La Otra Campaña · Bio Lab Resistance · Six Nations Blockade · Yes Men Interview

Earth First!
The Radical Environmental Journal
Lughnasadh July-August 2006

Nothing is INEVITABLE
EVERYTHING is POSSIBLE
HOW IT WORKS

When trying to understand how a machine works, it helps to expose its guts. The same can be said of powerful people or corporations who work hard to make themselves richer—regardless of consequence for everyone else.

By catching powerful entities off-guard, you can momentarily expose them to public scrutiny. This way, everyone sees how they work and can figure out how to control them. We call this tactical embarrassment.

In a Nutshell:

Find a target (some entity running amok) and think of something sure to annoy them—something that's also lots of fun.

If you're stumped, imagine the target losing control and acting stupidly. What would it take to make them do that?

Capitalize on the target's reaction. Write a press release and e-mail it to hundreds of journalists.

Preparing the Press Release

Imagine an "objective" newspaper story about the event. How would it read? Be realistic. Then write that story. (Got qualms? This is just what corporations do every day to sell products or candidates.)

Fishing for Cease and Desist Letters

The easiest way to embarrass someone powerful is to show how petty they are. Learn to embrace legal threats and use them as evidence in the court of public opinion.

A Few Highlights in Embarrassment History:

In 1967, Yippies threw a hundred one-dollar bills from a balcony onto the New York Stock Exchange floor. The journalists they'd brought along told the world how the brokers, consumed with greed, dropped their trading and scrambled around for the money.

Cost to Yippies: $100. Loss to NYSE due to shutdown: millions of dollars—not to mention their image.

http://gatt.org/yippies

During George W. Bush's run for President, @TMark put up a website at GWBush.com that looked just like Bush's campaign site, but that poked fun of Bush and criticized the corporate funding of elections. When Bush saw the fake website, he got very angry and said some really stupid things on TV.

@TMark e-mailed press releases about Bush's behavior to thousands of journalists. The resulting press embarrassed the Bush campaign into withdrawing their legal threats as well as their complaint to the Federal Elections Commission.

Cost to @TMark: $0. Bush was shown to be unbelievably whiny and capable of stooping very low when annoyed.

http://rmark.com/bush

To highlight the Seville city government's "planned abandonment" of a centuries-old working-class neighborhood—a plan whose aim was to lower property values and make residents leave, thus paving the way for gentrification—activists planted thousands of altered city logos in the dog droppings that were filling their neighborhood. Visitors to an important conference on "sustainable cities" could not help wondering why the city was sponsoring dog shit.

Cost to dogs: minor. Shortly afterwards, sanitation services resumed in the Alameda. More importantly, the gentrification plan was made more visible to all residents, and was shown to be everyone's problem.

http://www.sindominio.net/fiambrera
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Back Cover

A female warrior sporting a Zapatista bandana and imitating Subcomandante Marcos in front of the Caledonia barricade.
We’re witnessing the spiral of movement evolution. In 1990, Earth First! was split between flag-burning anti-racists and immigrant-bashing patriots. Sixteen years later, EF! is still here, now marching side by side with flag-waving immigrants. These are confusing times to be running with the EF! tribe. There’s uncertainty about what we, as a network and as a movement, are doing. But clarity may be fast approaching.

When I began short-terming at the Journal this Spring, I had just finished an amazing trip across Mexico, via freight train. I had crossed paths with about a hundred other folks also riding the rails north towards the border of the US Empire. I had the opportunity to speak with people from across Mexico, as well as Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Very few seemed to be harboring any illusions about life on the other side. People were clear on the racism, discrimination and general void of spiritual and cultural values they were heading towards—what some of us refer to as the American nightmare, la pesadilla Americana.

Thoughts of borders and migration were burning in my mind when I walked into the EF! office. But as the reality of life in the Empire sunk back in, my fire began cooling, and I started feeling pretty dismal about the state of EF!. First off, there was not one article from a US action in the last issue but over 11 pages dedicated to the Green Scare. Second, the Journal staff is rapidly dwindling in size, age, experience and diversity. My brain was paralyzed with a feeling of impending doom for EF!.

I snapped out of it. Articles started trickling in; I began working on a long-overdue index of the past 25 years of Journal articles. I met with local Chicano, Mexican and indigenous activists; stories from my Spring in Mexico started seeping back in. My brain began to overflow with thoughts of where EF! has been and where we’re going.

There may be lines drawn between some of us (and some giant steel walls and maybe soon a couple thousand miles of “virtual fence”), but our heads and our hearts are not far from each other. The Earth that we all live and die on infinitely connects us, and we have so much to learn (starting with Spanish) from our relations struggling to our south. It’s time to tighten up these cross-border networks and make our plans to end this pinche pesadilla, for good.

¡Que vive La Tierra, siempre estan Primero!

—PANAGIOTI EVANGELOS NASIOS TSOLKAS
National Coal Drops Suit Against Katúah Earth First!

BY AMANDA WOMAC

After two years of waiting, Katúah Earth First! (KEF!) activists are finally free of a lawsuit brought against them by the National Coal Company (NCC) following a small protest in August 2004. NCC filed this Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation (SLAPP) in the hope of draining the activists' time and money, and stalling their opposition to the company's mountaintop removal mine at Zeb Mountain, Tennessee.

Mountaintop removal is a coal-extraction process favored by mining companies in southern Appalachia because it's cheap and easy (see EF! November-December 2004). Now, coal companies are moving into the hills of Tennessee, and they are bringing the dangerous and environmentally destructive process with them. That's why, on a sunny Sunday in August 2004, Debbie Shumate, Chris Irwin and I traveled to NCC's office in West Knoxville to hold signs and raise awareness about the destruction of Tennessee's mountains for cheap electricity.

The following Friday, Irwin and I received notice of the suit and temporary restraining orders (TRO) issued by NCC because of the "rowdy protest," "use of bludgeons" and "blocking of traffic." Stunned by such an outrageous reaction to what was quite frankly a jousy protest, we contacted two local lawyers. They agreed to work on the TRO, and it was thrown out of court almost immediately.

Soon after, however, Shumate, Irwin, John Johnson and I found ourselves named in the lawsuit and facing paperwork, depositions and headaches. With Mountain Justice Summer (MJS) around the bend, we started working on the lawsuit and continued organizing to save the mountains of southern Appalachia.

King Coal has a long history of intimidation in southern Appalachia, and NCC—the new kid on the block—learned quickly. Over the Summer, KEF! could not shake NCC thugs videotaping protests and gatherings, attending public meetings and writing down names, taking pictures of activists and our cars, and making false accusations towards activists about our protest behavior during a shareholders' meeting. These tactics—coupled with a Federal Joint Terrorism Task Force investigation, including the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security—proved to MJS activists that we were making headway with our campaign. We did not, however, stop speaking out for the mountains.

During the deposition phase of the lawsuit, NCC tried to obtain our bank statements, computer files and nonexistent "membership lists." After the TRO was thrown out of court and all the random defendants—such as John Doe, Jane Doe and KEF!—were taken off the suit, NCC decided to hire an expensive, Nashville law firm to continue the lawsuit because its in-house lawyer was just not cutting it.

"The lawsuit was a complete misuse of the legal system, designed to keep us from exercising our First Amendment rights," said Irwin. "It never should have been filed.... It was brought purely to scare people and to create a climate of fear."

Finally, this May, I received a call from our lawyer saying that the lawsuit had been dropped. Some think it was because NCC knew the suit would not hold up in court, while others say it was because NCC was losing money and could not afford the expensive lawyers. According to a notice posted on NCC's website, the company "spent approximately $600,000 during...2005, on security measures and related legal fees, largely as a result of the actions of some environmental activists."

Nevertheless, we do not feel like this was a victory, just a waste of time. Victory will come when people descend on southern Appalachia this Summer for MJS 2006 and demand an end to mountaintop removal, as well as a beginning to clean, green energy and economic stability in the region. So join us for a Summer of protests and public hearings; scouting, camping, hiking and camaraderie; and most of all, victory over King Coal!

For more information, visit www.mountainjusticesummer.org.

Amanda is an environmental activist and journalist based out of Tennessee.
Dear EFJ collective,

I see a friend of mine received an EFJ, and I read it—this is a beautiful issue. I love it! Keep up the good work. Soon Aztlan will be back in the hands of the people and not that vile corporation in Washington's pit of vipers. The uncool human sort.

Because the warriors in Mexico are gaining ground. At last, it's full steam ahead.

Love love love,
—Oso Blanco,
Byron Shane; of Chubbuck Clan

Dear SFB,

As an anarchist thoroughly at odds with the US capital-
ist system, I recently became interested in the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). In my letter inquiring about possible membership, I mentioned my affiliation with Wild Wasatch Earth First! and was satch Earth First! and was interested in the Socialist government's power is riv ered from the fact that many splinter groups like EF! and EFJ are gaining more ground. The corporation has won. Capitalism is global. The trends are irreversible; we are headed for disaster. This doesn't mean that we should roll over and die, or stop informing others of the impending collapse, or that we should stop working to save a few more species or stop working for social justice.

I am deeply immersed in the prison abolition movement. Not because I think this is an achievable goal, but—like you—I want to inspire others to think more broadly and deeply about the systems that create the obscenities that rule our lives. Mass incarceration, or mass biosphere destruction, it's the same game. I work on systemic problems within the prison system, but also on the malaise of the incarcerated. Some of my work could be considered nothing more than reformist, but these efforts also cause the beast to expend energy. These last two issues (malaise and reformism) are things I'm sure you struggle with as well.

This doesn't explain why I haven't renewed. I guess I'm just tired of reading the same old stuff about valiant but futile efforts to stop this machine. I might be with you yet if there was more seri ous talk about post-during-collapse survival and how we might ensure that the beast never rises again once down, or how when it is on its knees, we might apply the coup de grâce (destroying the electrical grid, pipelines, dams, powerplants, refineries, etc.). But, maybe not. I've heard all the talk, and I'm tired of analysis. I've taken my lumps, chemical sprays and arrests from the cops. I'm done analyzing and preparing. I'm done pos-
turing and demonstrating. I'm done with hope and vi-
sion. Now it's time to take it to 'em, nothing less.

In the struggle,
—Frank Van den Bosch

Dear Shitty Li'l Brains,

I was flippin' through some issues of the Journal from the past few years and noticed photo after photo of actions people had done, where there was a gagle of crusty, dirty Li'l forest punx. And in my interactions with various parts of the eco-movement, I have met quite a few older, khaki-wearin', NGO-job-havin', former EFJers and am sure there are more than those I have met.

My question to the larger movement is this: Why don't old EFJers come out to the ac-
tions these younger, punker folks put on? Not a forest blockade 100 miles from no-
where, but I'm talkin' one day or one-afternoon type things in the city. Publicity-
action-type shindigs. Is it a lack of communication on the part of the kids about protests/actions coming up or a lack of caring on the ol' fogies' part? Perhaps a combi-
nation of the two?

But my vision is to look back on the next two years' issues and see khaki-wearin', full-o-knowledge older folks out there side by side with these younger kids, passin' on their knowledge and standin' up for what those kids are doin'. Unfortunately, our society takes a 40-year-old in khakis much more seri-
ously than an 18-year-old who hasn't showered in four months. But the passion the young folks bring, combined with the knowledge and respectability the older, more mainstream-lookin' folks bring, could make EFJ a more powerful force for change. And young kids want to know where our predecessors have gone in their lives, with an eye towards our own futures and gaining more wisdom in the present.

So all you old EFJers, get out there and stand behind those dirty kids and what they are saying. It's not that much effort, and you will be making a difference in where this whole EFJ thing heads in the future.

—A Clean Youngin'

To the EFJ collective,

Huzzahs for you! Your first car-free issue! All right! I stand in awe—or actually, I cycle in awe. I bike to work every day (with very few exceptions), and ride to church and concerts, occasionally to the grocery store—so I know that a car can be way more convenient, and much more destructive and expensive!

I am going to pass on the good news to others of your achievement. In the next few years, we will see the end of oil and numbers of great changes as a result. I hope that we can make the transition to sustainability without too much pain, and such examples as yours of just what is possible are wonderful! I hope that my small example will make some impact too.

—Bob Boyce

Page 4 Earth First! Lughnasadh 2006
Dear SFB,

The recently formed Central New York Earth First! (CNYEF) held an ecodefense training on April 23, in Syracuse, New York. At our first public event, we shared skills with about 25 attendees. The weather forecast called for a 100-percent chance of rain, but nature must have been pleased with us that day, and we hardly saw a drizzle. The authorities had warned us that the public parks were off limits, knocking at our doors and, of course, calling us a few times to “check up” on where we would be having our training. We are sure they thought it was going to be extreme and radical, but really it was some folks climbing trees and hanging on ropes.

Since we wanted to spend the day teaching and learning hands-on skills rather than dealing with police harassment, we moved to a less ideal but more private location. Rather than doing it in a national forest or park, we hit up the most urban area one could possibly get: a backyard. So people, you don’t need a forest to learn ecodefense, you just need a backyard.

We on the East Coast want to emphasize that issues of eco-classism, eco-racism, drinking-water pollution, sewage, trash pick-up and urban parks are as important as protecting old growth. So with this urban spin, we taught some valuable skills to some eager folks. Skills covered included knot tying, tree climbing, rappelling, rigging and traversing tree-to-tree ziplines, and tripod construction. CNYEF trainings will continue and expand, both in number of skills and in geography. Coming soon to a city near you!

—CNYEF!

Dear SFB,

I am writing in response to T.M. Hoy’s letter (see EFJ March-April 2006).

Federal public defenders can be more than adequate to defend arrested defendants. In our current legal situation, I know both Chelsea and I feel our attorneys have been extremely competent. I have seen my attorney on average of twice a week for the past five months. I do agree with T.M. Hoy’s comments that some public defenders can be “worse than useless.” As part of support work, outside people need to help ascertain if defendants have good attorneys. Public defenders can be fired, and new ones can be appointed. Support needs to happen as soon as possible after people are arrested.

That said, I don’t see how many options we have in cases like this. I don’t feel our movements can afford one $100,000 attorney, never mind 15 of them. I’ve never felt that a paid attorney was ever an available option to myself.

In Resistance,

—Darren Thurston

Smear Snitch fer Brains,

Peter Young, you’re my hero! “The Enemy Within” is the only no-compromise, sensible article I’ve read in the EFJ regarding the snitch epidemic plaguing our movement (see EFJ May-June 2006). It should be memorized and dissected and turned into a blueprint for developing “security culture” workshops and literature. “No one talks, everyone walks.”

Jim Flynn, you know I love you man, and I loved your “Operation Backfire, Backfires on FBI” piece. I think it’s the best thing I’ve ever read by you. But you did waffle toward the side of the apologists with the, “They were left with few options. I can understand some of their decisions,” and “I don’t think any of us on the outside can judge...” comments. Being on “the inside” because I didn’t go out like that fuckin’ punk Jacob Ferguson and because I’ve weathered many an interrogation room without snitching, I feel especially entitled to judge with fairness. But so can all y’all out there. If you tell on anybody for any reason, even yourself when you have codefendants, then you are snitching, and you shouldn’t be trusted. Even if you have no codefendants and you just tell on yourself, you’re giving the cops valuable information they can use in their investigations to bust others. Keep your damn mouth shut.

Which brings me to Free’s letter. You’re a stand-up dude and an example to us all of a good soldier, but I’ve bit my tongue too many times over some of your apologetic and forgiving comments. “There will always be those who break, and it is not always their fault.” Well, whose fuckin’ fault is it?! We ain’t been sent to Abu Ghraib or Guantanamo (at least not yet), and I’m sure none of us have had jumper cables attached to our genitalia. We have no excuse for snitching except weakness. I was hangin’ out with some of your support people just after you and Critter got busted, and they told me he was gonna plea out and tell the cops details regarding his role in the alleged charges, while you remained resolute in your defiance. I told those folks right then and there that what Critter was doing was wrong and that it would help bury you at trial. And I know that him spilling his guts assisted the state in building its case against you and getting you convicted. There is a big difference between that and “taking the stand,” but in all the jails and prisons I’ve ever been in, it’s still understood as snitching. If it walks like a duck, and it quacks like a duck...

Let’s keep it real,

—JJ Hicks

Dear EFi,

Sitchensis’ “New Directions in Climate Justice” rehashes the old refrain that “the oil industry” is pulling Bush’s strings and is the driving force behind the war in Iraq (see EFJ May-June 2006). This is now being exposed as a falsehood on par with the excuse of the “war on terror.” It is becoming clear that the Iraq war was motivated in large part by the need to protect Israel. Consequently, the push for war was driven by the massively influential pro-Israel lobby.

This has been long-known but little-discussed until recently. In their paper, “The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy,” Mearsheimer and Walt broke this taboo and exposed the real root cause.

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They write, “Some believe that this [Iraq war] was a ‘war for oil,’ but there is hardly any direct evidence to support this claim. Instead, the war was motivated in good part by a desire to make Israel more secure.... There is little doubt that Israel and the Lobby were key factors in the decision to go to war.”

As they point out, the Israel Lobby is highly influential not only with respect to the Middle East, but as relates to corporatism, global trade and environmental destruction generally.

So this bit of “news” is important for radical environmentalists: It should put an end to the fallacy of a “war for oil”; it brings into harsh daylight the toxic combination of excessive wealth and its corrupting influence on a powerful military-industrial state like the US; and by exposing the true driving force for war, it can suggest more effective tactics for resistance.

The same wealthy capitalists of the Israel Lobby that drove this country into war also drive it into energy exploitation, globalism and eco-destruction worldwide. This must be factored in to any strategy of Earth defense that has a hope of success.

—Tom Johnson

Editors’ Note: The editorial collective is worried by the growing popularity of the term “Israel Lobby” and its anti-Semitic implications. The “Lobby” is not a real organization but rather a catchall for Israel’s philosophical, rhetorical, financial and political supporters. According to John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The core of the Lobby is comprised of American Jews who make significant effort in their daily lives to bend US foreign policy so that it advances Israel’s interests.”

There is a longstanding, anti-Semitic tradition (popularized by the slanderous forgery The Protocols of the Elders of Zion) that presents the Jews as a foreign and corrupting people solely dedicated to manipulating world governments.

In our view, the concept of the “Israel Lobby” advances this anti-Semitic belief, albeit in subtle, indirect language. Additionally, Tom’s argument that the “wealthy capitalists of the Israel Lobby” (i.e., the Jews) are primarily responsible for the Iraq war and ecological destruction is not only reminiscent of the Nazis’ absurd habit of blaming the Jews for Germany’s domestic and foreign ills, but it also ignores the US’s precedent of vicious militarism throughout the world—long before the founding of Israel and far beyond that country’s direct sphere of influence.

Dear EF! Journal,

Many thanks for forwarding the subscription my way... reading the news while in federal prison brings back many warm memories of the spotted owl fights of the late ‘80s and nights in the woods alone.

Speaking of alone, it bears reminding that individuals acting alone are functionally impervious to conspiracy crime. Obvious, but entirely accurate nonetheless. Nearly every inmate here on drug charges (like me) was done in through dealings with other two-leggers who went down and dragged them along. The drug business requires such risks, customers and suppliers being inherent therein. Solo direct action does not. Just a reminder.

Peace,

D. Spink, aka D-DOG

Dear SFB,

Have the tactics of the opposition to big biotech become too predictable? After the Reclaim the Commons convergence in Chicago from April 8 to 11, this was one question that some participants pondered.

“I suspect some of them will be in town, banging on drums and dressing up as carrots and tomatoes,” Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO) President Jim Greenwood had said to Chicago’s local CBS News affiliate, a few days before the start of our activities countering BIO’s annual international convention. And sure enough, on April 11, there we were: a raucous group of 50 drum-banging, puppet-wielding, loudly chanting animal rights and anti-GE activists, marching as a “Mutant’s Parade” during rush hour from Monsanto’s former Chicago headquarters through downtown Chicago to the museum where BIO held its gala celebration that evening. The media yawned, BIO delegates smirked, we yelled and shook the barricades separating us from them, and went home as darkness fell.

If success is measured in terms of disrupting corporate business or in media coverage of our dissent, then our Chicago convergence failed. But in the less quantifiable contexts of internal and long-term movement-building, significant steps forward were taken in Chicago for the radical movement against genetically engineered agriculture. Spanish-language outreach was a priority, and it paid off as Puerto Rico’s leading anti-GE activist, Carmelo Ruiz, drew a large and excited audience to his lecture at Chicago’s Puerto Rican Cultural Center. Other events—including a panel discussion on “Genetic Engineering and Human Rights,” a full day of skillshares for sustainable living, and a family-friendly public festival that featured live hip-hop and folk music, children’s games and speakers on food sovereignty from local community groups—attracted hundreds of people. The roots of our movement grew broader, and new seeds were planted—literally, as we broke ground on a new Chicago neighborhood garden!

Our challenge now is to carry this momentum into 2007 and confront the BIO convention in Boston next May with massive opposition and creative tactics that chase biotech profit-seekers away from our cities and farms once and for all! With the community-led fight against Boston University’s proposed bio-weapons lab still going strong, and over 100 towns throughout New England having passed resolutions banning GE seeds, the potential is enormous for a historic showdown in Boston. Organizing meetings are underway, and you can connect with the resistance at www.rtc.revolt.org.

—Ethan
by Peter Hammarstedt

When I read the headline, “Nissui Surrenders to Anti-Whalers,” the war seemed far away. The whaling ships continued to kill with impunity at the bottom of the world, far from the reach of the Sea Shepherd's chained-up flagship, the Farley Mowat. But somewhere between a high-seas ramming and a detention order, the battlefield had changed (see EF! March-April 2006). Consumer boycott campaigns had quickly replaced fast-moving Zodiac inflatables, engaging companies directly linked to the Japanese whaling fleet. Gorton's Seafood of the US and Sealord of New Zealand were two of the first companies to be targeted. Both are subsidiaries of Nissui, one of the five firms that owned Kyodo Senpaku, operator of Japan's six-ship whaling fleet. Nissui alone owned one-third of Kyodo Senpaku's shares.

In April, no more than two months after the Farley Mowat's detention, Nissui announced that it would divest its shares, and environmentalists around the world celebrated. “This decision completely demolishes the commercial foundation of the Japanese whaling industry,” a Greenpeace campaign manager cried. “A rare victory for the whales,” BBC wrote. But amid all of the celebration, battle lines were simply being redrawn. For what was lost in the buzz of jubilation was that Nissui didn't sell its shares; it donated them to so-called “public interest firms.” In other words, ownership of Kyodo Senpaku was simply transferred to public organizations, primarily the government-backed Institute for Cetacean Research. Effectively, private interests have been being removed from the whaling industry and even more control has been given to the Japanese Fisheries Agency (JFA).

While the Nissui victory stands as a testament to the international public's disapproval of whaling, little else is different. Unless companies like Nissui actively work to disassemble the whaling fleet, there is little doubt that, in the words of one Japanese official, “efforts to hunt whales will be redoubled.” Sure, the commercial basis for whaling has been undermined, but the commercial future for whale meat in Japan—a country where 95 percent of the population has never even tasted whale—was bleak to begin with. Going up against corrupt fishing companies but facing off against an entire nation. Maybe it's no wonder that the media is calling the struggle in Antarctica the “Whale Wars.” Virtually inexhaustible government funds have now created a situation where the fate of the whales remains to be determined by direct action. Once again, the whales' biggest hope is the tired, rusting hulk detained in Cape Town, South Africa.

When asked about the result of the boycott campaign, the director of the JFA replied, “We welcome the move. From now on, whaling will be regarded as something backed by all of Japan, not just a particular group in the private sector.” And perhaps it really is that simple—that when the captain of the Nisshin Maru steered his vessel on a collision course with the Farley Mowat, it wasn’t to protect Nissui’s commercial interests. It was a matter of national pride. No one buys Japan’s arguments of scientific whaling. And few countries support its aim to overturn the whaling moratorium—except for the ones that have been bought through extensive foreign aid packages, of course. Japan is surrounded on all sides; it's getting desperate. The founder of Sea Shepherd once said, “Our victories are temporary, but our defeats are permanent.” We are fighting a war, a war to save life on this planet, where losing means the extinction of the largest creatures to ever grace our world. It is for this reason that Sea Shepherd has no choice but to return to Antarctica by the end of the year.

For more information, visit www.seashepherd.org.

Peter is the ships’ liaison for the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society and former second mate of the Farley Mowat. He encourages everyone to help Sea Shepherd raise the necessary funds to purchase a vessel that can match the speed of the Japanese whaling fleet. With it, he is certain that the fleet can be shut down.

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Down with Borders,

BY PANAGIOTI

We are all migrants.

The vast majority of people on the planet hail from recently migrating cultures. This fact has placed borders at the core of a global tension that has been following civilization since its inception. It is a tension that has caused past empires to crumble, and the US is beginning to see those same familiar stress fractures. Now, Earth First! is faced with a question that we have been skirting around for 26 years, a question that all past revolutionaries have had to ask themselves at critical moments in human history: Which side are we on?

Over the past several months, the US has seen some of the largest and most widespread mobilizations of the century. In response to the US House of Representatives passing bill HR4437—which would further criminalize undocumented immigrants and make multimillion-dollar losses, including an estimated $200 million in Los Angeles alone.

Immigrant communities participated in the massive protests, marches, school walkouts and general strikes, as well as an internationally recognized boycott of all US products. Judging by the massive racist backlash, this impressive and largely spontaneous display of popular power has struck fear into the core of the US Empire—more than all recent radical environmental, global justice and anti-war protests combined.

While some EF!ers reported participating in this Spring's mobilizations, one is left wondering: Where does the radical ecology movement stand on immigration and border militarization issues today? What do the recent immigrant mobilizations mean for Earth First!?

Where does the radical ecology movement stand on immigration and border militarization issues today? What do the recent immigrant mobilizations mean for Earth First!?

Another NAFTA Article?

Since moving to Tucson six years ago, the Earth First! Journal has run several articles discussing border issues from ecological and indigenous viewpoints, but they have all remained in the realm of rhetoric. There have yet to be noticeably effective and strategic campaigns that challenge the border, either directly as a physical scar on the land or symbolically as a cultural barrier that stands in the way of a bioregional, ecological and egalitarian future.

In these pages, we've read repeatedly about the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and its horrific impacts. A current estimate is that, since '94, more than three million campesinos have been forced to abandon land-based lifestyles and look for jobs in maquiladoras or as undocumented workers in the US. But the massive NAFTA-caused displacement is still largely ignored in the US. Stephen Johnson of the Heritage Foundation, a popular right-wing think tank, recently wrote in favor of NAFTA, stating that "many US cities' annual economic output rivals those of entire foreign countries. There is no reason that resource-rich countries like Mexico and others in Latin America cannot approach such prosperity. To ease the tide of unauthorized migrants, US foreign policy must seek to balance the equation." This is the kind of blindness that we are facing or, more accurately, are failing to face.

Obviously, the debate surrounding immigration and border issues did not just appear this Spring. Tension has been building for years. In 1996, President Clinton signed a sweeping immigration enforcement measure into law, the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. One month later,

"La Madre Tierra espera el final de esta pesadilla."
it was complemented by the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act. The first phase of construction on the border wall soon commenced. For ten years, EF! has had an opportunity to come to the plate and take bold, creative actions against the US border wall and all it represents.

Yet, instead of taking aim at the heart of the ecocidal industrialism and expressing our solidarity with land-based cultures impacted by US policy, EF! has focused most of its energy during the past ten years on piecemeal forest defense. The momentum of globalization protests began shifting from NAFTA and ten years of wall-building, and what do we have to show? Not only are we losing the overall war in defense of wild nature, but we have failed to even strike at one of its prime threats.

This is not a hostile critique; it is self-critical reflection—a call to turn a new page in the EF! storybook.

Earth First!, Migration and Radical Taboos

At the 1987 Round River Rendezvous, EF! anti-saint Ed Abbey stuck his cowboy boot in his mouth by trashing the cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean. Abbey introduced his 1988 collection, One Life at a Time, Please, with a clarification that “Immigration and Liberal Taboos”—originally called “The Closing Door Policy”—was his favorite essay in the book. The author who had inspired, beyond measure, the anti-authoritarian, grassroots environmental movement suggested in the essay that “it might be wise for us as American citizens to consider calling a halt to the mass influx of even more millions of hungry, ignorant, unskilled and culturally-morally-generically impoverished people.” Abbey’s words earned us a reputation that, even in his absence, has been hard to shake.

Chicano writer and avid Abbey fan Luis Alberto Urrea noted, in reference to Abbey, “The thing about ghosts is, they don’t have to stop at putting their feet in their mouths. They can go ahead and gobble the whole leg, jam it in there all the way down till they’ve maneuvered their heads up their own asses.”

We’ve come quite a ways since ’87. But even today—as much as EF! tries to maintain an image of anti-authoritarianism—there are still racists and xenophobes, who nevertheless qualify as both “radical” and “environmental,” by some standards.

We need to keep our eyes peeled, because this isn’t just a debate on immigration and borders anymore. A fascist tendency is on the rise in this country. Be assured, no matter what any scholarly conservation biologist might say, racist repression will not be beneficial for the environment, and neutrality will not be an option.

Sacking the US Empire

This is a crucial moment for reassessing EF!’s perspectives on borders and, in a broader sense, on what is happening on the other side of the lines. We are not just looking for what preserves biodiversity, but also what brings down the empires that are suffocating the planet. Conservative commentator Larry Kelley recently noted, “It’s chilling to remember that it was our ancestors’ embrace of amnesty [for Germanic tribes] that served to bring down the Western Roman Empire.” Bigots along the full spectrum—from underground white supremacists to conservative public officials—have been using the Roman Empire metaphor to stir fear among US citizens, who have been seeing the price of their privilege come home to roost. In many ways, it is a completely legitimate comparison. The drastic difference is that their presentation relies on glorifying that rotten empire, whereas we know that things have gone from bad to worse during the last two millennia. Borders have always been laboratories for the genocidal tendencies of empires all across the planet. The US Empire isn’t falling because of any “invasion along the border.” It’s crumbling from being faced with its own greed, indifference and precariously unsustainable industrial foundation. This machine is coming down, and it’s our work to ensure that its fall is as ecological, liberating and permanent as possible. Cross-border solidarity and anti-border struggle are a crucial part of that effort.

The Earth is waiting for the end of this nightmare. It’s time we start preparing for it.

La gente de maiz, los guardianes, nos preparamos.”

—graffiti on the Nogales border wall

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Secure Border, Dead Planet

Five years ago, an EF! Journal contributor, writing under the name Bonnie Abzug, was able to proclaim, "Plants and animals know no borders, neither shall the human biocentrist!" (see EF! May-June 2001). Today's situation along the imaginary line that we call "the border" is becoming drastically different, with very crucial decisions being made at this moment.

This Spring, Chris Simcox, leader of the anti-immigrant Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, declared, "The American people will exercise their God-given rights to protect their lives and property by initiating construction of border fencing along the border on private land, unless President Bush immediately deploys troops along the breadth of the southwestern border line with Mexico." On May 15, President Bush announced a plan to deploy 6,000 additional troops and agents to the US-Mexico border. Two days later, the US Senate voted to construct a massive triple wall along 370 miles of the border. This was insufficient for the Minutemen, who began their private wall anyway on May 27, in Palominas, Arizona. They claim to have two volunteer construction companies and $500,000 in donations to finance the project.

Such walls have clear ecological ramifications. "More walls will harm wildlife and natural landscapes along our fragile southern border," says Daniel R. Patterson, a desert ecologist with the Center for Biological Diversity in Tucson, Arizona. "The only living things the walls won't stop are people. Walls will cut off essential wildlife movement corridors and are not an ethical solution."

Along with the environmental impacts of increased border militarization, there are also continued ill effects on indigenous communities. "We see it as a Berlin wall; they're following what Berlin did," claims José Matus, director of Alianza Indigena Sin Fronteras (Indigenous Alliance Without Borders). "When they started doing Operation: Gatekeeper, Hold the Line, Safeguard, etc., that pushed people crossing over to the south and west... through Tohono O'odham and Cocopah land. It has created a criminal fear. Instead of improving, quality of life has gone down."

According to Stephen Mumme, an expert on the borderlands environment at Colorado State University, our current border policy presents an extremely high threat to biodiversity: "This ranks right up there with the most serious and long-term adverse consequences for the environment created by humankind—right up there with the worst instances of urbanization, the worst instances of damming up our rivers." More border walls, militarization, low-level aircraft and roads will further damage already stressed wildlife, such as the cactus ferruginous pygmy owl and Sonoran pronghorn antelope in Arizona, the flat-tailed horned lizard and peninsular bighorn sheep in California, and the jaguar and Mexican gray wolf in New Mexico. Places like the Rio Grande River and Big Bend National Park in Texas are equally threatened.

Rather than address environmental or human-rights concerns, the Department of Homeland Security has been moving forward with plans for a "virtual fence." Their Secure Border Initiative Network (SBInet) would eventually monitor 2,000 miles of the US-Mexico border.

Sonoran pronghorn antelope, the most endangered of the five North American antelope subspecies

Digging up the Dirt on Eco-Xenophobia

Now is a good time to take a look at how fascist and racist worldviews have overlapped with radical environmentalism in the past and still continue to do so.

Garrett Hardin, the author of the 1968 essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons," criticized groups such as Zero Population Growth for being too liberal and scolded governments such as China's for being too mild with population control. Hardin was a Eugenics Society fellow in 1977 and went on to become a founding member of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and Californians for Population Stabilization. Hardin and his wife, who both committed suicide in 2003, had their deaths memorialized by Linda Thom of the "white nationalist" group VDare—named for Virginia Dare, supposedly the first white child born in the New World. "I cried, not for them but for me. Garrett and Jane got my thinking straight on overpopulation. They lived what they believed. I have never met such environmentally conscious people."

John Tanton can very legitimately be seen as a founding father of the modern anti-immigration movement. Tanton serves on the board of FAIR, which he founded in 1979. Before becoming fixated on population control in the '80s, Tanton was a leader
miles of the southern US border and 4,000 miles of the northern border through the use of increased technology and infrastructure, as well as greater numbers of federal officers.

Some of the planet's nastiest corporations are competing for SBInet contracts. Their main task will be to integrate data from satellites, electronic sensors, unmanned aircraft and video surveillance with new infrastructure, communication software and law enforcement components. The effort could include ground radar, facial-recognition technologies, and heat, motion, biological and chemical detectors.

As this comes into public view, we can expect claims that SBInet is a winning solution for the environment because it uses lower-impact, technological surveillance. This is similar to how biotechnology is spun as the ecological solution to industrial pesticides. We should confront this potential PR spin. There is no indication that any reduction of overall ecological impact will follow SBInet.

The SBInet contract will be awarded in September. So mark your calendars. That leaves you plenty of time to dry clean your finest get-up and comb that mop on your head. We're going to an awards ceremony!

in the National Audubon Society, the Sierra Club and other mainstream environmental groups. He founded Support US Population Stabilization (SUSPS) in 1998, to push the Sierra Club towards an anti-immigration position. Tanton has also taken money from the Pioneer Fund, a group that once funded eugenics research and is widely accused of bankrolling anti-desegregation efforts in the South in decades past.

Ben Zuckerman is a University of California-Los Angeles astronomy professor and board member of the Sea Shepard Conservation Society. He served on the Sierra Club board of directors from 2002 to 2005. Zuckerman is a staunch defender and promoter of Tanton, and he serves on the SUSPS steering committee. He was one of three board members who pushed for an “immigration-reduction” ballot initiative within the Sierra Club. Zuckerman is also the current vice president of Californians for Population Stabilization.

Roy Beck is the founder and executive director of NumbersUSA, a self-described “pro-immigrant and pro-immigration, but anti-over-immigration” organization. Beck has been cited by Zuckerman, SUSPS and E Magazine as a legitimate expert on sprawl. NumbersUSA produces moderate-sounding propaganda to lure environmentalists into an extremely xenophobic movement. NumbersUSA shares an office with the groups ProEnglish and Evangelicals for Immigration Reform. Beck's website was the first to pop up in a recent internet search for the infamous Ed Abbey essay, "Immigration and Liberal Taboos," which evidences the racism and xenophobia that EF! was harboring in its early years.

Targeting the Border Industrial Complex

The following is a list of the five corporations bidding on the $2-billion SBI contract. You don't have to live on the border (or in the US) to have a say in SBInet.

• Boeing, 100 North Riverside, Chicago, IL 60606; (312) 544-2000; www.boeing.com. The world's largest aerospace company, with interests in defense.

• Ericsson, 6300 Legacy Dr, Plano, TX 75024; (800) 879-6000; www.ericsson.com. A telecommunications contractor with over 1,000 networks in 140 countries.

• Lockheed Martin, 6801 Rockledge Dr, Bethesda, MD 20817; (301) 897-6000; www.lockheedmartin.com. The world's largest defense contractor (by revenue), with locations in 45 states.

• Northrop Grumman, 1840 Century Park E, Los Angeles, CA 90067; (310) 553-6262; www.northropgrumman.com. A global defense company that operates in all 50 states and 25 countries.

• Raytheon, 870 Winter St, Waltham, MA 02451; (781) 522-3000; www.raytheon.com. An industry leader in defense and government electronics, space, information technology, business aviation and special mission aircraft.

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In June 2005, Subcomandante Marcos of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) announced *La Otra Campaña* (the Other Campaign), a tour of Mexico that will serve as a radical, grassroots alternative to electoral politics. Since January, the EZLN-led caravan has been making multiple-day stops in nearly all of Mexico’s 31 states. During one of the tour’s first stops, in Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas, Marcos—now using the name “Delegate Zero”—explained, “*La Otra Campaña* will not give you underwear or sodas, like politicians do. It is about working together to achieve a better reality. You can take those gifts that politicians give you every six years, along with their empty promises, but you know you will never see them again. At least you can use the underwear and sodas, but politicians are good for nothing. We don’t need them.”

The EZLN’s effort to join forces with other progressive forces in Mexico is best reflected by its new slogan: “Down and to the left.” It sums up the Zapatistas’ desire to help organize city workers, indigenous groups, peasants, housewives, students and environmentalists into an anti-capitalist, bottom-up movement on the left wing of the political spectrum.

While Earth Firsters don’t tend to identify with either the left or with flag-waving nationalism—as the EZLN often does—the ecological, indigenous and direct-action components of *La Otra Campaña* make it something that EF! can’t overlook. The caravan has been meeting with communities across south and central Mexico to listen to the country’s many voices of grassroots resistance. We have a lot to learn from what they have heard.

**Oaxaca Takes on Don Quixote’s Struggle**

The caravan spent early February in the state of Oaxaca, where it met with local farming, ranching and fishing communities that are opposing the construction of 2,100 windmills across more than 400 square miles. The land grab for what investors call a clean, quaint source of electricity is slated for the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The wind farm is only one of the Plan Puebla Panamá (PPP) projects in store for Oaxaca. Other PPP projects in the state include new highways and oil pipelines connecting ports on both oceans, an expanded hydroelectric dam in Jalapa del Marqués, tourist resorts to replace small fishing communities between Salina Cruz and Huatulco, and a new zone for *maquiladoras* (export-only factories).

Multinational corporations have lined up as brokers to buy and resell the power generated by the Oaxaca wind park. A participant in *La Otra Campaña* has suggested, “Compañeros... could make noise in those countries and cities where those multinationals are located, to inform the public of their plans to destroy our land and culture here.” Those corporations include: Endesa, Gamesa, Iberdrola and Preneal from Spain; Energía del Istmo, associated with Electricité de France; Fuerza Eólica, associated with Clipper Windpower and USAID; Cader-EHN and Eoliatec.

**EZLN Joins Querétaro in Defending Water**

On March 4, *La Otra Campaña* arrived in the state of Querétaro. Residents of 63 communities in the municipalities of Amealco, San Juan del Río, Pedro Escobedo and Huimilpan have been maintaining an encampment to defend the area’s most important aquifer. The government wants to dig a total of 14 wells here to provide water for industrial parks near the state capital. Delegate Zero praised the camp’s work to prevent the extraction of vital liquid for the benefit of powerful companies, most of them multinationals (such as Coca-Cola, Daewoo, John Deere, Kimberly-Clark and Arbill), without regard for the damage that will be done to local peasant farmers.

“*If* they take the water from here, they are going to take other things with it: the trees, the climate,” stated Zero. “It would be like arriving with a knife and telling you, ‘I am going to cut out your heart and give you 20,000 pesos for..."
"The true knight-errant, though he may see ten giants that not only touch the clouds with their heads but pierce them,... must not on any account be dismayed by them. On the contrary, he must attack and fall upon them with a gallant bearing and a fearless heart, and, if possible, vanquish and destroy them...."

—Miguel de Cervantes, Don Quixote

On March 14, Alpuyeca community members demanded the closing of the dump by blockading the federal highway between Cuernavaca and Alpuyeca with large boulders, signs and their bodies. After approximately 15 hours of unmoving traffic, state and local authorities promised to begin the necessary steps to close the waste site.

One of the protesters and community members, Guadalupe Zallego, explained that the blockade was necessary to achieve results. "We are tired of going to meeting after meeting, without arriving at anything, exhausting all the legal options and still nothing." This is why they asked for the support of La Otra Campaña.

Environmentalists and EZLN Occupy Construction Site

On April 10, 40 state troopers tried to arrest a small group of environmentalists, who had chained themselves to trees in Cuernavaca, Morelos. But the police fled soon after, when the EZLN caravan arrived to support the protesters.

The environmentalists were opposing the expiration of a court order protecting 200-year-old trees from destruction. The trees are located in a small gorge, which developers plan to destroy while building a new highway and shopping mall. Approximately 300 trees live in the gorge, along with raccoons, opossums, iguanas, woodpeckers and the endangered red-headed parrot.

The date of the protest was significant in that April 10 also marked the 87th anniversary of Emiliano Zapata's assassination—a particularly observed event in Morelos, Zapata's home state.
“We are going to live on our lands. We have no reason to immigrate to the city just to live like dogs. Here we were born and here we will die, cabrónes.”

Parota Dam Incites Militant Response

The caravan’s visit to Guerrero in mid-April was one of its rowdiest, which seems appropriate given the tense climate surrounding the fight against the Parota Dam (see *EF*! November-December 2004). The Council of Communal Lands and Communities Opposed to the Parota Dam (CECOP) has faced harsh state repression, including the assassination of three peasant farmers and threats to expropriate its members’ land. CECOP’s struggle inspired Delegate Zero to warn President Vicente Fox that if the Mexican army attacks these communities it will be considered aggression against the EZLN. “They will only be able to build the dam with a war in the Mexican southeast,” Zero declared.

The hydroelectric mega-project, near Acapulco, would displace 25,000 people, submerge their land, and kill countless plants and animals. In the face of this threat, Marco Antonio Suásteigi, a campesino leader and CECOP member, said, “We are going to live on our lands. We have no reason to immigrate to the city just to live like dogs. Here we were born and here we will die, cabrones.”

Local Merchants Displaced by Wal-Mart

*La Otra Campaña* spent the last week of April in meetings throughout the state of Mexico. As the caravan was preparing to move on to the next stops, violent conflict broke out in Texcoco, just south of the capital. On May 3, peasant flower vendors involved with People’s Front in Defense of the Land (FPDT), who had been resisting eviction from the Texcoco marketplace for several weeks, were attacked by state police to prepare for the coming of a new commercial center and Wal-Mart store.

The vendors were dispersed, but they returned to recoup the marketplace, now supported by allies from the nearby municipality of Atenco—a community notorious for waging a successful anti-airport battle in 2002. Instead of selling flowers, the vendors were now armed with machetes and Molotov cocktails. The police attacked the vendors again, this time with tear gas and batons. During the confrontation, police arrested 40 people, beat countless others and killed 14-year-old Javier Cortés Santiago. Eleven cops were taken hostage by protesters and released to the Red Cross that night.

On May 4, more than 3,500 armed state and federal police stormed Texcoco and Atenco. More than 200 people were arrested, and nearly all were beaten. Of the 47 women arrested in Atenco, 30 reported sexual abuse. A 53-year-old mother, who had gone to a local store to buy a birthday present for her son, reported that she was forced to perform oral sex on three police officers to avoid arrest. Many officers used prophylactics during the abuse, a strong indication that they came to Atenco with the intention of committing rape.

“We were under orders to beat anything that moved,” one anonymous police officer admitted, “but only out of sight of the media.”

In various parts of Mexico City, protesters acting in solidarity with the FPDT and the prisoners began to fill the streets, blockading the highways leading in and out of the capital. Protests have occurred around the world at Wal-Marts and Mexican consulates. *La Otra Campaña* has declared its intention to stay in the state of Mexico until all prisoners are released and the situation resolved.

For more information, visit www.narconews.com; mexico.indymedia.org; chiapas.indymedia.org.

This article was compiled from reports by René Flores, Al Giordano, Bertha Rodriguez Santos, Amber Howard and John Ross.

*Sancho Panza is anxiously longing to return to La Mancha and renew the struggle for autonomia on the home front.*
SIX NATIONS WARRIORS RECLAIM TRADITIONAL LANDS

BY SKYLER SIMMONS

By sunrise on April 21, Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) thought they had successfully quelled yet another indigenous uprising in the occupied territories currently known as Canada. But by midmorning, the OPP were forced to beat a hasty retreat as hundreds of people from surrounding Six Nations communities flooded the quiet town of Caledonia to defend their ancestral territories. Indigenous protesters set up barricades of burning tires and vehicles to block access for, as one warrior put it, "as long as it takes."

The standoff began on February 28, when warriors from the Six Nations (a confederacy composed of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk and Tuscarora nations) occupied a 130-acre parcel of land slated to be cleared for a housing development. The occupation effectively stopped construction on the planned Douglas Creek Estates, a business venture of Henco Industries.

Canada claims that this land was sold to the government in the late 1800s, despite the fact that the Six Nations were given clear title to the land in 1784. The agreement with Canada clearly states that the land was to be leased, not sold, for the construction of a road. The Six Nations currently control only five percent of the land that was officially granted to them in 1784. Protesters have vowed to hold their ground until the land is returned to their control.

There have been several other armed confrontations between Six Nations warriors and the Canadian government, including one in which government forces fired approximately 60,000 rounds at Native protesters fighting for land rights. The current occupation, while not without violence, has differed from previous Six Nations land disputes in that the participants have vowed to remain unarmed.

The Ontario government reacted to the overt assertion of Native sovereignty with a brutal raid on the night of April 20. The OPP used tasers, pepper spray and bludgeons to evict the occupation. Within an hour, the police had arrested 16 of the indigenous resisters and brutalized countless others.

What the police did not count on was the militant response. By morning, hundreds of Native protesters reoccupied the site, blockading a highway with an appropriated dump truck and piles of burning debris. As the Six Nations protesters raised their warrior flags over the blockade, several other Six Nation communities crippled the surrounding area's critical transportation infrastructure. Six Nations warriors also raided Henco's on-site office and seized computers, architectural reports, equipment and other sensitive information.

The company's insurance agency has refused to compensate Henco, because it considers the looting an "act of insurrection" against the government. That night, Tyendinaga Mohawks seized railways and burned a rail bridge. In Marysville, Mohawks used a bus and burning tires to block a highway at a rail crossing, shutting down both the road and railway. The various blockades shut down the main thoroughfare in Caledonia, commuter rail lines, the main road to the Nanticoke hydroelectric plant and a major transport route.

The occupation has received the overwhelming support of the clan mothers, the traditional leaders of the Six Nations' matriarchal society. While many non-Native residents have also expressed support, there have been many ugly clashes between racist Caledonians and the Native blockaders. As a good will gesture, the Six Nations demonstrators removed the blockades on May 22, but soon the OPP attempted to evict the protesters. Members of the Six Nations reoccupied the road and were attacked by residents. The police intervened by joining the racists in attacking the Natives. That evening, an electrical transformer was set on fire, leaving thousands of Caledonians without power for days and causing an estimated $1.5 million in damage.

The Six Nations are maintaining their occupation in Caledonia, while negotiating with the government.

For more information on how to donate food, medical supplies and money, visit Six Nations Solidarity, www.sisis.nativeweb.org.
Editors’ Note: The following is the most recent installment in the controversial discussion that began with Billie Pierre’s article, “US Renews War on the American Indian Movement: The Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash Story,” and continued with Michael Donnelly’s “John Trudell is a Hero, Not a Snitch” (see EFJ January-February 2006 and March-April 2006). The EFJ collective published Pierre’s defense of John Graham because of Graham’s involvement in the allied struggles of Earth defense and indigenous resistance. We also thought that Pierre’s article raised an extremely crucial point: the state cannot be fairly arbitrated the disputes of the groups that it exploits and oppresses.

Many EF’ers and American Indian Movement (AIM) veterans focused instead on Pierre’s unapologetically heavy-handed critique of John Trudell and other AIM leaders. In private letters and conversations, people expressed their anger that the Journal would publicly “air another movement’s dirty laundry.” Many worried that this would burn bridges of solidarity with indigenous activists. Thus, we published Donnelly’s response in an attempt to directly address these concerns.

The EFJ collective would like to introduce this newest article by reminding our readers that indigenous activism did not begin or end with AIM. The Native Youth Movement (NYM), which supports Graham, is no less of an important ally than AIM in our struggle to defend the Earth, and it is equally deserving of our respect and consideration. Second, we worry that Pierre’s central point about the insidiousness and pervasiveness of state repression has been lost in the personal attacks. We hope that the following article brings the discussion back to its original focus and provides a better understanding of why the Graham trial and the cooperation of Trudell are so troubling for many radical anti-authoritarian activists, Native and non-Native alike.

John Trudell’s collaboration with the US government’s prosecution of John Graham and Arlo Looking Cloud is very real to me. My own father introduced me to Trudell; it was his way of showing me that I could be proud of myself as a Native person, that I could persevere beyond the personal tragedies of my own life, and that I had to stand up and fight for my people. Trudell’s betrayal is treason against the spirit of resistance.

Michael Donnelly seems to dismiss any accusations of collaboration or treachery because Trudell is a “noted activist”—thus, he is outside the realm of critique. Donnelly holds up Trudell as some kind of activist superstar in order to deny Trudell’s responsibility for his own actions. Yet Trudell voluntarily cooperated with the US and Canadian court systems’ prosecution of Graham and Looking Cloud for the murder of Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash. No matter how benevolent Donnelly or others may think this action was, Trudell presented testimony on behalf of the prosecution. Trudell is, by all definitions of the word, a snitch.

Donnelly idealizes the influence of AIM’s so-called leadership, and he ignores the realities of their subsequent careers that have veered far from a revolutionary path. He uncritically accepts the Pictou family’s support of the extradition, but neglects to mention that Pictou-Aquash’s own daughter is a Canadian federal police officer and that much of the family’s campaign seems based on FBI documents.

Donnelly bases his article on the “higher-ups” theory—the same scenario that the FBI promotes. Donnelly accuses “higher-ups” in AIM of giving the order to have Pictou-Aquash killed. The proponents of this theory cite, as their “evidence,” the character flaws of AIM’s leadership. Dennis Banks, Russell Means and the Bellecourts were all flawed in their personal lives and as leaders of AIM, but this does not in any way make them murderers. There is nothing but vague innuendo to connect any of them so-called “higher-ups” to Pictou-Aquash’s death.

The “higher-ups” theory also involves what are referred to as “foot soldiers.” Allegedly, Graham and Looking Cloud were mindless thugs who would do anything they were told. This theory completely ignores the fact that Pictou-Aquash was a close friend of Graham; she trusted him with her life while she was on the run. The “higher-ups” and “foot-soldiers” theory presumes that AIM had a rigid militaristic hierarchy in
place, and was vicious and brutal in its approach. AIM may have used militant tactics, but it was not a private army for Banks or the Bellecourts. There was a national level of organization, but each individual chapter had its own character and direction.

AIM did not have a policy of executing informants or infiltrators. In a January 2005 article printed in the *Vancouver Sun*, “Who Killed Anna Mae?,” journalist Rex Weyler states, “[AIM] did not execute or harm Bernie Morning Gun, Virginia ‘Blue Dove’ DeLuce or any of the dozens of informers it uncovered. AIM leaders supported Norman Brown, the teenager whose mother begged him to cooperate in fabricating evidence [in Leonard Peltier’s trial].”

Donnelly accuses Billie Pierre of slamming Peltier with the same scathing critique that she levels at Means and Pierre upholds Peltier as one of AIM’s last holdouts of integrity, juxtaposing Peltier’s own words with the actions of those who support the US government’s case against Graham and Looking Cloud: “When we

The mission of the indigenous resistance movement is to regain and protect indigenous sovereignty, and to fight the continued hostile occupation of our territories and the genocide of our people. The US prosecution of the Pictou-Aquash case undermines indigenous sovereignty.

talk of sovereignty, we must be willing to solve our own problems and not go running to the oppressor for relief... We have been and still are at odds with the most dangerous, well-funded, strongest military and political organization in the history of the world.”

AIM was part of a wider movement for indigenous liberation that has spanned the last 500 years and, in fact, continues to this day. The aim of the indigenous resistance movement is to regain and protect indigenous sovereignty, and to fight the continued hostile occupation of our territories and the genocide of our people. The US prosecution of the Pictou-Aquash case undermines indigenous sovereignty. Graham, Looking Cloud and Pictou-Aquash are sovereign indigenous people. The very struggle

names may never be known outside of their communities, but their strength will be forever felt by Native people rising up against our oppressors. They will be remembered despite the antics of AIM’s so-called leadership.

The factionalized nature of AIM is a red herring to distract people from the movement’s true nature and the real work that AIM did. These so-called leaders are not heroes. Superstars only dazzle and blind us from seeing the real issues that indigenous people face today. Real Native solidarity starts on the ground, with the people who are fighting for the land, our mother.

Lyn Highway, Anishnabeg, is the co-editor of *Wiil’nimkiikaa (It Will be Thundering), a journal of revolutionary indigenous resistance. For more information, visit itwillbethundering.resist.ca.

BARE BONES

Pygmy Owl Delisted in Arizona

On May 15, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) delisted the cactus ferruginous pygmy owl in Arizona. Now, USFWS is poised to remove habitat designation from more than one million acres in Arizona. The delisting removes federal oversight on pending construction, including a massive 4,000-acre project in Mission Peaks, near Phoenix. Large amounts of the Sonoran Desert’s shrinking old-growth, ironwood and saguaro habitat, which is important for the owl, are slated for development.

The Center for Biological Diversity is seeking a long-term injunction to block the delisting. It presented its case in federal court on June 1, and is awaiting the judge’s final decision.

“Divine Strake” Detonation Postponed

The Pentagon’s plan to detonate 700 tons of explosives was postponed indefinitely on May 25, after the National Nuclear Security Administration withdrew its earlier finding that the detonation would cause “no significant” environmental impact. The weapons test, dubbed “Divine Strake,” was set to occur on Western Shoshone land in direct violation of a recent decision by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

James Tegnelia, director of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, which was sponsoring the test, had stated that the test would be “the first time in Nevada that you’ll see a mushroom cloud over Las Vegas since we stopped testing nuclear weapons.” Opponents of the test, who expressed concerns that radioactive dust from old nuclear tests could be disturbed and dispersed through the air, had filed a lawsuit in attempt to stop the test.
Resisting Bioterror

By Operation: Over

Roxbury—one of the oldest neighborhoods in Boston, Massachusetts—is home to a community of powerful and determined people in a city that's divided by lines of color and class. It is also a community in which children have an asthma-related hospitalization rate that is eight times the state average. This is because there are 15 bus and truck depots, 13 trash transfer stations and more than 50 identified hazardous-waste sites in Roxbury. And now, the neighborhood is facing an even larger environmental threat: the building of a Biosafety Level 4 (BSL4) facility in the middle of one of the poorest neighborhoods in the Boston area.

Boston University (BU) has been contracted to build the National Emerging Infectious Diseases Laboratory (NEIDL) using $128 million of federal Department of Homeland Security money. In addition, BU will be contributing $42 million toward the project, which will be primarily financed through tuition money, alumni donations and other miscellaneous donors who advance BU's near-corporate status. In spite of more than three and a half years of community opposition (which BU has repeatedly refused to acknowledge), BU has gained federal approval and begun construction. It plans to complete the lab by 2008. Thus far, only the Level 2 and 3 components of NEIDL have been approved, but Level 4 approval is just on the horizon.

NEIDL will be conducting research on the world’s deadliest pathogens, such as Ebola, viral hemorrhagic fever, botulism, bubonic plague, tularemia and anthrax. These pathogens can be made airborne, thus allowing for rapid transmission. All of the research conducted would be on our fellow animals, locked in cages and injected with these deadly pathogens. In addition, a 1994 regulation passed by the Boston Public Health Commission banned recombinant DNA research, making it illegal within Boston. BU is now trying to change this regulation.

The amount of communication between BU and the Boston community regarding this lab has been laughable, with representatives of the university refusing to attend an informational meeting with the Roxbury-based Alternatives for Community and Environment and canceling their attendance at a BU student forum on NEIDL. This is all contrary to BU’s claims that, "Community outreach is an ongoing component of the project." In addition, the information about NEIDL that BU has released to the public has been marred by vague rhetoric and blatantly false information. BU’s overt propaganda-pushing website about the lab claims that “there has never been a community incident or accidental environmental release connected with a lab of this kind.”

This is an interesting claim, considering that two employees of the US Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases at Fort Detrick, Maryland, tested positive for anthrax in 2002. In September 2001, anthrax was mailed to a number of people, including two US senators, and ultimately killed five people. This anthrax was eventually traced back to that same Fort Detrick BSL4 lab, which claims to be the safest of all the BSL4 labs because of its overt connections with the military.

The Fort Detrick lab is not the only dangerous operation in existence. BU Medical Center (BUMC) has also had its fair share of mishaps. In January 2005, The Boston Globe reported that three BUMC researchers had become infected with tularemia, a rare disease previously found only in rabbits. This information was kept secret from the public, even after two of the three researchers were hospitalized with the illness.

Another possible scenario is that a delivery van transporting the pathogens to NEIDL could get into an accident, and a disease could become airborne. Or an employee at the lab could steal a pathogen and release it, like the anthrax from Fort Detrick. There are 600,000 permanent residents in Boston and a further 1.2 million people who commute to and from Boston every day. One infection could easily spread well beyond the city.
For three years, the coalition opposing the lab has been focusing its energies on legal channels, but to no avail. Most of the politicians representing Boston and Massachusetts—including the majority of city councilors, Mayor Thomas Menino, and Senators John Kerry and Edward Kennedy—support the lab. Because of this, the coalition has expanded, and tactics of direct action are now being utilized.

In February, members of the Boston direct-action campaign Operation: Over held a noisy, late-night rally outside BU President Robert Brown’s estate and distributed information about NEIDL to all of his neighbors. Since then, we have called for a boycott of BU, urging prospective students not to support BU with their tuition money. To support this boycott, we have interrupted campus tours full of high-school seniors, giving them information about NEIDL and the boycott. We have dropped banners, staged numerous die-ins and handed out thousands of fliers at busy areas on BU’s campus and in front of the lab construction site. Seven members of Operation: Over briefly occupied President Brown’s office in late April, and a week later, three other members disrupted Brown’s inauguration ceremony, resulting in one arrest. Now Operation: Over is going on a speaking tour at high schools around Boston to inform young Bostonians about what BU is building in their city.

BU’s response to Operation: Over has been anything but kind. It started when undercover BU police officers in unmarked black cars began following us around campus and taking our pictures while we were interrupting tours. Most of us have since been threatened with criminal trespass charges if we are caught on BU’s private property. Two graduating BU seniors and members of Operation: Over were suspended and banned from graduation ceremonies, and one person has been arrested. BU has sent letters to many of our parents, explaining our participation in “a deliberate campaign of misinformation about BU’s ethical and legal research activities in the field of infectious diseases, where responsible physicians and researchers seek cures to virulent diseases that have thus far eluded the international community.”

Despite the repression we’ve received from BU, we won’t stop our direct action. The Level 4 component of this bio lab will not be built. We would rather see our bodies in front of a bulldozer than submit to yet another blatant case of environmental racism.

For more information, visit www.operationover.freeyouth.net.

Operation: Over is a Boston-based, direct-action campaign dedicated to ending the Iraq War.

**Banner drop off the BU arts building**

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**Bare Bones**

**Attack on Dam Opponents in Sudan**

On April 22, security forces in Merowe, Sudan, fired live ammunition into a crowd of Amri villagers, who had gathered in a local schoolyard to discuss effects of the Merowe Dam project. The attack killed three and injured more than 50. Three villagers were arrested and charged with “waging war against the state,” a capital crime in Sudan.

The dam, designed by Lahmeyer International of Germany and built by CCMD Consortium of China, has already resulted in the displacement of 50,000 people from the Nile River Valley. Many have been resettled to the Nubian Desert, where traditional farmers are unable to produce crops and have been reduced to poverty.

Merowe Dam is the largest hydropower project currently under construction in Africa. Once completed, the dam’s reservoir will be more than 120 miles long.

**Biotech Breast Milk in Rice Powder**

The “biopharm” company Ventria has applied for FDA approval of its rice protein powder, which contains two human proteins found in breast milk, saliva and tears. Although Ventria is marketing the powder as a cure for diarrhea, the FDA application describes the powder as a “medical food”—an attempt to circumvent the extensive testing required for drugs.

The Sacramento-based company has had its research chased out of California and Missouri by farmers, environmentalists and consumer groups. Ventria has re-established its open-air biopharm research near Greenville, North Carolina. In March, it received clearance to expand its operation from 70 acres to 335 acres. Environmentalists worry that the GE rice could contaminate conventional crops nearby.
Animal Rights Activists Build Alliances in Harlem

By Win Animal Rights

A coyote died after being tranquilized and removed from New York City's Central Park. A 300-pound black bear was gunned down in New Jersey, after animal control drove it deeper into the city instead of moving it toward the woods. Yet nature is not the only thing being displaced by urban development.

To the north of Central Park, another territorial dispute is beginning to unfold. Columbia University has announced that it will be displacing long-term tenants, including low-income residents and shopkeepers, from homes and businesses in Harlem. Initial reports indicated that the university needed the space to expand student facilities. The truth is that Columbia, propelled by greed and the lure of government grants, is planning to build a biotech laboratory as part of an 18-acre, $5-billion development in the middle, of densely populated Harlem.

Harlem has always faced significant exploitation from nearby wealthy, white neighborhoods, and the bio lab project is merely the most recent example of this trend.

Harlem is a community rich in culture and history. From Duke Ellington and Langston Hughes, to Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, this primarily black and Puerto Rican community of 300,000 has long been a fountain of art and activism. Harlem has always faced significant exploitation from nearby wealthy, white neighborhoods, and the bio lab project is merely the most recent example of this trend.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, this Biosafety Level 3 Lab (BSL3) would house "indigenous or exotic agents, which may cause serious or potentially lethal disease as a result of exposure by inhalation route." This would include diseases like hanta virus, Ebola, West Nile virus and many other deadly organisms. In addition to being dangerous to humans, the lab would also routinely torture and kill animals. Sadly, this problem is not unique to New York City. Following 9/11, vast amounts of Homeland Security resources have been designated for

Russian Anarchists Disrupt Government

Anarchist Ecological Resistance disrupted a regional parliament meeting in the central Russian province of Perm on April 20. The gas-masked demonstrators rushed into the legislature with a deafening siren and shouted, "Warning! A chemical attack is in progress!"

The six anarchists were acting in solidarity with local residents, who have been fighting the government's illegal incineration of missiles. The exhaust fumes from the incineration include toxic hydrogen chloride and dioxin. The parliament has postponed the hearing on this matter six times.

Activists Crash Biotech Cocktail Party

On May 16, activists invaded a cocktail party during the Biotechnology Industry Organization's Windhover 2006 conference in Washington, DC. One of the activists blasted an air horn, while another addressed the crowd, scolding the pharmaceutical executives for abusing the patent system to the detriment of human and environmental health. Fliers enumerating the protesters' specific demands were tossed into the air. The activists concluded with a chant of "People not Profits!" and promptly escaped, carrying the conference's official, information-laden schedule and guide.

The Windhover conference is intended to provide a space for executives to negotiate licensing deals. Representatives from Pfizer, Merck, GlaxoSmithKline and Johnson & Johnson were in attendance.

ALF Raid in Solidarity with Peter Young

In the early morning hours of April 29, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) raided Latzig Mink Ranch in Howard Lake, Minnesota—the second such raid in ten years. Hundreds of mink were freed, cages were smashed and breeding records were destroyed.

According to the ALF communiqué, the action was carried out in solidarity with animal liberation prisoner Peter Young. "To all of those who smirk at the fate of Peter and other captured activists, remember this: We have broken, closed and burned down more of your farms, more of your labs and more of your businesses than you have been able to capture activists.... Your attempts at scaring us and making an example of our comrades will not work.... This is the last warning: Close down your
the building of new BSL.3s and BSL.4s across the US.

On April 27, Win Animal Rights (WAR), a coalition of Harlem residents led by the Harlem Tenants Council, and other human rights, anti-war, environmental and animal rights activists converged at Columbia. Two hundred chanting protesters carried colorful posters and banners reading, “No Biotech in Harlem” and “Save Harlem Children.” Armed with leaflets detailing the negative community impact of building the lab, activists canvassed area businesses to alert them to the health and safety risks associated with the proposed lab.

The protest ended with a march through the campus and a rally on the library steps. Coalition members spoke to the gathering about Harlem’s history, the financial motivation of Columbia, and the university’s continued lack of concern and compassion for the health and safety of the community.

This is not the first time that Harlem residents have been victimized by Columbia. In 2002, multinational pharmaceutical giant GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) colluded with Incarnation Charities and Columbia University Medical Center to use HIV-positive orphans from Harlem to test experimental drugs. If their guardians tried to withdraw the children from the drug programs, Columbia and GSK threatened to have the children taken from their foster parents’ care. Many of these economically and socially disadvantaged children suffered devastating side effects from the experiments.

Attempts at researching lab safety have been frustrating at best. Page after page of official documentation extols the virtues of biotech labs and offers soothing government platitudes meant to relieve any anxiety one might have about so many virulent and toxic substances moving into Harlem. But there is good reason to worry. In September, three lab rats infected with bubonic plague during government-sponsored bio-terrorism research disappeared from a New Jersey laboratory. Two weeks passed before the news was reported to the general public. The rats were never found.

Efforts to stop the building of the Harlem lab have been legal and peaceful thus far, but one must wonder if Columbia will begin to experience the kind of resistance taking place against Oxford University in the UK. At Oxford, massive marches and rallies against the building of an animal-testing laboratory have been supplemented by intimidation tactics and costly acts of sabotage, which have forced construction workers to wear masks and travel in unmarked vehicles. It’s a situation worthy of Columbia’s consideration.

For more information, visit www.war-online.org. WAR is dedicated to protecting the Earth and to the interwoven struggle for human rights, animal rights and social justice.

Treesitters Fight Development in UK

On May 29, activists with Protect Our Woodland set up a dozen platforms in the trees of Titnore Wood, in West Sussex, UK. The pristine forest of ancient oak, ash, birch and willow trees is slated to be razed in order to build an 875-home development.

The property owner instructed police to evict the protesters by force. In response, protesters declared that they were squatting the forest. In accordance with British law, the landlord will now have to go through lengthy court proceedings to evict them. Despite the continuing threat of illegal eviction, the activists vow to continue the treesit until plans for the housing development are scrapped.

N’Quatqua Blockade Logging in Canada

More than twenty traditional members of the N’Quatqua band of the St’at’imc Nation and their allies constructed a blockade from boulders and logs on April 24, to stop the planned logging of 200 acres of old-growth forest on traditional territory in British Columbia.

The band’s representatives signed a deal with logging companies, despite the fact that more than 80 percent of the N’Quatqua band voted against the deal. The sole shareholder of the N’Quatqua Logging Company is Chief Harry O’Donaghey, who stands to profit if the logging goes through.

“This logging is a great loss to the community,” said researcher Mike Morley. “It’s a loss for our mule deer range, our berry picking and natural food gathering. It’s a loss for the area’s wildlife... Our people are speaking up for those who can’t speak for themselves.”

ELF Strikes Again at New England Landfill

According to a communiqué from the Acadian Green Brigade (AGB), three pieces of heavy equipment belonging to Owen Folsom Company were destroyed by fire on May 21, in Old Town, Maine. Folsom was targeted by the AGB for supplying sand and fill to the controversial Juniper Ridge Landfill, which has been cited as one of the top polluters in New England. In September 2005, the landfill was the target of a similar attack that resulted in tens of thousands of dollars’ worth of damage to more than a dozen large machines.

“The AGB will always hold the sanctity of the Earth over that of temporary profit,” declared the communiqué. “Let this be a warning to Casella, Plum Creek, liquid natural gas and anyone else planning to take advantage of both the people of Maine and the land in which we dwell.”
Turtle

I work at a tree museum
So nice to be among like-minded
Nature-noticing humans.

Rolling into the research lot
One morning on my two-wheeler
I saw the cracked shell
Of a sparkling turtle stopped in its tracks
By employee traffic.
Eyes still open, dying in place
But I couldn’t stop
Because there was a pick-up truck
Coming fast: work to do.
Later someone had scraped it up
Tossed it aside, away with poor taste

I wear a turtle pendant
Absentee vote for Turtle Island

Every day on my bike
I, like the turtles,
Wait patiently, confidently,
For the end of the oil era.

—Jenny McBride

Coyotes

Two a.m., howling begins
on the edge of one of the farms left
in this valley, near the wetland
a developer has mown.

Such pure sound pierces the night,
this bloodletting beneath Orion,
this ghostly choir of thin cries
that tremble like Shawmut and Massasoit

come back to haunt us.
Then the baying of one hound
sets another hound baying
from the far rim of the opposite ridge.

Porch lights flicker
on the water of this delirious music,
and the wild pack in each of us
rises into song.

—Wally Swist
Sticks of Initials: ANWR

"And a good place to look
is going to be ANWR."
—George W. Bush

"An-waar"—Could be furniture varnish
Not words:

"ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE"
Oilmen do not want people hearing
"ARCTIC"
sharp, articulate diction of polar ice and snow
"...continuous, exulting feeling of immensity"
writes Robert Marshall in "Arctic Wilderness."

"ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE"
Oilmen do not want Americans
hearing the rousing sounds of
"NATIONAL"
reminded "This is my Land"
"America the Beautiful" from sea to Beaufort Sea
from which Polar Bears clumsily emerge for Winter denning
the greatest number of birthing Polar Bears in America
nursing on the Refuge's "Coastal Plain."

"ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE"
Oilmen do not want children, parents hearing
"WILDLIFE"-
"Thousands of birds, Mommy?"

"Yes, dear, hundreds of thousands
resting, feeding, nesting on the 'Coastal Plain.'
Three hundred thousand Snow Geese,
Tundra Swans from all the way across America."

"And deer?"

"Yes, child. The deer are caribou.
One hundred and twenty-nine thousand caribou.
For three months they journey
to the Refuge's 'Coastal Plain,' their nursery."

"Where baby caribou are born?"

"ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE"
Oilmen do not want the world hearing
"REFUGE"
its "Coastal Plain"
shore of tundra wetlands
where minutes after birth the caribou calf
stands, back arched, legs bent awkwardly
and puts her small head under her mother's belly.

—Maxwell Corydon Wheat, Jr.

Close to Nature

Spider webs flash silver lines
across dark green shadows.
Sunlight slants hot promises
through leafy branches,
spotlighting insects dancing
their short lives away.

I sit swinging my feet
on a flatbed truck parked
beside a dirt road,
listening to the woods,
inhaling sweet summer morning
smells.

A truck pulls up, on its back
a heavy bulldozer bursting at chains.
Released, the 'dozer grumbles to life,
noses down the ramp,
lumbers into the woods
pushing brush and brambles,
ripping evergreens by the roots
to reveal violated forest floor.

Diesel fumes and dirt billow.
Clatters, shrieks and throbs
kill the early silence.
The sun clears the treetops.
Men sweat heavily.
Behind the behemoth
crushed fern, bruised spruce,
uprooted cedar, cleat-chewed
ground. Smells mingle.

The 'dozer spreads earth
like frosting. Contours flatten.
Where once old logs lay,
decaying base for lichens,
lizards and pungent fungi,
all scattered.

It departs,
clanking across the road,
climbing onto the truck,
an obedient beast
tethered with stout chains.

Dust settles.
Birds return to warble evening songs.
We survey the silence,
walk the curving slash in the woods
and dream of living close to nature.

—Jen Eddy
An Interview with Yes Men Prankster Andy Bichlbaum

BY TURTLE

If you ask members of the Yes Men about the world today, they’ll tell you that we live in dark times. But they’ll take one step further and remind you that laughing is important too. So often, we are surrounded by such serious, overwhelming and utterly heart-wrenching tales of the planet’s destruction that it can be easy to forget that people want to laugh also.

After Andy Bichlbaum, one of the original Yes Men, visited his hometown of Tucson, Arizona, earlier this year, I realized that the Yes Men are all about making people laugh.

The Yes Men leap onto the anti-globalization stage six years ago, when they set up a phony World Trade Organization (WTO) website and impersonated the WTO at a conference in Salzburg, Austria. Yet their antics span more than a decade, with actions ranging from creating a spoof website poking fun at George W. Bush’s first presidential impersonation to appearing on BBC World News as a representative of Dow Chemical taking full responsibility for the website poking fun at George W. Bush’s first presidential impersonation, and it was kind of without enforcement power; it’s all just an agreement that everybody has. But it is a nexus of that power, so it’s symbolic.

Rather than “identity theft,” where small-time criminals impersonate honest people, the Yes Men say they engage in “identity correction.” They are honest people impersonating big-time criminals in order to publicly humiliate them. They target world leaders and big corporations that put profits ahead of everything else.

Earth First! Journal: You first impersonated the WTO at a conference that would prove to be a launching point for future Yes Men pranks, speaking to a room full of lawyers who specialized in free trade issues. What do you remember about that event?

Andy Bichlbaum: I remember we got this email invitation, and it was kind of surprising. We didn’t really believe it, and we didn’t know what to do with it exactly. We knew somebody should go, but we didn’t think of going ourselves. We thought it would be a funny, wild thing if somebody actually did, but that’s about as far as we went with it.

Eventually, we decided just to go for it and see what happened. It was always in the spirit that we’ll do a satire on them, we’ll provoke them, and we’ll see what happens. When we got there, we delivered this crazy lecture, and nobody reacted. We had intended it as a goofy provocation, but there was no reaction, so it turned out to be more complicated... and more interesting.

EFJ: Did you have an emergency escape route planned?

AB: Each time we do these things, it feels terrifying. We definitely talked about what would happen if it got weird. In case we had to run out separately, we set up a meeting place. But, of course, it never got to that.

EFJ: What has been your favorite Yes Men action so far?

AB: I think the London banking conference we did last year posing as Dow Chemical was really fun because we pursued the people at the conference. This was maybe our fifth or sixth thing like this, and we really pursued the bankers in the audience and talked to them. We taped all of the conversations we were having on a little hidden camera, and it was really fun to be spying on them. It was also fun to be actually figuring out whether they were just being polite. They not only congratulated us on the talk, but they actually opened up about their own weird practices and were really interested in what we had to offer.

EFJ: How do the Yes Men pick the subjects you focus your attention on?

AB: They’re just symbolic and convenient. They’re also big evildoers. The WTO doesn’t really have power in itself; it is given power by member nations and the corporations that influence those nations. So it’s just a body that is kind of without enforcement power; it’s all just an agreement that everybody has. But it is a nexus of that power, so it’s symbolic.

The WTO meetings in Seattle were actually what made us choose it accidentally as a target. We couldn’t go to the protests, so we set up this website as a kind of second-best thing, thinking, “Oh well, it would be much better to be there and throw things or whatever, but we can’t. So we’re going to set up this satirical website and make fun of their policies.”

The WTO reacted, and then we publicized their reaction. They wrote this press release about the website and called it “deplorable.” Nobody noticed their press release, and we felt bad for them. So we sent the press release to 10,000 journalists—and then it got noticed.

The reaction, all of the articles and all of the people linking to it, is what got us high rankings in Google search engines. After that, when people would search for World Trade Organization, they would sometimes stumble on our site. And so, it was the WTO which did that.

Then some environmentalist friends contacted us about Dow. They were involved in the Bhopal issue, and they contacted us after 2001 when Dow bought Union Carbide and said, “Hey, here’s a target for you. This is some really concrete on-the-ground stuff rather than the fast-track world trade stuff.”

We set up a website and sent out a press release on behalf of Dow saying why the company couldn’t do anything about Bhopal because Bhopalis will never be shareholders.
Dow reacted really heavy-handedly, and it got our entire Internet Service Provider shut down for 24 hours. A bunch of articles happened because of that, and our website got ranked high in Google. Two years later, the BBC stumbled on it and invited us to speak.

_EF!: Do you feel like you're reaching many people?

AB: Insofar as we can publicize our actions. Sometimes we forget to publicize them, and then we don't reach people. We did a nanotechnology conference in San Francisco, and we didn't publicize it because we couldn't figure out what it meant when the audience actually took issue with what we had to say. So it was a little more complicated. We did film it though, and it is going to come out in the new film we're making.

We reach people mostly through press releases, but also through film now. I guess press releases probably reach more people, but the most that they get out of it is an article then a visit to our website. With a film, we can sit them down and make them listen for an hour and a half.

_EF!: Do the reactions you get influence how far you take it?

AB: Well, how far it works. The more they react, the better... to a point. There is a negative feedback mechanism, as a climate change scientist might say. If they react really heavily, it will be really bad for them, thus they are not going to react that badly. So they react a little bit, then they'll pull back.

Meanwhile, they will have given us what we need, which is attention. I mean we crave attention; we're emotionally bankrupt people. We need attention to publicize it. Like if the WTO reacts or George Bush reacts, like when he reacted to a website we set up and said, “There ought to be limits to freedom.” When that sort of things happens, then journalists notice. Otherwise, we're just criticizing them.

By the way, there are actually lots of ways to get invited to these conferences. You don't have to just set up a website. There are other ways to get in. You can visit the conference websites and usually they have a page for speaking opportunities which you can just fill out and ask to speak. Sometimes you have to pay to speak, but they don't do any ID checks yet. Another way is to do some social engineering, as the nerds call it. Pretend to be from one organization, recommend somebody from another organization, and then adopt that persona. There are all kinds of ways.

_EF!: What's new with the Yes Men these days? Are there any future plans you wish to divulge?

AB: Well, we're very interested in climate change right now just because it is the most enormous disaster there is. We've been trying to figure out where we are going these days, and it seems like we've been steering toward disaster more and more.

With Bhopal, it's a massive disaster, but then immediately there was this even bigger disaster that appeared behind Bhopal, which was the Green Revolution. The Bhopal plant was actually put there as part of the modernization of agriculture in India. And the people who died were farmers who had been uprooted from their farms by the Green Revolution that had necessitated the Bhopal plant.

There is an enormous number of farmers who are committing suicide in India right now; I think there have been 10,000 in the last decade. It's generally accepted that this is because they get into debt over these new modern products, which don't actually perform better than the traditional products. And so, they go into debt; they lose their farms. There are 700 million Indian farmers, and when times are tough, it's a huge number of people who lose their farms. So that's kind of the bigger disaster behind the smaller disaster, which was Bhopal.

And the bigger disaster behind everything is climate change right now and where it could go. It's still something that people are just not looking straight in the face. People talk about how the sea levels could rise or how there might be a few more hurricanes. But the film The Day After Tomorrow was taken as science fiction, I think, by a lot of people, whereas a variation of that sort of sudden climate change scenario is entirely possible.

_EF!: Do you think that's one of the greatest problems facing our world right now?

AB: Oh yeah. Definitely.

_EF!: Why the name the Yes Men?

AB: Because we agree. We basically figured out that what we were doing after that first lecture in Salzburg was agreeing with our audience, following what we perceive their ideology to be and taking it to its logical extension. It was so much their ideology that they didn't even notice. We agree with our audience very forcefully. You know, we're also talking about the problem of agreeing with the dominant ideology, which is completely absurd these days. And people who back it, I would say, are by and large just yes men.

In one of their better-known actions, the Yes Men represented the WTO and introduced the “Management Leisure Suit” at a textiles conference in August 2001.
McDonald's Interactive Aims for Revolution

At the International Serious Games Event in Birmingham, England, on June 5, the Yes Men posed as representatives of McDonald's Interactive, a non-existent division of McDonald's, announcing that it was through working for a corporation that cares more about fattening up its chattel than long-term survival.

"We can no longer stand by while McDonald's corporate policies help lead the planet to ruin," said Andrew Shimery-Wolf, co-director of the former Interactive Division, which was formed to help the company adapt to new market conditions.

"We began developing a simulation of the fast-food industry, for use by managers in developing market strategies," said Division Chief Technology Officer Sam Grossman. "When we added a climate simulation module, it showed those strategies helping lead to global calamity. And management doesn't seem to care."

Grossman characterized ordinary corporate social responsibility efforts as "trivial improvements to a sinking ship, serving only to reassure passengers" and singled out British Petroleum's campaign in particular as just a "slightly more polite form of world annihilation."

The audience was clearly energized by the speech. According to a McDonald's Interactive representative, "As soon as McDonald's was saying to the audience, 'We are ready for revolution,' they were saying, 'OK. Let's go.'"

Halliburton Solves Global Warming Scenarios

Speaking at a catastrophic loss conference held at the Ritz-Carlton hotel in Amelia Island, Florida, the Yes Men represented one of the world's biggest, nastiest corporations on May 9.

Fred Wolf, posing as a representative of Halliburton, introduced an advanced new technology that will keep corporate managers safe, even when climate change makes life as we know it impossible.

"The SurvivaBall is designed to protect the corporate manager no matter what Mother Nature throws his or her way," said Wolf. "This technology is the only rational response to abrupt climate change."

In order to head off catastrophic climate change scenarios, scientists agree that we must reduce our carbon emissions by 70 percent within the next few years. But according to Halliburton, doing so would seriously undermine corporate profits, and thus a more forward-thinking solution is needed.

At the conference, Wolf and Dr. Northrop Goody, head of Halliburton's Emergency Products Development Unit, demonstrated how three SurvivaBall mockups would protect managers from natural or cultural disturbances of any intensity or duration. The SurvivaBalls would include sophisticated communications systems, nutrient gathering capacities, medical facilities and a defense infrastructure to ensure that the corporate mission is not compromised—even when human life is rendered impossible by catastrophes or the consequent epidemics and armed conflicts.

"It's essentially a gated community for one," said Wolf.

Conference attendees peppered the Halliburton representatives with questions. One asked how the device would fare against terrorism, another whether the array of embedded technologies would make the unit too cumbersome, and a third raised the issue of cost feasibility. Wolf and Goody assured the audience that these questions and others were being addressed.

Oil Solves Global Warming

In early April, the Yes Men posed as investigative reporters at a journalism conference in Norway and revealed their "discovery" that the country, far from being envirom-friendly as everyone believes, is probably the world's largest agent of climate change per capita.

This is because (a) Norway is the world's third largest petroleum exporter, and (b) Norway invests the billions it makes from petroleum in a wide range of oil, automobile, airplane, shipping and defense companies, via its massive "Petroleum Fund." (While Norway's aid to Pakistan, investments in ecological measures and support of the Nobel Peace Prize are much better known, these are much smaller than its aid to Shell, Chevron, Exxon, Halliburton, etc.)

The journalists were dumbfounded at the April Fools' talk. When the truth came out that the "investigators" were phony, many of the journalists did express surprise that the hypocrisy of a supposedly "green" country being so heavily invested in oil, pollution and war had not received more attention.

Indian Hijinks

The pesticide Dursban was banned from the US in 2001; that very year, Dow opened a Dursban plant in Chiplun, India, where the chemical is still legal. Last December, the Yes Men, dressed as Dow managers, dropped in on the factory for an inspection. These "managers" had been told of the plant by Bhopal survivors, who are angry that Dow is able to launch new, harmful ventures in India even as it continues to get away with murder in Bhopal.

Also in December, the Yes Men visited India's largest agricultural fair and learned how companies like Monsanto sell their expensive seeds to farmers, who are often ruined when the crop doesn't perform as well as expected. Thousands of farmers have committed suicide by drinking the pesticide that is sold with Monsanto's seeds.

After speaking to Monsanto representatives to learn their sales tricks, the
EFJ: How does someone become a part of the Yes Men?

AB: Honestly, we’re a really small group, and we basically just encourage people to do their own things. There is nothing special about what we’re doing; it doesn’t take rocket scientists to do this. Anybody with actual acting talent, for example, would find speaking in front of audiences much easier and would probably be able to do it more convincingly. Some people are much better at worming their way into places. So we encourage people that if they have an idea for something to go out and do it.

EFJ: Does using satire help instead of always being serious?

AB: Using humor helps because it’s fun. I think it’s important to have fun regardless of what you are doing. What we do is a blast. It’s also nerve-wracking and terrifying, but we do it in large part because it’s fun.

Behind all that, we feel it has got some usefulness. We don’t necessarily feel that this is going to change the world any better than anything else we could be doing. It might be that if we really devoted ourselves to politics or something, we could change the world more. Or becoming lawyers and figuring out how to defend the right issues, maybe we could make more of a concrete difference. But this is what we found we can do, and we enjoy it.

EFJ: What are some of the most inspiring forms of resistance that you’ve encountered as you’ve traveled the world?

AB: I’ve realized that this isn’t a time for half measures and socially responsible investing, or getting a Prius and feeling okay about yourself. I mean, that’s all fine, but a lot more needs to happen for things to be better.

In India, I recently met a lot of activists who were very inspiring. In Bhopal, they set up this health clinic; there are a couple of people who have been at this clinic for 21 years. At first, it was a guerrilla clinic, and they were arrested several times. They were arrested because they were treating people the wrong way; they were treating them as if they had toxic symptoms, and the treatment was working. But the implication was that there were toxic things going on, and Union Carbide wanted to convince everybody that the effect of the plant leak on people was basically like that of teargas.

The clinic was going against that, and it kept getting shut down. Finally, this latest version of the clinic has been there for many years now. They’re not only treating hundreds of people each day, they’re also fighting to make sure that Dow Chemical itself cleans up the site. They want Dow to come and clean it up because they want to set an example to corporations and make sure that this kind of thing can never happen again. And that’s pretty amazing.

And then there are the farmers in Karnataka who probably have been, at times, the most powerful indigenous protest movement in the world. The farmers in India have shut down governments and have changed all kinds of things. The ones that we visited use some really funny tactics in what they do. They’ve done these huge laughing protests where they surround government buildings or whatever and laugh for hours or even days. Once, they caused the government of Karnataka to resign, or they helped anyway.

EFJ: If the Yes Men could do one thing that you haven’t done yet, what might that be?

AB: We would probably find ourselves accidentally mistaken for... George Bush. Yeah. And we would change everything. We would find ourselves mistaken for George Bush for a good long period of time. Like at least a week, and that would be enough, I think. But I’m not sure how we’d go about doing that.

There’s this amazing scene in The Great Dictator by Charlie Chaplin, at the end, where the Hitler look-a-like is mistaken for Hitler himself. He ends up addressing all of the Nazi troops, while he’s just this Jewish barber. And everybody thinks he’s Hitler. He gives this impassioned speech to the troops and says something like: “Stop it. We mustn’t do this; we must live for... love.” I forget his speech exactly, though it’s really nice. And the troops just cheer, drop their arms and run away. Of course... the counterpart would be finding oneself in the Oval Office and being able to speak as Bush.

Yes Men successfully sold seeds armed against “amoebas and houseflies” and demonstrated a pesticide that doesn’t kill but simply lobotomizes the drinker, making him or her happier with whatever happens.

Dow Promotes Its New “Post-Cautermary Principle”

At a nanotechnology conference in San Francisco last November, a “Dow representative” urged the scientists, engineers and entrepreneurs in the audience to hurry potentially dangerous nanotech products to market before they could be tested.

Citing Dow’s record profits despite a history of releasing dangerous and often lethal products, the representative asserted that caution is best deferred until after a product is released and that testing ought to be performed not by the corporation but by the population at large. The audience, to their credit, found these ideas disturbing.

For more information on these and other hijinks, visit www.theyesmen.org; www.halliburtoncontracts.com; and www.mcdonaldsinteractive.com.
Lagos, Nigeria is in the throes of the high-tech revolution. In a country where 60 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, it is not surprising to see people owning multiple mobile phones. Ikeja Computer Village, Lagos' largest computer market, now occupies nearly 15 acres (approximately nine city blocks), boasts 3,500 member groups and claims to be the largest computer association in Africa.

Lagos, the second largest city in Africa, is a major port that funnels commodities to the African interior. Five hundred containers—representing 400,000 computers—arrive in Lagos every day. Port and warehouse authorities confirm that 50 percent of this computer equipment comes from the US. The rest comes from Germany, Italy and other developed nations. During the Basel Action Network's (BAN) recent trip to Lagos, our investigators found computer shipments bearing numerous US institutional labels, from the City of Houston to the Illinois State Police.

Sources with both the port authority and the computer market confirmed that 75 percent of the so-called “equipment” that lands in Lagos is junk—non-repairable electronics that cannot be sold.

Highly skilled, enterprising Nigerians do what they can to salvage this junk equipment, but unusable parts are thrown away. Since there is no hazardous waste recycling infrastructure in Nigeria, foreign computer monitors, plastics, wires, circuit boards and other components end up piled up in swamps, informal landfills and ditches. When a pile becomes ungainly, the locals simply burn it to make room for more.

A Supersized Crisis

The electronic waste (e-waste) crisis that our society has created is the result of the volume and toxicity of the offending materials, as well as our failure to take responsibility for managing these materials appropriately. Studies have estimated that between 1997 and 2007, more than 500 million computers will become obsolete in the US alone. The toxics that we have effectively stored within these computers include approximately six billion pounds of plastic, 1.5 billion pounds of lead, three million pounds of cadmium, two million pounds of chromium and 600,000 pounds of mercury.

These toxics are present in various computer components. For instance, lead—a known endocrine disruptor that interferes with children's brain development—is pervasive in monitors, televisions and circuit board solder. Polyvinyl chloride plastics, mainly found in cable housing, comprise the largest volume of plastics used in computers. Burning these plastics at low temperatures releases dioxins and furans, two of the most deadly persistent organic pollutants. It is highly likely that cancer-causing polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons are present in the emissions and ash produced by burning. Mercury, a potent neurotoxicant, is found in switches, batteries and backlights on flat-screen monitors. Cadmium, chromium, beryllium and other toxics are also found in computers.

Much of the electronic waste produced in the US is shipped to developing countries such as China, India and Nigeria. Eighty percent of computers in the US collected for recycling are exported, and there is a very high chance that this waste will find its way to a roadside ditch or swamp somewhere in these countries.

Lessons from Asia

Recent studies in China and India—where e-waste recycling operations have existed for nearly a decade—reveal that toxics have poisoned the environment in and around the areas where e-waste is usually processed or dumped. Lead levels in work floors, for instance, were shown to be 13 times higher than the US Environmental Protection Agency's maximum allowed level of lead in soil for adults. Lead in nearby rivers was 2,400 times higher than is allowed by World Health Organization Drinking Water Guidelines. Studies detected many other toxics, including polybrominated diphenyl ethers (PBDEs). Used primarily as flame-retardants in electronic products, PBDEs are highly persistent, bioaccumulative and capable of interfering with normal brain development in animals.

The impacts of these toxics on the workers, communities and ecosystems around these areas have yet to be fully documented. Due to the progressive nature of the diseases caused by such toxics, it will take years before the consequences to human and animal life are known.

Exploiting Poorer Countries and Communities

The exploitative trade in e-waste will continue to wreak havoc in poorer countries unless the primary generators of this waste—the so-called “developed nations”—start
taking responsibility for their hazardous refuse by managing such materials within their own borders. But because of the high level of poverty in the Third World, the general absence of social and political rights, and lax environmental standards, waste traders from richer nations will continuously seek to exploit these iniquitous situations. Thus, the need for a strict global ban on all forms of hazardous waste trade is vital.

There is already an international treaty between most nations to control trade in hazardous wastes. This UN treaty is called the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal. However, the US—a prime culprit in the ongoing toxic trade—has not only failed to ratify the convention but has actively worked to undermine it. Within its borders, the US has also coddled computer manufacturers, allowing these companies to introduce toxics into electronic equipment. Clearly, all of this needs to change.

Proponents of waste trade argue that the environmental degradation now sweeping Nigeria, China and other countries is due to the lack of appropriate technology to deal with e-waste. Technology is not the answer. Exploitation occurs because of the social and economic chasm that presently separates poorer nations from developed ones. Unless equality in rights, freedoms and economic opportunities are achieved on both sides of the divide, no amount of technology will eliminate exploitation. Moreover, installing appropriate technology in poorer nations will never be an incentive for manufacturers to stop introducing toxics into their equipment. In this regard, technology would become a license to pollute, rather than a real solution.

**Taking Action**

As individuals, activists and computer users, we can make a difference in changing the present exploitative practice that governments and corporations are perpetuating.

Boycott the bad guys: The Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition (SVTC) researches and documents the environmental records of US computer companies. Inform yourself, and if you are going to buy a computer, make a conscious decision to give your money to a more progressive manufacturer.

Support socially and environmentally conscious recycling: BAN has launched a North-America-wide initiative called the Recycler's Pledge of True Stewardship. The pledge initiative establishes the most stringent social- and environmental-justice criteria for e-waste recycling. Companies that qualify for the pledge (aka e-stewards) commit to not exporting wastes to developing countries in accordance with the Basel Convention, to not landfill these hazardous wastes and to not use American prison labor in dealing with the waste. BAN's website offers a list of the responsible e-stewards participating in the pledge program.

Join the Computer TakeBack Campaign (CTBC): BAN and SVTC have joined together with other nonprofits to form this coalition. CTBC encourages corporate accountability on e-waste by urging corporations to take back their products when the consumer no longer wants them, to make products with minimal toxics and to recycle products responsibly. Additionally, CTBC has successfully engaged in very public campaigning to get US manufacturers, such as Dell and Apple, to change their ways.

Push for the European Union (EU) model to be applied in the US: The EU has ratified the Basel Convention and completely banned hazardous wastes from being exported to developing countries from the EU. The EU has also mandated that all electronics manufacturers must take back all obsolete equipment from consumers and recycle it properly. Finally, the EU has required toxic input phase-outs in electronics sold in the EU, starting in 2007. We need to support initiatives that follow along these lines, as not all e-waste initiatives are equal.

Nigeria and most of Africa are on the cusp of a major development in technology and communications. It is imperative that they escape the industrial blight that accompanies the high-tech boom. As US consumers, we can help make a difference. It's as simple as making an informed decision before buying a new computer, as well as knowing how to deal with a computer once we decide to dispose of it. In the end, the decision is truly ours whether we want to build another waste pipeline or not.

For more information, contact Basel Action Network, c/o Earth Economics, 122 S Jackson, Ste 320, Seattle, WA 98104; (206) 652-5555; www.ban.org; Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition, 760 N 1st St, San Jose, CA 95112; (408) 287-6707; svtc@svtc.org; www.svtc.org; www.computertakeback.com.

Richard Gutierrez is part of the Basel Action Network, an international nonprofit environmental group fighting to stop toxic trade of all kinds and to ensure that international environmental justice is observed worldwide.
Free Geek

Oregon Nonprofit Attacks E-Waste at its Source

BY PETE FORSYTH

Far from the villages of Africa, which all too often serve as dumping grounds for much of the US's electronic waste, an Oregon-based nonprofit has pioneered a novel approach to electronic waste (e-waste) management.

At the Free Geek Community Technology Center in Portland, discarded technology—including more than 35,000 PCs over five years and 500 tons of e-waste in 2005 alone—is processed locally, not shipped to a distant continent and an unknown fate. In the process, Free Geek's dedicated volunteers generate fully functional refurbished computers—more than 6,500 to date, all running free, open-source software—to donate or sell for cheap in the local community. It puts equipment many would consider "outdated" to good use, and it dismantles the rest, disposing of it safely.

In its five-year history, Free Geek has developed methods for processing both treasure and junk responsibly and efficiently. Free Geek strives to get the best possible use out of every kind of donated item. The process is under constant refinement as the incoming equipment changes and as creative minds come up with new uses for it.

Most of the e-waste that Free Geek receives has monetary value and can be sold, either as scrap or as part of a refurbished system. But some e-waste is hazardous, has no value for reuse and costs money to dispose of properly. Ideally, revenue from selling the "good stuff" (like gold, power cords, aluminum and refurbished PCs) would cover the processing costs for the "bad stuff" (like lead, mercury and cadmium).

But the high cost of properly disposing of one increasingly common item—the cathode ray tube (CRT) monitor—makes that ideal unattainable. CRTs contain a great deal of lead. If handled improperly, lead can seep out of a landfill into the water supply, causing brain damage in children. Free Geek is flooded with old CRT monitors as many people abandon them in favor of newer LCD "flat-panel" monitors.

Processing these donated CRT monitors represents one of Free Geek's highest expenses, and so it is the one area where donors are required to pay a fee. Dropping off a monitor at Free Geek—whether it's working or not—costs $10. Sometimes donors are put off, especially when dropping off a working monitor. But they generally come around once they learn about the dangers of lead and the challenge of disposing of it safely.

Free Geek founder Oso Martin advocates a different approach to e-waste management. Ideally, makers of computers and electronics would provide

funding for responsible disposal at the end of their products' life cycles. Manufacturers' sponsorship of local grassroots organizations like Free Geek would solve the e-waste problem in the communities where the waste is generated. Unfortunately, companies have little incentive to take this approach and, thus far, have failed to take the lead in developing this kind of program.

Currently there is a big push by local and state governments to require a disposal fee to be paid at the time of purchase—kind of like a bottle deposit. This is the approach taken in many European countries, as well as the state of Maine. Free Geek is supporting legislative efforts along those lines in Oregon and Washington. If passed, such legislation would direct money to organizations like Free Geek for processing e-waste. Individual donors would no longer have to pay a fee when dropping off monitors, so Free Geek's staff and volunteers could do less explaining and more recycling.

If this kind of legislation sounds like an uphill battle, you're right. But an uphill battle has never stopped a geek. Five years ago, Free Geek's unpaid founding members struggled to come up with rent. Today, Free Geek has 12 paid employees, operates in a 15,000-square-foot facility and has hundreds of volunteers, who process over 40 tons of e-waste per month. New Free Geeks have followed Portland's model in Ohio, Indiana, Chicago and Washington, and the Portland organization is exploring an expansion into the suburb of Gresham.

The Geeks looking forward to hearing from you!

For more information, contact Free Geek, 1731 SE 10th Ave, Portland, OR 97214; (503) 232-9350; info@freegeek.org; www.freegeeek.org.

Pete Forsyth has been volunteering at Free Geek since 2001. His work includes recycling, the build program, community outreach and legislative advocacy.
A swift-footed, razor-clawed, vengeance-seeking wolf pack to the 30 to 40 black-clad youths who embarked on a spontaneous nighttime rampage through Santa Cruz, California, on April 15. An untold number of gas-guzzling SUVs were decorated with spray-painted messages and left crippled on the asphalt with decommissioned tires. Police are bereft of suspects or clues, except for the statements of a few infuriated victims, who relayed that the vandals “were all riding 10-speeds and wearing black trench coats.”

This is only the latest in an almost nightly series of vandalism sprees targeting corporate storefronts and oversized luxury chariots of the affluent.

A beer-guzzling, desert-defending, Hayduke-reviving wolf to the mysterious anti-development saboteurs who have been attacking sprawl all across the popular uprising of 1992, the landlord, Ralph Horowitz, intends to destroy the gardens and build a warehouse.

On June 13, cops and bulldozers raided the farm. Thirty protesters resisted the eviction by locking down to concrete barrels around the walnut tree. The eviction took seven hours and resulted in 45 arrests.

An over-the-hill, “can’t-find-my-way-home,” torn-to-shreds-by-a-wild-fox-poodle to classic rockers Eric Clapton and Pink Floyd’s Roger Waters

Arizona. On the morning of May 10, Prescott police discovered that an excavator and a bulldozer at a housing development site had sustained $10,000 in damage. Next to the equipment laid the remnants of a dying campfire and crumpled beer cans.

A similar incident had transpired two hours south in Payson, on January 15, where a loader, a track hoe and a skid steer were severely damaged, costing developers $25,000. The machinery was being used in the construction of three new subdivisions and other projects in town. Five luxury houses were also burned to the ground in a new Tucson subdivision on February 20. In the beginning of June, seven more high-price homes were set ablaze right outside of the sprawling wasteland of Phoenix.

An arboreal, urban-land-reclaiming, howling-like-a-hippie wolf to 1960s folk singer Joan Baez. On May 25, Baez, Julia Butterfly Hill and actress Daryl Hannah took to the largest walnut tree on the 14-acre South Central Farm in Los Angeles, California. The three used their fame to draw attention to the threatened eviction of the farm. The protest was an act of solidarity with the 350 families—mostly Central American immigrants—who are fighting for the land. Although the city gave the land to the community of South Central as a concession after

Wolves and Poodles

for headlining a pro-fox-hunting benefit show in the UK, on May 20. The benefit—which also featured members of The Who and Genesis—was organized by the Countryside Alliance, a group that promotes fox hunting as an integral part of country life. The alliance ignores the fact that only the aristocratic elite enjoys the sport. It hopes to use the funds raised at the concert in lobbying efforts against the Fox Hunting Act of 2004, which banned the use of dogs in fox hunting. Before the ban, hunters would allow their hounds to tear cornered foxes to pieces.

A reality-manufacturing, self-esteem-crushing, habitat-trashing poodle to MTV for destroying critical leatherback sea turtle nesting grounds to film its newest “reality” show, “The Gauntlet.” The show was shot at Turtle Beach, on the Caribbean island of Tobago. The use of heavy equipment, the 90-person filming crew and the redistribution of sand resulted in the destruction of at least eight nests containing approximately 400 eggs and prevented an untold number of the endangered turtles from coming ashore to nest. Leatherback turtles are critically endangered in the Atlantic Ocean, according to the World Conservation Union.

A yellow-bellied, head-up-its-green-groomed-ass poodle to Business 2.0 Magazine, for encouraging corporations to exploit climate change. An article entitled, “Why Global Warming is Good for Business,” explains that while the catastrophic long-term effects of climate change are too unpredictable to cash in on, there are short-term entrepreneurial possibilities. By offering “guilt reduction” to consumers in the form of carbon credits and “green alternatives,” businesses stand to make big bucks. “A two-thirds jump in profits, thanks to climate change? That’s a far cheerier image of the future... than those poor trapped polar bears.”
Earth First! Evolution and the 2006 Organizers’ Conference
Out of the Primordial Swamps

BY MULLET FINGERS

“One of the top events, if not the best, I’ve ever been to! We went, expecting the general mood would be depressed, overwhelmed and paranoid, given the recent events of the Green Scare roundups and indictments—surprisingly, it was quite the opposite. I saw people approaching future activities with a creative, brave and inspired lucidity that was absolutely contagious and quickly spread throughout the entire event.”
—Longtime EF!er and worker bee from the Beehive Design Collective, on the 2006 EF! Organizers’ Conference

It’s been clear for several years that Earth First! is in need of renewed energy, direction and ambition. So when Florida EF!ers decided to host the 2006 Organizers’ Conference (OC) and Winter Rendezvous, we got started early. The EF! Journal collective sent us copies of past OC write-ups, which we circulated so that we could be on the same page in understanding the historical context of the OC. We prioritized international participation and realized that it takes time and money to help people cross borders. Invitations in English and Spanish were sent out, and we began raising funds for visas and plane tickets. The ol’ tactic of an EF! road show was used to spread the word across Florida. We created a website with details on EF!, the OC and the International Winter Rendezvous.

Invitations and questionnaires went to all the contacts in the Journal directory and on the prisoner support pages, with follow-up calls made when possible. The Independent Traditional Seminole Nation hosted the International Indian Treaty Council Winter Conference the week prior to the OC, allowing crossover between the two gatherings and a strengthening of connections between radical environmental and indigenous activists. All the individuals on the OC committee extended personal invitations to our local connections across south Florida, including sympathizers from environmental agencies and trusted journalists, to ensure that the event didn’t happen within a subcultural bubble. A community kitchen was able to provide nutritious meals all week long from a combination of local organic farm donations, dumpster diving and wild food harvesting. All the food scraps and humanure from the composting toilets were brought back to town for use in local gardens (who says EF! ain’t doin’ shit?).

The Organizers’ Conference

The OC began on February 15 with a bioregional roundup, where people from Wild Rockies, Cascadia, Katúah, Maine, Arizona, Pennsylvania, New York and Florida talked about what is going on in their respective bioregions. Letters from EF! activists responding to our questionnaires came in from Utah, Wisconsin, Eastern Oregon, Nebraska and various prisons across the country. Throughout the week, these letters were read aloud at morning circle so that voices not in attendance could be incorporated into discussions.

The opening session evolved casually into a strategies and tactics discussion. The group decided to steer clear of the visions and aspirations session that was in the schedule. Instead, campfire storytelling ensued, passing on the oral history of EF! victories and bloopers, bridging the fast growing generation/experience gap in the movement.

The next morning started with a well-facilitated session on anti-oppression work within the movement. The participants split into smaller groups to increase the opportunity for individuals to speak and be heard. Groups came back together for discussion focused on racism, sexism and homophobia that they had observed or experienced in campaigns and at previous gatherings. This workshop also resulted in the formation of an ad hoc group to address issues or conflicts that might arise on site. The group was later available to address a participant with a history of sexual assault. It was a serious oversight not to have

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worked out this role earlier in the planning process, as addressing heavy topics requires a trust that is difficult to manifest on the spot.

Several discussions occurred about confronting the Green Scare and supporting those who’ve been arrested. These were lead by folks who are in the thick of it out in Cascadia. The current status and ominous future of our beloved EF! journal was also hashed out. The previous issue of the journal covered much of what was addressed in those two sessions (see EF! Journal May-June 2006).

The Winter Rendezvous

The site of the gathering was a beautiful swamp in the J.W. Corbett Wildlife Management Area, which is part of the Northeastern Everglades Natural Area (NENA). We wrapped up and transitioned from the OC agenda to an open schedule. Participants from Ecuador, Guatemala, Venezuela, Puerto Rico and US-based activists who work in the Caribbean and South America shared their stories. Spanish became the frequently overheard second language of the gathering.

The “Night to Howl” kicked off on Friday evening with an excellent collection of talent, including readings from warrior poets who were unable to attend. The night was dedicated to Meg Perry, a much loved EF!er from Maine who died while doing solidarity work in New Orleans. Poetry gave way to fireside music, starting with the group Sobrevivencia from Guatemala, and Hannah Stampe and Evan Greer of the Riot Folk collective. Guitars were passed around late into the night with people sharing songs from across the Americas. For several years, there had been a disappointing lull in original music at our gatherings. The sudden disappearance of songwriters around the fire was like a dying canary in the mine signaling that something was wrong. But there is a new generation of radical artists and musicians on the rise.

Saturday was packed with workshops. On Sunday, the planning committee cleared the schedule to focus attention on two subjects that have been surfacing in EF! circles lately: Latin American solidarity and gentrification. The Latin American workshop provided background on culture and ecology south of the US border and highlighted infrastructure mega-projects on the horizon, offering a proposal on a strategic direct-action campaign to stop them at their source: the US. The Beehive Design Collective strengthened the proposal with the presence of its massive banners illustrating the effects of these mega-projects.

The gentrification presentation had a similar theme—how EF! can pitch in on the fights that are coming straight to the doorsteps of urban activists around the world. Along with Miami-based anti-poverty and environmental justice organizations, there was also a participant from the New Orleans Common Ground Collective who gave a slide show and spoke about the crossover between radical ecology and neighborhood self-determination in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

The Post-Camp Actions

No EF! gathering should end without an opportunity to participate in inspiring actions. A consistent commitment to act is the bonding element that has held this network together for so long. This year’s target was the BioFlorida Conference.

Before the crack of dawn on February 20, several groups of journalist elves wrapped hundreds of spoof newspaper covers on the Palm Beach Post throughout Palm Beach County. The paper insulted and mocked local politicians, biotech scientists, investors, developers, reporters, the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) and, of course, ourselves.

Next, we held a family picnic at Blowing Rocks, a coastal preserve on Jupiter Island, which is conveniently next door to the home of Richard Lerner, president of Scripps Biotech Research Institute. Lerner had only recently acquired the $4-million home and was not there to join our little get-together, so several of the 40-or-so picnickers got together and wrote a 200-foot-long message in seaweed: “Fuck Scripps, Go Manipulate Yourself.” If Lerner didn’t get to see it for himself, the police report should include some nice family photos for his mantle.

The BioFlorida Conference began the following day at the Marriott Hotel in West Palm Beach, with Governor Jeb Bush as keynote speaker. The remaining post-OC crowd joined the local opposition efforts of global justice activists, environmentalists, animal rights folks and pissed-off residents. In the midst of massive police and JTTF presence, security was breached, and a giant banner reading “No Biotech, No Compromise... Scrap Scripps!” was dropped off the hotel roof. No arrests were made, but the banner was quickly removed.

The day ended with a final gathering of traveling EF!ers and local activists heading down the street from the hotel to the Francis Coffield Community Garden. Mrs. Coffield, a Black Seminole activist who started the first officially recognized community garden in Palm Beach County, came out for the afternoon to offer words of encouragement and appreciation.

Our planning committee accomplished what we set out to do, giving EF! a kick in the ass that it has been sorely needing for years. Let’s keep the momentum building! For those who missed out, the website established before the OC (www.earthfirst2006oc.info) has reflections, follow-up articles and photos from the gathering.

mullet fingers invites y’all to kick off your shoes, drop out of school and come trash construction equipment in the remaining wild swamps of south Florida. He wants the animal liberationists out there to know that he deeply regrets putting those gators in the port-o-potty.
a gift from the heavens

The Joys and Uses of Rainwater

BY CLEO WOELFLE-ERSKINE


In the US, massive dams, wells and levees have been constructed to shield us and our food supply from the effects of drought and flood. Now urban dwellers blithely turn on the tap to distant river water, while millions of gallons of pure rainwater gather pollutants and flood down storm drains.

For the last century, waterworks and groundwater mining have shielded industrialized drylands cultures—including most of the US west of the Mississippi River—from drought and flood, enabling populations to soar beyond what rainfall alone could sustain. However, all signs point to the imminent end of this watery hallucination. Natural disasters, ecological devastation and maintenance failures—including hurricanes, global warming, destruction of riparian zones, contamination of aquifers, and crumbling water drains and sewers—have resulted in a monumental and intractable problem. Soon the affluent will join the billions of people who lack access to sufficient clean drinking water.

The solution, Brad Lancaster argues in Rainwater Harvesting for Drylands, lies in harvesting the rain.

Permaculture people love bad puns, and Harvesting Rainwater is replete with the combined wit of Lancaster and cohort Brock Dolman. What you’re left with—after you’re done groaning—is a genuine and pragmatic optimism that arises from the elegant utility of the rainwater harvesting strategies and principles presented.

Lancaster has meticulously researched strategies for capturing the rain that falls on roofs, sidewalks, streets, gardens and bare soil. Over the last decade, he has field-tested most of them in his Tucson, Arizona yard. He taps the decades of experience of fellow desert permaculture designers, as well as international innovators like Zephani Phiri, whose Zimbabwean water harvesting, agriculture and land restoration experiments Brad uses to synthesize the principles behind the many strategies he presents. Armed with these principles, urban runoff is transformed into a free and endlessly useful gift from the heavens. By harvesting it, Lancaster argues, we can foster community autonomy, discredit the rationale for expensive and destructive water systems, enhance urban biodiversity and quality of life, and reconnect the broken flows of water through our lives and landscapes—not to mention save money on water and grocery bills.

Brad’s specific focus is on urban and suburban dwellers who have land to work with. In painstaking detail, he walks the prospective rain harvester through design and construction of small-scale rainwater harvesting systems. Beginning with runoff calculations and progressing through an overview of how to site and build swales, catch basins, cisterns, downspouts and other structures, his design strategies and informative illustrations empower the reader to use one’s own observations and labor to change one’s backyard from a rain-shedding to rain-catching landscape.

While Lancaster does not address the political strategies needed to challenge the powerful economic and political interests that exploit the current water system, he makes a strong case for the technical and economic feasibility of small-scale urban rain-harvesting and food-producing systems. Using his backyard, community gardens and urban gleaning projects as examples, Lancaster promotes urban agriculture as an alternative to chemical-dependent and water-wasting commercial agriculture. Future volumes promise to delve into the intricacies of cisterns, greywater recycling, ecological sanitation, landscape-scale rain-catchment and erosion control strategies.

Encompassing far more material than its title suggests, Rainwater Harvesting for Drylands is an essential manual for architects, planners and landscapers; a valuable introduction to the principles of permaculture and integrated design for urban dwellers concerned about depletion and insecurity of municipal supplies; a dose of practical hope for the jaded water warrior; and an in-depth treatment of urban water concerns and harvesting strategies for the permaculture aficionado. In short, it is an essential book for anyone who uses water!

Cleo Woelfle-Erskine is the author of Urban Wilds and the forthcoming Dam Nation: Dispatches from the Water Underground.

When I was first becoming active in the radical environmental movement, I read the original version of Rik Scarce’s Eco-Warriors. I loved it. Here, in one book, was a comprehensive overview of the philosophy and history of the radical environmental movement. Since the book was more than 10 years out-of-date, I knew to seek out other sources for current information.

It might have been kinder to reprint Eco-Warriors in its original state, because this “updated” version barely deserves the name. Instead of revising his book, Scarce has merely added a new concluding chapter. Worse still, this chapter has substantial holes that give a frustratingly incomplete picture of the radical environmental movement as it is today.

The first 258 pages are still great, though, if you ignore the anachronisms. Scarce starts with one of the best overviews of radical environmental philosophy that I have ever read, from deep ecology to no compromise. He then devotes a chapter each to Greenpeace, EF!, Sea Shepherd and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), addressing each group’s history and the role it played in the development of the movement. After a brief overview of radical environmentalism outside the US, he devotes four chapters to examining a few classic direct actions in depth, one to interviews with ALF activists, and one to John Seed and the international rainforest preservation movement. The final unchanged chapter examines the poetry and music of the movement in 1990. Scarce has not changed anything about this part of the text; instead of correcting errors, he has added an “errata” page to the back of the book.

But for those who have read the original, all the new material is in the last chapter—16 years crammed into 27 pages. Some of it is quite good; Scarce gives a decent (albeit cursory) history of major EF! and Sea Shepherd campaigns since 1990, and he does a good job of capturing the ongoing internal controversy and discourse over racism in the movement. Completed before the recent round of "Green Scare" indictments, the new chapter still offers a good overview of the legal harassment that the movement has faced since 1990. But a lot is missing. Scarce has neglected to discuss movement poetry or music from the past 16 years, and there is no mention of EF! in the UK—no road wars, no Reclaim the Streets, nothing. He devotes only a brief paragraph to the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty campaign, a strange oversight in a book that includes animal liberation as part of the radical environmental movement. No mention is made of the various “respectable” environmental groups founded by former EF!ers, even in the discussion of how EF! helped radicalize the mainstream.

And what about the most famous spin-off of all, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF)? Scarce gives the ELF more attention than most topics in the final chapter, but his analysis is hobbled by his own obvious discomfort with ELF tactics and rhetoric. In a few short paragraphs, Scarce manages to refer to the ELF as “brutal,” “vicious” and “ominous.” Unsurprisingly, this perspective does not lead to a fair assessment of the ELF’s place within and influence on the wider movement. For example, the torching of Vail—which changed the way the movement looked at and talked about itself—is given only two sentences.

Scarce never really analyzes the impact of anarchism on the movement since 1990, which is probably also due to personal bias; the last line of the book states that the Earth can only be saved through governmental politics. He doesn’t mention the strong green anarchy/primitivist strain in the movement in recent years, which is really an inexcusable omission in a book that is supposed to be about understanding the movement. Likewise, he fails to take a frank look at the state of EF! today, in terms of participation and effectiveness.

So should you get this book? If you’ve never read Eco-Warriors, do it. A movement needs to know its own history, and there’s a lot that can be learned from the 1990 original. If you want to know about the movement since then, though, you’d probably be better off sticking with the 20th and 25th anniversary issues of the EF! Journal.
Ask an EF! Lawyer  
He’s Working on Your Side!

BY STU SUGARMAN

Dear EF! Lawyer,

What are your feelings on protesting inside or outside of a courthouse? I understand that these decisions should be made by the defendant on a case-by-case basis, but how do you distinguish between the time to be on one’s best behavior and the time to turn a trial into a circus?

—Tired of Metal Detectors

Dear Metal Detectors,

I’m all for peaceful, noisy protests outside of a courthouse. They represent a chance for the person on trial to get their message across to everyone inside, including the judge and the jury, without even saying a word. A decision to protest inside a courthouse is almost certainly a mistake, however. Protesting in any way that disrupts the court’s business will, at the very least, result in the guards immediately removing you from the building. If you do not leave, you might be arrested for trespassing, disobeying the guards’ lawful order and disorderly conduct. Such arrests would distract from the defendant’s message and possibly ensure their conviction.

Essentially, if you’re appealing to a judge or jury for acquittal or leniency, I do not see how unlawfully disrupting courthouse business would ever work in your favor.

Let me tell you about an experience that I had in the Summer of ‘96. Earlier in the year, 64 people had been arrested during several protests to save Enola Hill—a sacred, Native American site within Mt. Hood National Forest. I represented a few of the protesters and coordinated the efforts of 26 other lawyers in 64 separate trials. During the first trial, a friend informed me of a plan to hang a large banner from the roof of the courthouse. He showed me access points within the building, weaknesses in security and how the plan would be carried out. I consulted the lawyer in the trial—the legendary James Patrick McHugh, Jr.—regarding the plan, and he immediately insisted that the protest be abandoned.

Fortunately, the organizers of the banner drop quickly canceled their plans. At trial, the Freddies showed Internet announcements of the action to the judge. Security was intense in the courthouse that day, and everyone was now referring to the civil disobedience defendants as “terrorists.” McHugh, of course, was able to shrug everything off by pointing out that there wasn’t any shred of protest anywhere near the building. The whole thing died right there.

If there had been a protest in or on the courthouse, I think the defendant on trial and her message would have suffered. Instead, the trial over the $100 fine went on for four days and included Native elders from the Warm Springs tribe talking poetically and passionately, in their dying Native tongue, about the spiritual significance of Enola Hill. After the case was done, the exhausted prosecutor still had 63 trials to go. Boy, was she miserable! Using McHugh’s trial as a model, we made sure nothing got done in the Clackamas County Courthouse for months. One senior judge—furious that we had shut down his courthouse over mere $100 fines—got so angry that one day he actually forgot to sentence my client after he had just convicted her!
BY JEFFREY “FREE” LUERS

I’m really sad tonight. The last few days have been difficult. I get like this sometimes. Just part of the challenge, you know? It’s usually not this bad. Most times, I just miss what my life once was.

It’s not often that I allow my personal life to extend beyond these walls. Your world is not mine. And unless you’ve ever been locked up—years, not days—you could never understand my world.

I often find it strange that I don’t regret my actions. I don’t feel sorry for myself or resentful. But damn, I sure as hell don’t want to be here anymore.

Sometimes I wonder if my actions were the foolish endeavors of an idealistic youth. I think about the different paths my life could have taken. Mostly, I dream about what my life could be like if I could just get out tomorrow instead of in 15 years. Fuck, I think about that a lot! I want what tomorrow would give me.

I hate feeling like my heart is about to break. I hate waking up in the middle of the night, reaching out for her only to realize it’s just another dream—a memory from long ago.

When I called, she was at work digging in the dirt. I counted the concrete sections of wall between the gun towers as I listened to her sweet voice. There are 12. I count them every time I use the phone. I don’t remember when I started doing this, but I’ve done it for a long time. I can’t use the phone without counting them.

As we spoke, I watched a fight without interrupting the conversation. Someone got jumped by two other guys. All of them got pepper-sprayed. But no gunshots this time.

The phone call ended. How does a person stay in love with a guy in prison? I can’t give her a tenth of what she deserves, and though it goes unsaid, we both know it.

A few times a year, we sit across from each other in the visiting room. At the best of times, we get lost in each other, and I could swear she is the only other person in the room. When she kisses me, it’s like... well, it’s the most wonderful thing I know.

How do you have a relationship when you are separated by guns, walls, razor wire and 2,000 miles? You don’t.

We pretend real hard that somehow our love will be enough—that every letter, picture, phone call and visit is somehow enough to get us through this. She prays that by some miracle or act of judicial kindness this will all end sooner than later and I will come home. I pray that we have the strength to hold on until that day comes.

The odds are against us. Tonight I’m sad because that is so very apparent to me.

This place has taken more than my liberty. It has eaten away at my sanity. It has robbed me of my happiness. It has kept me from expressing and sharing love the way love was meant to be shared.

My life could have been different. It could have been better than this. And damn it, I deserve better than this. But if my life was different, it would not have as much meaning. There is power in my pain. There is resolve in my loss. My spirit can’t be defeated. I can’t be broken because I’m right. Truth is on my side.

A journalist recently wrote to me. He said that history will judge me kindly and those who oppress me harshly. I’m not so sure about that, but history will vindicate me. In many ways, it already has.

I may suffer. My story may not have a happy ending. In the end, I might be the loser of this fight. But, I’ll never be beaten. You can knock me down, but you can’t knock the fight out of me.

If these are the years that will define my existence, if this becomes the sum total of my life’s work, if all I have left in the end is my defiance, at least I’ll be able to say one thing: My spirit never stopped being free.

Jeffrey “Free” Luers is serving 22 years and eight months for an arson at a car dealership and for the attempted arson of an oil truck. Write to him at Jeffrey Luers, #13797671, OSP, 2605 State St, Salem, OR 97310, USA. For more information, visit www.freefreenow.org.
Prisoners in the Struggle
Support Them!

The following list is a small sample of the total number of political prisoners and prisoner support groups worldwide. Regulations for mail sent to prisoners vary according to individual prisons. Before sending monetary donations, stamps, books or packages, ask prisoners what the regulations are. Assume that the authorities read everything that you write to a prisoner. When prisoners are awaiting trial, it is best not to discuss their cases or related topics. Although many prisoners are listed together, they must be written to separately. The EF! Journal offers discounted subscriptions for prisoners. Please contact us for more information.

Prisoner and Legal Updates
- Federico Bonamici, Casa di Reclusione, Via Nuova Poggioreale 177, 80143 Napoli Poggioreale (NA), Italy. On May 4, the Italian police arrested Bonamici and nine other members of the eco-anarchist group Il Silvestre for allegedly planning to overthrow the state and using explosives to damage an electric tower in protest of nuclear power. Five of the ten have been placed under house arrest, while Bonamici and four others have been jailed.
- Giuseppe Bonamici, Nuova Casa Circondariale “San Michele,” Strada Casale 50/A, 15100 Alessandria, Italy. One of the new II Silvestre prisoners.
- Adam Durand, POB 477, Lyons, NY 14489, USA. Sentenced in May to six months for trespassing on a Wegman’s egg farm to film the cruel treatment of battery hens.
- Garfield Marcus Gabbard, TV4271, HMP Moorland (Closed), Bawtry Rd, Hatfield Woodhouse, Doncaster, South Yorkshire DN7 6BW, England. Sentenced in May to 21 months for threatening to kick a security guard, who had pulled Gabbard off a car during an antivivisection protest.
- Benedetta Galante, Casa Circondariale, Via E Novelli n1, 82100 Benevento (BN), Italy. One of the new II Silvestre prisoners.
- Chelsea Gerlach and Suzanne Savoe—who are both awaiting trial for their alleged involvement in a series of Earth Liberation Front (ELF) actions—are cooperating with the government’s investigation of Nathan Block and Joyanna Zacher. While the extent of their cooperation is unknown at this time, the Journal condemns any cooperation with the authorities and is withdrawing its support for Gerlach and Savoe.
- Silvia Guerini, Casa Circondariale Bologna, Via Del Gomito 2, 40127 Bologna, Italy. One of the new II Silvestre prisoners.
- Jeffrey Hogg, #1065518, Lane County Jail, 101 W 5th Ave, Eugene, OR 97401, USA. Jailed in May for refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating a series of ELF actions in Oregon. Hogg can be held for up to 1.5 years or until the grand jury adjourns, whichever comes first.
- Josephine Mayo, PR6508, HMP Peterborough, Saville Rd, Westwood, Peterborough PE3 7PD, England. Sentenced in May to four years for conspiracy to blackmail a supplier of guinea pigs for vivisection. Mayo pleaded guilty to a lesser role in the conspiracy, hence her shorter sentence.
- Costantino Ragusa, Casa Circondariale Nuovo Compresso, Via Prati Nuovi 7, 27058 Voghera (PV), Italy. One of the new II Silvestre prisoners.
- Sergio Maria Stefani and Gabriele Onofri were arrested in May for allegedly stealing a car. They are currently under house arrest. Italian police have previously tried to frame Stefani—a well-known activist and former Animal Liberation Front (ALF) prisoner—for crimes he didn’t commit.
- Lauren Weiner, one of the Auburn 3, has signed a plea agreement requiring her to testify against Zachary Jenson and Eric McDavid. The Journal condemns any cooperation with authorities and is withdrawing its support for Weiner.
- On May 24, two animal rights activists were arrested in connection with an ALF action against a fur store in Sweden. Due to the repression of animal rights activists in Sweden, the two do not want their names released and wish to be identified as Kille21 (Boy21) and Kvinna25 (Wom an25). However, letters (in English) can be sent to them via this address: c/o Malmo djurrattsaktivister (MDA), Box 1053, 22104 Lund, Sweden; kille21@gmail.com; kvinna25@gmail.com.

Awaiting Trial or Sentencing
- Tre Arrow, CS#05850722, Vancouver Island Regional Correction Center, 4216 Wilkinson Rd, Victoria, BC V8Z 5B2, Canada. Appealing extradition to the US to stand trial for alleged involvement in the arson of logging trucks and an ELF arson of vehicles owned by a sand and gravel company. For more information, visit www.trearrow.org.
- Nathan Block, #1663667, and Joyanna Zacher, #1662550, Lane County Jail, 101 W 5th Ave, Eugene, OR 97401, USA. Block and Zacher are awaiting trial on a number of conspiracy and arson charges stemming from their alleged involvement in a series of ELF actions.
- Jacob Conroy, Darius Fullmer, Lauren Gazzola, Joshua Harper, Kevin Jonas and Andrew Stepanian are under house arrest, awaiting sentencing for their involvement with Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty. They face up to ten years in prison. For more information, visit www.shac7.com.
- Rod Coronado is currently free on bail, awaiting sentencing for his role in an Earth First! mountain
lion hunt sabotage. He faces up to 7.5 years in prison. In an unrelated incident, Coronado is also awaiting trial for allegedly telling people to construct an incendiary device during a speech he made at a 2003 animal rights gathering. For more information, visit www.supportzach.org.

- Matt Crozier is currently free on bail, awaiting sentencing for his role in an Earth First! mountain lion hunt sabotage. He faces up to 7.5 years in prison. For more information, visit www.azef.org.
- Donald Currie, TN4593, HMP Woodhill, Tattenhoe St, Milton Keynes, Bucks MK4 4DA, England. Awaiting trial for allegedly possessing explosives, attempted criminal damage and arson charges stemming from his alleged involvement in a series of ELF actions. Currie is also charged with possession of a fraudulent green card. For more information, visit www.freedarren.org.
- Briana Waters is free on bail, awaiting trial for her alleged involvement in a 2001 ELF action against a Washington horticulture lab. For more information, visit www.supportbriana.org.
- Peter Daniel Young, #10269-111, FCI Victorville Medium II, POB 5700, Adelanto, CA 92301, USA. Awaiting trial for alleged involvement in a 1997 mink liberation in South Dakota. Young is currently serving two years for releasing mink and foxes from six different fur farms. For more information, visit www.supportpeter.com.
- Christopher McIntosh, #30512-013, FMC Hazelton, POB 2000, Bruceton Mills, WV 26525, USA. Serving eight years for a joint ALF/ELF arson against a McDonald's. For more information, visit www.supportchris.org.
- John Wade, #38548-083, FCI Petersburg Low, Satellite Camp, POB 90027, Petersburg, VA 23804, USA. Serving three years for a series of ELF actions against McDonald's, Burger King, urban sprawl, the construction industry and a SUV dealership.
- Helen Woodson, #03231-045, FMC Carswell, Admin Max Unit, POB 27137, Ft Worth, TX 76127, USA. Currently 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 continued on next page

Ecodefense

- Marco Camenisch, Postfach 3143, CH-8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland. Serving 27 years for using explosives to target nuclear facility powerlines and for the alleged murder of a Swiss border guard. Camenisch reads French, German, Spanish and Italian fluently. He can also read some English.
- Ibai Ederra, Cardel de Pamplona, C/San Roque Apdo 250, 31080 Irúñez, Pamplona, Navarra, Spain. Serving nearly five years for sabotaging machinery at the Itoiz dam construction site.
- Peter Daniel Young, #10269-111, FCI Victorville Medium II, POB 5700, Adelanto, CA 92301, USA. Awaiting trial for alleged involvement in a 1997 mink liberation in South Dakota. Young is currently serving two years for releasing mink and foxes from six different fur farms. For more information, visit www.supportpeter.com.
completed 20 years for disarming a Minuteman II missile silo with a jackhammer, mailing warning letters to officials with bullets inside, robbing a bank and burning the money.

Indigenous Resistance

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

• Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, USP Lewisburg, POB 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837, USA. Peltier, an American Indian Movement activist, is serving life in prison after being framed for the deaths of two FBI agents killed during the 1975 Pine Ridge siege. For more information, visit www.freepeltier.org.

Lecce 5

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

• Annalisa Capone, Marina Ferrari and Cristian Paladini are free on bail.

• Saverio Pellegrino, Via Prati Nuovi 7, CAP 27058, Voghera (Pavia), Italy.

• Salvatore Signore, Casa Circondariale, Via Lamaccio 1, 67039 Sulmona (AQ), Italy.

Mapuche

The indigenous Mapuche people in Chile are fighting to defend their forests from multinational companies. On March 13, Huenulao, Troncoso and the Marileos began a hunger strike, demanding a review of their cases. The Chilean government conceded to their demands on May 16, but soon reneged on its promise. The four prisoners resumed their hunger strike, growing gravely ill. As a result, the Chilean Ministry of Justice has ordered that the strikers be force fed, if necessary. For more information, visit www.mapuche-nation.org.

• Aniceto Norin Catrimal and Pascual Pichun Paillalao, Carcel de Traiguen, IX Region, Chile. Mapuche lonkos (chiefs) serving five years for intimidation and “terrorist arson.”

• Victor Ancalaf Llaupe, Complejo Penitenciarion El Manzano Concepcion—Dirección, Camino a Penco N° 129, Traiguen, IX Region, Chile. Mapuche leader serving five years for “terrorist arson.”

• Jaime Hurenchullan Cayul, Juan Carlos Huenuiavo Tricauko, Florencio Jaime Marileo Saravia, José Patricio Marileo Saravia, Jose Nain Curamil and Patricia Troncoso Robles, Centro Detención Penitenciaria Pedro Aguirre—Cerda N° 80 y Los Confines s/nº, Angol, IX Region, Chile. Huencullan is awaiting trial, accused of “terrorist arson.” Troconso and the Marileos are serving 10 years for “terrorist arson.” Nain, a Mapuche leader, is serving five years for arson.

MOVE

The “MOVE 9,” members of an eco-revolutionary group, were framed for the murder of a cop and sentenced to 30 to 100 years each. For more information, visit www.onamove.com.


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

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

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

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

Political Prisoners

• José Pérez González, #21519-069, Federal Prison Camp, POB 725, EFefield, SC 29824-0725, USA. Serving five years for conspiracy to destroy federal property during a May 2003 celebration of the end of the US military occupation of Vieques.

• Robert “Rob los Ricos” Thaxton, #12112716, MCCF, 4005 Aumsville Hwy, Salem, OR 97301, USA. Scheduled for release on June 29, after serving a seven-year mandatory minimum sentence for throwing a rock at a cop at a 1999 Reclaim the Streets action in Eugene, Oregon.

• Fran Thompson, #109091 HU 1C, WERDCC, POB 300, Vandalia, MO 63382-0300, USA. Before she was given a life sentence in the early 1990s for shooting a stalker in self-defense, Thompson was active in animal rights and environmental campaigns.

Prisoner Support Groups


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

• Jericho Movement, POB 340084, Jamaica, NY 11434, USA; info@thejerichomovement.com; www.thejerichomovement.org.
Jungle Missing

BY SEED

I first met Jungle in 1997, at an EF! action camp in Humboldt County, California—the gathering that birthed, among other things, the two-year treesit in the ancient redwood Luna. Jungle stayed in Humboldt, dedicating his existence to forest defense. Jungle is a dedicated lover of Gaia and devotee of the redwood forests. He has also vanished—almost without a trace.

Jungle was last seen by a friend in Arcata, California, in early March. Since then, no one (including his parents, with whom he is close) has seen or heard from him. He has not accessed his bank account or used his cell phone since February.

Jungle camps in the forest and treetops. He tends to stay in a tree for only two or three days at a time. His connection with trees often calls him back when treesits are in danger. Jungle is a champion bike competitor and only uses his bike, public transportation and occasional rides from friends to get around. His bike and some new camping and climbing gear were found in his storage unit. His back-up harness was found hanging in the lower branches of a redwood tree. Prior to vanishing, he was pretty freaked out—sad and agitated over the state of the world, and wondering what he should do next. He suffers from intense anxiety and depressed discouragement at times. His friends, however, strongly believe that he has not committed suicide.

Maybe Jungle has moved on to another place or campaign without telling us. Over the years, he has mused about going to various places—India, Romania, the American Midwest and Moab, Utah. However, Jungle is a serious creature of habit. It’s unlike him to be out of touch with his parents and friends for so long. We hope he is sojourning somewhere, but we are concerned for his wellbeing. We worry that he’s hurt or disoriented, and needs help. Please keep an eye out, and if you are so inclined, say a prayer for him. We love Jungle and miss him.

As a collective, all of the work is shared, so motivated, hard-working individuals are required!

We also welcome people with a variety of talents and activist experience to come and work for one issue of the Journal as a “short-term” editor. This adds to the diversity of voices and energy in the magazine. The waiting list can be long, but it also depends on how flexible your schedule is and when you will be available.

To apply, send your resumé with a letter of interest to the Earth First! Journal, POB 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702. Please forward a writing sample, activist history and the names of some EF! activists who can vouch for you.

For more information, contact (520) 620-6900; minettag@earthfirstjournal.org.

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UK EF! Summer Gathering
August 16-20
Wales, UK

This Summer, people involved in radical ecological direct action in the UK—and those who want to become involved—will get together for five days to talk, share skills, learn, play, live outside, strategize, hang out and laugh. Attendees will also put non-hierarchal, low-impact living into action.

Dozens of workshops will focus on the state of the movement, how to connect with other local and global resistance movements, networking and planning campaigns, climbing, self-defense, wild food foraging and protest safety. Evening events will include films, speakers, comedy, an open mic night and céilidh (a traditional Gaelic social dance).

The site will include room for tents, a quiet camping area, compost toilets, running water, spaces for spontaneous workshops and discussions, a healing space and a distro area. Attendees can either provide their own food or purchase vegan meal tickets from the Anarchist Teapot Kitchen. Childcare will be available.

For more information, contact EF! Summer Gathering 2006, 38 Wells Rd, Colchester CO1 2YW, England; efgathering@aktivix.org; www.earthfirstgathering.org.uk.

Camp for Climate Action
August 26-September 4
Northern England

This camp will provide a place for people concerned about issues of sustainability and climate change to get together, share ideas, strategize and plan action against the destructive fossil-fuel economy.

The camp will include a mix of workshops, discussions and trainings, including: the science and ecology of climate change, peak oil, the political and economic structure of the fossil-fuel industry, permaculture, bicycle projects, small-scale sustainable energy alternatives, community transformation, current grassroots resistance to oil extraction, climate justice, effective solidarity, creative education and outreach, movement building and direct action skills.

Organizers are expecting hundreds of attendees, and they need as much help with planning and preparation as possible. The camp will be organized into a number of smaller, autonomous, self-sufficient neighborhoods. Folks interested in hosting one of these neighborhoods are encouraged to attend local planning meetings.

Location to be announced.

For more information, contact Camp for Climate Action, c/o Oxford Action Resource Center, Box 10, EOCC, 44B Princes St, Oxford OX4 1HU, England; info@climatecamp.org.uk; www.climatecamp.org.uk.

Fourth Annual Green and Black Anarchist Gathering
August 4-13
Northern Arizona or New Mexico

The Black and Green Network is facilitating a week-long gathering focused on rewilding—physically, mentally and spiritually. This year, the gathering is heading to the Southwest. The goal is to help bring people into a wild environment and to break down the barriers between ourselves and our world. The gathering will provide an introduction to the various strands of anti-civilization thought, with an emphasis on primitive skills, collective experience and developing strategies for resistance.

Bring your knowledge and experience to share with others. The organizers are hoping to hear from potential workshop instructors, discussion facilitators and anyone with ideas for good group activities. Folks are also encouraged to help out with fundraising or organizing physical resources for the gathering, and to be relatively self-reliant.

The exact location of the gathering will be announced on the website and on a toll-free voicemail one week before the gathering.

For more information, contact Feral Visions, c/o Green Anarchy, POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440; (866) 460-2945 (toll free); feralvisions@greenanarchy.org; www.greenanarchy.org.

Twin Oaks Communities Conference
August 18-20
Louisa, Virginia

This conference is a networking and learning opportunity for anyone interested or involved in cooperative or communal lifestyles. Attendees are expected from many communities: large, small, spiritual, secular, tightly communal, loosely cooperative and so on. Organizers welcome people looking for a community, as well as those just interested in the idea of cooperative living. The conference will be lightly structured, with workshops and sharing circles, but also lots of time to network and play together.

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blast from the past
Lughnasadh 1994 Earth First! Journal

58 Arrested at Watts Bar Nuke Plant

By Della-Mae Hellbender

The military (though non-violent) style of this whole action made it seem as though it were planned out by Zapatista Subcomandante Marcos. Affinity cell blocks were off into the woods in the very early a.m. hours, well-equipped with super glue, spray paint and yarn. Cellular phone and walkie-talkie communications had been established. Supporters from the Rendezvous site were on their way. Lockdown folks and their supporters—with five 55-gallon, 400-pound cement-filled steel drums and a tripod that takes 25 people to lift—were nervously waiting for the word.

Shortly before 5 a.m., the word came: “Lemonade East Close the Door,” “Choo-Choo West Close the Door,” “Lemonheads South Close the Door.” The two road entrances inside Watts Bar Nuclear Facility were shut down by dead tree limbs, boulders and human bodies.

By a freak “coincidence,” two cars were involved in an accident about half a mile west of the entrance to Watts Bar Nuclear Facility, moments after the lockdown crew drove by. Simultaneously, two more cars were having mechanical difficulties about half a mile east of the entrance to the plant. Between the accident and the mechanical difficulties, it was impossible for anyone to drive into the facility for about 15 minutes.

The road blockade crew moved in. As they moved in to set up, three unidentified cars pulled up. “Who the hell are they?” someone yelled. “Media,” someone else replied. A television station, a newspaper and a private film documentary crew had been notified about the action by our people. They didn’t know what the action was gonna be until the moment they showed up. I would not recommend this tactic when carrying out a high-security action unless you have a very strong sense of trust with the media you are setting up with.

On the other hand, they did get awesome footage that they showed on the news. Barrels came smashing out of trucks, and the tripod was set on the ground. In 15 minutes, the tripod was up, the barrels set in place and people locked in, I was the last person to get locked in, because my bike lock kept sticking. As I glanced over my shoulder one last time up the road toward the facility, I saw about 20 people with their arms locked together standing in the middle of the road, lit up by Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) security vehicle. They were holding up the security a few more minutes to ensure we were locked in. As I locked in there was a howl, and they all scattered into the surrounding woods. It was fucking beautiful.

Almost immediately after the barrel/tripod crew were set up, TVA security vehicles, cops and our supporters started pouring in. Rendezvous supporters had made it around all the broken-down vehicles and other police security before the soon-to-be-seven-mile traffic jam ensued. We later learned that the Rendezvous support caravan had also eluded an attempted police interception after local cops were tipped off by a restaurant employee at the caravan meeting site.

Chanting, drumming, howling, sign altering, lemon throwing, singing and other merriment commenced. Soon after the initial lockdown, we began to hear that people were being arrested. Some of the folks who were in a broken down vehicle and someone walking on the highway were arrested; the air was getting thick with tension. The cops needed donuts. Where the hell was that affinity group that was supposed to hit the Krispy Kreme dumpster? We sang, more cops showed up. We chanted, more cops showed up. We juggled lemons, more cops showed up. Police from two counties, one city, state and TVA security were finally all on hand....

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—Chief Terrance Nelson, Anishinabe Warrior Society