (1 July 2008). Republished by the Environment & Society Portal, Multimedia Library. <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/5289>

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# Earth First!

Lughnasadh July-August 2008

\$4.50 US & Canada

## Eric McDavid IS SENTENCED TO NEARLY 20 YEARS

BY SACRAMENTO PRISONER SUPPORT

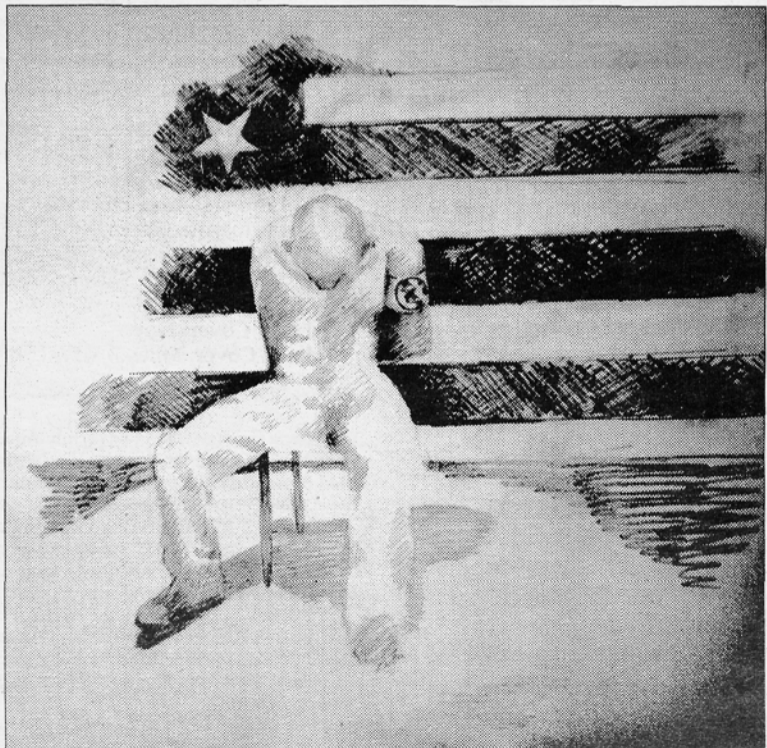
**I**N THE EARLY AFTERNOON OF MAY 8, a crowd of committed friends and supporters filed into the federal courthouse in Sacramento, California. After stressful and frustrating delays since Eric McDavid's trial in September, sentencing was finally happening. When we arrived at the courtroom, we were met by a row of federal marshals and a white sign taped to the door, informing us that "by order of the court" there would be no electronic devices allowed in the courtroom. This was the justification for the hand-held metal-detector search everyone had to undergo before entering the courtroom, as well as the complete search of any bags carried into the courtroom. All of this was despite the fact that everyone had to go through a similar search downstairs upon entry into the courthouse.

The seats behind the defense table quickly filled, forcing Eric's supporters to spill over into the prosecution's side of the room. As usual, the marshals did not allow anyone to sit in the row directly behind the defense table—other than four FBI agents who formed a wall between Eric and his loved ones.

It was clear from the beginning of the hearing that everything had already been decided. The judge was simply going through the motions of hearing oral arguments about each of the issues raised by Eric and his attorney. Every time, the judge deferred to the prosecution. He offered a minor concession, allowing Eric's family members to speak in his favor. Eric's parents' and sisters' defense was strong and passionate, illuminating his compassion and love for life and all creatures. They showed great courage and strength—something that apparently runs in the family.

After they spoke, the assistant US attorney simply reasserted that he did not believe Eric is the person his family thinks him to be. Coming from someone who has never even spoken with Eric, but who has worked tirelessly for 2.5 years to send him to federal prison, these are empty words.

*continued on page 28*



artwork courtesy Penny



photo courtesy Roadblock EFI

*Indiana wilds out in the trees.*

## I-69 TREESIT BEGINS: AN UPDATE ON RESISTANCE IN SOUTHERN INDIANA

BY ROADBLOCK EARTH FIRST!

**C**ONSTRUCTION on Interstate 69 looms closer every day. Already, four Hoosier families have been evicted and their homes demolished. With contracts for construction signed and clearing all but complete for the first two miles of the proposed route, the state has placed its pieces into position and is poised to move. The creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement superhighway is about to begin, fulfilling the dreams of international trade strategists everywhere.

On May 19, an autonomous group based in Indiana, raised the first anti-I-69 treesit at the north end of the area slated for construction this Summer. This marks the beginning of the land occupation phase of resistance to this infrastructure project. The police response was initially quite heavy, with multiple agencies swarming the scene in cars and helicopters. However, as of June 12, all is going well at the sit. Confrontations with police have been held to a minimum, and support from the locals has grown with each passing day. There has been constant ground occupation below the sit since it was initially raised. Off site, there have been two rounds of home demos at the houses of construction company Gohmann Asphalt and Construction executives. There have

also been demos against the Michael J. Baker design firm in both Fredrick, Maryland, and Bloomington, Indiana.

The treesit was raised at a time when local I-69 opposition efforts were growing strong. In late April, more than 25 landowners from the first 13-mile section of the proposed route gathered together to discuss the initiation of a "no-sell" pledge. The pledge would force the state to exercise eminent domain against the landowners, bogging the state down in the court system and costing it precious time and money.

In this climate of increased action and organizing, and with construction to begin any day now, Roadblock Earth First! issues a call to any and all individuals and affinity groups to come to southern Indiana and fight this monstrous road project.

While we hope that you and your affinity group will be able to stay long-term and participate in the resistance movement, we recognize that there are dozens of other important projects going on all over the country. For this reason, we have created the X-69 Shutdown Schedule. This shutdown calendar is a way for affinity groups to commit to shutting down construction for a day, with the hope that enough groups will sign up to shut down construction for an entire month.

*continued on page 12*

# Earth First!

The Radical Environmental Journal

Lughnasadh July-August 2008

## THE CARROT OF OUR STONE SOUP

For a while after I started working at the *Earth First! Journal* in Summer 2006, it was hard for me to tell if the world was suddenly more aware of environmental issues or if it just seemed that way because I was so deeply immersed in an environmentalist community. By now I realize that yes, indeed, the "outside" world seems to have leapt into a whirlwind of not quite ecological awareness, but a more trendy "green" awareness—one of green capitalism, green consumerism, easy fixes, and anything but biocentrism.

The *Journal* publishes strategies from environmental activists, rabble-rousers, treehuggers and various stripes of anarchists about how to fix the Earth for its own sake, not for further exploitation by humans. Many of us are aware that what's good for the Earth is what's best for humans—after all, we come from the Earth, even if we are currently breaking all the rules. But we are drawn to radical ecology because we believe that living systems beyond humans have the right to exist, to prosper. We know that drinking from fuel-conserving ecoplastic won't save the sea turtles and that growing biofuel won't save the rainforests. Rather than stifling our dissent with carbon credits and solar panels, we must fuel our convictions with the realities of global warming—mass extinctions and destroyed bioregions—and construct from the bottom up an ecology-based future.

Now that the mainstream media, corporations and government have been forced to acknowledge that the global ecological crisis is real, they have done everything in their power to co-opt public energy and awareness with green capitalism, and to destroy actual steps toward ecological action with increasingly fascistic tendencies and devastating terms like "ecoterrorist."

It seems absurd that as we teeter on the edge of ecological crisis, people are willing to listen to the suddenly concerned corporate and government authorities, and to play into their green capitalist plot. We need to be there to remind one another that the

choice between one green product and another isn't a choice at all.

We must also focus on making ecological thought high in the consciousness of all allied movements. Just as it's essential to tie social justice into environmental movements, it's essential to make ecology a pressing issue for other radical movements. Since we need a systemic change to resolve this global crisis, we need other movements to be on board, to fully comprehend ecological exploitation and devastation. The struggle against capitalism cannot be based on any form of consumerism, even green consumerism. Without an end to all exploitation, including the Earth's, no one and nothing can be liberated.

Whether you believe that revolution, revelation or collapse must come first, we need to work on strategizing in this age of globalized environmental crisis. What is our goal, and how do we get there? We could focus on guerilla gardening or on monkey-wrenching civilization; on building a large-scale radical movement based on socially empowering values or on blockading shareholders' meetings. Bikes. Free states. Sabotage. We must think critically about what has and hasn't worked to incite change in the past, and what will work now.

The media is overwhelmed with green reformist crap. Yet we have to struggle every other month to put out the *Journal*. The *Journal* still doesn't compromise with corporate interests. It is still a place to hash out strategies and actions. This is our *Journal*. It's a publication based on us radical environmentalists. But it is also our responsibility. The *Journal* needs subscriptions, it needs authors, it needs funds, it needs editors. Step it up a bit and work here for a while—we are severely understaffed.

The *Journal* can be that first carrot (after the essential but flavorless stone) in a proverbial stone soup. We can be a jumping-off point for a positive feedback loop. We will start by hashing out ideas. Soon we'll have strategies in place. Then, we'll share victories, and finally, we'll forge our way across the battleground to a healed planet.

—SOPHIA

## Earth First!

Lughnasadh

July 1, 2008

Vol. 28, No. 5

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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 tenth 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.

ISSN 1055-8411 *Earth First!* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. *Earth First!* is recorded on microfilm by ProQuest, Inc.

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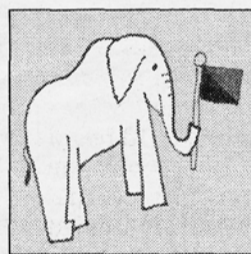
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Front Cover: Emy  
Back Cover: Miles

*Earth First!* (ISSN 1055-8411) July-August 2008, Volume 28, Issue 5, is published bimonthly by Daily Planet Publishing, 3280 E Hemisphere Lp, Ste 180, Tucson, AZ 85706. US Subscriptions are \$25. Outside the US, subscriptions are \$40 to Mexico and Canada, and \$50 everywhere else. Send subscriptions to PO Box 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702. Periodicals Postage Paid at Tucson, Arizona. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Earth First!*, PO Box 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702-3023.



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# Coast Salish Blockade Supports Mohawk Occupation

BY ANGE STERRIT

On April 28—as Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) yet again surrounded Mohawk warriors in Tyendinaga, on the eastern side of the continent—about 70 mainly indigenous people gathered on the western side, on Coast Salish Territory in Vancouver, British Columbia. Elders armed with medicines and drums led the people, while Coast Salish warriors flew Mohawk warrior flags in solidarity on the perimeter of the march. Mothers and fathers, children and youths, elders and warriors chanted, “OPP out of Tyendinaga,” and, “OPP out of Six Nations,” as they marched from a park to a busy intersection and blockaded it for two and a half hours in rush hour traffic.

The blockade was in response to an incident on April 25, when OPP surrounded a gravel quarry in Tyendinaga on Mohawk Territory, in so-called Ontario, Canada. The OPP demanded the surrender of the Mohawks who had been occupying the quarry. News broadcasts failed to report that a young man had both his arms broken by police and that police guns were pointed at Mohawk children. At the center of the dispute is the Culbertson Tract, land that rightfully belongs to the Mohawks but now contains the destructive gravel quarry. Community members have been occupying the quarry site for more than a year.

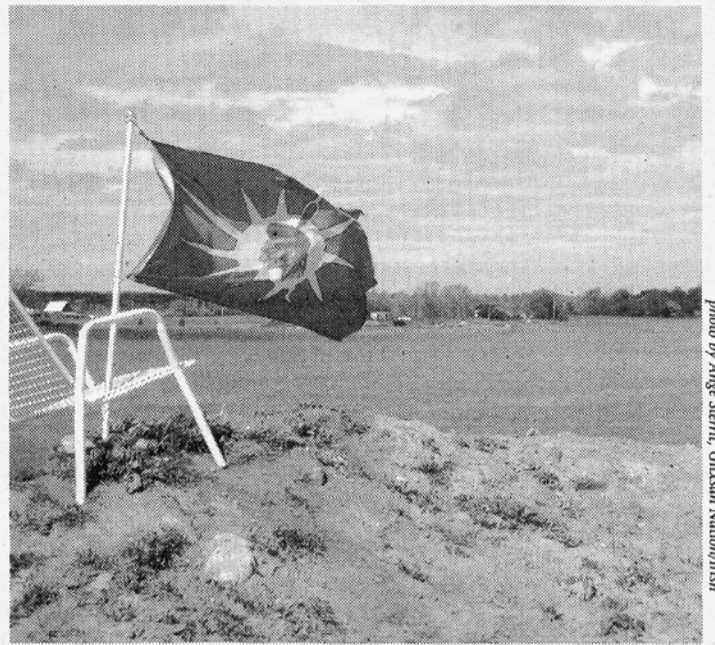
On April 27, six indigenous people protecting the Tyendinaga area were imprisoned, bringing to 13 the total number of indigenous people jailed there for defending their land.

On the same day, almost 200 miles west of Tyendinaga, people of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory showed support for the Tyendinaga Mohawks by blockading Highway 6, a major Canadian road, for several hours. They too have faced arrests, violations and repression by the Canadian government for protecting their lands.

The location of the April 28 blockade on Coast Salish Territory is known as the Clark-Knight Corridor Whole Route. It was chosen for its role as Vancouver's primary arterial for transporting goods (stolen and exploited from indigenous lands). The 3,000 trucks using the corridor each day make Clark-Knight the most important truck route in the city. The corridor also links the Vancouver port and industrial areas on the north side of the city with industrial areas in south Vancouver, Richmond, Delta, Surrey and beyond via Highways 91 and 99. The Port of Vancouver is Canada's biggest port; each year it trades \$43 billion in goods stolen from indigenous lands with more than 90 trading economies. In addition, trucking is Canada's dominant freight mode, accounting for an estimated 70 percent of domestic shipments by value. In short, blocking the Clark-Knight Corridor significantly disrupts economic development in Canada.

The April 28 blockade was not only symbolically effective but also economically disruptive. Money and greed are the heart and heartbeat of Canada, so such an action was guaranteed to make Canada listen. Further, some commuters and truck drivers moving (stolen native) goods were forced to acknowledge that while they were inconvenienced for a few hours, indigenous people, who have had their homelands invaded and occupied for more than 150 years have been inconvenienced much longer. Maybe the every-10-minute traffic report on car radios compelled people to ask why the OPP backed by the Canadian government had attacked Tyendinaga and why indigenous people are still fighting for their lands.

The blockade was effective. The goal was to impact the economy, create a public awareness of the issue, and show the Canadian government and the public that indigenous people are unified and ready to take action to protect our families and our lands. Police have since backed off of Tyendinaga and the Six Nations.



At the Tyendinaga gravel quarry occupation

photo by Ange Sterritt, Gixsaan Nation/First

## Guelph Arsonists to Developers: "Get the hell out of Tyendinaga"

On the night of April 25—the same night Mohawk land in Tyendinaga was being attacked by armed Ontario Provincial Police—four dump trucks owned by Priori and Sons, and contracted by Reids Heritage Homes, were destroyed by fire, causing between \$300,000 and \$400,000 in damage. On the side of one truck, a scrawled note read, “Get the hell out of Tyendinaga.”

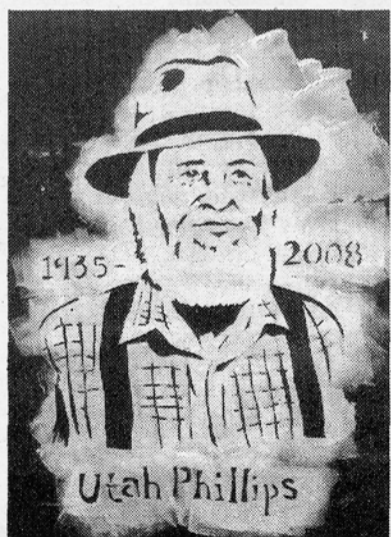
The trucks were targeted for the environmental destruction these two companies cause, turning forests, creeks, rivers and farmland

into concrete and death. They were also selected to send a message to all other developers currently encroaching on native land: Your developments are the continuation of a war on native people started long ago. Get out of native land everywhere. Finally, we send a message to all state forces and police: Let this be a sign of days to come. When you attack natives anywhere, we will attack you everywhere.

To all who love life and resist death: As we are liberated from our fear, our presence liberates others.

Communiqué

## Some Thoughts on Utah Phillips 1935-2008



artwork by Emma Beaudin

BY DAVID ROVICS

Utah Phillips was a legend. I first became familiar with the Utah Phillips phenomenon in the late 1980s, when I was in my early 20s, working part time as a prep cook at Morningtown Restaurant in Seattle. I had recently read Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* and had been particularly enthralled by the stories of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). So

it was with great interest that I first discovered a greasy cassette there in the kitchen by the stereo: *Utah Phillips Sings the Songs and Tells the Stories of the Industrial Workers of the World*.

As a young radical, I had heard lots about the 1960s, but the wildly tumultuous first two decades of the 20th century seemed to be a thing entirely of history, with no one living anymore to tell the stories. To hear Utah tell the stories of the strikes and the free-speech fights, recount hilariously the day-to-day tribulations of life in hobo jungles and logging camps, and sing about the humanity of historical figures such as Big Bill Haywood, Joe Hill or Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was to bring alive an era that had once seemed only to exist on paper. Utah wasn't someone who was just telling stories from a bygone era, it was more like he was a bridge to that era.

Hearing these songs and stories brought to life by Utah, I became infected by the idea that if people just knew this history in all its beauty and grandeur, they would find the same hope for humanity and the possibility of radical social change that I had just discovered. Thus, I became a Wobbly singer too. I began to stand on a street corner in Seattle, with a sign beside me that

read, “Songs of the Seattle General Strike of 1919.” I sang songs I had learned from listening to Utah's album, as well as some other IWW songs I had found in various obscure collections of folk music.

It was a couple years later that I first really discovered Utah Phillips the songwriter. Whether he's recounting stories from his own experiences or those of others doesn't matter. The many hours Utah spent in his troubled youth talking with old veterans of the rails and the IWW campaigns created a bridge from now to then, through his pen and through his deep, resonant voice. In *Good Thought!*, I heard the distant past breathing and full of life in Utah's own compositions. In *I've Got to Know*, I heard an eloquent and current voice of opposition to the US empire and the bombing of Iraq, rolled together seamlessly with the voices of deserters, draft dodgers and tax resisters from the previous century.

Traveling in the same circles and putting out CDs on the same record label, it was fairly inevitable that we'd meet eventually. The first time was several years ago, behind the stage at the annual protest against the School of the Americas in Columbus, Georgia. I think I successfully

avoided seeming too painfully star-struck.

The last time I was in Nevada City, where Utah lived, I was doing a show with a friend at the community radio station. He joined us there, and afterward Utah, my friend and I went over to a nice breakfast place. Utah did most of the talking, and I was pleasantly surprised to find that his use of mysterious hobo colloquialisms and frequent references to obscure historical characters in 20th-century American anarchist history was something he did off stage as well as on.

For those of us who knew Utah's music and stories, whether on or off the stage, whether as a human bridge to the radical labor movement of yesterday, as the voice of modern-day hobos or as that funky old guy that Ani DiFranco did a couple of CDs with, Utah Phillips will be remembered and treasured by many.

Utah was undeniably a sort of musical/political/historical institution in his own day. He said he was a rumor in his own time. It's no question that one person's rumor is another's legend. But who cares, it's just words anyway.

David Rovics is a singer-songwriter based in Portland, Oregon. His website is [www.davidrovics.com](http://www.davidrovics.com).

# Dear Shit Fer Brains

Dear SFB,

I had to respond to the article by the People of Color Caucus (see *EF!* May-June 2008). Many of the assertions were simply absurd—such as that Earth rituals, war cries and wolves somehow belong to people of color only (do I really need to point out that people of European descent did rituals and went to war, and that wolves are indigenous to Europe among other places?)—or authoritarian—the attempt to dictate how white people wear their hair. It has never been clear to me the difference between one person's cultural cross-fertilization and sharing of ideas being OK (the hybrid that is jazz music, Leontyne Price singing European opera, black people straightening their hair) and when it is not (white people wearing African hairstyles).

But what really offended me was the outrageously cruel and ignorant statement that white people "have the ability to choose whether or not to remain marginalized." Say what? I am marginalized as a poor, disabled, bisexual person, and it is quite the news that I can change any of these things! To state that people of color cannot afford to take time off work (neither can I!) and white people can is to equate all people of color as being low-income and all white people as high-income. This is a common mistake in anti-racist circles, the collapsing together of race and class.

As one of the aforementioned marginalized whites, I have the worst of both worlds (distrust by people of color, disdain from better-off whites). Even the other marginalized whites are off fighting for the Palestinians, the endangered speckled tree frog, everything but one another. I get support from almost nowhere and expect none. This is what it means to be a working-class white person, and every working-class white person knows what I mean.

Where are all these privileged whites? The radical environmental and animal rights communities are full of anarchists, who are notorious for having little money. As for dropping out or assimilating, people do each in varying degrees from a combination of choice (disagreement with the system) and need (being pushed out), and people of all colors are found on every side of the divide.

I have no time for people

who can't see my humanity, and it's no surprise to me that already marginalized whites (who are the only kind of whites that join our radical movements) are resisting living under the kind of restrictions that the authors of this piece would create for them. We're on a pretty narrow ledge as it is.

—CALL ME FED UP

Editors,

Sadie's last letter tugged at a thread within me, which, i feel, may nurture the discussion at hand (see *EF!* March-April 2008). (i'm sorry ze feels it necessary to drop out of this medium, but i totally relate. Though we've never met, i'm comforted in knowing ze's taking care of hirself and wish that ze is able to find ways to further communicate hir extremely insightful ideas to the community at large.)

The outcome of my case pains me and begs the question: Do i regret my place in it? The separation from what i was becoming so very close to—a *mi querida*; deepening the relation to my micro-fam; creating relations with my macro-fam (both non/humyn) toward community... Sigh... In recognizing where i am and what has brought me here, i open myself to who i am—this is not defining myself through my immediate environment but giving credence to those aspects within, which have synergistically permeated this situation whilst affirming their own uniqueness (being in it but not of it)... so, in a sense, i'd be regretting who i am in this moment... yes, the pain is there, it's here 100 percent. But without it, would there be the experience of love and joy i find in my partner's eyes; the love of my micro-fam and that from my macro-fam's letters of support? (i have no intent of glorifying or advocating the Path i currently travel—"cause, as i and those who also partake in this type of journey know = we ain't no Goddess damned hero/ines; i'm simply a humyn, one of many, who has chosen to explore"—something which resonates in me with the descriptive words of Renzo—toward the creative nothing... one of a myriad paths whose ends are common without a denominator)... That love which manifests from my connections would exist wherever i was, but the question swivels around the fact that i am where i am—and with that fact,

certain realities prevail, my relation to pain being one of them... regardless of where i find myself, or for however long, i know in my Heart i am the one i have to answer to, my view of myself, how i feel at my self—my own integrity (not some B.S. social/cultural concept of veils and dissolution, but soundness, completeness)—is what's paramount to me—this is what has guided my heart and actions throughout this case—feeling my way through its bureaucratic mechanisms of carrots and sticks, gaining insights to their repercussions via intuition and absolve some thought processes and the actions which they incur, where others simply couldn't be able to justify them (i was going to qualify it with "to save them from their death beds," but that even falls short)... i feel that it's our connections to life—our relations that permeate and surround us—which provide the *prima material* of our experience; and what we hold in our hearts is brought to light by how we interact with those relationships—the choices we make.

In Solidarity,

—D (AKA ERIC McDAVID)  
(FIND YOUR JOY)

Dear SFB,

The paper arrived safely! Bravo! Thank you so much, and I have just begun to read it. I am a "single" great-grandmother living in two rented rooms. So I do not have extra money. I love direct action, and you are number one on the best-of-the-best list.

Love and Peace,

—GRETCHEN

Dear SFB,

When in the course of a discussion or debate it becomes obvious that the different sides are using words and terms differently, then it becomes the responsibility of whoever notices that to speak up. So Lynn (and perhaps others), "I think at least part of the problem is that when I use the terms "vegan" and "omnivore," these terms have specific meanings to me (see *EF!* January-February 2008 and May-June 2008). They may of course mean something else to you, and we each get to use terms the way we want to, but let's at least avoid the misunderstanding caused by assuming that one's own meaning assigned to a term is the same as the other person's. So please reread everything I wrote according to the following definitions.

A vegan is somebody who does not eat *any* meat or animal products. An omnivore is a person or other animal that eats a diet that contains *some* meat or animal products. To use your three percent example, no, I do not call a person who eats no meat or animal products for 29 days of the month but on the 30th day eats meat a "vegan." I do not call them "almost vegan," and I don't really understand what you want that term to mean. I call them an "omnivore." When I am preparing food to serve vegan guests, I would expect them to be justifiably outraged were that food to be three percent meat.

So I would call a chimpanzee an "omnivore," but for the time being we could pretend that "almost vegan" was a synonym and see if that helps makes what I was trying to say clear. What you want us "omnivores"... oops... "almost vegans" to accept and what I am saying is hopeless—what we need to agree to disagree about—are propositions along the lines of (and the reasons we give for): 1) A chimpanzee would be "better" if it was a vegan rather than an "almost vegan." 2) A human would be "better" if a vegan rather than an "almost vegan." 3) If holding a different position on those two, upon what sorts of beliefs is that difference based and what was meant by "better" anyway?

I am saying that our community has to find ways we can work together even when we wouldn't be giving the same answers for points one and two not so much because of the importance of the propositions themselves but as symptoms of serious differences in some of our very fundamental beliefs about reality, nature, humans and animals.

And please don't take anything I have said as indicating that I don't think we all have the right to try to convince others to "change." That is not what I was calling a problem for our community. What I was calling a problem was the expectation that change in those basic beliefs was going to happen.

For the Earth,

—MICHAEL D. NOVACK

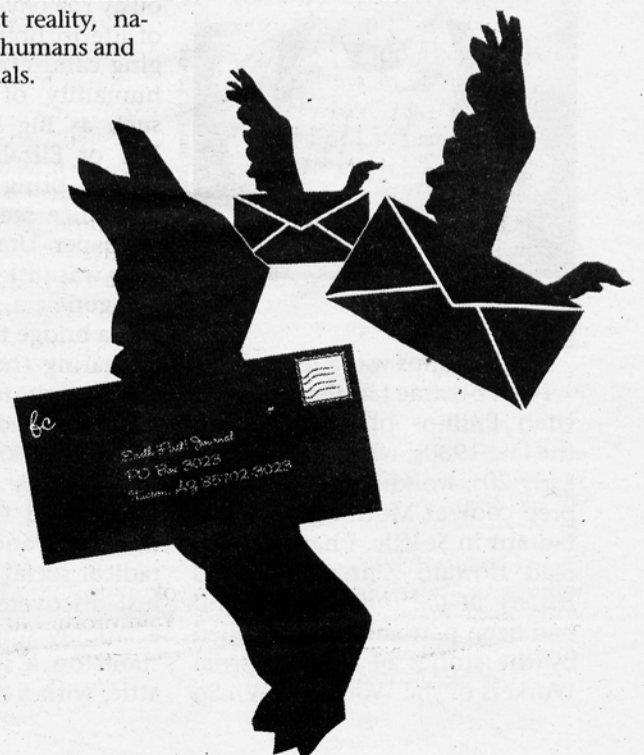
Dear SFB,

I find it incredibly disheartening to read such animosity and hostility toward ourselves within these pages. Yes, I know I am not one to criticize, having been guilty of it myself.

To all prisoners out there: Don't ever let anyone tell you that your feelings of isolation, sadness and hurt are illegitimate because someone else has more time or is in a tougher prison. Prison is a traumatic experience, period, and each of us must come to terms with it in our own way. Some will do that more easily than others.

Once again we are discussing tactics and not strategy. I'll keep it succinct. Action alone will not create change. Education and rhetoric alone will not succeed. Look to the lessons of Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty, learn how to combine the two and keep from going to jail. Then anyone up for, I don't know, say, ending a war or oil reliance by focusing on a few key companies?

I'd also like to chime in on Romania II. I support Romania II as an action; it lifted my spirits while locked up. More than that, I think it sent a powerful message to the state: You can capture us, and we will still fight; you can punish us, and we will still resist.



## "The Black Menace" TOWARD A FINAL AND DECISIVE ATTACK ON WHITENESS

BY TAYLOR SPARROW

*It was soon after the riots of June '76, and Johannesburg, South Africa was so tense it was hard to breathe. Soweto was mourning its many hundred martyrs, and a political detainee named Wellington Tshazibane had just "hanged himself" while in the custody of the secret police.... Whenever my phone rang, some white paranoiac came on the line to pass along another rumor. Children were being butchered on their way to school. Some whites had heard that tomorrow was kill-a-white day. Others had it on good authority that black maids were being incited to poison the master's tea....*

—Rian Malan, from *My Traitor's Heart*

*No, no need to fear. We are perfectly OK.... South Africa is not going to start slaughtering you and all that....*

—Thabo Mbeki<sup>1</sup>

*We shall need to see our efforts not so much as attempts to right wrongs on behalf of the blacks, as to set our society free from the lies on which it is built.*

—Nadine Gordimer

White South Africans repeatedly justified the continuation of the brutality of apartheid by reminding the country—and the world—of the *swart gevaar*, or "black menace." Having some awareness of the tremendous level of violence and humiliation they were inflicting on the general population, white people lived with the nagging fear that someday "the blacks" would come thrashing into their heavily guarded pockets of prosperity and privilege, and simply annihilate them. Of course, like so many other places governed by the tyranny of white supremacy, the violence never boomeranged back enough to fulfill the nightmares of the "average white man and woman" (who would insist that they were totally innocent and had nothing to do with it, when it was all over).

Whiteness survived the decades of anti-colonial wars that brought "independence" to the majority of the world's people (and the corresponding radical upheavals within the various "mother countries" of empire). Even if they have to wall themselves off within increasingly over-policed houses, suburbs and nations, white people seem intent on protecting what bits of privilege they can. Millions will be locked up, surveilled, placed under military rule and/or outright murdered to protect the world's whites from their own unwillingness to be accountable for the history of colonialism. So, the fear of the "black menace" remains.

The situation is dire, but we seem to have reached a dead end (or multiple dead ends) in our thinking. "Undoing Racism" is now the registered trademark of the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (pisab.org), one of dozens of grant-driven organizations that service the "anti-racism" needs of the corporate and nonprofit world. The branding of the phrase "Undoing Racism" is an attempt to control the way that we talk about race, the limits and possibilities of our aspirations for a non-racial existence—and so far it's working. Even within the radical left (and for that matter the anarchist "post-left") if we talk about race at all, the conversation is inevitably driven down the narrow paths that the anti-racist NGOs have generated.

Who says there is such a thing as "people of color," that such a coherent unity between the world's non-white peoples

That said, the action is not beyond criticism. And Sadie, you must not answer just to your conscience and me. You must answer to my community, the community where you took that action. None of us is beyond criticism. But no one should ever place blame for state repression on those who resist. Blame rests solely with the state.

Finally, Sadie does bring up a very valid point about folks like Daniel McGowan and me receiving the lion's share of support and attention. Some of this is due to our standing in our communities before we fell. However, we must find a way to not leave people feeling alienated, isolated or less important. We still have lots of room to grow and improve our prisoner support. Let's start figuring out ways to do that.

—JEFFREY "FREE" LUERS

Dear SFB,

In response to Hope Fried, who wrote, "Our size and unity allowed us to get away with things that the average inmate could never dream of..." (see *EF!* May-June 2008). Yes, you may have been a crowd that stood strong together, but you were also a mostly white crowd. The average inmate is a young, black male, and the prison-industrial complex (which you mention) is designed to jail so-called "minorities" and turn a buck off them. There have been numerous times when inmates have resisted their poor treatment on the inside and have faced serious repression for that. Their organizing and standing up for themselves is seen as a threat. Yours was taking advantage of your privilege. I'm glad that worked out for y'all, but don't be fooled that it was just because of a successful action and that race didn't play a huge part.

—COLLEEN ELIZABETH

Dear *Earth First!* and non servium,

So wow, I just read my first copy of *EF!* ever. Good work, I'm very impressed. I thought the articles displayed good, clear writing. The information of action is definitely important. Of course, I always knew who *EF!* was, I just never had the time, like I do now, to get involved. Not to say I'm not active. I'm active, and

that action landed me three years in California prison. For what? Bank robbery. There's something I find truly romantic about robbing a bank! And even here, in prison, I stand firm: Fuck cops! I refuse to be their slave, and as a result looks like I might be headed to Pelican Bay. But big deal. All of us have a price to be paid when going against the "machine."

Just wanted to say I really enjoyed not only all the articles but also really liked the article by non servium on the border (see *EF!* January-February 2008). Sometimes when I think of the US building a fucking wall, I wonder where the hell am I? What really gets me is: Most of the Border Patrol are Hispanic. Truly, the masses are asses.

Something that caught my eye and the reason I'm writing is the mention of a man who rode his bicycle 1,500 miles (and yes, I just completely misspelled bicycle). When I read that, I thought: That must have been Mike. Good ol' Bike Mike. I met Mike down in Oaxaca, Mexico, in March 2006. A friend of mine owns a hostel there, and as a religious habit, I found myself at the hostel every day drinking beer and planning to take over the world! In walks Mike with a bike, saying he's rode from the border of Arizona. I tell him he's late, the riots are over, grab a beer! Thus, we proceed to befriend each other. Mike has some great stories of rolling into villages and towns throughout Mexico. Said he was going to Guatemala, but I don't know if he made it. Most people who come to Oaxaca and only plan on staying a few days wind up staying much longer. Mike was no different. Can't imagine it wasn't him. Had to have been. Tell 'em Felipe says, "Holla!"

I just thought that was great. I've never read *EF!*, my first time, and there's a reference to an old buddy, from Oaxaca no less! And what was I doing in Oaxaca? Hiding from this goddamn government!

Granite Construction, huh? I wonder if that's a private or public company. Most likely private. Most likely with different investors, hmm, might be something for me to look into!

Your brother in arms,

—PHILLIP AARON-RENE  
MARTINEZ

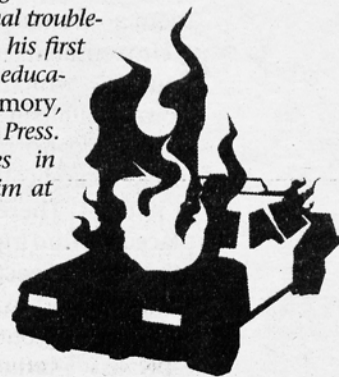
exists? For that matter, are there even African-Americans? Is there such a thing as a "white heritage" or an ethnic identification that white people might aspire to beneath and outside of the history of colonialism? Can the word "white" really be replaced by the words "male" or "able-bodied" or by any other privileged group, and convey roughly the same meaning (see *EF!* May-June 2008)? Are all forms of oppression truly "equal"? Toward what end do we speak in these ways? Do these articulations of the problems of race help us to end race once and for all? These are heretical questions that we are not meant to ask.

"Undoing Racism" is a registered trademark, which is based on a standardized definition of racism, which is based on a standardized set of ideas about who white people are and who people of color are, and what that all has to do with feminism, anti-capitalism, environmentalism and so forth. This straight-jacketing of rebellion against white civilization has led to the creation of a new kind of "black menace" among the white left. Many white radicals refuse to "do anything" about race because they are disturbed by the way in which militant politics are watered down by attempts to fit whatever work we're doing within the anti-oppression paradigm that the NGO machine has generated. For example, when a new suburban development or a dealer's lot full of SUVs or a ski resort are set on fire, *white privilege is being attacked at the point of production*. But no one is describing it in these terms; even the elves who carry out the arsons don't think of themselves as committing an act of treason against whiteness. The action remains firmly within the confines of radical environmentalism. Then, if radical environmentalists want to attack white supremacy, the whole anti-oppression framework is imported into the movement, and suddenly we are led to believe that perhaps even civil disobedience is racist behavior somehow. As a result, when talking to some white radicals, one gets the sense that they're afraid that black people have a certain inherently liberal "taint" to them and that if they align themselves too closely with "anti-racism," that taint will rub off on them.<sup>2</sup>

This criticism from certain anarchists is not just the Afrikaaner nightmare flipped upside down; there is an important warning in the subtly racist fear of these young militants. The message is clear: The ideological and practical frameworks of "anti-oppression" trainings are not generating the type of resistance that will be capable of making any serious rupture in the long night of racialism. At exactly the moment when people need to be thinking about how to add some claws to their struggles, anti-racism declaws us. Race is a power in and of itself, and it must be directly confronted in constantly fresh and inventive ways.

The slippery beast of whiteness has caught on to this "Undoing Racism" business and is far ahead of us, carrying on the business of empire and ecocide. We need to hit the poor fucker from different angles, armed with new tactics and new ideas.

*Taylor Sparrow is a longtime anti-racist organizer and international troublemaker. He recently wrote his first book on race, history and education, A Problem of Memory, published by Eberhardt Press. Taylor currently resides in South Africa. Contact him at tfsparrow@gmail.com.*

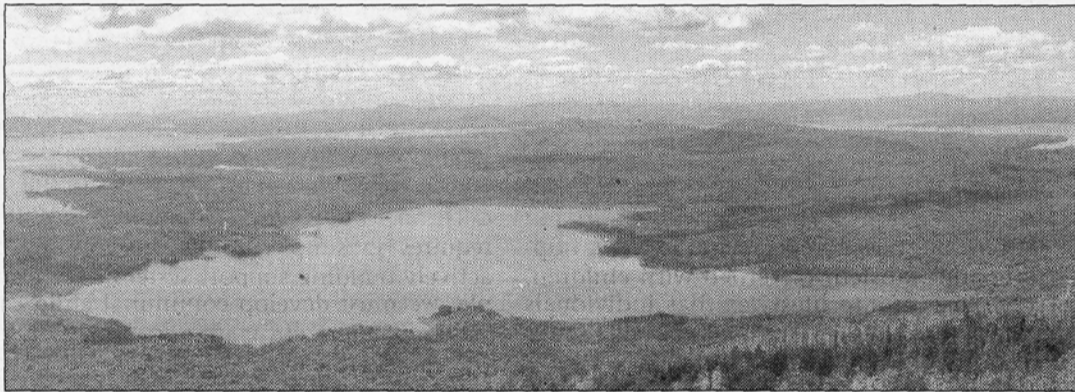


<sup>1</sup> Mbeki was one of the key negotiators for the African National Congress during the "transition" to a majority government. This quote summarizes his message to the whites on the other side of the negotiating table.

<sup>2</sup> For my part, I prefer to use the word "black" in the sense that the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa spoke of it: as that portion of society that is not only not white, but self-consciously wanting to identify itself, in both name and action, in opposition to the structures and ideology of white power. That is to say, I reject biological framings of who is black or white, and reject also the term "people of color," because it assumes that all nonwhites aspire to be something other than white, which is a dangerous assumption. For example, the BCM saw it as obvious that African, Indian and colored people working within the police department or other branches of the apartheid government were quite clearly not "black," and I would certainly agree.

# Identity Crisis?

## The Maine Regional Rendezvous Explores the Future of Earth First!



Moosehead Lake, Maine, where the Regional Rendezvous took place

BY FIVER AND BURLAP

Despite clouds of black flies and a little rain, the Maine Regional Rendezvous was an awesome success. A lot of great workshops and discussions took place, including one entitled "EF! Philosophy." The intention of this discussion was to talk about EF!'s past, present and future. Looking at EF!'s history, we identified three distinct waves of change in the movement, and we attempted to identify what changes it is going through now. We didn't make it to talking about the future, so we decided to have a second workshop to facilitate that discussion. These workshops are the focus of this article.

Many folks felt that a lull in activity has led EF! to relive early adolescence, as we once again try to figure out who we are as a movement. The first workshop defined some unifying points within the movement. People spoke of working to better ourselves while maintaining our identity as a group based on deep ecology, direct action and no compromise in defense of Mother Earth. It was clear that these unifying points still define many of us, both as individuals and as part of the larger Earth First! movement. We worked collectively to define where we've been, in order to work through the difficult times that we're in right now.

In the first workshop, we also discussed two major trends that characterize our most recent identity struggles. The first trend is the shift from wilderness defense to more of an anti-infrastructure strategy. Practically speaking, this means that EF! bases are migrating from rural areas into cities. Theoretically speaking, EF! is becoming more embedded in anti-capitalist and anti-civilization rhetoric and is losing a lot of its biocentrism. It is important to look critically at how this shift is impacting EF!.

The second major trend we focused on was anti-oppression theory and practice. Anyone who has been to a Rendezvous or has opened the *Journal* recently is probably aware that there is currently a large amount of energy being spent on this topic. A major point of the discussion was how we could see less talk and more rock on the matter. Folks often ponder how EF! can grow as an increasingly diverse movement. But during our discussion, a different set of questions arose: How can EF!, as it is now, support a broader movement through campaigns like the Minnehaha Free State and Black Mesa? Based on an analysis of privilege, can we use our privilege as a tool and resource to accomplish common goals, while simultaneously working through our own shit so that we can be better and more accessible allies? How can we do this and still maintain the unique strategic spot that Earth First! has historically occupied?

During the second discussion, we addressed other trends, including repression and upcoming possibilities of creating new free states. However, the question of wilderness versus anti-infrastructure and the dilemma of how to move anti-oppression from theory to action are the main issues occupying and dividing the movement. It's unclear exactly how to get past this, but hopefully reflections like these, conversations at gatherings and the testing of new ideas will be helpful.

## What's Missing from the Popular "Population Limitation" Theory



BY STEPH BOSTON

"Population limitation" is a euphemism for global social inequality. Although the Earth's human population, as a whole, is exceeding the Earth's carrying capacity, it is irresponsible to treat the world's population as a homogenous unit, as deep ecologists so often do. Placing blame for the eco-crisis on undifferentiated humanity puts equal responsibility on white people and people of color, rich and poor, men and wimmin, and those living in the Global North and Global South. It is more justifiable to emphasize limiting development and consumption of resources in wealthier countries, in order to hold them accountable.

Uninhibited industrial development, which is inseparable from capitalism and propagated by richer countries, has led to an unfair ecological burden on poorer nations. There is no boundary placed around industrial development that respects the right of the natural world to its own autonomous existence. The worldwide capitalist market has emerged in an already grossly unequal world, divided by sexism, racism

and colonial expansion. Capitalists go where both labor and the Earth's resources are cheap—predominately in the Global South. There, they leave behind a trail of ecological devastation. Rich nations condemn poor nations for not controlling their population growth while keeping them in poverty, so they cannot have adequate access to empowering reproductive control methods. Radical ecofeminist Mary Mellor explains that unless the benefits of development are widely distributed so that the incentives of poor countries are changed, this trend is expected to steadily increase social and economic inequality. Industrial development, capitalism, colonialism, racism and patriarchy are different dominating forces with their hands around the throats of wimmin, poor people and the planet.

Since resources are limited, it makes sense to focus attention on the consumption levels of richer nations rather than on the population numbers of the poorer ones. According to an article by environmental ethics researcher Mark Sagoff, the wealthiest 20 percent of the world's population consumes 80

percent of goods produced by the Earth's resources. The US has only two percent of the world's population but consumes a quarter of the world's oil. During their lifetime, one person in the US will consume 20 times as much of the world's resources as an African or Indian person.

In the last 50 years, the US has consumed more energy and raw materials than the rest of the human race has done in the whole of its history. Instead of placing blame on the Third and Fourth Worlds' population growth, those who consume the most should make the largest sacrifice.

Humanity is not seen as a part of nature but an enemy of it. Ecologist Garret Hardin contends that the "freedom to breed will bring ruin to all." Hardin, however, is contradicting the very platform of the deep ecology movement, which states that the "well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman life on Earth have value in them."

Awareness of and accountability for power is crucial for the survival of the planet and for the equality of society. Who would get to choose whether we limit the population or not, and how

would they decide who gets to live? If history repeats itself, it will be poor people and people of color who go first. Population control could mean a gynocide for wimmin because they reproduce. Sociologist and ecofeminist Maria Mies has estimated that in India, between 1978 and 1983, 78,000 female fetuses were aborted as a means of population control.

According to Sagoff, population stability is correlated with a high standard of living, and the world's imbalance in population growth reflects the existing pattern of global inequality. We cannot begin to discuss how many people the Earth can carry unless we know how much they'll consume. The population limitation theory is racist, sexist and classist if we resist looking deeper into the sociology and environmental degradation of consumption.

Stephanie Boston is a pro-choice, pro-abortion, baby-free Earth defender who also sees the parallel need for active social justice in radical environmentalism. For further dialogue, feel free to contact [stephanie@mountainrebel.net](mailto:stephanie@mountainrebel.net).



# SEEDS OF VICTORY

## WHY WE CAN'T SUCCEED WITHOUT A MULTIGENERATIONAL MOVEMENT

BY RODIN

Earth First! faces a substantial barrier to creating a sustainable movement. Our communities suffer from a rapid turnover rate and a lack of diversity, including when it comes to age. While we regularly talk about how often people seem to just disappear, we fail to recognize or discuss the qualities of our communities that contribute to these patterns. We have failed to create the infrastructure and support that would allow people to remain within the movement long-term. Instead, our conversations tend toward the personal (how our actions affect other individuals) and the global (the large scale implications of our actions), while glossing over the effects our collective choices have on our communities. Our failure to create sustainable, multigenerational communities is a direct result of the lack of priority we've given to support for parents and children. Choosing to have kids has become an environmental faux pas, which is not going to help our lack of sustainable communities. The decision not to reproduce needs to be considered not only from a personal and global perspective, but from a community perspective as well. Removing ourselves from the reproductive process has the unintended consequence of removing our communities from an entire facet of human existence.

We see an example of this type of thought in the previous issue of the *Earth First! Journal* (see *EFJ* May-June 2008). Gedden Cascadia argues in "A Few Too Many" that choosing to have a vasectomy is an important and responsible decision for any male-bodied environmental activist. Surrounded by the effects of a world burdened by a population far beyond its sustainable capacity, it's easy to see where Gedden is coming from. However, we cannot oversimplify the current situation. Even if everyone in the Earth First! movement and other radical communities chose not to procreate, it would not bring an end to environmental destruction. In fact, it would weaken the very sort of movement we are working to build by reinforcing a culture that does not register support for parents as a priority.

The peril the Earth faces was created by more than an abundance of humans. More abstract trends—the commodification of nature and an absurd level of overconsumption—lie at the heart of our current situation,

and simply decreasing the number of humans on this planet will do little to change these endemic obstacles.

In Gedden's article, we are told that adoption can be a viable alternative to creating a child. However, the overall tone of the article implies that having children is an experience valuable to the individual alone. Our communities and the ways in which our decisions affect them are not part of the equation.

The result of our collective blindness to the consideration of community surrounds us. The homogeneity in age of those we associate with is a prime example. In any given community, there may be specific excuses for this lack of diversity, but when looked at on a broader scale, it becomes clear that such homogeneity is endemic. In order to confront this pattern, we must first recognize that this limited age range makes it impossible to build a sustainable long-term movement. Diversity in age brings us a diversity of perspectives and experience levels. It gives us a new generation to take on our struggle, and it creates space for us to move on to a different stage of our lives while remaining active and effective members of the movement. We will neither remain young forever nor desire our current lifestyles forever. Whether train hopping and transient or settled with children, there are infinite lifestyles that individuals can take on while being valuable members of Earth First!. Yet only a small portion of those lifestyles are currently supported and accepted by our communities.

The majority of people entering our communities are young adults drawn to radical ideas because they have experienced firsthand how incredibly sick mainstream society is. Their disillusionment and frustration at the dominant culture can be powerful motivators. However, because they didn't grow up surrounded by a given radical community, there is less incentive for them to remain within it. The all too obvious result is the high turnover experienced in Earth First! and other radical communities. Many have commented that the Rendezvous have few familiar faces from year to year. It's tough to work on any sort of long-term project or to develop a strong community when people don't stick around. We find ourselves repeating the same conversations for years because the majority of people in

the discussion only recently appeared, and there aren't enough people from before to pass on collective memories and ideas. Because of this, it is impossible to make large, consensual changes about the direction we want the movement to be headed in or to sustain an effective campaign, which can take years if not decades.

Compare our movement to struggles where those fighting side by side have been together for their entire lives and their communities have carried on for generations. Such communities have more similar goals and a greater investment in remaining united. Our communities are composed mainly of people who only found one another once they were more or less fully developed, so there is a distinct lack of this type of solidarity and sense of personal investment. Couple this with the fact that the majority of our communities fall painfully short when it comes to supporting folks once they've decided to settle down or have children, and the reason so few people stick around in the long term becomes undeniably clear.

We are stuck in a rut, and to remove ourselves from this rut, we must begin to accept a wider range of lifestyle choices, including the decision to have kids. Changing our culture requires not simply raising consciousness but actively building support systems. For example, we must develop communal child care. If we put more effort into creating a culture that cares for children and helps them develop, we can introduce them to an alternative to the dominant culture before they have been shaped by it. Not only will this save the children we interact with from years of vague dissatisfaction and misery, it will give us stronger, more robust social cohesion.

We have ignored our communities and their needs for long enough. We will never be able to create a true threat to those in power so long as we do not have unity and stability in our movement, and we will not have that until we place a greater focus on supporting all members of our communities. Creating the infrastructure for a multigenerational movement needs to become a priority. As a movement, we have much on our side. But in order to win, we have got to stop jumping from a personal to a global mindframe, and instead begin thinking of our decisions and actions in relation to our communities.





# A Plan of Action to Disrupt the DNC and Resist False Choices

The Greenest Convention Ever and Other Lies From the Democrats

BY UNCONVENTIONAL DENVER

**AS** THE ECOLOGICAL CRISIS DEEPENS and the effects of climate change become increasingly visible, those who benefit from the exploitation of the Earth have been making a concerted effort to put on a caring, gentle face. Words like "sustainability" and "conservation" are now being used by car companies, producers of harmful chemicals, agribusinesses and other benefactors of environmental catastrophe. It should come as no surprise that just as General Motors produces commercials touting its forward-thinking solutions to the energy crisis, the Democratic Party is planning to host the "greenest" convention ever in Denver, Colorado, this August.

Grandiose plans are in the works to make the Democratic National Convention (DNC) a "green convention." Volunteers are busy screwing in energy-efficient light bulbs at the Pepsi Center and planting bioregionally appropriate gardens outside the convention to greet the delegates. Organizers have appointed a carbon advisor and are pushing carbon offsets on all the delegates to negate the impacts of their lavish parties and travel to the convention. The DNC committee is keen on putting forth a green image to the public in order to brand itself the "environmentally friendly" party.

Of course, this is just a greenwashing ploy to make the Democrats appear "green" while masking their environmentally devastating policies. The Democrats are still funded by large corporations profiting from the pillage of our planet, and they still support backward environmental policies that do nothing to stop the tide of environmental destruction and global warming. Claiming to be global-warming savvy, they support false technology like clean coal, corn ethanol and nuclear power, while pushing off emissions reduction to the future. Furthermore, they refuse to stop the plunder of the land by oil, logging and mining companies. This Summer, we will stand up to their greenwashing campaign.

Unconventional Action, a network of anarchists and anti-authoritarians organizing around this Summer's political conventions, is calling for all people concerned with the state of our planet (that means you!) to hit the streets and counter the Democrats' false environmental messages through creative

direct action and the demonstration of real alternatives. The whole world will be watching this political theater, and we cannot afford to let them be taken in by the deceptive policies of the Democrats. Below is a daily schedule of events and actions planned by Unconventional Denver that address a wide spectrum of injustices and inequalities supported by the Democrats.

## End All Occupations March | August 24

The issues of climate change, deforestation and environmental plights are rooted in the land. The occupation and theft of land both abroad and domestically is integrally linked to both ongoing wars and the destruction of the Earth. The Democratic candidates acknowledge neither this nor the government's colonial relationships to land and the indigenous peoples whose home the land is. Much of the anti-war left is focusing its energy on the Democrats, hoping they will cave in to mounting pressure to end the war in Iraq. This is a great opportunity to further the connections currently being made between war and warming, between occupation and indigenous rights, between the billions spent on war abroad and the defunding of social services.

## Freedom March | August 25, Morning

On the first day of the convention, we will be marching to the federal courthouse to demand freedom for the many political prisoners currently incarcerated for their acts in defense of animals, fellow human beings and the Earth. We're working hard to frame this action to both illuminate the terrible fact that so many freedom fighters and ecodefenders are behind bars, and also to build the capacity of those on the outside to provide the most effective prison solidarity possible.

## No Business as Usual | August 25, Evening

The first of two higher-energy actions is planned for the opening night of the convention. On this night, we're calling on clusters, affinity groups and individuals to take action against fundraising events, delegate parties, restaurant outings and the corporations that are using the DNC to sweeten their position with the party.

While many of these actions must be developed as events are scheduled—which can be mere weeks or even days before they actually take place—people can still prepare ahead of time by scouting out the areas of Denver where actions will most likely occur. Restaurants, hotel lobbies, theaters and other mid-size venues are likely hosts of these events, which creates opportunities for more subversive actions and infiltration, as well as over-the-top theatrical actions. If folks talk within their affinity groups about what type of action they would like to carry out, we can scout out the event that will best fit your action.

## No More Walls | August 26, Morning

Expect a historic convergence of Latinos, Chicanos, immigrants and allies under the call, "No more walls!" No matter who becomes president, we know they plan on continuing the attack on immigrants and supporting the mantra of free trade. We will march to smash all walls and all borders.

## We Vote No! | August 26, Afternoon

In the late afternoon, delegates will be going through the ceremonial motions of nominating Barack Obama. We reject this false choice, opting instead to take agency and create change ourselves. We will disrupt this spectacle by blocking the flow of delegates to the Pepsi Center. This is a time to get creative with blockades, theatrics and other actions.

## No Warming! | August 27

Unconventional Denver is calling for a wide range of autonomous actions on this day, targeting the Democrats and their cronies. Whether it be shutting down Earth-destroying corporations (such as ExxonMobil, Xcel, Newmont Mining or Halliburton), targeting the Democrats who accept their money, or creating and demonstrating viable alternatives, come with creative plots and plans for a day of action against environmental devastation.

Unconventional Denver is working with the People's Law Project and the Colorado Street Medics to ensure that all actions, regardless of what form of your resistance takes, are supported and protected.

See you in August!

For more information, contact [unconventionaldenver@riseup.net](mailto:unconventionaldenver@riseup.net); [www.dncdisruption08.org](http://www.dncdisruption08.org).



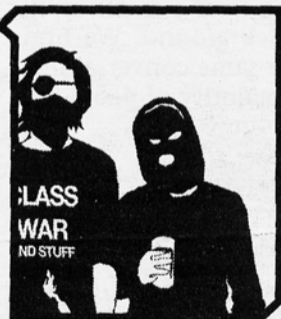
## Everything for Everyone: A Small Demand

Call for an Anti-Capitalist Force at the DNC Protests

**ON** AUGUST 24-28, the ruling elite and their defenders will converge in Denver, Colorado, in an attempt to recuperate the gains of global social movements and produce another myth of progress. Lip service to global warming, the economic crisis and the war will endow them with the magic to spread amnesia across the hearts and minds of North America. In an ironic destruction of illusions, those who manage statecraft will make material the wet dreams of the politicians that haunt such movements—pitting anti-racist struggles and feminism against each other in a battle for political power. Behind the closed doors of the Pepsi Center, history will continue—and as predicted, it will be banal and terrifying.

Outside those doors, however, so many will exclaim, smash and sing a harmonious "no."

We have little time for poetry; we have little patience for progress. We will go home to our communities after this Summer, and it is in our communities that the effects of the broadening ecological crisis, the crash of the economy and the implementation of security-as-a-way-of-life will take hold. Whether it is the right wing of capital or the left wing of capital, capitalism will continue to structure our lives and dissolve every inch of autonomy we carve out.



To the contrary of the common narrative of defeat and despair, we notice that it is also in these communities that our affect takes hold. It is within these circuits of support—both material and emotional—that we produce ourselves as powerful. We go to the Democratic National Convention in Denver, and to the Republican National Convention in Minnesota's Twin Cities with this epiphany in mind.

## EVERYTHING FOR EVERYONE: A SMALL DEMAND

On the evening of August 25, the night of the Democratic Party's fundraising events, we will manifest ourselves not as a focus group but as a force: against capitalism and in solidarity with those who fight against policing on a daily basis (in memory of Paul Childs and Frank Lobato, both murdered by the Denver police); against the destruction of the planet; and for our own needs for a total transformation of society. At 6 p.m., gather as a Black Bloc at Civil Center Park in downtown Denver. Wear black tops and blue denim bottoms. Bring flags and banners. Be materially prepared. We do not seek a mere march against capitalism but rather a communication mechanism to inquire of others a modest question: "We want everything. Do you?"

For the destruction of capitalism and the state,  
—A precarious workers' council of Unconventional Action, and comrades from the West Coast, Northwest, Southwest, Midwest, Southeast, East Coast, the UK, and Europe

# GOP CONVENTION ORGANIZERS PROCLAIM: "This Year's RNC Will Be the Greenest Ever"

## LET'S ADD THE BLACK

BY THE RNC WELCOMING COMMITTEE

Over last year's Labor Day weekend, anarchists and anti-authoritarians from all over the occupied US gathered in Minnesota's Twin Cities to discuss the 2008 Republican National Convention (RNC) and hash out a framework for anarchist resistance. Through a consensus process, attendees developed a three-tiered strategy for denying delegates access to the RNC.

This same process happened again in the Twin Cities over the *real* Labor Day weekend for a pReNC 5.3. The May 3 meeting was a spokescouncil of sorts, where we evaluated our plans and tier strengths, and where we all realized that folks are actively and seriously committed to blockading the RNC.

In light of all this organizing and anarchist participation, you might wonder: Why the RNC? More specifically, how will the RNC protests benefit the radical environmental movement? How will blockading the convention directly confront the systems that pillage and destroy our shared planet?

### Radical Environmentalism Must Be Visible

Although the RNC Welcoming Committee (RNCWC) is focused on a specific event, we hope that our work transcends the convention by contributing to the development of anti-authoritarian movements and mutual-aid networks, both locally and globally. The Earth First! movement and the broader radical environmental milieu stand to benefit from participation in the RNC protests.

As people all over the world begin to speak out against global warming, the RNC presents a great opportunity to demonstrate alternatives to both lobbying and voting for environmental action. "Environmental concerns" are at the forefront of not only the liberal agenda but also that of the GOP. Republicans are seeking to capitalize on the very destruction that they have wrought and are billing this year's convention as the "greenest ever." In a political climate where

even the most blatant perpetrators of ecological violence claim to care about the future of this planet, it is es-

sential that radicals step forward and offer an alternative.

### Let's Show Them Our Skills

This Summer is perfect for spotlighting true ecodefense. A free state in Indiana, as well as some of the most inspiring trees in recent memory, may well endure as the battle in the Twin Cities goes down. Let's make this RNC a tribute to those projects. Achieving a victory in St. Paul will raise the spirits of everyone fighting local battles and hopefully precipitate many more struggles. Just as EFlers and other eco-anarchist types were at the forefront of the anti-globalization struggles at the end of the 20th century, we again have an opportunity to make radical environmental struggles visible, relevant and challenging.

Blockading is something that we have put a lot of energy into over the past couple of decades, thanks to the efforts of EFl and EFl-related actions. The World Trade Organization protest of 1999 was successful in no small part due to Earth First!ers bringing proven techniques and skills from the forests into the city. This means we have a lot of experience and technical know-how to apply to this sort of situation, and we have a chance to share those skills with folks just beginning a path of struggle. It's a strategically prudent choice to identify the skills—like blockading—that we have and to use them where they're most fitting. Our movement suffers from being small and

own theme or message (e.g. a bike blockade to promote sustainable transportation or a heaping compost pile in the street). Small affinity groups could also capitalize on the effects of a police force stretched thin to target environmental enemies (of which there are many!) in the area.

### Strategic Framework

We came out of the May 3 strategizing session with ideas for the next three months. These involve regional organizing around a plan called Swarm, Seize, Stay (3S). Swarm, Seize, Stay is a simple mantra for September 1 and a big picture to direct all of our collective energies toward. Basically, 3S means: Move into/around downtown St. Paul via swarms of varying sizes, from multiple directions and with diverse tactical intentions. Seize space through both hard (e.g., lock-boxes) and soft (e.g., congestion), fixed and mobile blockading methods. Stay engaged with the situation in downtown St. Paul as long as necessary; you may move from location to location, but don't jump ship. Bear in mind that the ultimate goal is to deny access to as many people entering the Xcel Energy Center as possible.

The city will be divided up into sectors that different groups or regional bodies can commit to holding or organizing within. Right now, organizing is happening all over the country, primarily through networks of autonomous groups like Unconventional Action and regionally-oriented groups like

"THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION PROTEST OF 1999 WAS SUCCESSFUL IN NO SMALL PART DUE TO EARTH FIRST!ERS BRINGING PROVEN TECHNIQUES AND SKILLS FROM THE FORESTS INTO THE CITY."

stretched thin, so focusing on our strengths is simply a more efficient use of our energy. The RNC is a great opportunity to engage in collective direct action within a robust social network

### Pick Your Tactic, Pick your Target

Calling for blockades sets a radical tone for September 1, without dictating the specific forms of resistance that people engage in. Anything from a lockdown to a pile of gathered materials, from a theatrical performance in an intersection to a good old-fashioned traffic jam will help create the desired effect. The more diverse the actions, the less likely the cops will be prepared to deal with them all. The other benefit of a blockading strategy is that every group can chose its

Northeast Anarchist Network. Many Students for a Democratic Society chapters and anti-war groups have also begun to organize around this model. In addition to the need for further participation in these efforts, there remains the potential for other organizing bodies and models to emerge between now and September. Do it your way, but do it.

### Direct Opposition

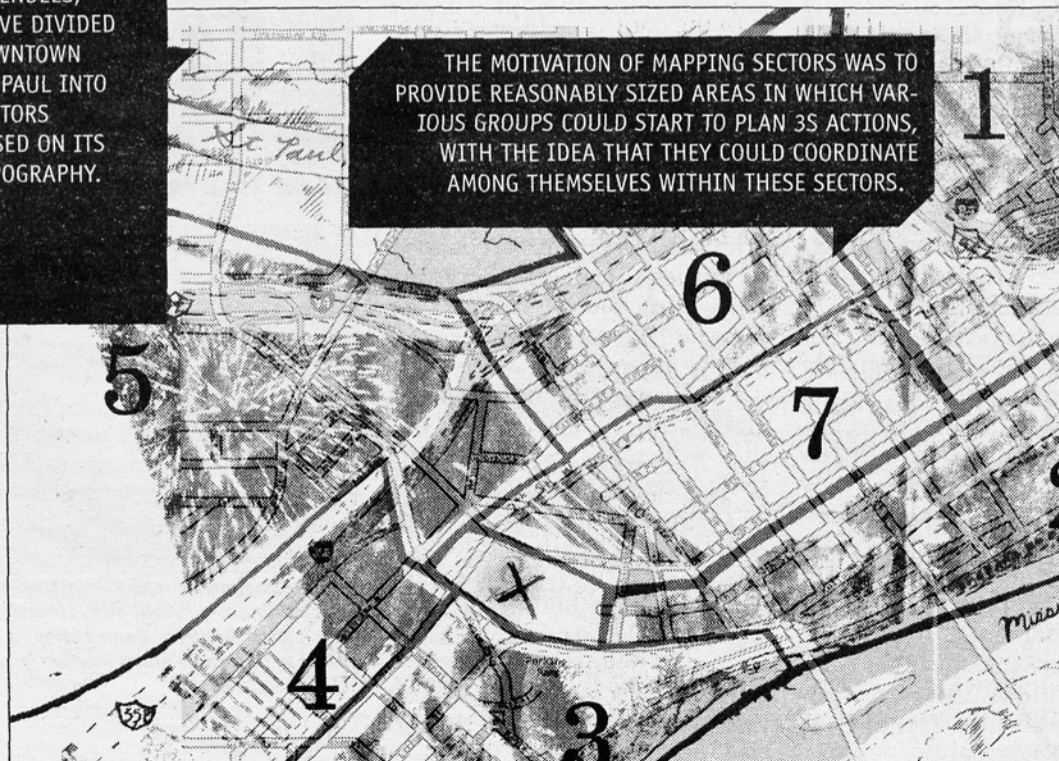
The most direct way to oppose this dog-and-pony show is just to stop it. Stopping the convention won't stop the election, but it throws a big fuckin' wrench in the GOP's public relations machine, and the GOP needs that machine to survive. We recognize that the RNC is purely ceremonial, so what if the protests are a ceremony as well—one that ushers in a new age of direct action and real sustainability, instead of passivity and green corporations. A new reality will not emerge by simply stopping the four-day spectacle of the RNC. But the new skills that we teach, learn and put into practice here will allow us to return to our communities stronger, smarter and more empowered. The RNCWC is committed to providing infrastructure and facilitating the local organizing work for the demos. We will also be hosting an action camp in southern Minnesota, the first weekend of August. More information about that is forthcoming.

For more information, visit [www.nornc.org](http://www.nornc.org); [www.unconventionalaction.org](http://www.unconventionalaction.org); [www.protestrnc2008.org](http://www.protestrnc2008.org); [actioncamp08.wordpress.com](http://actioncamp08.wordpress.com).

The RNC Welcoming Committee loves to ride their bikes and grow their own food. When not plotting against Republicans, they engage in a slew of activities, from supporting political prisoners to running autonomous spaces. They love Minnesota, and they look forward to seeing you when you visit in September.

AS PER THE REQUEST OF PRENC ATTENDEES, WE'VE DIVIDED DOWNTOWN ST. PAUL INTO SECTORS BASED ON ITS TOPOGRAPHY.

THE MOTIVATION OF MAPPING SECTORS WAS TO PROVIDE REASONABLY SIZED AREAS IN WHICH VARIOUS GROUPS COULD START TO PLAN 3S ACTIONS, WITH THE IDEA THAT THEY COULD COORDINATE AMONG THEMSELVES WITHIN THESE SECTORS.



# taking out the green garbage

What do you do when green capitalism tells you to shut up?

Most of us have succumbed at some point to the allure of "green" products. It's the chocolate that claims to stop climate change, the coffee that claims to stop rainforest destruction. At a time when things seem so frighteningly hopeless, along come the snake oil peddlers to alleviate our fears. They say, "Worried that we've changed the chemistry of the atmosphere for the next thousand years? If you just buy our product, it will all go away!" And we do, because things seem to keep getting worse. People are not rising up and destroying the electrical grid, so why not give green capitalism a shot?

For a decade, Honest Tea has marketed products that make you feel tingly inside. It produces teas that somehow build community or help the Crow Nation by stealing a recipe from them. And it's all organic! Tea can do the things that you aspire to do, better than you can.

To decrease its energy consumption, Honest Tea switched some of its containers from glass to plastic. The argument is that because plastic is light, it takes less fossil fuel to cart it around the country. Of course, this intentionally overlooks the actual

no indication that ecological collapse has slowed because of carbon offsets or green gadgets. Are we willing to live in a world with LEED-certified skyscrapers and certified-sustainable logging? We are not just consumers running into recycled traps. We are people who understand our own power.

The entire system is flawed. We know this. When I see greenwash, I ask myself, "Does this help me reconnect to the rest of the living world? Does this help me appreciate the complexity and beauty of all life? Does this stop the destruction dead in its tracks? Does this begin to heal the massive bleeding cuts in the Earth that this company/product has made?" If the answer to these questions is no, that product or company is still violating the planet. It is up to us to unmask these corporate liars.

Potential greenwash targets stand out like fake neon grass on a stripmine site. Below are some examples.

**"Toxic Waste Is Good for You":** This is the greenwash campaign from corporations that are already on our shit list. This is when landfills market themselves as wildlife refuges or SUV makers talk about electric cars.

"make nanotechnology safer." The Natural Resources Defense Council has been working with the Grammys and the Oscars to make those ceremonies green. The Oscars are one of the most watched events in the country. An action there would have a massive impact.

**Green Conventions:** Universities, corporations and governments are hosting an ever-growing number of conventions where biotech, biofuels, carbon trading and nuclear energy are being pedaled. These conventions should become focal points for mass actions. All the regular tactics for conventions can be used: locking speakers out of buildings, or disruptions with pies, costumes and balloons. Recently, Thomas Friedman was pied during a speech glorifying corporate environmentalism at Brown University. We could also work with student groups to cancel university funding of these things or at least hold them accountable.

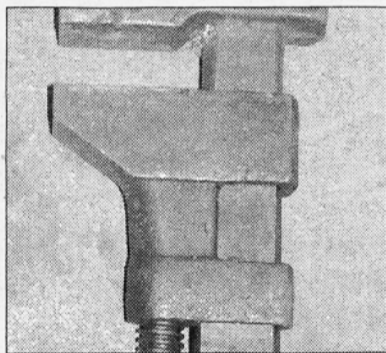
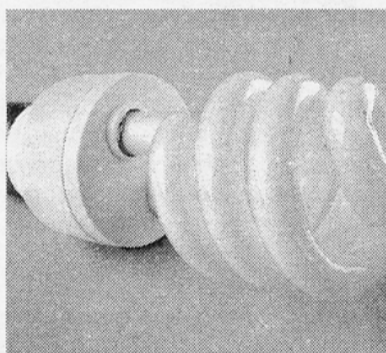
Green business conventions, with all the green scum under one roof, offer an opportunity to cause chaos. Banner drops, phony awards ceremonies and flying pies seem like good ways to start. In my community, North Carolina State University shelled out

the top then, making it an ideal day for smaller local actions. Next year, Earth Day could be a day of action similar to Fossil Fools' Day. For more greenwashed conferences, check out [www.greenbiz.com](http://www.greenbiz.com).

**Green Companies Owned by Evil Masters:** At this point, most of the small green businesses that pioneered this niche have been bought out by multinationals with blood on their hands. A good example of this is Burt's Bees getting bought by Clorox. After Ben and Jerry's got bought up by Unilever, it shut down some of its factories and laid off workers. These companies should be unmasked so that people realize that they are not the small businesses they once were but rather deceptive green arms of corporations that make most of their money from the destruction of the planet.

Fighting greenwashing is different than defending mountains and forests. It is hard to lock oneself to an idea or slash a media campaign's tires. It requires being humorous, honest and creative. But since we are all of these, let's be the native weed at their biofuel farm!

*Attila thinks that green capitalists can best contribute to ecological renewal by pushing up daisies.*



problems with plastic. These bottles will more than likely make their way to the ocean, where they will choke whales and other sea life. After the whale's carcass has decomposed on the beach, the bottle will return to the ocean, where it will continue killing sea life for eternity. For eternity.

How is Honest Tea's switch from glass to plastic supposed to help make life on the planet better? It saves Honest Tea some money by reducing its fuel costs. Honest Tea, like the rest of the green capitalists, has found a way to profit, make people feel good (and pacified) and kick the planet in the stomach while it's down. Coca-Cola recently bought 40 percent of Honest Tea, so now that tingly feeling you get from drinking organic, wind-powered tea will make a nefarious corporation even richer.

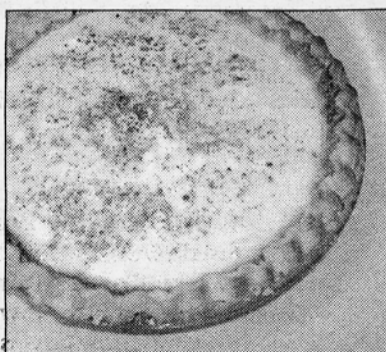
These corporate and governmental ideas of sustainability narrow our options and distract us from real change. There is

It's the same shit, just packaged differently. Recently, Rising Tide North America (RTNA) folks visited Jim Rogers and built a green power plant in his front yard. Rising Tide UK folks successfully got Shell to drop its sponsorship of a wildlife photography contest meant to cover up its part in ecocidal oil spills. Billboard alterations are a good strategy as well. The point here is to make people see that these corporations have not changed their ways and have no real intention of doing so.

**Green Awards Ceremonies:** Institutions and big NGOs regularly give "green" awards to shady characters. It's important to discredit both the NGOs and the corporations whose asses they are kissing. Specifically, Environmental Defense loves to work alongside corporations, in order to cast the corporation as green and Environmental Defense as cooperative. Recently, it has been working with Wal-Mart to save energy and with DuPont to

money from its "sustainability" fund to have the CEO of Duke Energy, which is building a new coal power station, talk about climate change. Folks from RTNA and Earth First! attempted to give CEO Jim Rogers an award for climate change. Unfortunately, the police were ready for us, but we managed to drop a banner. Next time, we will return with more people and cause a ruckus outside the convention.

Imagine a scene of riot cops protecting so-called green conventions from radical eco-activists. These are not meetings they want to have in secret. The whole thing is a publicity stunt. If we can give green conventions a black eye, they will stop spewing this nonsense. Some examples: There is a "Greening Government" Conference in Flagstaff, Arizona, on July 25. Later this Fall, there is the National Green Builders Expo in Las Vegas, Nevada (really? Las Vegas? green building?), on October 15. Earth Day just passed, but all the green scum seems to float to



Clockwise, from top left: a compact fluorescent lightbulb, a hybrid SUV, Honest Tea in a plastic bottle, a banner drop, a pie ready to be thrown and a monkey wrench



May Day, Santiago, Chile

photo courtesy bombsnitchfields.blogspot.com

# Frontlines

## May Day 2008:

### A Small Sampling of Actions

- Olympia, Washington: Anarchists broke away from a permitted march in order to attack the state capitol and various banks in celebration of May Day. Bank of America—known for its involvement with companies that fund mountaintop removal—was among the banks targeted and had several windows smashed. Protesters also occupied the capitol building, disrupting government work for several hours and leaving behind graffiti messages. A total of six arrests were made throughout the day.

- Santa Cruz, California: Windows were smashed at a McDonald's. Also, at midnight, ATMs were attacked across the city in solidarity with those arrested in Olympia.

- New York, New York: Banks, real estate offices and other businesses were graffitied, and several windows were broken.

- Mexico City, Mexico: Hundreds of anarchists marched in observance of May Day.

- Bogotá, Colombia: Several banks were attacked and had their windows smashed.

- Medellin, Colombia: Protesters attacked and overturned an armored truck.

- Valparaiso, Chile: Anti-capitalist rioters built and defended barricades in the city's streets.

- Santiago, Chile: Protesters destroyed state property, and attacked police and armored vehicles.

- Seoul, South Korea: Students held an anti-government march and clashed with police.

- Ankara, Turkey: Demonstrators fought with riot police. Police responded with chemical weapons, sending at least one demonstrator to the hospital.

- Istanbul, Turkey: Unionists and anarchists fought street battles with police during an unpermitted May Day observance.

- Moscow, Russia: Thousands came out to protest rising food prices and were joined by a dancing band of anarchists.

- Hamburg, Germany: Anti-fascists responded to a neo-Nazi march, blocking train lines and roads. Anarchists and autonomists burned and trashed more than a dozen neo-Nazi vehicles. Twenty police officers were reported injured, and 250 protesters were detained.

- Zurich, Switzerland: Anarchists broke from the main march, trashing businesses and banks.

- Lausanne, Switzerland: Hundreds of anarchists marched through downtown and smashed several windows, including those of a McDonald's.

- Madrid, Spain: About 25,000 people marched through the city, including members of anarchist trade unions.

### Saboteurs Light It Up at Construction Site in New Zealand

Saboteurs caused \$750,000 of damage to machinery owned by Blackley Construction in New Zealand. In addition, low-intensity acts of arson and vandalism have successfully stalled the construction of luxury homes on the Manawatu River.

According to Blackley operations manager Kevin Bush, a recently burned drill caused major setbacks. "We can't afford to lose this

sort of machinery, so it's likely we will have to just pack up sites like this and take the gear home each night. The transport costs and time will just have to be tacked on."

### ALF Releases 40 Mink in Oregon, Destroys Breeding Records

The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) released approximately 40 blue iris mink from the breeding stock at Jefferson Fur Farm in Oregon. The ALF permanently destroyed breeding records and issued a warning to the owners through a communiqué: "Tear down this death camp. If you don't, we'll back to finish the job.... To others concerned with the well-being of fellow living beings... go vegan.... We want to make it clear that we are not intimidated by the state's continued witch hunt against the Earth and animal liberation movements. For every liberator you throw in prison, there will be two more to take her place."

### ELF Threatens Australia and New Zealand Banking Group

Mike Smith, the CEO of the Australia and New Zealand Banking Group, received a letter at his \$10-million Melbourne mansion in early May. The letter states that his property will not remain safe as long as his company continues financing the Gunns Tamar Valley Pulp Mill in Tasmania (see *EF!* May-June 2007). Later that evening, numerous vegan pizzas were delivered and billed to the mansion.

The pulp mill is a multimillion-dollar forestry operation intending to cut some 4.5 million tons of old growth for paper production.

### Staples Reaps the Whirlwind for Animal Abuse

Saboteurs burned Staples trucks and vandalized stores in the San Diego and Ventura counties of California. According to communiqués, Staples—the largest office supply retailer in the US—is under attack for selling Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), an animal-testing company, office supplies. Following the fire-bombings of the Staples trucks, two Staples office supply stores had their windows etched, their locks glued, red paint tossed along their entrances and "Drop HLS" scrawled across their front. These acts contribute to a larger campaign that has crippled HLS in more than 22 countries around the world.

### Blue Ridge Earth First! Blockades Dominion Power Headquarters

Early on the morning of April 15, Blue Ridge *EF!* blockaded the entrance to Dominion Power's James River headquarters in Richmond, Virginia. In opposition to Dominion's proposed coal-fired power plant, three people locked down for approximately one hour.

The proposed coal plant would release 4.5 million tons of carbon dioxide annually and emit 49 pounds of mercury into the air and water. Blue Ridge *EF!* maintains that there is no such thing as clean coal, and will continue to fight Dominion Power and all the "clean coal" initiatives of the new coal rush.



May Day, Hamburg, Germany



On May Day, in New York City, a Bedford Avenue real estate office's windows were smashed.

# BARE BONES

## DNA Sampling to Bolster Feds' Database

Those convicted of crimes are often forced to submit DNA to federal databases. However, on April 16, the Department of Justice announced that federal agencies will now collect DNA samples from people arrested or detained. A total of roughly 1.2 million DNA samples could be added to the federal criminal database each year, with about 140,000 of them coming from federal arrestees and the rest from people detained for being in the country illegally.

The authority for the FBI to expand the collection of DNA samples was granted by Congress in a little-noticed amendment to the Violence Against Women Act in January 2006.

Those not eventually convicted may request that their sample, already filed, be removed from the database.

## Sea Shepherd Ship Seized

The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society's (SSCS) ship the *Farley Mowat* was illegally boarded by the Canadian coast guard on April 12. The crew and the Dutch-registered yacht were seized by armed coast guard vessels as they cruised international waters, documenting violations of humane regulations during Canada's seal hunt.

After the seizure, the Canadian government confiscated documentation of the seal slaughter, and brought charges against the captain and first mate of the *Farley Mowat* for approaching within one-half of a nautical mile of a seal fisher without a government-issued observation license. The captain was also charged with hindering a fishery official.

As of June 15, the *Farley Mowat* still has not been released by Canada. It is being held for \$50,000, but SSCS refuses to pay a ransom for its release, instead billing the Canadian government \$1,000 for every day the *Farley Mowat* is unlawfully held.

## New Sanctions on Animal Rights Speech

On April 17, legislation sponsored by the University of California-Santa Cruz made it punishable to publicize information about animal researchers attached to academic, nonprofit and commercial laboratories. Limiting access to this once-public information is meant to keep animal rights activists from targeting individual researchers.

According to animal rights attorney Christine Garcia, the government has the right to restrict the timing, placement or manner

of speech. However, this legislation limits speech for its content and is therefore unconstitutional.

Those publishing or distributing information about researchers will now be subject to injunctions and claims for damages.

## Wyoming May Be Sold for Coal

The federal government is proposing to begin leasing out more of Wyoming's Powder River Basin for open-pit coal mining. The 2.5 billion tons of coal extracted from new mines would produce 12 trillion pounds of greenhouse gases. The basin already supplies 40 percent of the coal used by the US.

The grasslands of the Powder River Basin are home to deer, antelope, bald and golden eagles, black-tailed prairie dogs, swift foxes, leopard frogs and many others.

This proposal is up for a vote at the end of the year.

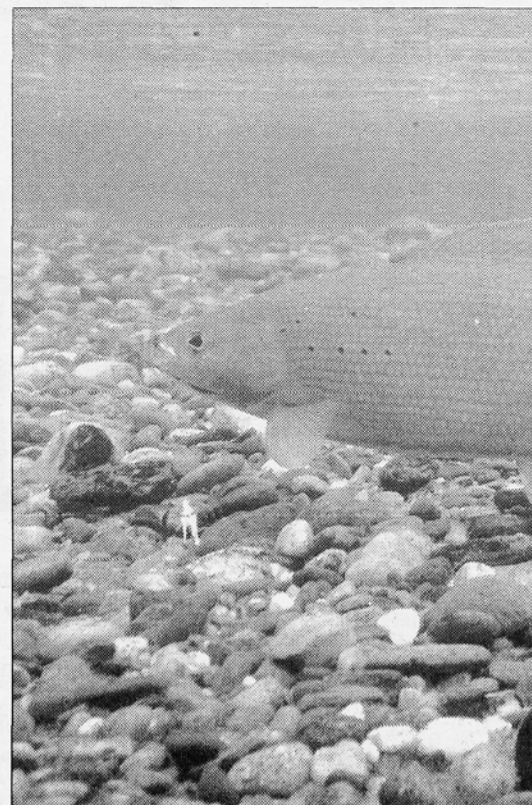


photo by A.K. Smith

An arctic grayling, one of 55 endangered species that CBD is suing the USFWS over

environmental activists for information about past and future Edinburgh demonstrations.

On May 18, about 100 people held a lively march through the streets of Edinburgh, to protest this harassment and the poor treatment of those in police custody.

## Political Interference Prevents Species Recovery

On June 5, the Center for Biological Diversity (CBD) reached a settlement with the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) regarding the protection of critical habitat for the arroyo toad. The USFWS must now create a new proposal for critical habitat by October 2009, with a decision to be put into motion by October 2010.

This was the conclusion of one of several lawsuits the CBD has brought against the USFWS in late 2007, for harming 55 endangered species and cutting more than 8.5 million acres of wildlife habitat. The rollbacks have resulted from the Bush administration's continued appointment of corrupt officials to federal agencies responsible for upholding the Endangered Species Act.

One such official, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior Julie MacDonald, resigned last year after an investigation into her political interference, which included issuing informal policies limiting the designation of critical habitat to only the small area in which a species was found and delisting species that had not yet reached the goals of their recovery plan.



photo by Alice Myers

The Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army on Fossil Fools' Day

## Activist Clowns in Trouble

Police in Edinburgh, Scotland, have begun harassing environmental campaigners and others, including the Edinburgh Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA). CIRCA is one of the many groups that took action on April 1, for Fossil Fools' Day (see *EFIJ* May-June 2008).

Early in the morning of March 28, three environmentalists were dragged out of bed for questioning. The harassment continued when five people from CIRCA were detained at an April 15 demonstration against biofuels, questioned and ultimately charged with committing a "breach of the peace." In the meantime, police unsuccessfully attempted to bribe



photo courtesy Roadblocker EPI

# I-69

## Treesit Begins

those who want to join the battle but cannot make it to the frontlines. Energy is surging back into the anti-I-69 corporate campaign, with Gohmann as the target. In early February, Gohmann was awarded the contract for demolition and clearing of the first two miles of the proposed route, and in early April, it was contracted for the construction of I-69 in that same area. We are calling upon all those interested and inspired to take creative actions that make Gohmann feel your bitter distaste for this highway.

The fight is just beginning. We must work hard to kill I-69 before it spirals out of control. International trade infrastructure projects, such as I-69, are key to implementing the vision of the Free Trade Area of the Americas—the vision of the exploitation and destruction

of people and nature from Canada to Argentina. When we defeat this project and ones similar to it, we will have dealt a serious blow to the workings of neoliberal capitalism. Join us in standing up with the people of Canada, Mexico, and Central and South America in saying "no" to international trade infrastructure. Join us in working to protect the plants and animals that live in the path of these hideous projects. Join us in stopping I-69!

Update: At 7 a.m. on June 20, 25 police officers from three different agencies arrived to evict the treesit. Two protesters, the only ones in the trees at the time of the officers' arrival, were forcibly removed from the sit with little regard for their safety. Despite this, the fight against I-69 continues.

For more information, contact [roadblocker@yahoo.com](mailto:roadblocker@yahoo.com); [stopi69.wordpress.com](http://stopi69.wordpress.com).

# Mobilize THIS!

it's time to bring direct action  
to corporate shareholders' meetings

BY SCOTT PARKIN

Companies like Bank of America, Citi, Dominion Resources, Duke Energy and Dynegy are all getting the sharp end of the direct action stick from various groups and networks around the country. From coast to coast, groups like Mountain Justice Summer (MJS), Rainforest Action Network (RAN) and Rising Tide are organizing widespread resistance to the coal sector. This Spring, we've coupled actions at corporate America's most high-profile shareholders' meetings with our long-term campaigning and direct action strategies.

These annual general meetings (AGMs) are the companies' most public points of decision. They put their greenwashed public images on display, and we shine searing lights to expose their heinous deeds. These corporations are vulnerable to pressure campaigns. They have to respond to challenges to the pillars of their supremacy: their brand name, their consumer base and their shareholders.

AGMs are a point of intervention at which we can destabilize those pillars.

## You Can't Bail Out a Dead Planet

Bank of America and Citi (among other banks) invested heavily in risky subprime mortgages that resulted in more than one million home foreclosures in 2007. These disproportionately affected low-income people and communities of color. The federal government responded by bailing out wealthy bankers and leaving everyone else out in the cold.

The same financial institutions that created the "credit crisis" are bankrolling the "climate crisis." Citi and Bank of America finance the fossil-fuel infrastructure. Oil, coal, natural gas and everything else is subsidized by them (or some other corporate bank) from the cradle to the grave.

Citi is the biggest coal financier in the world, with twice as much money invested in the industry's infrastructure as its next closest rival. Citi is also the top financier of mountaintop removal coal mining, with connections to the top five producers of mountaintop removal coal: Magnum, Massey, Alpha Natural Resources, Tampa Electric Company and Progress Energy.

Moreover, Citi is the top global underwriter for the utilities sector (a whole lot of coal plants), with nearly 10 percent of the market share, for a total value of nearly \$50 billion (the total value of all underwriting in the utilities sector worldwide is \$507 billion).

Bank of America is no less responsible for environmental devastation. Despite its highly polished green image, awards

from craven environmental groups and a new energy-efficient skyscraper, Bank of America is a climate criminal with a client portfolio of the worst carbon emitters and human-rights abusers.

Bank of America is the top banker for both Peabody Energy, the biggest mining company in the world, and Massey Energy, the "poster child" for mountaintop removal. In 2006, Bank of America's client portfolio in the utilities sector emitted a total of 715 million tons of carbon dioxide—more than 10 percent of the US's total greenhouse gas emissions.

## Coal Is Over, Shut It Down

In April, RAN mobilized activists against the Citi and Bank of America shareholders' meetings in New York City and Charlotte, North Carolina, respectively.

For more than a year, New York City RAN has steadily organized and built pressure against Citi in its own hometown. Using tactics such as ATM shutdowns with "out of order" signs, street theater, raucous protest, crashing corporate events and lockdowns at its Manhattan headquarters, climate activists have waged a battle against Citi.

The night before Citi's hullabaloo, New York activists gathered to listen to Maria Gunnoe, Ed Wiley and Kerry Chad Albright—"miracle baby" of the Buffalo Creek Disaster—talk about their struggles in Appalachia. The next morning, more than 60 activists confronted shareholders and executives about Citi's investments in coal, with images of coal-powered destruction. The crowd grew so large and raucous that the New York Police Department had to put up barricades. Inside an AGM already reeling from the subprime mortgage crisis, Gunnoe and Rebecca Tarbotton from RAN read statements, and pounded Citi's CEO and board chair with questions about mountaintop removal.

While the Citi campaign has been focused in New York, the Bank of America campaign has a more Appalachian tone, since that bank is increasingly seen as the face of mountaintop removal. Protests, branch occupations and direct action have occurred all over the country.

In April, more than 20 activists protested the Bank of America AGM in Charlotte. Confronting the company's investments in coal with images of coal-powered destruction, a rowdy crew stayed outside the meeting for three hours until the shareholders began to exit. Inside the meeting, activists lined up to give CEO Ken Lewis a jaw-clenching question-and-answer session that eventually led him to burst out in anger, saying, "Can we stop talking about coal?"

## The Truth About Dirty Coal

Fights against utility companies remain intense. The struggle against 150 proposed new coal plants continues. So far, more than 60 have been defeated. Resistance to coal plants proposed by Dominion Resources, Duke Energy and Dynegy has steadily increased over the past few years.

Dominion's proposed plant in St. Paul, Virginia, is being challenged by regulatory agencies, the courts, the legislature and frontline communities. Blue Ridge Earth First! and MJS have employed direct action at the company's headquarters. More action will surely occur in the



photos courtesy Rainforest Action Network



coming months, as possible approval for the project gets closer. (Construction has already begun on the site, so pack up your chains and lockboxes, and head to Virginia if you want take action.) Dominion wisely convened its AGM in Chicago (away from escalating campaigns) but was met inside its meeting by Chicagoans in solidarity.

Duke Energy's new plant in Cliffside, North Carolina, is also being challenged in multiple arenas. Asheville Rising Tide and allies have locked down to halt the plant's construction. In November, two activists chained themselves to Duke's headquarters. On Fossil Fools' Day, eight activists chained themselves to construction equipment on the Cliffside site, before being forcibly removed by police employing tasers. Duke saw dozens greet its shareholders inside and outside the meeting.

Texas-based Dynegy is poised to be the next Texas Utilities (TXU) (environmentalists won a victory against TXU last year,

shutting down its proposal for 11 new coal-burning power plants). Dynegy has the largest coal plant proposal in the works: six new plants in Georgia, Illinois, Nevada and Texas. At Dynegy's AGM, activists staged teach-ins and protests in opposition to the plants. Inside, Co-op America activists challenged CEO Bruce Williamson on his plan to poison communities and destroy the climate. RAN and Southern Energy Network activists staged a die-in inside the AGM area, before being thrown out by authorities.

## Mini-Mobilize This!

Summit-hopping during the early part of this decade was an oft-used tactic for social and environmental movements. Mobilizations put events in motion that created grassroots movements, which triggered a shift in culture and consciousness. They also catalyzed direct-action commu-



nities, camps and teach-ins that made a living revolution possible. Mobilizations inspired many activists to return home and begin organizing against the empire.

Today's climate movement has its roots in the global justice movement that catalyzed around the Battle in Seattle, but to many in the youth climate movement, those mass protests are ancient history. One strategy turns those mass protests into mini-mobilizations at shareholders' meetings. Imagine thousands supporting the end of coal by shutting down a Bank of America AGM in downtown Charlotte, climate activists trekking to Houston to "educate" Dynegy's investors about global warming or a mass of Katrina survivors swarming outside ExxonMobil's AGM in Dallas, to confront its backward policy on climate change.

We need grassroots organizing to build a base. Mobilizations and long-term organizing against mining and coal plants are underway. It's time to step it up against the coal and climate sector. Corporate AGMs can be the sites of the next rounds of global struggles.

Shareholder season starts next March. Let's start organizing now!

For more information, contact [dirtymoney@ran.org](mailto:dirtymoney@ran.org).

Scott works with RAN and lives in California. He used to live in Texas, and misses the target-rich environment.

Above left: A coal piñata of Ken Lewis, CEO of Bank of America

Below left: A sign from the Citi AGM

Above: Outside the Bank of America AGM

# earth first!

# means social war



BECOMING AN ANTI-CAPITALIST ECOLOGICAL SOCIAL FORCE

BY LIAM SIONNACH

**T**his is another contribution to the ongoing discussion about evolving EF!—perhaps beginning again, from a different angle.

I intend to present a modest argument in favor of an Other Earth First!. What has made EF! powerful is not a particular ideology but rather a network structure based on affinity and, in most cases, cultural codes, rituals and customs. It follows that evolving EF! will continue to stand on and operate within that infrastructure. However, there are new maps we must examine and difficult topics that demand our immediate attention. The first and foremost is a question of *we*: Who are *we*? The second is a question of our current world or conditions: capitalism, the global ecological crisis and its social consequences. The third is a notion of possibility and uncertainty: How we will contribute to not simply defending ecosystems, but also to circumventing green capitalism and tendencies toward fascism with a green angle, and how we will usher in a total transformation of society?

It is not my intent to argue in favor of collapsing ecological struggle into a broad movement of movements. *Au contraire*, ecological struggle is special but *only as a social force*.<sup>1</sup> A powerful ecological struggle against industrialism and capitalism is the only social force that can prevent the catastrophic future of eco-fascism, and that can attack and destroy the reigning system of capital.

While it is clear that the global ecological crisis we've struggled to prevent is becoming a component of daily life—something mentioned in the news, over the phone with family, in passing with acquaintances—our current modes of struggle are making little headway, either in mitigating the constant expansion of capitalism, or in reaching the hearts and minds of a significant portion of the population. Unfortunately, this is predictable.

Currently, capitalism produces the conditions under which we act. Capitalism, not EF!, currently has the intelligence and labor-power to fantasize about and reorganize society. It is no wonder that when we point at the world on fire, a product to temporarily extinguish the flames becomes available or a movie with laughable solutions is made. However, ours is a problem of neither capacity nor consciousness, but rather of memory and imagination. When polemicists on the topic of civilization, such as Derrick Jensen, inform us that we will never be a popular movement, the myths of our lack of power and of our need for heroic true-believers become more palatable.

Although these myths about how the world works are seductive and consistent with the popular narrative of

defeat, they prove incorrect when we more deeply examine the world. Capitalism is not merely a political-economic order but an edifice developed throughout history to structure all human relations. Despite all its anti-social pretensions, capitalism is a *social* structure. This means that the nightmares of capitalism are not caused by special individuals but by a complex system of social relations. The hypothesis of an Other narrative is this: Given the right circumstances, a complex system of social relations could materialize our *dreams*.

Capitalism may have just about every power relation to defend and enforce it. However, it is important to remember that it was our labor and knowledge that imagined and constructed the geometry of the gears, the logic of the advertisements and the cartography of deforested land. Furthermore, it is our urge for utopia, not that of bureaucratic systems, that has always provided an alternative.

EF! would do best to reimagine what becoming powerful might feel like. It would benefit us to experience our power intimately embodied in spaces where capitalism is being called into question. This means we would not continue to exist as a mere protest movement but rather as criminals experimenting with ways to survive. We would notice that a similar fabric runs throughout society, connecting us not solely to other predominately white social movements but also to many people who survive without compromise in this world on fire. We are not individuals acting on our moral impulses; we are a *social force* becoming aware of its power. Becoming powerful is a matter of making our story a place to inhabit—making our story material. We dream in the face of nightmares, not as an escape into an alternate reality but as a weapon to change this one.

## Who Are We?

Within activist circles, the question of “Who are we?” causes vertigo. Some attempt to define themselves not simply by *what* they do but by *how* they do. This is an interesting divergence but ultimately a meaningless one. Can *we* be described by a technique?

Sadie's SFB defends her anti-political assertion. “I am not an activist,” she claims (see *EF!J* March-April 2008). “I don't think I ever was. Arsonist, yes....” She alludes to an important point. As activists we express things to those who manage the state, not to those exploited by the state. Activism is the division of labor that specializes in social change. When we engage in activism, our struggle is transformed into “issues,” becoming political capital for politicians. From this perspective, the poodle-assed behavior of Al Gore and the Sierra Club is not surprising. How will more militant tactics redefine

## Glossary of Terms

**affect:** 1. A material influence or alteration that produces empowerment. 2. To act upon (as a person or a person's mind or feelings) so as to provoke a response; influence. *Affective struggle changes those struggling, as well as the world around them.*

**effect:** The power to produce external results. *Her protest had no effect.*

**desire:** A productive force; the information that circulates through bodies and produces action. *We don't have desires, we are produced through and as vessels of desire.*

**social war:** The narrative of “class struggle” developed beyond class to include the complexities and multiplicities of all social relations. Social war is conflict within all hierarchical social relations.

<sup>1</sup> By social force, I mean a social phenomenon that is intentionally directing society. While in the past “social movement” would have sufficed, today, very few movements have genuine power or agency. Rather, they simply are allowed to exist because what they produce has little to do with totally transforming society

ecological discourse if we are still communicating through political means? Even if we eschew the activist label, our communiqués are not an affirmation of our power as much as thinly veiled pleas for inclusion in the political discourse.

Presently, we are working toward only a radicalized version of the solutions presented in *An Inconvenient Truth*. Gore says, "You, individual, can use more compact florescent light bulbs, reduce your carbon dioxide emissions and recycle." We say, "You, individual, can ride a bicycle, eat trash, give up things and even punish those who don't." Although we have added a more militant moral character to our argument, the story remains the same: Individuals making moral choices will transform society. What's hidden within that narrative is an assumption that history and social change have been made by individuals. But we are not one story; we are a multiplicity. We are not made up of heroes and bystanders; we are the combination of those who created capitalism and those who are oppressed by it.

### The Individual and Activism

The (Western) individual is the protagonist of Western civilization, a construct of values developed during the Enlightenment and a story set into motion by the rise of capitalism. The individual expresses a person disjointed from the social; it produces a story where freedom is individual choice and individual agency.

The EF! tradition contains an affirmation of the individual and utilizes an activist methodology of social change. Even during the times when rowdy rednecks who really appreciated wilderness were putting the fictions of Edward Abbey into practice—a golden age for some—EF! was not able to birth itself outside of politics-as-usual. Instead, it attempted to develop political capital and credibility through publicity stunts and public land proposals. Over time, the sociality, camaraderie and affect that were cultivated through a collective practice of sabotage, were replaced by the urgency and moral impulse for direct action, which became increasingly a specialized practice of our heroes alone. Eventually, the urgency and moral impulse that demanded, "Something must be done!" pushed us back to sabotage, but this time it was the underground

component of a dwindling movement. Like the Weather Underground component of the 1960s anti-war movement, our friends and co-conspirators who spray "ELF" on burned-out developments still essentially practice nonviolent direct-action activism. Direct action gets the goods and all, but shall the rest of us just watch or fill "support" roles? We have exhausted ourselves as individuals specializing in social change; we need collective confrontation.

What would attention to the needs of the environs that we are attached to be if it were not framed as "individuals making ethical choices"? And what would our *we* be if not activists? Furthermore, what if *we* was based on our experiences, identities and desire, rather than simply on what we currently do?

History is not only the history of class struggle. Let's be clear: If Marx and the classical anarchists were right, and there was an easy answer called the proletariat, our task would be much easier. We could take a long look around, notice the simple fractures in society and recognize ourselves based on

are also workers under capitalism, it simply means our narrative and direction cannot embrace easy answers to complex questions. To develop class struggle beyond its limits we will locate social war.

As a matter of strategy and rhetoric, some have started using the term "climate justice" in reference to the global ecological crisis. Although this is largely yet another savvy way to gain political attention, it does reflect an important development. It hones in on the social consequences of the global ecological crisis. It gestures to an anti-capitalist ecology as a social struggle, and it is in this gesture that we can extract meaning. Although what begins as an effort to connect to more people is deflected by our own use of activism. What if we can illuminate the inclination to think in terms of the social instead of the political? It is this inclination that entices everyone who chooses petty crime and subcultural identity—who chooses the army as a way out and who chooses religious formations—over a political identity.

What if "climate justice" meant seizing the means of distributing of clean water and producing clean water systems in autonomous zones? What if environmental anti-racism meant the liberation and destruction of prisons?

our class interests. Those of us who work, and who work to avoid it, would see ourselves as the majority of the global population. We could simply raise consciousness and get organized on class lines to fight capitalism, not merely as a structure that exploits us, but also as a structure that threatens all life on the planet. We could act in our own self-interests to destroy capitalism and construct utopia. I would personally be less stressed out about alienating my friends and would probably spend far less time at cafés obsessing over radical ecological theory. Clearly, it would be better for everyone except an incredibly wealthy one percent of the population, who would lose everything they've placed meaning in. However, our struggle is more complex than the demand for better material conditions. This does not change the fact that we

We must recognize ourselves as a part of those who will be impacted by the social consequences of global ecological crisis and who already are impacted by capitalism. Only then can we imagine what it would look like to be a part of a social force that is not an expression of a moral impulse, but a need for survival and desire for utopia. What if "climate justice" meant seizing the means of distributing clean water and producing clean water systems in autonomous zones? What if environmental anti-racism meant the liberation and destruction of prisons? This is what will occur when we examine the realities we are attached to but arm them with fantasy.

Political identity and its limited effects have reached their expiration date. What little autonomy we carved out by producing EF! as an activist approach is being taken from us. Whether we call it "climate justice" or whether we relate our notion of *we* to a philosophy of biocentricism, we are still failing to draw lines that are based in reality. Reality: We will die without clean water, and we will go to prison if we get caught breaking the laws that we are going to break—laws we must break if we are going to survive. Reality: Extinction of most life on the planet includes the ecosystems that we rely on and are intimately attached to. Reality: We are components of capitalist society, which transforms everything into capital including our relationships, desires and self-interests.

We are currently the *we* of our conditions; we seek to cultivate a *we* of our direction.

The *we* of our conditions is the *we* of a position within a capitalism, but it is also the *we* of the capitalism itself. If we are not the *we* of activism and not merely the *we* of arson, then what use are the communities we associate with? The point is not to denounce our communities, our identities, but to reveal the true power of those communities and identities if they were liberated from the hand of politics. We are alienated, isolated and disempowered when we are no longer at the Summer Rendezvous, the gathering, the potluck. We are weak without a community of support.

*continued on next page*



A stop sign and a toy lie forgotten and tormented in New Orleans.



continued from previous page

However, the weakness, sadness and alienation, are where we spend most of our time and where most of the human population spends its time too.

If we deconstructed our old selves, our old communities, what would we have left? Social relations, customs, rituals? Exploitation at work, structured gender relations, racialized power, reproductive systems of control, so many prisons? Thus, we will not have class struggle as our objective but *social war*. What if we recognized ourselves as the *we* of our conditions, and then attempted to meet and communicate with others who share similar conditions? What's more, what if we attempted to not merely understand ourselves as a community of capital but to direct our struggle in a way that is intended to make us powerful? This would cause us to inhabit social war—with a clear understanding of our experience as a component of a total system of social relations. Social war can then be-

direction is biocentric because it understands itself as inseparable from its conditions. Our anti-capitalist, ecological social force is the union of our need to exist on the Earth as *participants* in an ecosystem and the desire to edit, transform and play with what being human means.

The *we* of our direction is both a parallel structure, existing within our current conditions, and an adversarial structure that seeks new conditions. Today, one sojourns to Cascadia, to Katúah, to the Sonoran Desert to feel at home, to feel powerful. Tomorrow, we will recognize ourselves in the centers of the cities, as well as in the mountains. The evolution of EF! must traverse these new paths.

### Seizing the Means to Produce Existence

If we intend to genuinely change society, we must have space to experiment. It follows that our task is to locate the cracks in capi-

hook-ups, petty crime and embezzling. We need structures in place that both produce portals into our world and bring in cash. Each issue of the *Journal* needs nearly \$10,000 to go to print and pay expenses. If we intend to keep this as our mouthpiece, then we need to come up with creative and destructive solutions to keep it funded. Moreover, imagine what other tools we could have at our disposal if we had solutions improving both the *Journal's* material conditions and improving ours as well. One of the primary achievements of the radical labor movement at the beginning of the 20th century was its ability to provide an option of survival that allowed its participants to exist in capitalism but also *against* capitalism. If one was fired due to participation in a strike, one could travel to another node of the union and find work, as well as affective struggle and camaraderie. Similar things can be said about those who eat trash, ride bikes and reuse objects. We need to take seriously our input in EF! projects. They are the deeds and opinions not only of our humble editors nor of the loudest, craziest person at our gatherings. We can produce knowledge and reveal our experiences but only if we appropriate these tools collectively.

With an attention to our senses, a multiplicity of environs may spill out of the containers of our political identities and emerge inside the doors of nonprofits in the West, the free states of the Northwest, the publications of the East and West Coasts, the abandoned epicenters of yesteryear's industry, and the cafés and culture-production factories of today. These are some focal points of social war, and this is where we will begin the process of seizing the means to produce existence.

The wisdom that compelled those who act in the night to leave the single-issue campaign or protest shouldn't go unnoticed. Our social force is not the sum of urgent calls to defend this or that place, or to protest the next big thing. However, this is not to say we would do best to leave such places to those who are still held hostage by politics. An anti-capitalist ecological social force is interested in power. Therefore, we will manifest our force in places where we are powerful and where we have the capacity to achieve our objectives. The old saying, "A losing battle is the only one worth fighting," no longer enchants us. We must point to the burn-out and depression of those who were trying to lose the battle of anti-globalization and to the banality of the current anti-war movement. We will riot when we can destroy everything we wish to. We will blockade when it interrupts capital. We will test our capacity and power without regard to those who say "hurry up" or "slow down." We will do as benefits us.

### No Compromise

*Those who cheer on the consequences of collapse, those who would foolishly sign peace treaties with pragmatism if it offered a more sustainable entrée, and those who will be the next Julia Butterfly or the next German Green Party,<sup>2</sup> we will politely show to the door. "No compromise" still has meaning.*

The future is uncertain. On the one hand, life on Earth and the human species as we know it are already being fundamentally altered and may simply go extinct. On the other hand, life may survive and proceed to an even more terrifying nightmare. Both futures determined by capitalism will result in a world where people must fight one another for access to resources. It sounds so familiar. It is these futures that an anti-capitalist ecological social force will circumvent. Conversely, it is an Other future that our social force will precipitate.

Our anti-capitalist, ecological social force is the union of our need to exist on the Earth as participants in an ecosystem and the desire to edit, transform and play with what being human means.

come both the fruit and the path of an anti-capitalist, ecological social force. Once we've cast off the shell of our political identity, a real *we* will be illuminated. Only then can we talk about rewilding and going feral. It is precisely there—when our *we* is a mirror to the rest of the human population—that such "escapism" becomes a real force.

The only *we* of our direction is made up of those of us who are searching for an Other *we*. It is this Other *we* that makes social war its object, that will appropriate all knowledge from all existing culture and that will also be appropriated by the aesthetics, sciences and social environments produced through culture. The *we* of our direction—an

anti-capitalist and ecological direction—becomes powerful when it is attached to realities. Thus, the *we* of our

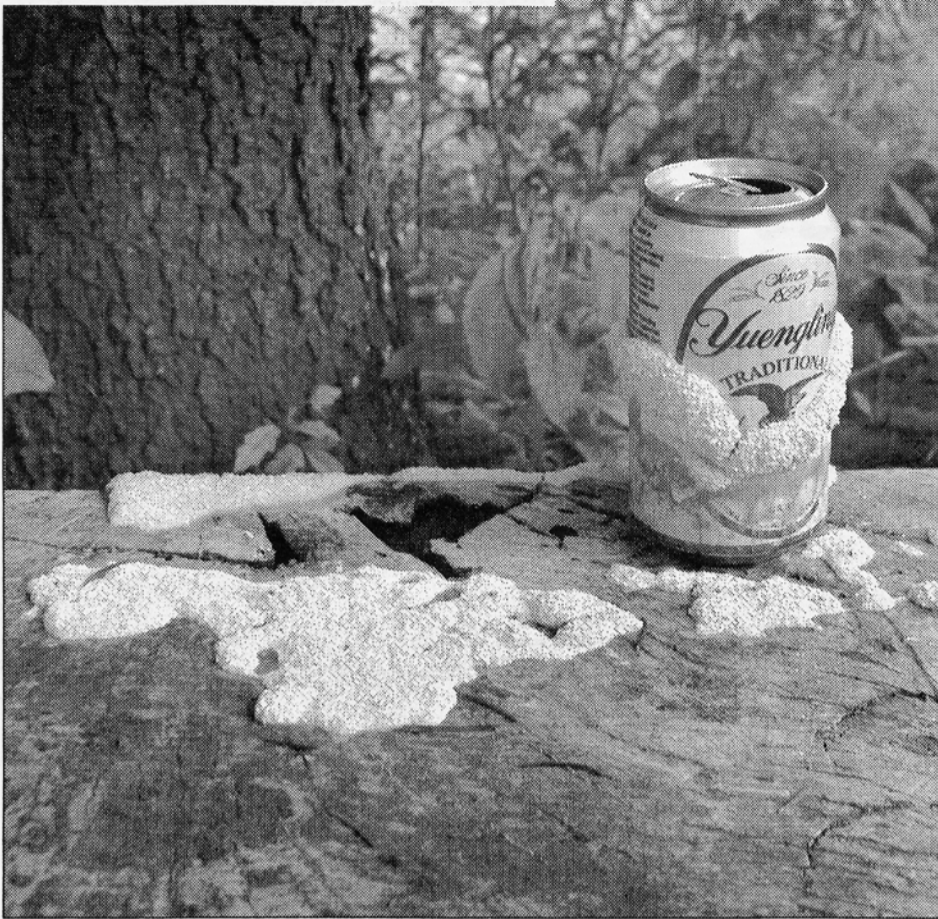
talism and exploit them—to materialize our social force, both through actions and insurgent gestures, while laying down physical foundations. As the economy begins to melt down, the need for inhabitable spaces will grow. We can open up the doors of possibility by literally opening up doors to locked buildings and by producing autonomous territories with ecologically sustainable systems, giving permaculture teeth. When our "nice" projects are recognized more objectively for what they can achieve, we can begin to really understand their power. An Other EF! understands quite clearly why the old EF! Rendezvous occupied national park land: sociality and social war.

An anti-capitalist, ecological social force needs money and resources. We are not yet connected through a network of



<sup>2</sup> The German Green Party, although coming out of the anti-nuke and anti-war movements of the 1970s and 1980s, has aligned itself with the extreme right, and actively suppresses radical ecological discourse. As the governing party in 1990s and 2000s, it deployed troops in defense of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization programs it was created to stop.

A slime mold forms over a beer can. Cellular slime molds are the interactions of normally isolated amoeba. These amoebae join up into a tiny, coordinated, multicellular, slug-like creature.



3 Fascism is often the shock-troop of capitalism. When there is a crisis that causes instability in the social order, fascism will be instated. Because it already exists within certain confines of the state, such as the military, it will have more ease in its re-emergence into popular support. The Minutemen were considered public enemy number one only a decade ago, when the state was ridding itself of the militia movement. Why now, are they lawfully deputized? And what will the green-shirts look like? Who will they be in a decade?

4 Corporativismo (Corporatism) was the economic structure put into place to reorganize Italy's economy when Mussolini came to power. The corporation is a model to "incorporate" all interests into, superceding both private individuals and public interests. The corporate structure in fascist Italy was used to maintain a capitalist system by expanding the power and definition of the state to include everything. Contemporary neoliberalism maintains the state but expands capitalism to include everything.

### Circumventing Fascism and Destroying Green Capitalism

Green capitalism is the process by which the economy will attempt to reconcile its desire for constant expansion and extraction of resources with the finite ecosystems that all life relies on. At first, as we've seen, it will raise a green banner, but in the end it will exclaim, "Long live death!" Green capitalism will not be possible without a fascist element.<sup>3</sup> Already on the horizon, the *nouveau riche* are getting organized. Many are developing for themselves eco-mansions—ones that look, smell and feel like plantations. Neoliberalism is the *corporativismo* preceding this, putting into place a diffuse global state that is no longer the main actor in producing culture and controlling the economy.<sup>4</sup> It is no coincidence that many clean water reservoirs are now owned by Coca-Cola and Pepsi, following the passing of the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The transfer of all access to life-support resources to the rich and the inability of a significant portion of society to survive without capitalism has been set in motion. There are more prisoners than farmers in the US; there is more production of culture than food. Green capitalism will be complete when we are neutralized and the first car that runs on salt water is sold. It is our task to make this impossible.

We are still capitalism's most important infrastructure. While it is true that massive self-reductions of consumption have contributed to destabilizing and precipitating a crisis in the economy, it also true that our deeds have little meaning without a social context. To cause a crisis in green capitalism, a significant portion of the culture-producing population must refuse to be a market demographic but also work to undermine the influence of green production. This means producing memes—contagious ideas based in a shared experience—against green capitalism. But it also means stealing products and destroying green capitalist manifestations—for example, looting Whole Foods or destroying hybrid cars. It means developing techniques such as fare-dodging, shoplifting, seed-sharing and collectivizing survival practices in the workplace, as well as smashing the false harmony of current green techniques by illuminating the fractures within green sciences and green design. These acts may seem fantastical in the present, but the crises already in progress are producing the conditions where people will very soon think in more elaborate terms about their material conditions. Because there are already mechanisms at play that provide fertile ground for pro-capitalist and pro-fascist political programs, it is important that an anti-capitalist ecological social force articulate itself in rhythm with such changes.

It has been noted before that conflicts at and because of borders should beckon our unwinking eyes (see *EF!* September-October 2006). Considering capitalism's tendency toward fascism, this is an important site of conflict. The Minutemen point to an already existing discourse within our society—one that is framed in ecological terms. If we can prove the meaninglessness of borders, then we can reduce their appeal to those who have made the mistake of viewing the geography of the Earth through nation-states. Moreover, we can undermine the next fascism's use of borders and anti-immigration as selling points, and constitute our anti-capitalist ecological social force as concretely anti-fascist.

Because of the existing distribution of resources and production of knowledge, food and water will be the most contested, followed by social spaces and inhabitations. Many within *EF!* have accumulated some very helpful special knowledge. However, this is usually used for accumulating capital, maintaining a nonprofit status or impressing friends. This knowledge must be liberated from its current form. An anti-capitalist, ecological social force will have the means to produce knowledge, and it will seize ways of distribution. In our workplaces, in our subcultures, in our many environs, we should produce and share this knowledge. We need our day laborers and our baristas to be connected with our beet-harvesters and Conservation Corps workers in a circuit of information.

### The Anti-Capitalist Ecological Social Force Becomes Material

To become powerful, we need to locate in that circuit a kernel capable of seizing and maintaining space. Revolt is not a military operation but a social affair. However, this does not negate the very real necessity that space plays. We need social spaces, places for us to get organized, places that can sustain life, places worth calling home. In the metropolis and in the mountains, in the small towns and in the desert, we will produce a village within the city and a city without walls. We need material structures and thread to weave them together. The material structures will, at first, be social centers, radical neighborhoods, appropriated land, but will transform into autonomous rebel communities, archipelagos of revolt, and experiments in food and water acquisition that develop beyond organic farms and water conservation. The thread to weave them together will be our capacity to cultivate portals of communication that say, "We need this, do you?" in rhythm with our material and existential conditions that have been only recorded so far over beer or coffee, or in blogs and journals. As we grow more powerful these portals will become faultlines on a planetary scale—connecting us to older worlds and ones yet to exist.

With ink and dagger, curse and irony, cheer and uncertainty, we will continue to walk and converse—breaking bread, asking questions, making love, growing old, and contributing to the overall creation and reproduction of life on the planet. We are always seduced into walking; it's the fabric of our creative urge, the thumping of our hearts, that directs us to accelerate, to become robust and networked. It is likely that no matter what happens, we will continue to experiment with living.

The constitution of *EF!* as an anti-capitalist ecological social force is a matter of the magical tendencies that link all humans as social critters. But furthermore, it is a matter of our new desire, liberated from politics and put into motion as social war. Social forces will destroy capitalism and deindustrialize the planet, but we will not stop there. Let our stories intoxicate us with a profound meaning. Let us seize the means to produce existence. Let us usher into being an age of uncertainty, leaving behind the old world and opening up the doors to all possibilities. We want bread, blood and roses too.

*Liam Sionnach is a service-class intellectual who attempts to get paid selling culture at cafés and aesthetics to publishers. After a failed attempt to join the Maquis, Liam began to contribute to the insurrectional think tank and small publishing group the Institute for Experimental Freedom, recently publishing the book Flaming Arrows and the journal Politics is Not a Banana. Liam currently is contaminating the *EF!* Journal with post-proletarian consciences and a love of pretty things. For lectures and design, give us a holla at [ief-southeast@riseup.net](mailto:ief-southeast@riseup.net).*

"Positive feedback, sometimes referred to as 'cumulative causation,' is the feedback-loop system in which the system responds to perturbation in the same direction as the perturbation.... The end result of a positive feedback is often amplifying and 'explosive' (i.e., a small perturbation results in big changes)."  
 —"Positive Feedback," Wikipedia

# Feedback Loops of Resistance:

## ENVISIONING A SUCCESSFUL CLIMATE JUSTICE MOVEMENT

BY LAS NOCHES DE DICIEMBRE

Positive feedback loops apply not only to the terrifying specter of melting permafrost and smoldering jungles. Brace yourself for some optimism: Human society is on the verge of stumbling into a social feedback loop away from industrial civilization, quicker than most of us believe possible. As most environmentalists realize, the need for a reduction in carbon emissions suggests a fundamental challenge to our society. Many have recognized this reality; it's a large part of the allure we feel in organizing around climate change. The imperative to slash carbon output is the invitation that we have been anticipating, a chance to have our critique of civilization taken seriously. It can and should be the revival of a vibrant, creative, radical ecological movement.

The assessment reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) can be seen in a manner comparable to earlier documents, such as the Declaration of Independence, that reminded people in this country of an obligation to overthrow tyrannical power for the greater good. This time, power is on a global scale, and the most menacing tyranny comes from the private energy sector. The threat at hand today is

California and Florida have declared initiatives straight from IPCC data, such as carbon reductions of 80 percent below 1990 levels over the next 40 years. This means, essentially, dismantling *all* fossil-fuel infrastructure and defending *all* intact carbon sinks (i.e., every living organism that breathes in carbon dioxide). Areas where local, regional or state government is standing with the IPCC are on the verge of having the strongest legal cases and political will for challenging destruction and pollution, not only through environmental law but also through civil disobedience and other forms of direct action. The ever-controversial legal strategy of the "necessity defense" is being validated on multiple levels of jurisdiction when it comes to greenhouse gases. What the Sea Shepherd Conversation Society gets away with on the open seas under the protection of international law is becoming the acceptable form of direct action around the world.

Below is one scenario for what this article is calling a "Positive Feedback Loop of Climate Justice." Some of the ideas are based on existing or impending legislation; many are based on hopeful speculation. They should serve some strategic value for folks engaged in long-term planning around climate change and resistance to industrial

(EHA). This allows native cultures, historic neighborhoods and small farmers to sue large GHG-releasing operations for endangering their lives and livelihoods. In one case, a south Florida county engaged in overzealous road building is charged with enabling traffic to pollute the atmosphere with GHGs. From then on, communities across the country use the EHA to hold local fossil-fuel companies and governing bodies responsible for climate-related disasters. Companies spend billions to hire corporate environmental firms to fight EHA claims. In the process, they lure thousands of fence-walking, pseudo-environmental attorneys and lobbyists into the new, high-dollar field. This completely drains the state and national staff of the Sierra Club and Audubon Society, who all flee to the corporate sector. No one notices the difference.

In 2010, as a result of lawsuit settlements, many small communities have capital culled from crooked public budgets and bloated corporate profits. They invest in local projects like community-scale agriculture; solar, wind and low-impact hydro energy; wastewater biofuel co-ops; and bicycle recycleries. Settlements also force cities to adopt climate initiatives and create climate task forces, which lead to local incentives for emissions-free energy and transportation, car-free downtown areas, urban reforestation programs and allocated budgets for disaster relief. Many companies move forward with projects despite legal opposition, hoping that corporate scientists, high-powered lawyers and political connections can keep their profits rolling in.

Road blockades and basecamps are set up to slow work at these job sites and offices. Strategic sabotage and graffiti start chipping away at corporations' profits and public image. Soon, companies feel the pressure of full-scale resistance as Iraq War veterans come home to

"Road blockades and basecamps are set up to slow work at these sites and offices. Strategic sabotage and graffiti start chipping away at corporations' profits and public image."



much larger than lost liberty—although that is certainly a factor. Like the Declaration of Independence, the IPCC reports come from an elite segment of our society. In themselves, these reports are not calls to open rebellion. But any interpretation of them that does not invite the drastic actions needed to stem anthropogenic carbon output and unmake the industrial process is a fraud.

In many ways, the anti-globalization movement of the past decade laid a foundation for what is ahead in the climate justice effort. A massive, decentralized, grassroots response to the pending (and present) climate crisis is inevitable. But how will it look? How should we shape the revolutionary project that is being ushered into existence before our eyes? How will we fan the fires that are being lit in scientific and academic circles, so that empowerment is widespread and independent of the corporate-sponsored environmental-industrial complex? The strategy will not follow some classic formula of organized social revolt. There are many balls already in motion on multiple levels of politics, law and activism.

While the realm of politics and law is corrupt and scandal-ridden, many of the things happening there cannot be ignored or avoided in the process of strategic planning. These factors will inevitably shape public perception and should be reflected in our organizing. For example, states such as

civilization. It may also provide an uplifting read to ward off the looming temptation of miserable pessimism.

### A Visualization Scenario

*Try reading this part aloud with some friends. Start with a few relaxation exercises, and encourage them to close their eyes and let their imaginations drift. Seriously.*

What sets our metaphorical snowball in motion could be something seemingly mundane. For example, a conservation group wins an Endangered Species Act (ESA) violation lawsuit over the endangered Florida panther's habitat loss due to rising sea levels.

By the end of 2008, every carbon-emitting industry is publicly confronted with the fact that greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are pushing these animals toward extinction. This sets a precedent for making the same case for many other animals and plants that are losing habitat due to warming or cooling waters, flooding or drought, or other extreme conditions. Lawsuits, lobbying and media utilize the once-floundering ESA to fight countless proposed projects: power plants, new or expanded roads and airports, industrial factories and farms, and more.

In 2009, inspired by the animals' victories, a group of the human folks most threatened by impending climate change drafts a federal Endangered Human Act

confront the fossil-fuel empire that started the war. They use military skills against companies and politicians who sent them to fight. Several domestic militia factions from urban and rural areas declare war on the US empire and transnational climate criminals.

By 2011, rebellion and insurrection are in full swing. Despite billions spent by the Department of Homeland Security, surveillance infrastructure is unable to monitor daily uprisings. Police and military forces are severely overwhelmed by responding to simultaneous climate-related disasters; multiple Category 5 hurricanes whack coastal Florida and the Gulf; floods swell across the Northeast; storms across Central America and Mexico drive record numbers to cross the Arizona desert border; and crop failures cause food prices to skyrocket, leading starving rural families and inner-city gangs to join in looting grocery stores throughout US cities.

Factionalized groups of leftist liberals and hippie activists put internal squabbling aside and join with angry rednecks and libertarians; they merge with inner-city environmental justice activists and nomadic bands of urban and suburban youth. Native warrior societies emerge from various First Nations, who are calling off their violated treaties with the US and Canada. Through communication and dire necessity, the disparate groups overcome the barriers of language, culture, race, gender and class. They are soon joined

## COMPLEXITY AND THE GLOBAL ECOLOGICAL CRISIS—

# The End of Capitalism

BY KAY SUMMER  
AND HARRY HALPIN

**C**APITALISM IS A COMPLEX SYSTEM. It is the result of the interactions of more than six billion people. Capitalism is dynamic, as the rapid changes in labor practices and the bewildering expansion of commodities attest. Capitalism is a network with nobody "in

charge." Lastly, capitalism is highly nonlinear. Take, for example, the unexpected financial crisis in Argentina in 2001, which changed life for millions. This was sparked by a few financial investors removing their money from the country. Yet, investors remove money from countries every day with usually negligible effects.

Complex systems often have multiple stable states. We can explain this by imagining a topographical map with valleys and hills. Now imagine a ball rolling around, in constant motion. This is our complex system. Most of the time, the ball will stay in the same valley; various forces may push it away from the valley bottom, but it will tend to roll back toward this same valley bottom—this same stable state. The whole valley, which surrounds the valley bottom, is known as a basin of attraction. It would take a disturbance of just the right kind, whether massive or tiny, to set off a positive feedback loop that would get the ball to roll right out of that basin of attraction and into another. Such major changes do occur, but they are rare, often requiring several simultaneous disturbances. Moreover, these major changes, known as phase transitions, are often preceded by periods of "critical instability," during which the system is under great strain. It may exhibit seemingly chaotic behavior before settling into a new, more stable state. During these periods, the ball is balanced precariously on a ridge, and there are several valleys it could potentially descend into.

### Capitalism and the Global Ecological Crisis

Human social organization involves a large number of people interacting in a complex and dynamic network. Historically, there have been two, possibly three, stable states of social organization that have attained and maintained near-global dominance: hunter-gatherer societies, subsistence agricultural societies and, some might say, capitalism. This doesn't include the many highly hierarchical large-scale civilizations—the feudal system of medieval Japan, Mayan civilization or classical imperial systems like ancient Rome—because although such societies have appeared and disappeared regularly across the globe, none has achieved global dominance. This suggests that these civilizations were not stable states. It suggests that authoritarianism is not a functional survival strategy, because it attempts to control people through rigid social organization, rather than allow for the continuous regeneration and development of the system.

Capitalism relies on ever-expanding production. However, this requires ever-expanding resources, leading to a chronic crisis with no exit: the global ecological crisis. After 500 years, capitalism is ceasing to be a good survival strategy.

Capitalism is a basin of attraction because it works. Remain quiet, work hard and play the game, and you will be rewarded with food, shelter and, most likely, a marriage resulting in children. However, as the material substrate of the system collapses, capitalism as a survival strategy is becoming less attractive. In more and more people's minds, the cost-benefit will shift. In order to survive, people must—and will—develop alternatives to capitalism. Their (our) very survival will depend upon it.

by organizations of disillusioned immigrants and refugees.

Several Iraq War veterans are arrested for acts of sabotage and are accused of treason and terrorism. They demand prisoner-of-war status and plead the necessity defense. Through a high-profile Supreme Court trial, they are acquitted of all charges. Hundreds of thousands from the alliance of rebels turn out to celebrate the veterans' acquittal in Washington, DC. Some carry US flags or flags of their own nations; some carry simple green or red, while others carry black flags.

With nothing to go home to, 50,000 set up camp on the Mall. Through spontaneous spokescouncils in the streets, a decision is made to take the White House, which is done with ease. The thousands of veterans lead the march past the armed guards and government employees, who cheer support all along the way. President Cheney, who took office when Bush was assassinated by a member of his own

cabinet before the 2008 election, had declared a state of emergency that year and refused to step down. This time, people don't depend on an election to oust the regime. The president's office and all his belongings are thrown out into the street, with the help of his own insubordinate staff.

*It is 2012.* Climate-related disasters wipe out major infrastructure. Lawsuits stop every permit for new industrial projects. Protest camps shutdown existing energy facilities across the hemisphere. Billions of dollars in sabotage cripples fossil-fuel extraction operations across the continent. For the first time in history, the US carbon footprint is reduced. Parallel rebellions occur across the planet. Virtually every US military base is dismantled, and every last worthless American dollar is burned in small cooking fires across the world. Human carbon emissions begin to stabilize around 1990 levels.

*Now for the 80 percent reduction....*

Green capitalism could slow capitalism's decline, extending its lifetime for a few decades at most. But green capitalism is still capitalism: the endless accumulation of work, material and energy.

### Possible Futures

We are living through a period of critical instability. Critical instability is usually the first detectable sign of massive systematic changes. We are lurching toward a new, unknown basin of attraction. Only one generation in 40 or 50 may have the chance to live through a phase transition in human society and, more importantly, have the chance to actually create the new society. This specter of collapse is both terrifying and exciting!

One potential basin of attraction is eco-fascism. In this scenario, an elite would use modern tools of control and command to instate some socially authoritarian global economy. In times of limited resources, people would live in fear of not having enough resources, and some dividing lines between the haves and have-nots would be used. This would be more brutal than the have/have-not divides of today. We can glimpse this basin of attraction in contemporary struggles around migration, which will only become more intense as the global ecological crisis causes massive population movements. Eco-fascism would be an especially duplicitous enemy, as many of its advocates use anti-capitalist rhetoric. Eco-fascism is unlikely to become a stable state—it is bound to fail eventually, due to its closed nature, which destroys connections. But in the meantime, the cost to humanity and the planet would be immense.

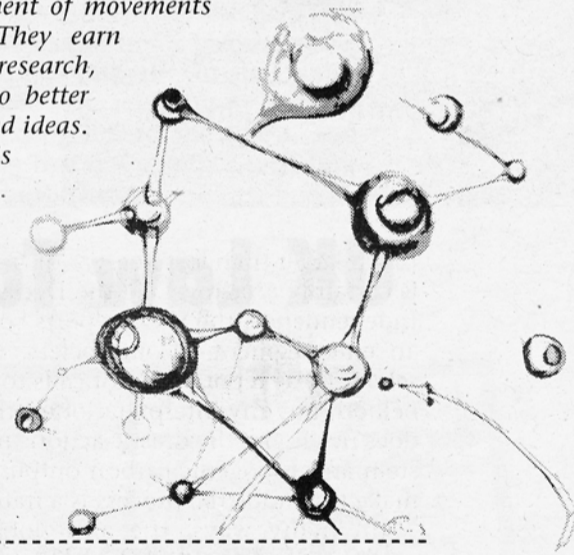
A second possible basin of attraction is a system of decentralized, cooperative communities, whose relations are based on affinity—because we all share the same biosphere—and which maintain a high level of connectivity with one another. This form of social organization is perpetually open and always seeking new connections. In the spirit of complexity theory—and unlike previous revolutionary movements—this system embraces no determinism. The logic of autonomy allows the components of the system to optimize their own connections, and so connect to people, materials, passions and places in a manner that takes optimal advantage of material and energy flows.

We have reasons to be optimistic. Capital's current trajectory cannot continue. Complex systems can change in the blink of an eye. The global ecological crisis usually invokes pessimism, but perhaps paradoxically, it also provides hope. Conditions are currently more optimal for rapid shifts in human social organization than they have been for probably 200—if not 500—years. Of course, we cannot know what form this new social system will take. But we should remember that free will, human innovation and creativity are the hidden variables. What may appear to be minor actions can, in these hyper-connected times of critical instability, have consequences magnified beyond imagination.

This is an excerpt from "The Crazy Before the New." For a complete version, visit [www.turbulence.org.uk](http://www.turbulence.org.uk)

*Kay Summer and Harry Halpin have both had long-time involvement in the movement of movements and some of its precursors. They earn their wages by doing scientific research, some of this involving trying to better understand nonlinear systems and ideas.*

*"The Crazy Before the New" is their second collaborative piece on nonlinearity and social movements. Get in touch with the authors at [kaysmmr@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:kaysmmr@yahoo.co.uk) and [harry@j12.org](mailto:harry@j12.org).*



### In Summary

Our situation could change faster than we've imagined. Once momentum has built up to an exponentially increasing pace, there's no stopping for the capitalist allure of greenwashed false solutions. However, there are a few terrifying obstacles and risks that may present themselves. For one, what the hell will we do with all the nuclear waste in this country? Perhaps that is a responsibility that justifies our continued presence on the planet despite the utter cosmic embarrassment of that whole climate incident. Maybe the French will help figure something out.... But let's not get distracted. Stay active, take care of yourself, and rest assured that once the feedback loops of resistance are in effect, nothing short of total transformation into a just, ecological future will do.

*Las Noches de Diciembre is an underground militant cell of fictitious anti-tourist terra-ists trying clumsily to defend the sinking peninsula they cherish and call home.*

"Capitalism is a basin of attraction because it works. Remain quiet, work hard and play the game.... However, as the material substrate of the system collapses, capitalism as a survival strategy is becoming less attractive."



# Longest Walk 2008 Participants Violently Attacked by Columbus, Ohio Police



On June 2, after trekking more than 2,400 miles on foot, participants in the northern route of the Longest Walk 2008 were violently attacked by Columbus, Ohio police. Although the Ohio Department of Transportation had been notified that the Longest Walk 2008 would be passing through Columbus, city police swiftly and forcefully arrived with squad cars and arrest wagons, and began assaulting the men, women and children who walked through the town carrying the message, "All life is sacred."

Eight police cars surrounded the walkers as the group stepped up onto the sidewalk of Main Street. A police officer approached a vehicle providing support to walkers, reached through the window and grabbed the steering wheel. The officer yelled at the young woman driving a carload of young children and threatened to place the children with Child Protective Services.

As dozens of police hastily approached the walkers, Michael Lane (Menominee) was targeted by police with a taser, which was held three feet away from his head, in front of his wife and young daughter. Tasers are supposed to be aimed away from the head and toward major muscle groups. A veteran walker from the 1978 Longest Walk, Lane joined the walk with his wife and children approximately two months ago. Lane, who holds a law degree from Arizona State University, stated that the worst part of being targeted by a police officer with a taser was that it terrified his young daughter, who thought that a real gun was being pointed at her father's head. This violent action caused severe emotional distress for the children who witnessed it.

Luv the Mezenger, who was acting as road safety for the walkers, was physically assaulted, thrown to the ground and handcuffed. Luv suffered minor injuries. Police made no arrests.

Harassment by police continued the following day, during a press conference. Police ordered Longest Walk drummers off the steps of the Ohio Statehouse, but Longest Walkers peacefully continued with their press conference and aired statements shaming the police for their cowardly actions.

For months, the walkers have endured the natural elements, including snow, extreme rain, straight-line winds, blazing heat, lightning storms and near misses by tornadoes. Often tired, hungry, thirsty and sore, they have been peacefully accepted into native and non-native communities along the way. This is the first experience of extreme police harassment they have been faced with.

The Longest Walk 2008 is a spiritual walk for cultural survival and is composed of men, women and children from native and non-native communities (see *EFJ* May-June 2008). The five-month-long transcontinental journey from San Francisco will end in Washington, DC, on July 11, bringing attention to issues of environmental justice, protection of sacred sites, cultural survival, youth empowerment and the defense of Native American rights. Two separate routes, covering more than 8,000 miles, will converge in Washington, DC, for a three-day cultural survival summit. The Longest Walk 2008 also marks the 30th anniversary of the original Longest Walk of 1978, which resulted in historic changes for Native Americans.

People from all over the world are joining the walk, with its spiritual call to protect Mother Earth and defend human rights. The Longest Walk is an indigenous peoples' walk, but it is open to people of all nations and cultures. Everyone is invited to participate in the walk at any point in time, on either route, for any length of the route.

For more info, visit [www.longestwalk.org](http://www.longestwalk.org).

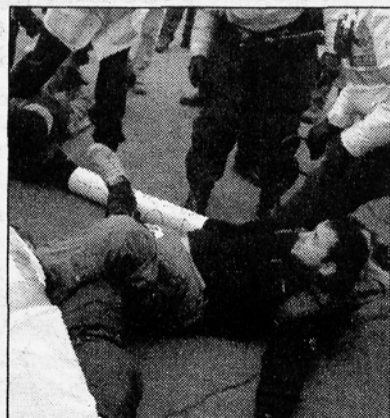
## UK Law Targets Animal Rights Activists Website Posting Means 4.5 Years in Prison

BY SALMON

Two years ago, 14 doors were kicked in by British police targeting a small anti-vivisection campaign against Sequani, which is based in Ledbury, England. Despite spending nearly \$2 million on the subsequent show-trial, only one defendant, Sean Kirtley, has been found guilty. The case against the others finally collapsed. This revealed the degree of collusion between police, corporations and the government in their efforts to suppress protest against vivisection labs, no matter how peaceful the protest.

The 2005 Serious Organized Crime and Police Act (SOCPA) specifically curbs the right to protest, while Section 145 of SOCPA makes it a crime to "interfere" with animal-testing companies.

The CEO of Sequani was one of several pharmaceutical leaders consulted during the drafting of SOCPA. Disturbingly, in this case, the government argued that even very peaceful protest amounted to interference. Kirtley's sole conviction was for conspiring with others unknown to help organize the anti-Sequani protests



Protesters lock down during a December march and blockade against Sequani in Ledbury, England.

through his contributions to the campaign's website. He was sentenced to 4.5 years in prison for those contributions.

The fight against Sequani has never been a high-profile campaign like Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty. There were no attacks on workers and are no accounts of criminal damage. Yet opposition to Sequani has been treated as terrorism nevertheless.

The trial has left a nasty taste in people's mouths. In the words of a 63-year-old female defendant, "A terrible injustice has been done with regard to peaceful protest." The judge hearing the case was clearly biased, refusing to stand down after a conflict of interest became apparent. During the trial, there was also deliberate manipulation of the jury to instill in them a fear of animal rights activists

at large. Fortunately, it became clear that the prosecution had little in the way of evidence. The defendants in the first trial refused to budge when offered plea deals. The result was that two people were acquitted outright, and the verdict hung in the case of two others, causing the next trial to collapse.

Throughout the trial, those campaigning against Sequani refused to be intimidated. Demonstrations continued weekly, and as a result the campaign remains alive. If anything, it has been spurred on by the absurd overreaction of the company to what are fairly insignificant levels of protest.

For more information, visit [sequani.wordpress.com](http://sequani.wordpress.com); [www.netcuwatch.org.uk](http://www.netcuwatch.org.uk). To support Sean Kirtley, visit [www.myspace.com/supportsean](http://www.myspace.com/supportsean).

# WOLVES & POODLES



A twisted, are-you-cutting-off-circulation-to-your-brain, double-whammy poodle to People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), which wants to gas chickens to death and grow them in test tubes. PETA's first stellar move was to submit a shareholders resolution to Supervalu, a grocery store that doesn't yet adopt PETA's "more humane recommended killing method," which includes gassing chickens to kill them instead of electrically stunning them. Apparently, dying in a gas chamber is much better than dying by electrocution.

Also, PETA is offering a \$1-million prize to whomever is able to make the first *in vitro* chicken meat and sell it to the public by June 30, 2012. According to PETA's website, "*In vitro* meat production would use animal stem cells that would be placed in a medium to grow and reproduce. The result would mimic flesh, and could be cooked and eaten." So no animals would be harmed, and we could eat laboratory kibble for the rest of our lives. Mmm... mimicked flesh.

A stop-your-fooling, inorganic, union-busting, since-when-does-local-produce-come-from-a-warehouse poodle to Whole Foods Market, for being big, fat liars. The ecological principles of the biggest "green" food retailer could be compared to a salad at McDonald's. It may be healthier, but you should still feel sick. Some evil highlights include Whole Foods' CEO John Mackey's favorite pastime of going on the Internet to promote union-busting or to bash now-bought-out competitor Wild Oats, and the facts that more than 40 percent of the company's suppliers are not organic and that more than 50 percent are not local. A lot of the products for sale travel hundreds if not thousands of miles before reaching stores, some even coming from as far away as China. The company also refuses to support farm workers, such as the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and the United Farm Workers.

Sadly, you can clearly make a crapload of money fooling liberal white yuppies, so we doubt Whole Foods will lose any steam. Just be sure to leave a flaming, reusable, hemp bag of poop in the hummus aisle.

A selfish, I-hope-you-get-sucked-up-in-a-tornado-so-your-nasty-face-will-be-bashed-in-by-a-hailstorm poodle to John Coleman, founder of the Weather Channel, due to his awesome stance on global warming. In 2007, he said that global warming is a "fictional, manufactured crisis... the greatest scam in history. I am amazed, appalled and highly offended by it." He recently said that he hopes Al Gore will be sued for fraud, because Gore allegedly deals carbon credits—which of course do nothing, so Coleman's got that right. But just because more hurricanes mean better ratings for the Weather Channel doesn't mean that Coleman can just make shit up.

A mammoth, take-it-to-the-streets wolf to the cyclists of Budapest, Hungary, for showing up on Earth Day for the largest Critical Mass in Hungary's history, as well as one of the largest in the world. With estimates of between 50,000 and 80,000 cyclists this April, Budapest has been steadily growing a big bicycle culture. The initial breakthrough came on World Carfree Day in 2004, when 4,000 riders participated. Earth Day 2005 hosted a 10,000-person Critical Mass, followed by a Critical Mass that September with estimates ranging from 24,000 to 30,000 riders. In 2006, the Earth Day Critical Mass ride had 30,000 riders, and the President of the Republic of Hungary, László Sólyom, was among the participants.

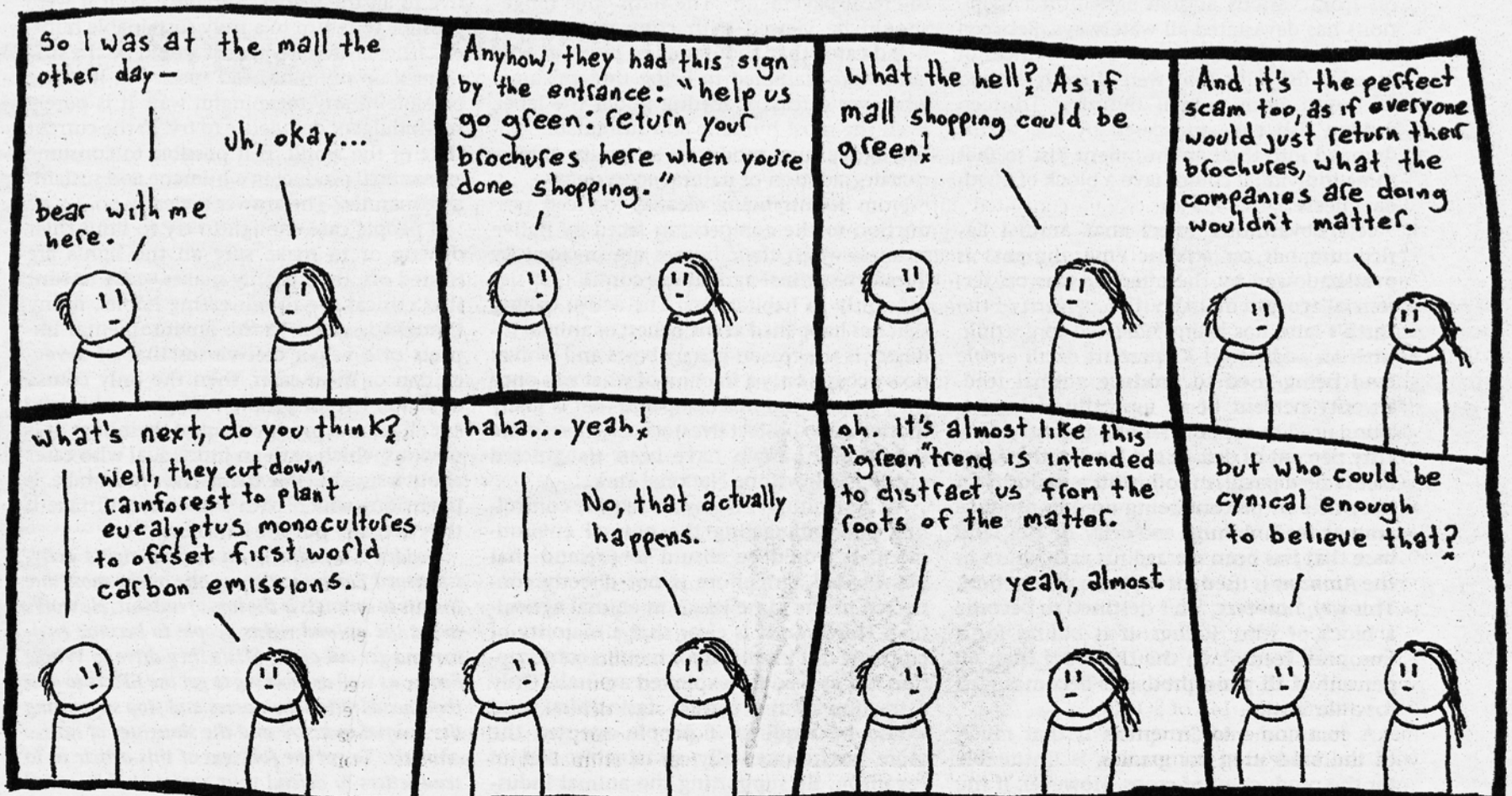
A music-is-power, you-rock-out wolf to Livebroadcast, a Jamaican reggae artist who is wise to the idiocy of biofuels as a replacement for oil. His latest hit, "The Biofuel Song," is a response to the global food crisis affecting many countries. Due to biofuels production and increased international demand, the cost of staple foods is dramatically rising. As Livebroadcast said in an interview with *Carbusters*, "Anyone who thinks of using food to produce fuel for motor vehicles is crazy." He's using online sales of his song to pay for ads in local Jamaican newspapers that educate people about biofuels and how they are contributing to the food crisis. Since 1996, Livebroadcast has written more than 100 songs, with lyrics focusing on poverty in Jamaica.

A seriously hardcore, no-climate-justice-no-peace, food-over-cars wolf to food rioters, who have taken it upon themselves to fight back and make their voices heard. In nearly 20 countries, from Bangladesh to Egypt, people have been stealing food and taking to the streets to demand higher wages and lower prices on food. In Haiti, Prime Minister Jacques Edouard Alexis was forced to resign by the riots.

However, this is not a joyous wolf; people are starving, and many have been killed due to the riots and subsequent police violence.

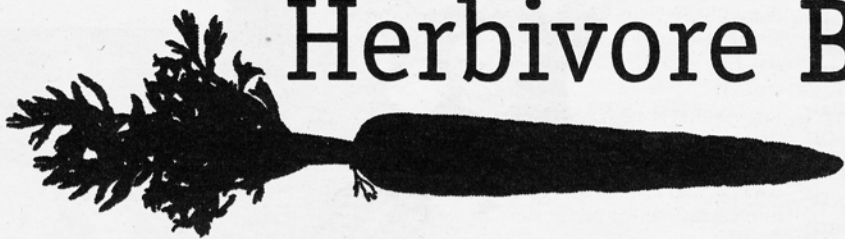
Since the beginning of 2006, the average world price for rice has risen by 217 percent, wheat by 136 percent, corn by 125 percent and soybeans by 107 percent. Some causes of the current food shortage include the increased use of food crops for biofuels, climate changes and damaged water tables. The cost of transportation and an increasing demand for food (and meat) have also been cited as causes.

A memorial wingnut wolf to Alexander Bichkov, who was gunned down by police on March 14, in Russia. Nicknamed "Russia's Rambo of the Forest," this former forestry worker quit his job by disappearing into the dense Kologriv woods, camping for 20 years until his death. He hunted, built shelters and only ventured out of the forest during Summer, leaving no detectable tracks. He also burned down 30 vacation homes belonging to rich Muscovites. Police were too terrified to look for him, though, ever since he caught a police commander and held him at gunpoint for several hours before freeing him and escaping into the trees. Finally, there was a shoot-out resulting in Bichkov killing two, setting fire to the forest, and nearly escaping had not a sniper seen him and shot him in the head.



# Human Diet and Its Effects on Natural Ecosystems

## Herbivore Because I Give a Shit



BY GEDDEN CASCADIA

What will it take? What will it take for environmentalists to make the connection between what is on our plates and the continued degradation of the planet? The impacts of animal agriculture are not only limited to huge factory farms. Many of the most destructive elements of animal agriculture are even present in small-scale "alternative" operations. In our current society, the only diet that is in line with a bio-centric ethic is a diet that does not contain animal products.

Animal agriculture plays a major part in land, air and water pollution. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, livestock such as cows, pigs, sheep and chickens now contribute 18 percent of overall greenhouse gas emissions. That is significantly more than the 13 percent that transport—including cars, trucks and airplanes—is responsible for. By buying that carton of organic yogurt, you are directly contributing to an industry that has more impact on climate destabilization than the industry that produces abominations like Hummers. This doesn't even take into account the amount of energy that goes into the production, transportation and processing of animal feed. Once these other factors are figured in, you have to put three times more energy into producing one pound of beef than the beef itself provides. According to the Worldwatch Institute, "American feed takes so much energy to grow—counting fuel for farm machinery, and for making fertilizers and pesticides—that it might as well be a petroleum byproduct."

The average dairy cow produces 120 pounds of "wet manure" every day. That is equivalent to the excrement of 20-40 people. The US cattle population of more than 100 million is producing the waste equivalent of two billion to four billion people. The runoff from various animal agriculture operations has devastated all waterways. Between 1995 and 1998, there were 200 instances of massive fish kills that were directly related to runoff from animal industry. Thirteen million fish were murdered by the toxins dumped into their environment just so that some individual could have a block of cheddar cheese.

The devastating effect that animal agriculture has on aquatic environments is overshadowed by the effects it has on terrestrial ecosystems. About 26 percent of the Earth's land has been dedicated to grazing, with an additional 33 percent of all arable land being used to produce animal feed. Seventy percent of all agricultural land is being used to support animal industry. Seventy percent of deforested land in the Amazon is now pasture land, with a majority of the other 30 percent being used to produce animal feed. A huge majority of the land base that has been cleared for agriculture in the Amazon is used for soybean production. This soy, however, isn't destined to become a block of tofu. Rather, it is bound for a European feedlot. In the US, more than 60 percent of all grain produced becomes feed for animals.

A common misconception is that much of the land used for grazing is unsuitable for the production of crops. However, if the land base is ecologically fragile enough to be

unsuitable for the production of crops, then this is exactly the same area that will be most easily destroyed by grazing. Fortunately for the livestock rancher, the lands that are being trampled are most often large tracts of public lands that have been opened up for private grazing. Federal and state lands are being devastated by livestock. In the 11 western states, 91 percent of all federal land—roughly 284 million acres—is open to livestock.

The destruction of native plants and the introduction of invasive weeds are just the beginning. Fragile microbial crusts that take hundreds of years to develop in grasslands get trampled and destroyed by the roving



hordes of cattle. The excrement from these cows is so fundamentally different from the scat of native animals that it has been likened to "fecal pavement." The term "free range" should be viewed with contempt because it indicates that thousands of acres of wild land were trampled to bring the consumer whatever carcass is rotting under the label. Even the most humane and sustainable animal agricultural producers are guilty of massive degradation of natural ecosystems.

From forests being cleared for feed production to the competition faced by native animals when their homes are invaded by livestock, animal agriculture contributes significantly to habitat loss. The active culling that has happened at the behest of animal industry is the reason grizzly bears and wolves now occupy only a fraction of what was once their home. And in a campaign that is solely motivated to protect livestock ranchers, more than 5,000 buffalo have been slaughtered outside Yellowstone National Park.

All agricultural endeavors require controlling and subjugating the natural environment. It would be absurd to pretend that plant-based agriculture is not directly connected to the same issues as animal agriculture. However, it is clear that a majority of crops are not intended for human consumption but as feed for exploited animals. Only a fraction of the current agricultural land would be required if people adopted the more environmentally sustainable diet of veganism. By supporting the animal industry in any manner, whether it is by eating at

McDonald's or purchasing "free range" eggs at the local co-op, you are enabling an industry that is inherently unsustainable and environmentally unjustifiable.

While it is irrefutable that giving any support to animal agriculture is environmentally unconscionable, what about other forms of animal consumption? A counter-argument when the question of environmentalism and veganism comes up is that veganism is just another form of consumerism and that it is much more environmentally ethical to eat food produced locally. However, to propose that the only two options are a diet of imported, processed vegan food or a diet of locally produced animal products is absurd. What about fresh vegetables? In addition, to match the environmental impacts of one block of locally produced cheese, a block of tofu would very nearly have to be shipped from the other side of the planet.

Others say the best option is to hunt and gather. But the human population is so far beyond sustainable levels that if any sizable portion of us took it into our heads that we wanted to be more "in tune" with nature by going out and killing something, then the resource would very quickly disappear (i.e., all the animals would be wiped out). To think that hunting is some sort of sustainable practice is to glorify a lifestyle choice without any critical analysis of the workings of ecosystems and civilization.

An important caveat is that hunter-gatherer societies are by far the most ecologically sustainable societies. Killing other animals for food is a natural part of survival for all carnivores and most omnivores. Unfortunately, with very few exceptions in completely isolated pockets, humanity has turned its back on this natural cycle. There are fundamental flaws in any civilization that uses agriculture, but to ignore the reality of our situation in the name of "rewilding" is naive and destructive to all the planet's inhabitants. If it were possible to return to a truly sustainable hunter-gatherer lifestyle, then I would be the first to pick up my flint-head spear. But it is not possible in any meaningful way. It is purely self-indulgent decadence to try. In the current state of the world, is it possible to consume any animal product in a humane and sustainable manner? The answer is clearly no.

If people care enough to try to limit their driving or to make sure all the lights are turned off, then it only makes sense to turn that critical eye to our eating habits. If any thought is given to the environmental impacts of a vegan diet versus that of a vegetarian or meat-eater, then the only course of action left for people who give a shit is to cut all animal products out of their lives. It is obvious which path an individual who cares about issues outside themselves must take. It is obvious which path someone will take if they actually put the Earth first.

*Gedden Cascadia is an animal rights activist turned Earth Firster, as one of the most dire threats to animals is the loss of habitat. He works to get the animal rights people to become enviros and get out of the SUVs they drive to Whole Foods, as well as working to get the EFlers to pull their heads out of their asses and stop supporting the animal industry and the slaughter of native animals. To get the full text of this article or to send letters to defend your carcass habit, email Gedden at [cascade@bikerider.com](mailto:cascade@bikerider.com).*

# ARMED WITH VISIONS



## SMOKE

Amidst the azure sky is the smell of smoke  
 in my wonderful home is the smell of smoke  
 smoke wafts and filters out in the city  
 So i can find my way by navigating thru smoke  
 where there's smoke there is fire  
 of a controlled kind, a constant kind, a capitalist kind smoldering  
 flame broiled burgers sizzles savaged meat  
 send out a beacon of smoke that rolls out of the smoke stack.  
 the smoke drifts into the nostril of a monster truck driver  
 twanging his pleasure node till his lust goes from tits to  
 ass. Cow ass, sizzling and smoking  
 so he hammers down the highway  
 tail pipe belching smoke  
 and rearview mirrors  
 He steers his way clear to the beacon of  
 smoke, to idle and chug the engine exhaust  
 smoke in the burger drive thru lane traffic jam  
 the smoke from his truck merging with the bovine smog  
 roiling up the stack  
 and inside the burger king  
 a single mom slaves at the smoky grill  
 flipping flamed butts of burgers  
 burning desire of her smoke break  
 finally, five minutes of freedom to smoke  
 finds her sitting at the service entrance.  
 and she lights up a smoke and her thoughts begin to drift  
 out with the cigarette smoke  
 up beyond the dead end job  
 beyond the punch clock and the tragic kitchen  
 her dreams mingle with the leaves of the trees  
 and she is one with the trees the smoke becoming a  
 fog revealing forest in a bird's eye and she is one with the  
 forest, drifting down to the canopy of jungle alive with birds  
 and the chattering orgy of life she is ephemeral and alive and  
 she drags in another lungful and the smoke twangs her pleasure node  
 and she is all in one and one in all and all is a celebration  
 everywhere the mind of god  
 a god that looks out over virgin creation and sees a carpet of green  
 forest stretching everywhere green alive  
 but for a smudge  
 a smear a blot  
 of smoke  
 the smoke that is the fire  
 the fire that eats at the forest  
 the forest that is cut and burned  
 and smoked and torn and becomes  
 pasture smoking ruins of glory  
 smoking pasture for cows  
 eating excreting  
 deals in smoky back rooms  
 hand shakes and cigars  
 smoke that turns beauty to burgers  
 burgers that smoke up the seas in freighters  
 to smoke down the highways in semis

Elemental, ephemeral  
 smoke

—Andrew Rodman

## IMMUNITY

A fine mosquito net—  
 insects themselves, arrayed 20 or more to a leg,  
 spindly assemblages of paper clip and wire  
 with the straight sure needle  
 finding multiple marks.

Bloody Summer sheets, the legacy of everychild  
 where rain and forests meet, and for me  
 through 29 years, the bane of Summer evenings,  
 always the excuse not to dine outdoors, to walk  
 quickly, stay on the path, retire early.

But on that medicine trip—  
 July, when 60 friends and relatives, eight llamas,  
 six cheesecakes, a flute, guitar and case of champagne  
 backpacked their way into Olympic wilderness  
 to celebrate five straight days of wedding—

the natural innoculant of the clouds  
 rose with every step, the bites,  
 the unprotected swells. Unable  
 to scratch a lick  
 with 20 pounds of gear

on my back, in my right hand, the lead  
 rope of a llama jockeying for position,  
 layers of sunscreen and useless  
 repellent ran rivulets down  
 both legs, perspiration and dirt.

All at once, mere hours into the journey  
 I lost that intense desire, the pack  
 settling into my shoulders, my feet  
 on virgin land, falling  
 into a llama's steady gait,

the itch receding  
 slowly, those irritating bumps  
 flattening, smoothing out  
 across the skin  
 as though they never were.

—Susan Edwards Richmond

clear  
 as cut  
 glass  
 & just  
 as dan-  
 gerous

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 to the authors)

## NOW GO THE WHALES

Black jewels 55 of them awash on the beach where my life began  
 all those Summers of my childhood I never knew of their  
 shimmering sleek 2,000 pound bodies in deeper water out beyond my  
 small one and how they dove and breached in the same waves  
 that reached me at shore  
 Beach where I stood and watched my father swim  
 studied the waves in search of his head and arms  
 now too many whales have lost their way  
 Beach where I walked till my skin turned tan  
 collecting smooth pieces of shell  
 Nine of them didn't make it their sleek wet skins  
 turned dull in the burning sun  
 Beach where I cry and pray as my mother died five miles inland  
 Were they hungry, the waters have been overfished  
 did they hear strange mechanical noises from some technological  
 monster bursting the delicate structure of their hearing  
 Beach where a sea of light was shattered into thousands of sparkling  
 fragments, the people tried to keep them wet dowsing their huge  
 bodies with buckets of sea water, covering them with dripping  
 beach towels and sheets  
 Beach where I fell in love with warm sand against my cold wet skin  
 When the tides came in 46 of them made it out into deeper water  
 the bulls their cows and all the young ones gliding gracefully out to sea  
 Beach where I lay on a sandbar at midnight and had my first moon bath  
 nine whales didn't make it their huge innocent eyes staring dully  
 all that life gone to waste  
 Beach where I let the waves caress my feet the sand get in my hair  
 human hands gently rinsed the watery mammals  
 Which ones died was there a calf a mother separated by death  
 her whale sounds weeping out at sea for her baby  
 And the cold darkness of the night ocean  
 black and silken as the color of their skin

—Jean Varda

## DOWN IN THE VALLEY, UP IN THE SKY

in pools of darkness  
 under curling vines  
 cooled droplets  
 of sunshine  
 rest in clusters  
 as the breath of night  
 sighs  
 through the vineyards.  
 dark orchard thick with plums  
 and leaning shadows.  
 at the end of the dirt road  
 between orchard and vineyard  
 a field of open cotton bolls  
 that glow white in the moonlight.  
 and the stars are sugar crystals  
 sprinkled across the sky  
 in the warm summer night.

—Kirk Lumpkin

send poems to:  
 warrior poets  
 society,  
 po box 14501,  
 berkeley, ca  
 94712-5501



# Book Reviews

## Radical City Living

BY JOANNA

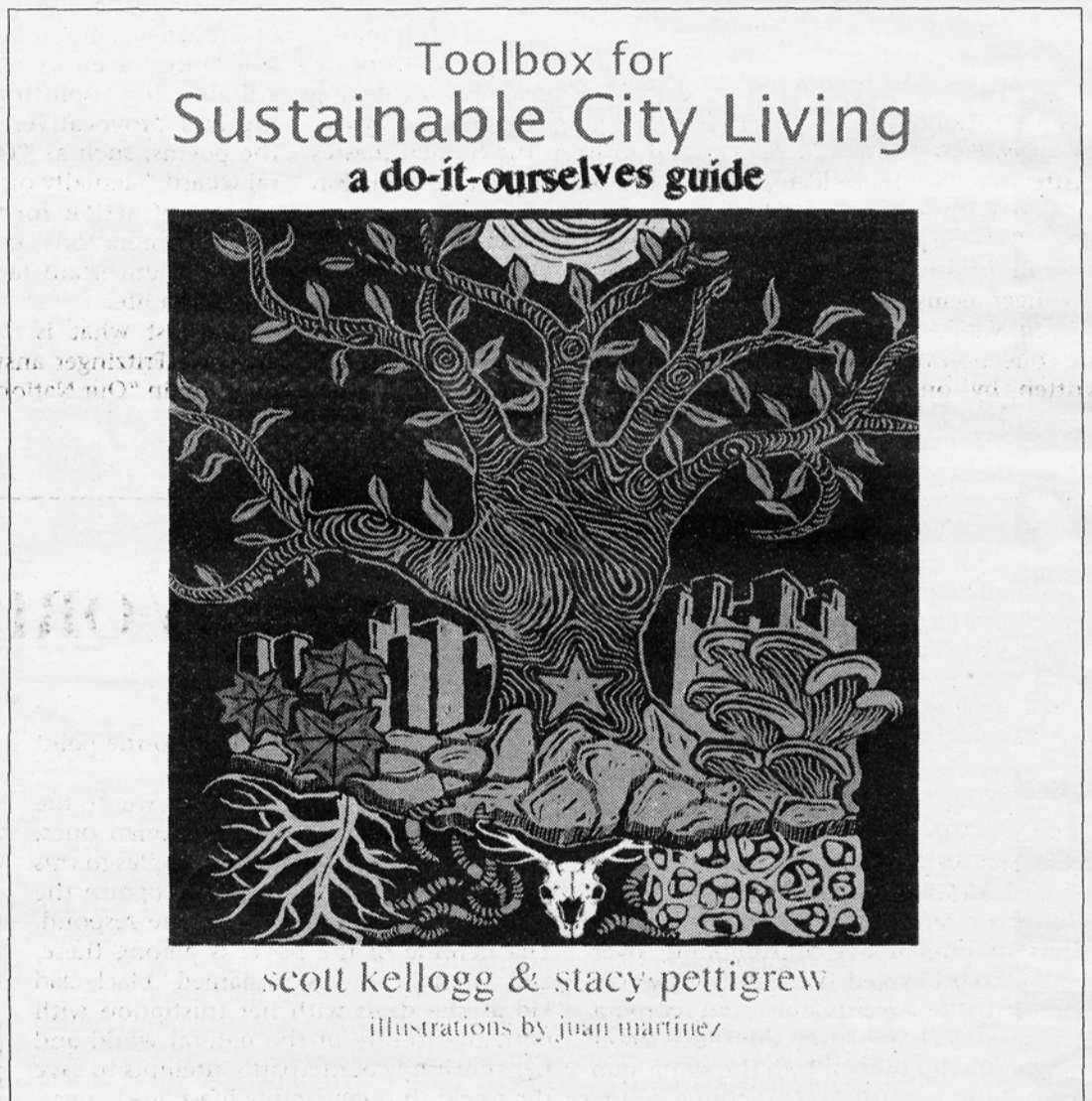
*Toolbox for Sustainable City Living: A Do-It-Ourselves Guide*, by Scott Kellogg and Stacy Pettigrew, South End Press, 2008.

*Toolbox for Sustainable City Living* is a diverse manual for urbanites to provide food, water, energy and waste management locally—mostly from cheap, recycled or salvaged materials. Written by Stacy Pettigrew and Scott Kellogg, two founders of the Rhizome Collective in Austin, Texas, this is a kick-ass first book. The systems are incredibly varied and can be implemented on a range of scales, making them highly adaptable to a variety of city codes, resources and needs. These designs are equally useful both for curious beginners who want small, simple systems that can live in the cupboard of an apartment and for experienced gangs of rabble-rousers who want to take down corporate America.

The tone of the book is an encouraging dare to begin building a better world—a call to arms to get stuff done, create a self-reliant lifestyle and explore possibilities beyond the limits of the book. *Toolbox* is guided by “radical sustainability,” a concept explained in the introduction. The book distinguishes this from what the mainstream version of sustainability has come to mean: alternative energy sources that create another kind of waste and are only for the rich. Pettigrew and Kellogg instead define their sustainable tactics as working at the root of the problem. Their goal is to place the means of production in the hands of local autonomous communities, ostensibly destroying the barrier between environmental and social issues in our activism and organizing.

The book's specific focus on urban spaces is particularly engaging. It's exciting to think how a place as ecologically desolate as an urban center could be transformed into a sustainable, mindful space. Land covered in concrete can be reclaimed and rejuvenated to grow and provide once again.

Many ideas presented in the book are ideal for an urban setting, since projects take advantage of pre-existing infrastructure and don't rely on lots of sunlight or soil. Some highlights include farming insects, growing mushrooms, aquaculture, wind turbines made of bicycle parts and mobile composting toilets. The book also includes basic information on a variety of projects including



veggie-oil systems, low-tech rainwater harvesting, constructed wetlands/graywater, removing asphalt and bioremediation.

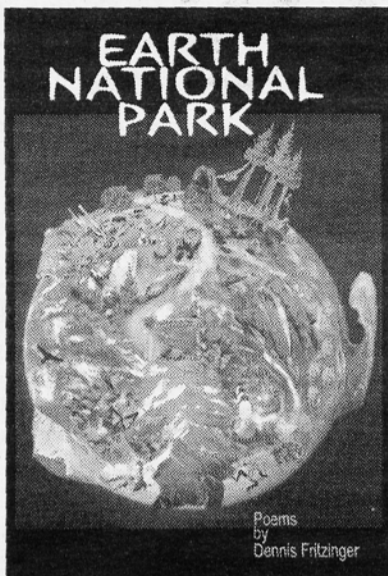
It was disappointing that there wasn't anything on how to generate energy with bicycle power. Most of the alternative energy systems in the book go outside the confines of an apartment, which could be a constraint for many people who live in an urban setting.

*Toolbox* is a great reference, but some systems are difficult and complex. It could be helpful to see those designs in action and learn more by attending a Radical Urban Sustainability Training (RUST) in Austin, Texas, or Albany, New York. These are workshops that the Rhizome Collective hosts, and they are the testing grounds for many of these technologies.

We have a lot to teach ourselves; we must relearn how to attend to our basic needs without relying on the disastrous mechanisms currently in place. Resources like this one will be critical tools throughout that relearning process. The skills presented in this guide can empower us to start that process now, in our current space. We don't have to go to a farm or ecovillage to learn how we *should* live. *Toolbox for Sustainable City Living: A Do-It-Ourselves Guide* proves it is possible to stay in an urban setting and still build a powerful, autonomous resistance space. It proves we can have revolutionary folks and environments in all the crevices and communities of the Earth, as we continue to incite social change.

*Joanna has lived in New York City all her life and daydreams about the brewing Earth lying strong under concrete.*

# Poems of the Earth to Move Us to Action



BY RADIKAL WEATHERMAN

*Earth National Park*, by Dennis Fritzing, *Poetry Vortex*, 2008.

After many years of editing the "Armed With Visions" segment of the *Earth First! Journal*, a compilation of work from Dennis Fritzing seems long overdue.

*Earth National Park* is a genuine collection of warrior poetry, written by one very genuine

warrior poet. The book opens with a pledge of allegiance to the Earth (now there's a concept!), and from that follows one gem after another in an honest and heartfelt effort to give voice to land, water and sky; mountain, canyon, river, desert and forest; wind, storm, earthquake, flood and tsunami; grizzly, wolf, whale, turtle, frog, beetle and horsefly.

One piece presents a challenge to turn the Earth into a global national park, and in a sardonic (and likely prophetic) jibe against the coffee industry and the bourgeois society it caters to, the poem demands we trade egocentrism for ecocentrism. In another poem, the author implores scientists and poets to work together to break the deafening silence imposed by this society and to warn the humyn masses of the ongoing mass extinction we are causing.

One of the most creative aspects of Fritzing's work is that the beginning of a poem can often give no clue as to the subject matter the poem ultimately addresses. As one reads further, each

such poem is a mini-journey unto itself that often leads to unforeseen but obvious (and foreboding) conclusions. For example, one of those poems starts out describing the experience of eating a spicy sausage sandwich.

A common theme in many of Fritzing's poems is the plague of apathy that permeates most of Western civilization. He does not mince words when calling attention to this apathy, which is any activist's greatest enemy. One heart-rending piece tells the story of a former "greenie" who finally opts out for a political career with a fat paycheck, selling his very soul and conviction in the process. Some of these gems are in fact rather disturbing, even as others are enlightening, uplifting, amusing and provocative. Some of the poems, such as "The Natural Guard," actually offer viable courses of action for this and future generations concerned with the uncertain fate of the Earth and life.

And just what is "America" anyway? Fritzing answers this question in "Our National Epic,"

which he writes from the point of view of the land, wildlife and weather, rather than politicians, celebrities, "war heroes" or self-absorbed, white, male talk-show hosts. He asks when rock, punk and hip-hop stars will give voice to the land, its natural processes and its wild inhabitants, and he tells us all too poignantly what really became of "paradise."

If you want to expand your horizons regarding deep ecology and ecocentrism, I highly recommend this book. You will find in it a fresh conceptual method of thought. The time for this way of thinking has finally come. Fritzing—true to his own general humility—credits the Earth herself for these poems, stating emphatically: "All I'm doing is writing them down!"

So read this book, pass it along—then, let's arm the bears!

To order the book *Earth National Park*, visit [www.poetryvortexpublishing.com](http://www.poetryvortexpublishing.com).

*The Radikal Weatherman is a poet in heist who recognizes the art of storytelling as a fundamental underpinning of Culture, Madness and Revolution.*

## BURNING A WORLD OF DESIRE

BY RODIN

As *The World Burns: 50 Things You Can Do to Stay in Denial*, by Derrick Jensen and Stephanie McMillan, *Seven Stories*, 2007.

Today we face a world devastated by the effects of human overconsumption, overpopulation and greed. The solutions we are spoon-fed by governments and corporations seek to channel our valid fears about our planet's destruction into the status quo. We are constantly told: "Everything will be alright; just buy energy-efficient light bulbs, recycle your cans and continue life as usual." According to those in power, global warming, species extinction and all other problems can be solved with little thought and less action.

As *The World Burns: 50 Simple Things You Can Do to Stay in Denial* obliterates these myths and instead poses us with a challenge to move beyond passivity and greenwashing, to take action and take down the systems of power that are the roots of our current predicament. Derrick Jensen teams up with artist Stephanie McMillan to create a graphic novel that is engaging while remaining clear in its message. The authors present a caricatured and sometimes absurd parallel universe in which the president has sold the rights to all of Earth's resources to invading aliens. The book also features a large range of easily recognized characters: money-grubbing CEOs, ineffective nonprofit

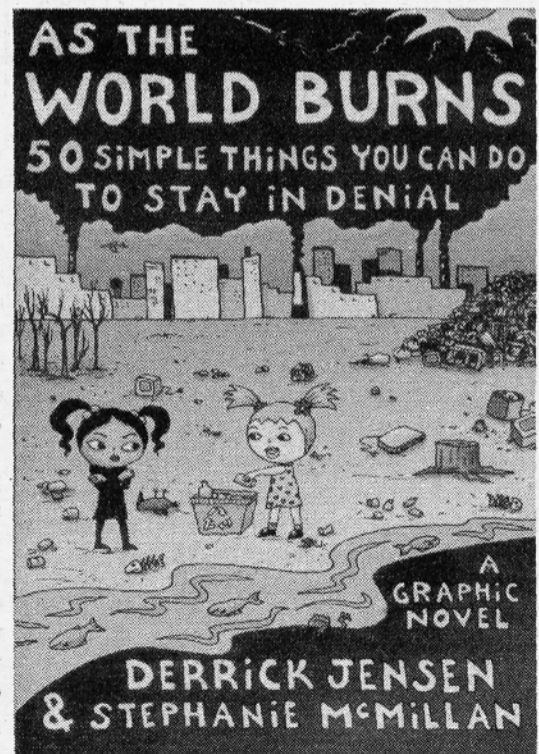
employees and police obedient to the point of idiocy.

The only people with a real answer to the planet's troubles are the nonhuman ones, and only a few of the human peoples in this parallel world are willing to recognize the reality of the situation, let alone respond. The heroine of the novel is among these, and we follow this unnamed, black-clad kid as she deals with her frustration with both the torture of the natural world and her sunshiny counterpart's attempts to save the world through simple lifestyle changes. Through the characters' conversations, *As the World Burns* knocks down barrier after barrier that humans have created to excuse themselves from taking any sort of real, effective action.

Jensen and McMillan have succeeded in creating a book that clearly articulates that direct action is more important now than ever, and they do so in a way that any person within today's society can understand and enjoy. *As the World Burns* is a book that anyone who gives a shit about this planet will be able to connect with, on some level. Those who already know the importance of direct action will recognize the novel as a fun affirmation of their beliefs, while anyone who is still buying into the concept of "50 simple things you can do to save the world" will experience its message as a wake-up call to move past the "solutions" perpetuated by the managers of this disaster. Although complex situations are incredibly simplified,

the authors' goal is obviously not to argue details of strategy or theory, but rather to instill in readers the need for an appropriate response to the state of the world we are currently faced with—a response that must move beyond petitions and green consumerism to true action.

Rodin is an insect-loving North Carolinian, currently boiling in the Arizona heat.



# Announcements!

## **Camp for Climate Action Australia July 10-15 • Newcastle, Australia**

The greenhouse pollution from Australia's coal exports exceeds all of the country's domestic pollution combined. Newcastle is home to the biggest coal-exporting facility in the world, with a capacity of more than 100 million tons of coal per year. Come join us to stop this dirty coal! Please register ahead of time for logistical reasons.

For more info, contact [info@climatecamp.org.au](mailto:info@climatecamp.org.au); [www.climatecamp.org.au](http://www.climatecamp.org.au).

## **The Front Lines Tour July 10-August 30 • Nationwide**

The Front Lines Tour is an artists-run initiative to reconnect the severed edges of our community. Although we are at war abroad, we are also at war with ourselves here at home. Whether it be a war with poverty, the environment or racism, the continuation of social disparity has become more and more prevalent among us all. Our communities have become more condensed, thoroughly separated and structurally divided.

The Front Lines Tour will be traveling around the nation for seven weeks with a crew of eight artists, two camerapeople, one photographer and one journalist. It will visit America's most destitute and disenfranchised neighborhoods, towns and cities, where music, workshops, block parties and community action will be conducted in an attempt to reconnect the strains of communication.

For more information, visit [www.myspace.com/frontlinestour](http://www.myspace.com/frontlinestour).

## **Rally to Save our Forests July 27 • Portland, OR**

Through the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), George W. Bush is trying to give one last gift to his big timber buddies before leaving office. You can imagine them laughing as they coined the acronym WOPR (appropriately pronounced *whopper*). It stands for Western Oregon Plans Revisions and would increase the clearcutting of old-growth trees in public forests by 700 percent.

In September, the BLM will announce its final decision on WOPR. Until then, we are working hard to raise public awareness of this issue and to build energy to defeat the plan. We now ask you to help us, not only to stop WOPR but also to issue our own list of demands about how we want our public forests to be managed.

On July 27, from noon to 5 p.m., a rally will take place at Pioneer Courthouse Square, in Portland, Oregon. This will be followed by a march to the BLM and US Forest Service Headquarters. Expect forest-defender speakers and a free concert by world-class musicians, including international star Thomas Mapfumo, with his band Blacks Unlimited. There will also be excellent rock and hip-hop artists, and a *nyabingi* drum circle. Please arrive at noon for the beginning ritual, featuring Native American tribal drummers and dancers.

For more information, contact Day Owen, The Pitchfork Rebellion, POB 160, Greenleaf, OR 97430.

## **Northeast Climate Confluence July 27-August 3 • High Falls, NY**

The Northeast Climate Confluence aims to kick-start a regional disaster-response network. We want to be better able to respond to both "natural" disasters and the unnatural disasters that people face in their communities every day. The main elements of this disaster-response network might include local food networks, accessible health care projects, autonomous energy, first-responder trainings, access to land and housing, and networks of defense against violent authorities.

For more information, contact Northeast Climate Confluence, POB 173, Turners Falls, MA 01376; (413) 863-6383; [northeast@climateconvergence.org](mailto:northeast@climateconvergence.org); [www.climateconfluence.org](http://www.climateconfluence.org).

## **West Coast Climate Convergence July 28-August 4 • Near Eugene, OR**

Locally and regionally, the resistance to liquefied natural gas development has grown a lot due to grassroots efforts by communities across Oregon. Now is the time to join together in solidarity with one another against the fossil-fuel empire.

For more info, contact [westcoast@climateconvergence.org](mailto:westcoast@climateconvergence.org); [www.climateconvergence.org/west](http://www.climateconvergence.org/west).

## **UK Camp for Climate Action August 3-11 • Kent, UK**

This year's UK Climate Camp is being launched at a major meeting on aviation expansion at Heathrow Airport. This will be followed by a caravan procession from Heathrow to the site of the proposed Kingsnorth coal power plant in Kent. Because coal is about as clean as an anthrax sandwich, we will make sure that the Kingsnorth power plant never gets built!

For more info, visit [www.climatecamp.org.uk](http://www.climatecamp.org.uk).

## **Southeast Climate Convergence August 5-11 • Louisa County, VA**

This year's convergence will be hosted in Virginia, where communities are fighting uranium mining, nuclear power, mountaintop removal coal mining and new (as well as old) coal plants. Expect workshops, trainings and direct action.

For more information, contact Southeast Convergence for Climate Action, POB 7586, Asheville, NC 28802; [southeast@climateconvergence.org](mailto:southeast@climateconvergence.org).

## **German Climate Camp August 15-24 • Hamburg, Germany**

Hamburg is the most frequented hub of maritime and road traffic in Germany; the largest coal harbor, where supplies from Australia, Indonesia and Columbia are landed for domestic power stations and industry; where Archer Daniels Midland operates one of the large biodiesel factories; and where Vattenfall manages nuclear and coal-fired power stations. There will be an anti-racist camp at the same time that will make the Hamburg Charter Deportation Airport its action target. Both camps will be fine-tuned with each other for peak potential of mobilization.

For more information, contact [kontakt@klimacamp08.net](mailto:kontakt@klimacamp08.net); [www.klimacamp08.net](http://www.klimacamp08.net).

## **Climate Camp New Zealand Date and Location to Be Announced**

From new roads to airports to coal mines and power plants, there is much work to do in New Zealand. To get involved in planning a climate camp in New Zealand, contact [climatecampnz@riseup.net](mailto:climatecampnz@riseup.net); [www.climatecamp.org.nz](http://www.climatecamp.org.nz).

## **International Animal Rights Gathering August 21-24 • Near Vienna, Austria**

It has been 10 years since the Animal Rights Gathering went international. Come and celebrate the first decade of international

get-togethers at a beautiful spot south of Vienna, Austria, at the foot of the massive Schneeberg Mountain.

The International Animal Rights Gathering attracts about 400 activists from all across Europe and beyond. It is a time to get together and talk, socialize and build networks. On the afternoon of August 21, there will be a demonstration march in Vienna. A train connection and buses will bring you to the campsite afterward.

August 22-24 will be filled with discussions, workshops, talks, film screenings and a soccer tournament. There is no participation fee; the vegan food provided will be kept to the lowest possible cost.

For more info, contact [info@ar2008.info](mailto:info@ar2008.info); [www.ar2008.info](http://www.ar2008.info).

## **Twin Oaks Women's Gathering August 22-24 • Louisa, VA**

This will be our 25th year of coming together to celebrate our connections, creativity and strength as women in all our diversity.

Throughout the weekend, there will be opportunities to relax, swim in the river, and enjoy the mud pit, sweat hut, hammocks and company of women.

The sliding scale fee of \$40-\$140 includes camping and workshops.

For more information, contact Women's Gathering, 138 Twin Oaks Rd, Louisa, VA 23093; (540) 894-5126; [www.twinoaks.org](http://www.twinoaks.org).

## **Growing Food and Justice for All Initiative First Annual Gathering September 19-21 • Milwaukee, WI**

The Growing Food and Justice for All Initiative (GFJI) is aimed at dismantling racism and empowering low-income communities and communities of color through sustainable and local agriculture. The vision for this initiative is to establish a powerful network of individuals, organizations and community-based entities all working toward a food-secure and just world.

For more information or to participate in conference planning, contact Diane Dodge, (651) 278-6748; [dianefaydodge@hotmail.com](mailto:dianefaydodge@hotmail.com); [www.growingpower.org](http://www.growingpower.org).

## **Bike!Bike! 2008**

### **September 25-28 • San Francisco, CA**

Bike!Bike! is an annual conference of community bicycle projects from North America and beyond. We recognize the bicycle as a powerful tool for sustainable transportation that does not threaten our neighborhoods and environment, and is conducive to livable urban design, community building, healthy living habits and personal empowerment.

Join us in building community, and in sharing ideas, skills and knowledge of community bicycle projects.

For more information, contact Bike!Bike!, POB 423911, San Francisco, CA 94142; [www.bikebike.org](http://www.bikebike.org).



artwork courtesy [www.climatecamp.org.uk](http://www.climatecamp.org.uk)

# Ask an EF! Lawyer

the  
who's  
working  
on  
your  
side

BY STU SUGARMAN

Dear EF! Lawyer,

I got subpoenaed by a grand jury. I don't want to tell them anything. What should I expect to go through?

—Witness Against the Machine

Dear WAM,

You should expect to go through a lot of hassle, stress and possibly prison. You should also expect to earn the respect of your friends, foes and many more you've never met, while learning about yourself, and just how strong, brave and good a friend you can be.

Books—long books—have been written in answer to your question, so I'll just review a few basics. Hopefully, the seven items I discuss will provide you with an idea of what you'll go through. You can defeat the government if you are smart, stubborn and perhaps a bit lucky.

1. *Get a Lawyer:* It is insanely dangerous for you to face a grand jury and prosecutor without a lawyer experienced with grand juries. To get a free, experienced lawyer, call the federal defender's office in the city you are subpoenaed to appear in. If you are able, you may also want to hire a lawyer.

2. *Develop a Plan:* You and your lawyer will discuss a specific plan for the grand jury process. For example, you might decide to set traps for the prosecutor and subtly invite her or him to make mistakes that could force the government to free you from your subpoena. You must, at all costs, stick to the plan.

3. *Handwriting Samples and Other Evidence:* The prosecution can force you to provide handwriting samples. However, you can force them to give you written material to copy, rather than them reading material to you—the government cannot require you to reveal your spelling abilities. They may be able to force you to turn over documents such as notes of meetings or to provide a tissue sample for DNA purposes, but you may be able to stop them cold (although this is beyond the scope of this article). You can also force them to reveal any and all wiretaps they are conducting, if you have some evidence they're conducting a wiretap.

4. *Finally Meeting the Grand Jury:* On the day of the grand jury, you must stick with your plan. Do not give them anything, no matter how much the prosecutor threatens you, yells at you or offers not to harass you if you'd only answer his or her questions. The prosecutor will try to throw you off your plan. You and your lawyer will try to throw the prosecutor off her or his plan.

When you arrive at the courthouse with your lawyer, you will head to the grand jury room with the prosecutor. Your lawyer will wait in a nearby room or outside the grand jury room. The grand jury rooms I've seen are small—meant to hold 23 grand jurors, the prosecutor, a stenographer and you. You, of course, will be in the witness chair. The 23 grand jurors are in their chairs and will all be focused on you. The prosecutor will be in your face asking, or even yelling out, questions in rapid succession. The stenographer will create a transcript of the proceedings and will be sitting practically in your lap, the room is so small. The grand jurors will already have been turned against you by testifying FBI agents, so don't count on any allies there. There will be no audio or video recording.

When the prosecutor asks questions, write down every question on a pad. Be sure to take your time writing down each question to ensure you answer accurately. When you have written each question down, ask to see your attorney. If the prosecutor does not let

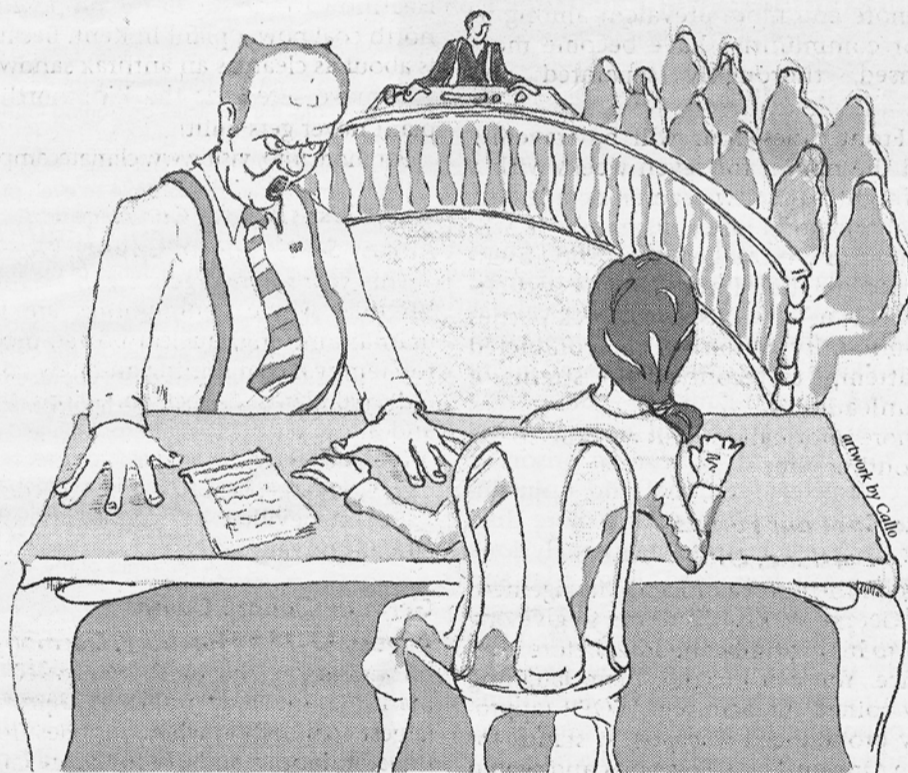
you see your lawyer, do not be shy about insisting to see your lawyer. Tell the prosecutor that s/he may continue asking questions, but you will not answer any of them until you have spoken with your lawyer. When you visit your lawyer, you two must go over each question carefully but quickly. When you have discussed each question, go back in the grand jury room and read your answers. They should be something like, "I take the Fifth," or, "I invoke my right to remain silent." You should also claim the First, Sixth and Ninth Amendments (rights to freedom of speech, to a lawyer and to political expression). While each of these amendments is weaker in this situation than the Fifth Amendment (against self-incrimination), they can provide you some protection—and protection is good!

5. *After Immunity Is Imposed:* The second round, in my experience, will take place another day, after the prosecutor continues your subpoena, and you either agree to or s/he commands you to return on that other day. The prosecutor will give your lawyer the documents imposing immunity on you, and you will start the second round of questioning. This immunity probably does protect you from any prosecution based upon anything you say during this round, but that is not a guarantee. The government could prosecute you if it could prove to a judge that even though you told the grand jury all about it,

answering. Of course, you're scared, but your will is strong and you've tied up loose ends. Your best friends will stand by you, care for your cat and be your spokespeople to the outside world if you are taken into custody. You will return once more to the grand jury room for the third and final round.

6. *After the Judge Threatens You With Contempt:* The prosecutor and you will be alone again with the grand jury. The prosecutor again will read you the questions the judge has already ordered you to answer, and you'll refuse to answer the questions. You return to go before the judge, and the judge will hear the arguments of your attorney and the prosecutor. At this point, without hesitation, the judge might order you into prison for the remainder of the grand jury's term. I have to note here that I've represented many high-profile Earth and Animal Liberation Front activists in grand jury situations, and so far no one has been held in contempt, but it does happen.

7. *Winning Your Freedom and Immunity From Future Grand Juries:* If you are unlucky enough to spend some time in prison (every case is different—it could be the remainder of the grand jury's 18-month term or just a matter of



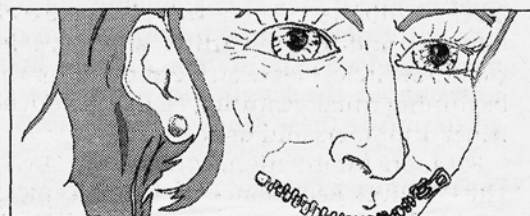
the investigators found out about this or that crime you did from sources completely unrelated to your grand jury appearance. That is why I call this "useless" immunity.

During the second round, you will be asked many more questions than in the first round, and the government will show you, through its questions, what it has been investigating. Here's where they can start getting nasty if you're stubborn and smart. Remember to stick with the game plan and give them nothing. After writing all the questions down, discussing them with your lawyer, and giving the prosecution nothing but invocations of constitutional rights, they'll give up and take you to see the judge for the immunity hearing.

During the immunity hearing, the judge will review the immunity-imposing documents the prosecutor provided, the specific questions the prosecutor asked of you and your nonresponses. The judge will then threaten you with prison for the remainder of the grand jury's term if you don't start

weeks), your lawyer can move to have you released well before the end of the grand jury's term. Your lawyer could argue that the coercive effect of imprisonment does not work on you, so it is silly to continue holding you. If the judge were to agree, you would go free, and your grand jury ordeal would be over (probably for life, because your strength this time will be proof to a future grand jury that prison can't make you squeal). Last but not least, your community and all your friends will be in awe of you because you've proven your dedication and shown such courage.

Do you have a legal question? Contact Stu Sugarman at [quixote516@yahoo.com](mailto:quixote516@yahoo.com). Please write "Dear EF! Lawyer" in the subject line.



# Eric McDavid

## IS SENTENCED TO NEARLY 20 YEARS

continued from page 1

The government also attempted to downplay and even deny many of the issues Mark Reichel, Eric's lawyer, raised during the hearing. Perhaps one of the most blatant lies told by the government was its claim that Eric had only suffered one bout of pericarditis during his time in Sacramento County Jail. This was a slap in the face to Eric, who had to physically endure more than one serious encounter with this dangerous heart condition; to his friends and family, who dealt with the emotional strain of having a loved one in jail who was suffering from a serious medical ailment; and to all of Eric's supporters, who spent countless hours calling and writing the jail to demand that Eric be given proper medical care.

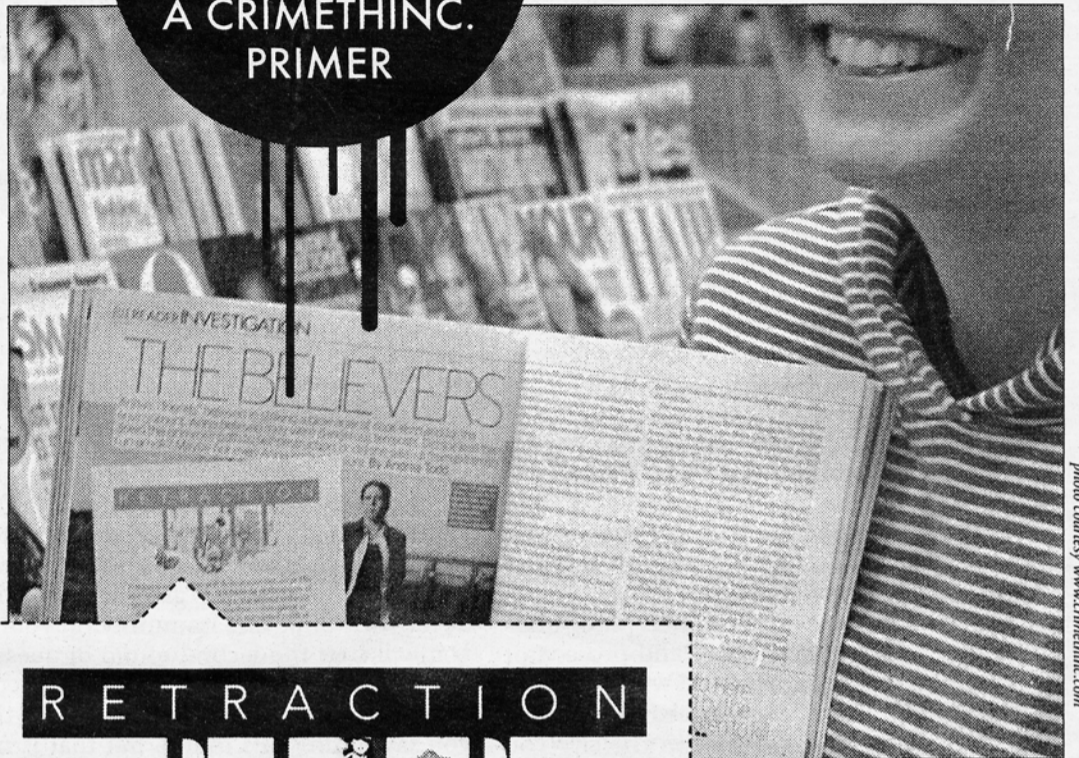
The outcome was one that some of us had feared, some had never expected and few could actually believe: 19 years, seven months for a crime that was never committed, for falling prey to a government informant, for being entrapped by the state and for talking about things the government found to be distasteful. This may be the longest sentence for any environmental

Eric's trial and sentence were clearly meant to set an example for anyone who dares to even think about opposing the state.

prisoner to date. (While Jeffrey "Free" Luers was originally sentenced to more than 22 years for burning three SUVs, his appeal was finally successful, reducing his sentence to 10 years.) Even folks who were found guilty of—or who pleaded guilty to—committing multiple acts of arson and vandalism received "only" six to 13 years in prison. It seems completely irrational and unjustifiable that someone who did no more than talk could be given such an insanely long sentence. Yet it happened. Eric's trial and sentence were clearly meant to set an example (and the government has stated this explicitly in its post-sentencing press releases) for anyone who dares to even think about opposing the state. It's a scary precedent and one that's not to be taken lightly. Unfortunately, we can only assume that we will see more of these cases in the future. Similar sentences will surely follow.

The government stated repeatedly—in pretrial press releases, during trial, in its sentencing memorandum and at the sentencing hearing—that Eric's actions constituted terrorism. In its sentencing memorandum, the government stated, "McDavid's home-grown brand of ecoterrorism is just as dangerous and insidious as international terrorism. A 20-year term of imprisonment demonstrates that the public does not tolerate those who would generate fear and inflict massive property damage in order to oppose government policy." This kind of hyperbole and blatant disregard for the truth is consistent with the government's rabid campaign against environmentalists, anarchists or anyone else it sees as challenging the status quo. While equating Eric with international terrorists is an outrageous and disgusting use of rhetoric, the statement—and Eric's sentence—speaks volumes about the lengths to which the government is willing to go to pursue these kinds of convictions. The message: "Stand up

### HOW TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE CORPORATE MEDIA: A CRIMETHINC. PRIMER



### RETRACTION



Following consultation with federal agencies, we at *Elle* wish to retract this article. Not because of the stream of factual inaccuracies beginning in the second sentence (there has never been a Crimethinc. convergence in Athens, Georgia), but because in the current political climate it is irresponsible to even pretend to give a fair hearing to radical anti-capitalists. Even if Anna's story is a cut-and-dried case of entrapment, we have to understand this as a necessary defense of our free market freedoms.

Not to say that we are not concerned about the environment at *Elle*. On the contrary, the global environmental crisis offers unprecedented opportunities to promote sustainable fashions (p. 98), give the meat industry a makeover (p. 245), and renew faith in this country's discredited electoral process (p. 104); even the color green itself is making a comeback (p. 72). Consumer capitalism may be threatening life on earth, but there's simply no other option—that is, not unless you're willing to join the ranks of the eco-terrorists.

LET'S SAY a corporate fashion magazine prints a flattering interview with an FBI informant who heartlessly set up some environmentally conscious young people. Let's say the magazine prints this interview in its "green" issue, no less, and that it includes all sorts of factual errors. What's a concerned citizen to do? Send an angry letter straight to the editor's recycle bin? Sue the magazine for libel? Start a rival corporate magazine?

It appears that some vigilantes decided that direct action was their best bet to get a hearing. Shortly after the publication of

the May issue of *Elle* magazine, which included an interview with FBI informant "Anna" on her efforts to ruin Eric McDavid's life, this post appeared on an Internet blog:

"This month, as every month, I tromped over to Borders to purchase the new issue of *Elle* magazine. I was delighted to see that the May 2008 *Elle* is its third Green Issue. Thanks to funding from Aveeno®, it's even printed on 10-percent post-consumer recycled paper! But when I opened the magazine, I discovered a sticker pasted across one of the articles."

The post included a PDF of the sticker. The blog entry

was widely reposted, and comments indicated that people across the nation were encountering these stickers. Within 48 hours, the story was all over fashion and gossip websites. *Elle* magazine made a public statement that the stickers "were not generated" by *Elle* and that it was "investigating the situation." Some of the otherwise apolitical gossip blogs that reported on the story expressed concern about the conduct of the FBI and noted the hypocrisy of *Elle's* greenwashing. You can bet the article's author got a dressing down for her shoddy research, too.

against us, and you will be locked away for 20 years—even if you just think it. And don't you dare talk about it."

This is no excuse to cower in fear or silence your voice. The government intends to hold Eric hostage for 20 years to terrorize whoever might question its actions, intentions and authority. We must have the strength and courage to stand up for what we know is right, to hold on to our integrity in the face of repression, to see clearly what it is we are up against and to know why it is so important for us to fight back.

For more information, visit [www.supporteric.org](http://www.supporteric.org).

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 you write to a prisoner. When prisoners are awaiting trial or sentencing, it is best not to discuss their cases or related topics with them. Although some prisoners are listed together, they must be written to separately. Prisoners can obtain a discounted subscription to the E! Journal by sending a book of 10 42¢ stamps to POB 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702. Individuals who want to sponsor a prisoner's subscription should send \$20 to the same address.

### Prisoner and Legal Updates

•Tre Arrow, SWIS #640393, Multnomah County Detention Center, 1120 SW 3rd Ave, Portland, OR 97204, USA. Pleaded guilty on June 3, to two counts of arson for burning logging trucks and vehicles owned by a sand and gravel company. Arrow's sentencing is scheduled for August 12. For more information, visit [www.trearrow.org](http://www.trearrow.org).

•Daniele Casalini, Casa Circondariale, Via Burla 59, 43100-Parma PR, Italy. Awaiting trial for allegedly using explosives to damage power lines. Casalini is a member of Il Silvestre, an Italian eco-anarchist group and frequent target of state repression.

•Christoph, Jan, Kevin Kroemmer, Leo, Martin Balluch and Sabine, c/o Antirep 2008, Postfach 101, 1070 Vienna, Austria. On May 21, 10 Austrian aboveground animal rights activists were arrested and charged with forming a criminal organization to commit direct action. Three are on hunger strike to demand access to vegan food. Some have intentionally withheld their last names.

•Rodney Coronado, #03895-000, FCI El Reno, POB 1500, El Reno, OK 73036, USA. Serving one year for distribution of information related to the assembly of explosives and weapons of mass destruction. Be aware that the prison may punish Coronado for receiving radical materials in the mail. He has been moved to the above address. For more information, visit [www.supportrod.org](http://www.supportrod.org).

•Francesco Gioia, CC Solliciano, Via Girolamo Minervini 2/R, 50142-Firenze Solliciano FI, Italy. Awaiting trial for allegedly using explosives to damage power lines. Gioia is a member of Il Silvestre.

•Paola Gori, Via delle Macchie 9, 57124-Livorno LI, Italy. Awaiting trial for alleged subversive conspiracy to rob a post office. Gori is a member of Il Silvestre.

•Sean Kirtley, WC6977, HMP Blakenhurst, Hewell Ln, Redditch, B97 6QS, UK. Sentenced on May 31, to 4.5 years for organizing legal demonstrations against animal-testing company Sequani. For more information, see page 20 or visit [supportsean.wordpress.com](http://supportsean.wordpress.com).

•Eric McDavid, #16209-097, FCI Victorville Medium II, POB 5700, Adelanto, CA 92301, USA. Sentenced on May 8, to 19.5 years for conspiracy to destroy the US Forest Service's Institute of Forest Genetics, a cell-phone tower and power plants. He has been moved to the above address. For more information, see page 1 or visit [www.supporteric.org](http://www.supporteric.org).

•Daniel McGowan, #63794-053, Columbia County Jail, 403 Jackson St, Portage, WI 53901, USA. Serving seven years for Earth Liberation Front (ELF) arsons at a lumber company and a hybrid poplar farm. McGowan has been temporarily transferred to the above address, possibly so that he can be called before a grand jury. For more information, visit [www.supportdaniel.org](http://www.supportdaniel.org).

•Constantino Ragusa, who is awaiting trial for allegedly using explosives to damage power lines and who served more than two years for arson of a corporate office and for protesting genetic engineering, has been released to house arrest. Ragusa is a member of Il Silvestre.

•John Smith, who is serving 12 years for conspiracy to blackmail a British supplier of guinea pigs for vivisection, has asked to be removed from prisoner support lists so that others can receive more support.

•Briana Waters, #36432-086, FDC SeaTac, POB 13900, Seattle, WA 98198, USA. Sentenced on July 19, to six years for the ELF arson of the University of Washington's Center for Urban Horticulture, which Waters insists she was not involved in. For more information, visit [www.supportbriana.org](http://www.supportbriana.org).

### Awaiting Trial or Sentencing

•Mumia Abu-Jamal, #AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Dr, Waynesburg, PA 15370, USA. Awaiting resentencing to either life in prison or death. Abu-Jamal, a politically active journalist, was framed for the murder of a cop in 1981. For more information, visit [www.freemumia.org](http://www.freemumia.org).

•Gregg Avery, TA7450, HMP Winchester, Romsey Rd, Winchester, SO22 5DF, UK. Awaiting trial for alleged conspiracy to blackmail people linked to Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS).

•Natasha Avery, NR8987, and Heather Nicholson, VM4859, HMP Bronzefield, Woodthorpe Rd, Ashford, Middlesex, TW15 3JZ, UK. Awaiting trial for alleged conspiracy to blackmail people linked to HLS.

•Vaggelis Botzatzis, Dikastikes Fylakes Komotinis, TK 69100, Greece. Awaiting trial for the alleged arson of a bank, a car dealership and two cars owned by an energy company.

•Mel Broughton, TN9138, HMP Woodhill, Tattenhoe St, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire, MK4 4DA, UK. Awaiting trial for conspiracy to blackmail and possession of explosives in connection with the campaign against Oxford University's primate lab. For more information, visit [www.myspace.com/supportmel](http://www.myspace.com/supportmel).

•Sacramento Delfino Cano Hernández and Oscar Santa María Caro, CERESO, Miahuatlán de Porfirio Díaz, Hall B, Cell 5, Oaxaca, México. Awaiting trial on unknown charges stemming from the popular resistance in Oaxaca. Santa María is a known member of Resistance Against Animal Torture.

•Marie Mason is under house arrest while awaiting trial for alleged involvement in a series of ELF actions against genetic engineering and development. For more information, visit [www.freemarie.org](http://www.freemarie.org).

•Michael Sykes, 100 E 2nd St, Monroe, MI 48161, USA. Awaiting trial for the alleged arson of two newly constructed condominiums, and possibly for burning a supermarket, damaging an 80-foot utility pole, defacing a US flag with an anarchy symbol, burning the flag and attempting to siphon gas from an undercover cop car that was tailing him.

### Animal Liberation

•Jon Ablewhite, TB4885, and Kerry Whitburn, TB4886, HMP Lowdham Grange, Lowdham, Nottingham, NG14 7DA, UK. Serving 12 years for conspiracy to blackmail a supplier of guinea pigs for vivisection.

•Jacob Conroy, #93501-011, FCI Victorville Medium I, POB 5300, Adelanto, CA 92301, USA. Serving four years for conspiracy charges stemming from his work with Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC). For more information, visit [www.supportjake.org](http://www.supportjake.org).

•Donald Currie, A3660AA, HMP Parkhurst, Clissold Rd, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX, UK. Serving an "indefinite sentence" of at least six years—with no fixed release date or upper limit—for arson against targets linked to the vivisection industry.

•Lauren Gazzola, #93497-011, FCI Danbury, Rte 37, Danbury, CT 06811, USA. Serving 4.5 years for conspiracy charges stemming from her work with SHAC. For more information, visit [www.supportlauren.com](http://www.supportlauren.com).

•Sarah Gisborne, LTS393, HMP Downview, Sutton Ln, Sutton, Surrey, SM2 5PD, UK. Serving 5.5 years for conspiracy to damage vehicles owned by people linked to HLS.

•Joshua Harper, #29429-086, FCI Sheridan, POB 5000, Sheridan, OR 97378, USA. Serving three years for conspiracy charges stemming from his work with SHAC. For more information, visit [www.joshharper.org](http://www.joshharper.org).

•Kevin Kjonaas, #93502-011, Unit I, FCI Sandstone, POB 1000, Sandstone, MN 55072, USA. Serving six years for conspiracy charges stemming from his work with SHAC. For more information, visit [www.supportkevin.com](http://www.supportkevin.com).

•Andrew Stepanian, #26399-050, FCI Butner Medium II, POB 1500, Butner, NC 27509, USA. Serving three years for conspiracy charges stemming from his work with SHAC. For more information, visit [www.andystepanian.com](http://www.andystepanian.com).

### Ecodefense

•Grant Barnes, #137563, San Carlos Correctional Facility, POB 3, Pueblo, CO 81002, USA. Serving 12 years for the ELF arson of SUVs.

•Nathan "Exile" Block, #36359-086, FCI Lompoc, 3600 Guard Rd, Lompoc, CA 93436, USA.

Serving nearly eight years for ELF arsons at an SUV dealership and a hybrid poplar farm.

•Marco Camenisch, Postfach 3143, CH-8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland. Serving 18 years for using explosives to target nuclear facility power lines and for the alleged murder of a Swiss border guard. Camenisch reads French, German, Spanish and Italian fluently, as well as some English.

•Jeffrey "Free" Luers, #13797671, Columbia River Correctional Institution, 9111 NE Sunderland Ave, Portland, OR 97211, USA. Serving 10 years for arson at a car dealership and attempted arson of an oil truck. For more information, visit [www.freefreenow.org](http://www.freefreenow.org).

•Jonathan Paul, #07167-085, FCI Phoenix, 37910 N 45th Ave, Phoenix, AZ 85086, USA. Serving 4.25 years for the Animal Liberation Front/ELF arson of a horse slaughterhouse and meat-packing plant. For more information, visit [www.supportjonathan.org](http://www.supportjonathan.org).

•James Tucker, #218447, Clay County Jail, 915 9th Ave N, Moorhead, MN 56561. Serving 3.6 years for the ELF arson of a construction site.

•Joyanna "Sadie" Zacher, #36360-086, FCI Dublin, Camp Parks, Unit E, 5701 8th St, Dublin, CA 94568, USA. Serving nearly eight years for ELF arsons at an SUV dealership and a hybrid poplar farm.

### Indigenous Resistance

•Byron Shane of Chubbuck© Clan, #07909-051, USP Coleman I, POB 1033, Coleman, FL 33521, North America. Serving 80 years for aggravated assault of federal agents, escape and bank robbery. "Oso Blanco" funneled money that he stole from banks to the Zapatista National Liberation Army in 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. For more information, visit [www.freepeltier.org](http://www.freepeltier.org).

### MOVE

The MOVE 9, members of an eco-revolutionary group, were framed for the murder of a cop and sentenced to 30 years to 100 years each. Delbert Orr Africa's parole hearing is scheduled for November. The others were denied parole this Spring. For more information, visit [www.onamove.com](http://www.onamove.com).

•Debbie Sims Africa, #OO6307, Janet Holloway Africa, #OO6308, and Janine Phillips Africa, #OO6309, SCI Cambridge Springs, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403, USA.

•Michael Davis Africa, #AM4973, and Charles Sims Africa, #AM4975, SCI Graterford, POB 244, Graterford, PA 19426, USA.

•Edward Goodman Africa, #AM4974, SCI Mahanoy, 301 Morea Rd, Frackville, PA 17932, USA.

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

### Other Political Prisoners

•Fran Thompson, #1090915 HU 1C, WERDCC, POB 300, 1101 E Hwy 54, Vandalia, MO 63382-0300, USA. Before receiving a life sentence in the early 1990s for shooting a stalker in self-defense, Thompson was active in animal rights and environmental campaigns.

•Helen Woodson, #03231-045, FMC Carswell, Admin Max Unit, POB 27137, Ft. Worth, TX 76127, USA. Serving nearly nine years 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 2004, Woodson completed 20 years for disarming a Minuteman II missile silo with a jackhammer, mailing warning letters with bullets inside to officials, and robbing a bank and burning the money.

### Prisoner Support Groups

•Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network, [elp4321@hotmail.com](mailto:elp4321@hotmail.com); [www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk](http://www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk).

•National Jericho Movement, POB 1272, New York, NY 10013, USA; [www.thejerichomovement.com](http://www.thejerichomovement.com).

•North American Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network, [naelpsn@mutualaid.org](mailto:naelpsn@mutualaid.org); [www.ecoprisoners.org](http://www.ecoprisoners.org).

# Prisoners in the Struggle Support Them!



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Our new long-term editor ideally will be familiar with Earth First! and the radical environmental movement, be personally compatible with existing staff, have excellent editing skills, be computer literate, have a sense of humor and be able to commit to at least a year and a half. When it comes down to it, though, all you really need is passion and determination. As a collective, all of the work is shared, so a motivated, hard-working individual is required!

We just moved into a new office/house, so when you first get here, you'll live and work in fancy digs here in Tucson. The dumpster scene is top-notch, the radical community is as friendly as can be and there are really good vegan burritos for only \$2.99!

The monsoon rains make late Summer one of the nicest (and craziest) times to be in Tucson. If the skies are blue and the Summer heat feels like a bit much, there are lots of beautiful, cooler places to explore nearby. We are in the center of the giant saguaro's homeland, surrounded by grasslands,

canyons and sky islands. Mount Lemmon sits on the edge of Tucson, at more than 9,000 feet tall, topped with pines, bears and snow (for much of the year).

Now, imagine being in this setting while you're communicating with inspiring activists around the world. You'll spend your days getting first-hand accounts of direct actions in defense of the Earth and turning these stories into the periodical that is, more than any other, the *one* publication that radical environmental activists use to inspire and communicate with one another.

We also welcome people with a variety of talents and activist experience to come and work for one or two issues of the *Journal* as a "short-term" editor. This adds to the diversity of voices and energy in the *Journal*. Spots on the collective are available as early as July! This is a paid two- or four-month commitment.

To apply, send your resumé, a letter of interest, a writing sample, your activist history and the names of some activists who can vouch for you to the *EF! Journal*, POB 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702. For more info, contact (520) 620-6900; [collective@earthfirstjournal.org](mailto:collective@earthfirstjournal.org).



"I spent a year in the Northwoods of Wisconsin at an outdoor school. It was not a survival school, because I died. I died to my old way of thinking. I died to being egocentric. I died to the pursuit of the civilized lifeway. I became alive to many other things—became alive to the Circle. I became alive to the native lifeway. I became alive to the connectedness of all things. I became alive to trusting, being and the now. My heart is full. I have much to share, more than words can say."

—Coyote Three Feathers aka John Herron  
(Wilderness Guide Program 2004-2005)

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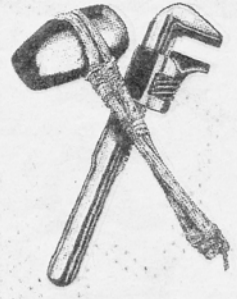
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(585) 802-8330; cnyearthfirst@riseup.net  
Wetlands Activism Collective  
POB 344, New York, NY 10108  
(201) 928-2831; activism@wetlands-preserve.org
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croatanearthfirst@gmail.com  
Katiah EF!  
POB 1485, Asheville, NC 28802  
Rising Tide Asheville  
risingtide@mountainrebel.net
- OHIO**  
HockHocking EF!  
info@easternforestdefense.org  
The Wire: A Community Resource Center  
21 Kern St, Athens, OH 45701  
(740) 589-5111; thewire@riseup.net
- OREGON**  
Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project  
27803 Williams Ln, Fossil, OR 97830  
Cascadia EF-Eugene  
POB 10384, Eugene, OR 97440  
Cascadia EF-Stumptown  
POB 11662, Portland, OR 97217  
stumptownef@riseup.net  
Green Anarchy  
POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440  
collective@greenanarchy.org  
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cascadia@risingtidenorthamerica.org
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EF! Philly  
earthfirstphilly@riseup.net
- RHODE ISLAND**  
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oceanstate\_ef@riseup.net
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annebonnylives@yahoo.com
- TEXAS**  
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lonestaref@gmail.com; www.huntsab.org/lonestaref.htm
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(435) 866-2137
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(802) 254-4847; corpsave@sover.net
- VIRGINIA**  
Blue Ridge Earth First!  
blueridgeef@yahoo.com
- WASHINGTON**  
The Evergreen State College  
Environmental Resource Center  
2700 Evergreen Pkwy NW, Cab 320,  
Olympia, WA 98505  
(360) 867-6784; erc@riseup.net  
The Last Wizards  
james@lastwizards.com
- WISCONSIN**  
Madison EF/Infoshop  
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Rising Tide North America  
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(202) 657-6772  
Root Force  
POB 1302, Tucson, AZ 85702  
info@rootforce.org  
Warrior Poets Society  
POB 14501, Berkeley, CA 94712

## INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

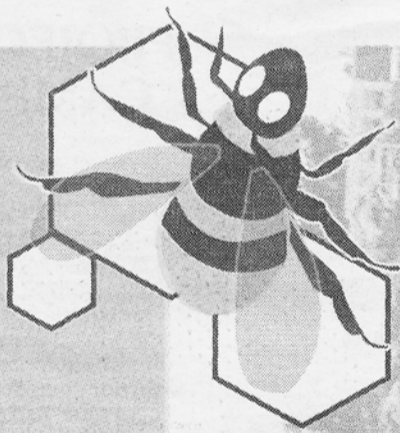
- AUSTRALIA**  
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EF! Belgium Support Group  
belgium2005@groenfront.be  
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2007@groenfront.be; www.groenfront.be
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earth\_first@resist.ca  
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atgblue@yahoo.com
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0113-262-9365; leedsef@ukf.net  
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62 Fieldgate St, London, E1 1ES, UK  
0770-879-4665; london@risingtide.org.uk  
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mancef@nematode.freesserve.co.uk  
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020-7729-6973; office@roadblock.org.uk
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www.savingiceland.org
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31-20-668-2236; info@aseed.net  
GroenFront! Netherlands  
POB 85069, 3508 AB Utrecht, Netherlands  
2007@groenfront.nl; www.groenfront.nl
- NIGERIA**  
Environmental Rescue International  
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environmentalrescue@yahoo.co.uk
- RUSSIA**  
Ecodefense!  
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NORTHEAST CLIMATE CONFLUENCE  
JULY 27-AUGUST 3  
HIGH FALLS, NEW YORK

WEST COAST CONVERGENCE  
FOR CLIMATE ACTION  
JULY 28-AUGUST 4  
NEAR EUGENE, OREGON

[climateconvergence.org](http://climateconvergence.org)

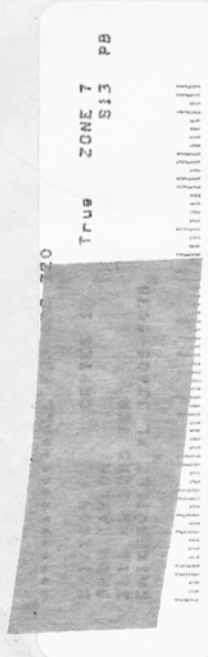
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CLIMATE ACTION  
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KENT, ENGLAND

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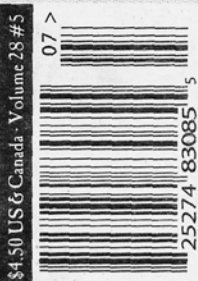
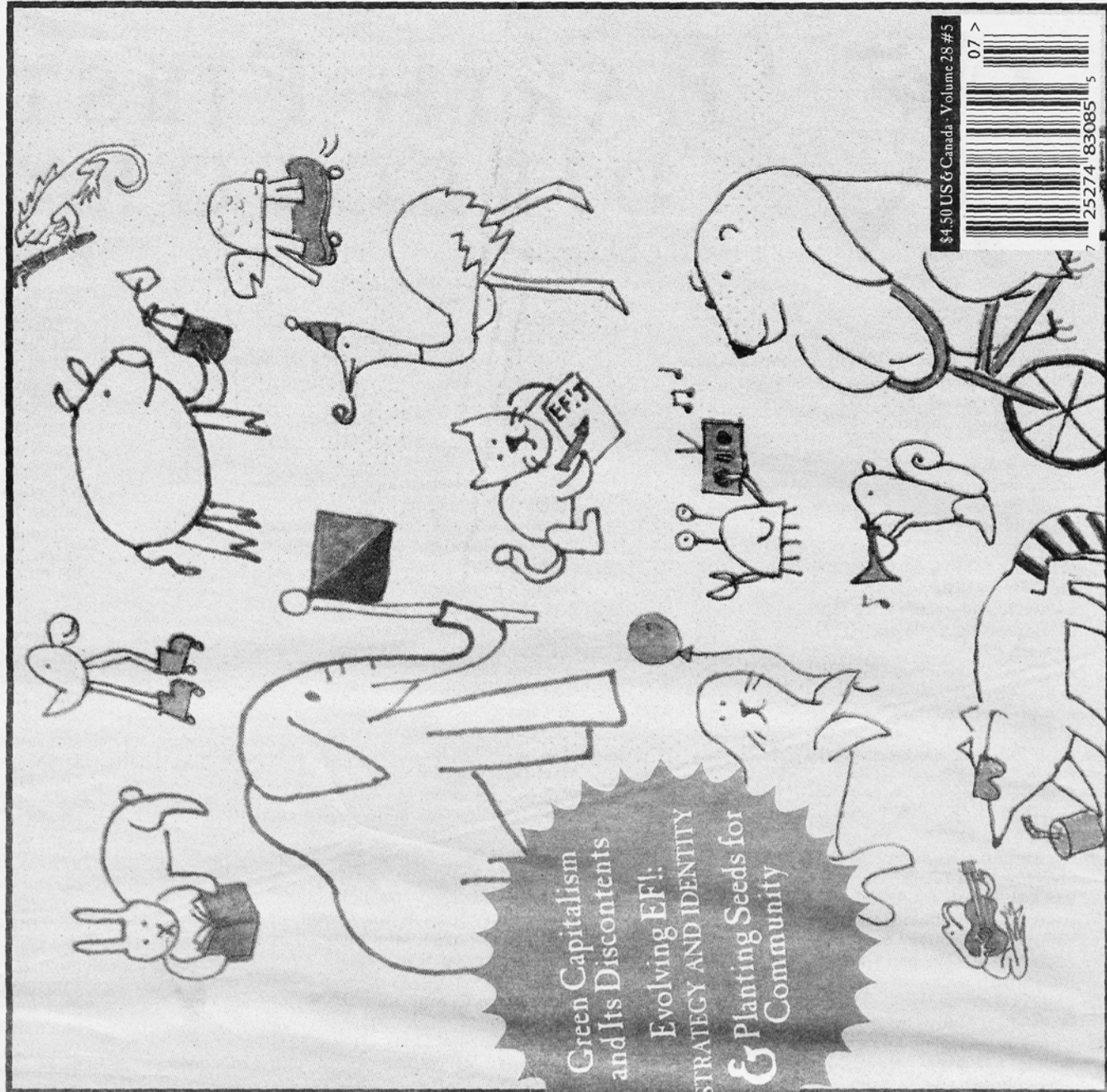
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