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a journal of revolutionary ecology

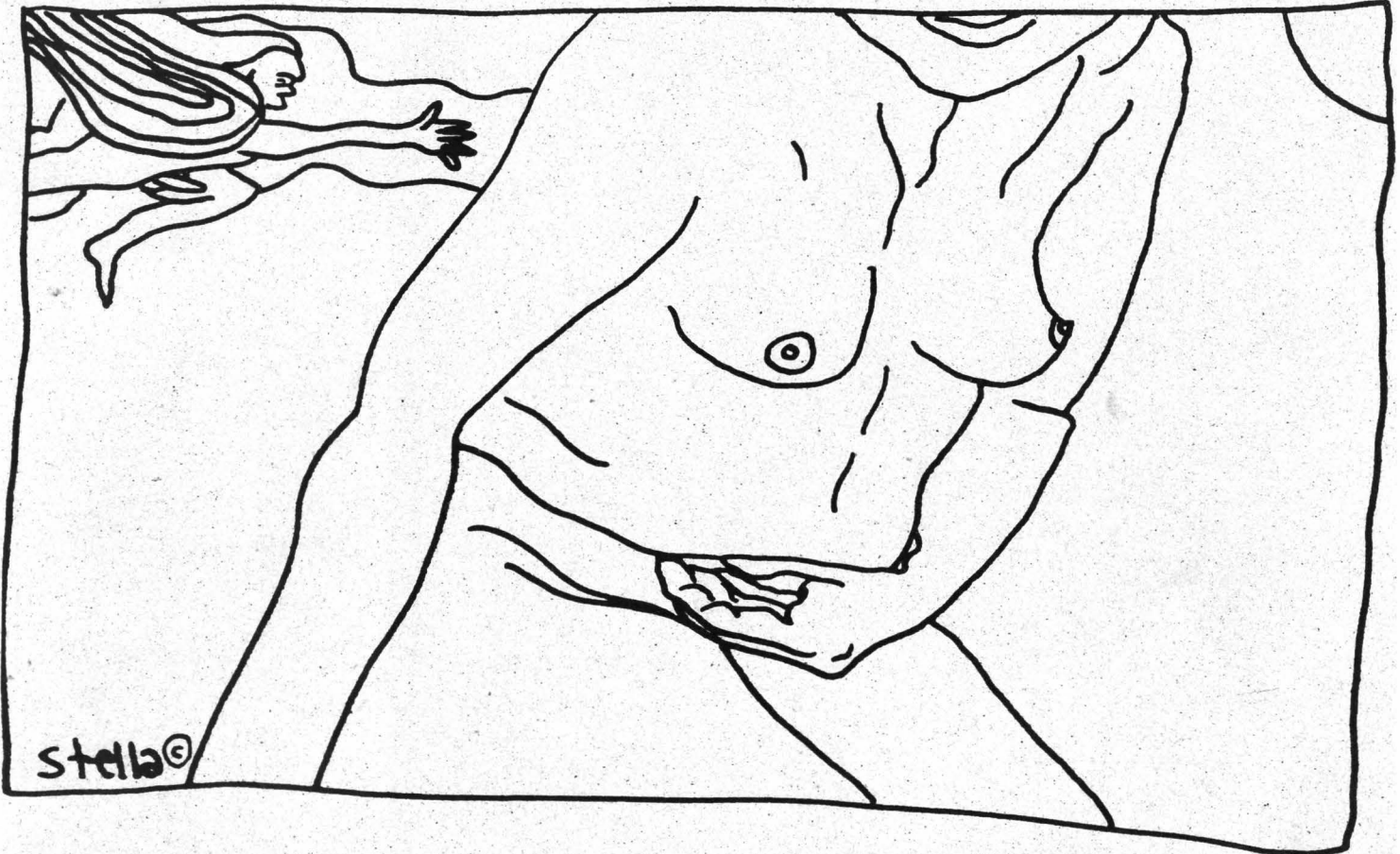
#12

# ALARM

number twelve

Groundhog's Day Edition 1995

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## Womyn's Edition

**In this issue: international political actions, indigenous struggles, discussion of tactics and strategy, sexual politics, US campaigns, political philosophy, prisoner support, health issues, poetry.**

# Why a Womyn's Issue

## The Misogynist Murders

The neofascist violence of our patriarchal system was dramatically illustrated recently with the murders of Leanne Nichols and Shannon Lowney, by a man who opened fire inside two abortion clinics in Massachusetts. Corporate media glorified this man and his violence, splashing his name and his thoughts across the consciousness of the Amerikan public. The womyn he murdered, with rare exception, were given no names and no voice. Public rulers seized the opportunity to deploy more police, and to add insult to injury, the corporate media regaled us with "news analysis" of the fascist rhetoric "justifying" these cold-blooded murders.

The ready "analysis" of the proffered

justification of these murders (defending the defenseless unborn child), especially coming from a media that doesn't generally award much time to philosophical discussion (and certainly doesn't grasp biocentric ethics enough to ever examine them), illustrates the depth to which the patriarchal buttons are being pushed. The control of womyn and our reproductive capacity is a basic foundation of this culture. Any threat to this control is met ultimately with violence, the favored tool of the corporate capitalist system. And we should not be surprised. When patriarchal ideology is carried to its logical conclusion, *that men's power over womyn is pre-ordained*, such violence in the suppression of



the front lines of the resistance. It celebrates our experiences and honours our differences. Many, many thanks to all the womyn who've shared their voices here and to all the womyn and men who have supported this project.

We also want to work to continue strengthening the international community of womyn whose experiences fuel these pages (and by strengthening the part, also strengthening the *whole* of this movement). Thus, we have a couple things to ask of you as readers:

1) please write us with comments on this issue! We like to satisfy our own curiosity *as well as that of our funders!*

2) womyn readers, please write us with topics you would be willing and able to speak about at conferences and other gatherings. We will compile a list to be distributed to organizers internationally.

3) please let us know about other womyn-only projects! We are committed to continuing our networking with womyn and we want to facilitate yours.

## womyn is required and will be justified The Patriarchal System is Not Reformable

The conclusion that we draw, once again, from this ultimate articulation of patriarchal dominance—the murder of advocates of womyn's reproductive freedom—is that the system of patriarchal men is **not reformable**. This system of hierarchy and dominance is inherently rotten. The only way out of our oppression is to tear down what has been built on the backs of the many for the benefit of a very few. We need to find our own power and *build our power in common with each other*. Whether we are workers, womyn, people of colour or timber wolves, we are all dispossessed groups experiencing the oppression created, perpetuated and manipulated by the same wealthy elite. We must act in spite of and in celebration of our differences. It will have been worth the challenge when we do finally come together to dismantle the patriarchal capitalist corporate death squad paradigm once and for all.

### What Can We Do?

We must first think, as womyn, of how we can support and love each other and work together for our liberation from patriarchal cultures. We need **womyn loving**

## About This Issue

**Welcome to ALARM #12.** The *ALARM* continues to grow and develop. It is now being produced by the Eastern North American Native Forest Network. This edition, the womyn's issue, was produced by the NFN's Outreach Committee to further the building of bridges between the womyn's community and the radical environmental community.

The *ALARM*, now a "journal of revolutionary ecology," will be produced once a year on Groundhog's anti-speciest Day as a forum for strategy, tactics and philosophy as well as for the direct action that it has always covered. With it we intend to push toward a more well-linked, thoughtful and effective international and cross-cultural resistance movement.

Letters, submissions, questions or comments should be directed to the *ALARM* at PO Box 57, Burlington, VT 05402, or call (802) 863-0571.

The Womyn's Edition of the *ALARM* evolved to address the current lack of womyn-only space amidst all the existing rad-eco journals and newsletters. Yes, a "separatist" thing. We believe that the creation and affirmation of womyn-only space is essential to the liberation of womyn and that the liberation of womyn is an essential and integral part of the liberation of the planet from the death grip of capitalist-patriarchal rulers. This issue is about providing us with a consolidated forum to express who we are and what is important to us. It is about giving us space to express our strength and solidarity as radical environmental activists who face the struggles against capitalist-patriarchal devastation *as womyn*. This issue affirms our existence and our power on

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womyn. This ain't just about sex (although womyn loving womyn sexually is grand!). This is about being guided by love and appreciation and respect for the blessedness and the struggle of *all* womyn and not just womyn working in the "movement."

We need to explore our lesbian spir- it—she lies within all of us. Who says lov- ing womyn has to be only in spirit? And coupled or not, it is our duty as womyn to masturbate and smash the state!

We need to smash misanthropy and misogyny. These ways are hateful excuses for fascism and isolationism and will only provoke resistance from the life force.

We need to actively create womyn-only space, **with no apologies!** As womyn, we need space to share our experiences. We need to learn from each other, and not just about the issues that we're working on. We need to inform the movement with our processes of support. If we have had nega- tive experiences with men that other womyn should be warned about, we owe it to each other to spread the word far and wide. We need to teach each other self defense. When we are at gatherings, we need to watch each other's backs, keep an eye on creeps and on womyn traveling alone. We need to practice solidarity and support when individual womyn experience abuse. The abuse of womyn is not secondary to the abuse of the planet; it is an integral part of it. We, as rad- eco womyn, need to actively network with radical feminist and lesbian groups. We must draw the connections, support their work, invite them into ours. We need to support a womyn's reality as she defines it and listen as she expresses her needs. We need to support the presence of children as readily as we would support each other through our abortions.

To strongly support each other, we

### About the Cover

"Why was the virgin always covering from the archangels?"

Cover art and quote by Stella

must also love ourselves. We all need to trust our intuition to free ourselves from self-doubt. If something doesn't feel right, it probably isn't. Trust yourself and the wealth of your experience. Know that each of us has a unique gift to offer the rest.

We need to confront power dynamics in our movement. Womyn in the radical envi- ronmental movement are often overlooked if we are not outspoken. If we will not be rec- ognized for our abilities by many of the men in the movement, then we must promote each other. Let's not undermine each other with gossip and "competitiveness" (espe- cially competition for HIS affections).

If you know of people, or are yourself, planning an event, strive for gender balance among the presenters. Experienced, dynam- ic, knowledgeable womyn are just as plenti- ful as men, but we fall behind in our ability or desire to promote these abilities, so we seem to be fewer in number. Challenge yourself and your male co-organizers to come up with equal numbers of men and womyn. It can and must be done. This does not imply tokenism. Putting womyn on to speak about topics with which they are not familiar, just because they have a vagina is sexist, lame and inexcusable. Work and thought must be involved to come up with true gender balance which reflects that womyn and men are equally qualified.

### Supporting Other Groups

While we are exploring our abilities to work together and love each other, we must also be working for **solidarity** with other oppressed groups so we can work toward our common liberation. By solidarity we do not mean a melting pot. We do not mean compromising our visions and ideals. We do mean something more *salad-like*, some- thing where the parts are valued as complete in and of themselves and where the parts can maintain their true essence, but also where the parts can and will work well in concert with each other in common resistance. In order to build solidarity, we need to elimi- nate our own preconceived notions of other groups and work to find our common ground. We must act with respect. We need

to begin this process of coming together with realistic expecta- tions. The road to understanding is long, slow and arduous, but the rewards are beyond imagining. Communication is the key. Misunderstandings can easily break down the process. Communication is the only way to avoid misunderstandings. The process of building solidarity is one of give and take. Of the two groups working together, the group with the most privilege does the most giving. Make initial contact by expressing your desire to help the people whom you have contacted in whatever way you can. Make it clear that you will make their needs a priority in your work if and when they desire your support. You cannot do this if you are not serious about it. Token gestures are useless. The learning process is on-going and the formula changes with each new experience, but the guidelines above are a basic outline toward the successful build- ing of solidarity.

### Love and Revolution

Love is the best weapon of a revolu- tionary. We must love and honour each other and love ourselves just as we love the land for which we are struggling. Out of the power of this passion comes the righteous resistance to harm and the strength to wield a movement that will not be ignored or denied and that will liberate us all. Remember: resistance is the secret of joy!

—the alarmists, Anne and Annie

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One of Webster's definition of alarm is "a mechanism that warns of danger, arouses from sleep, etc." With the *ALARM* we hope to arouse the human species from mental hibernation. With awakening, hopefully empowerment will follow to prevent the further desecration of Gaia.

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## With a Little Piece of Heart

**November 11, 1994 Speech at the Native Forest Network's Second International Temperate Forest Conference**

by *Cecelia Rodriguez*, US Coordinator of the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico

I bring you greetings from the front, from the war zone where two worlds clash, once again, much as they did 502 years ago. On one side are the "disposable" communities, those which the huge multinationals have crossed off as unnecessary because they do not consume, they do not produce, they do not fit into the scheme which they have designed for humanity. I bring you greetings from the "inditos" (the little indians), from "those who were chosen by God to be poor" as the feudal landlords of Chiapas call them, from the "transgressors of the law, the criminals" as the Mexican Army calls them. I bring you greetings from the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional, an indigenous army based in the mountains of the Selva Lacandona of southeastern Chiapas which declared war on the Mexican government on January 1 of 1994.

I share the names of some of the original people of this continent with you so that the spirits of their dead and the dying and those who have chosen to die in order to live with the Zapatista Army echo between these walls and in your ears and in your hearts. I bring you greetings from the mazahuas, amuzgos, tlapanecos, nahuailacas, coras, huicholes, yaquis, mayos, tarahumaras, mixtecos, zapotecos, mayas in the states of Yucatan, Campeche and Quintana Roo, the chontales of Tabasco, seris, triquis, kumiai, cucapa, paipai, cochimi, kiliwa, tequistlatecos, pame, chichimecos, otomis, mazatecos, matlatzincos, ocuiltecos, popoloca, ixcatecos, chocho, popoloca, cuicatecos, chatinos, chinantecos, huaves, papagos, pimas, tepehuanos, guarijios, huastecos, chuj, jalaltecos, mixes, zoques, totonacos, kikapus, purepechas, o'odham, tzeltales, tzotziles, choles, tojolabale!

And I hope that you hear more than the sound of their names. I hope that you hear their voices because you must listen very carefully or you will not understand their message.

When I first began to prepare this speech I did not know where to begin. I could tell you that NAFTA put an end to

Article 27 which put an end to land rights for peasants and indigenous communities. I could tell you that from 1981 to 1989, 2,444,700 cubic meters of precious woods, conifers, and tropical trees were taken from the state of Chiapas, and that in 1988, the exploitation of the forest produced almost \$8 million in profit, six thousand percent more than in 1980. I am aware



graphic by Karen Coulter

*Mountain Lion*

however, that this audience can more easily read these facts, and that rather than try to review numbers and geographies, statistics and histories, all of which I can provide to you in more efficient form, I should focus on the state of emergency in Mexico. I should try to explain to you the global significance of the struggle of the Zapatistas.

Perhaps to some of you the struggle of the Zapatistas is unknown or little known. It is about a handful of Indians who have taken up arms in a remote area of Mexico, or, as the mainstream media has successfully portrayed, a guerrilla group supporting the Party for the Democratic Revolution (PRD), a coalition of progressive and some mainstream forces, which opposes the Party of the Institutional Revolution (PRI), the party which has held power for 65 years, the perfect dictatorship as Carlos Fuentes has called it. As far as you may know, there is a conflict between two political parties in Mexico, but for the most part Mexico is stable, peaceful, progressive. This is the way in which the powers that be want you to understand reality. They want you to perceive the struggle of the Zapatistas as a marginal one, an insignificant one which has little consequences for each of you. This, I tell you now, is a lie. Mexico is at the brink of a civil war, a war which, in its

local and national implications has global ones as well.

The faceless ones, the ones with no names have had the audacity to say no to the ecological and human devastation promised by GATT and NAFTA, to the misery, oppression and despair brought upon the world by the policies of neo-liberalism. They have, as well, dedicated themselves for the past 10 months to building an alternative vision for Mexico, a national movement for democracy.

The Zapatistas want a very different future for Mexico. They struggle for land, jobs, housing, health, education, food and nutrition, independence, democracy, liberty, justice, peace. They insist that the right of every human being on earth to have these things is not a utopian dream, as many of us have come to believe, but indeed the *essence* of our humanity, that to accept less than this is to have lost ourselves. In the face of profound cynicism, when the immense failures of socialism and the rhetoric of the left has lost its meaning, the Zapatistas are about to give their lives so that all of us may know hope again, so that we may all understand that we cannot abandon hope because of human fallacies, that we must rise to the call of a struggle for human dignity, that we must struggle not just to survive, but to live.

The struggle of the Zapatistas runs clearly and directly against the policies of Neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism is a set of global economics re-hashed in the 70's by Milton Friedman, the University of Chicago, and Friedrich Von Hayec and are not well-known to North Americans as such. I want to describe them to you, because I am sure each of you will recognize them, once I do.

Neo-liberalism states that economic crises or problems are the fault of government intervention in the economy. Its fundamental principle is "economic liberty". What does this mean? It means that an economy must be free of impediments in order to operate. It therefore views things like social programs and regulations as impediments (in fact in GATT it calls them "barriers to the free flow of trade and capital") and so requires the elimina-

(cont'd on next page)

(Chiapas continued from page 4)

tion of social security programs, government housing programs, minimum wage laws, environmental protection laws, labor legislation which protects workers, import taxes, price controls, subsidies. Because the principal goal of neo-liberalism is to maximize the profits of private enterprise, it dedicates itself to the privatization and liberalization or de-regulation of the economy, while carrying out so-called stabilization programs. What does this mean? Well, if it were true that "free market" forces were allowed to operate for example, today the USA would not have an automobile industry, a steel industry or a computer industry, and certainly not the microchip industry. It was the Reagan administration which greatly extended government protectionism for the rich and saved those industries. In essence, neo-liberalism guarantees free markets for the poor, government protection for the rich.

The government or the state apparatus therefore has a role insofar as aiding the rich and controlling the population through state repression; stronger anti-crime measures like more prisons, longer prison sentences, more police. Neo-liberalism, according to Friedrich Hayek, requires a new moral system, and I quote:

"A free society requires certain morals which ultimately are reduced to the maintenance of life; not all life because it may be necessary to sacrifice individual lives in order to preserve major numbers of lives. Therefore the only moral rules can be those which provide for the 'computation of lives' determined by private property and its contract."

And the evidence of the last quarter century speaks for itself; indigenous communities, industrial workers, and women, for example, represent disposable lives, so the "structural adjustment" which has taken place has found it necessary to eliminate their livelihood, all for the "greater good" of course. Under such a set of morals, for example, you can justify the dumping of nuclear waste on Indian reservations in the U.S. What do a few million lives mean, when balanced with the importance of profits? You can also justify the elimination of millions of peasant

and indigenous communities in Mexico, so that land, which was once cultivated collectively, can now pass to the hands of multinationals who will use it to cultivate crops for exportation, a much more profitable activity.

You recognize neo-liberalism now? Remember the television ads of all the



woodcut by Natalie Springuel

Republicans who won political seats on Tuesday: less government, tough on crime, eliminate welfare and put people back to work by reducing taxes for the rich? Understand as well that it is nothing new, that it is a regression, a re-hashing of the old formula of exploitation, global rape and pillage of human and natural resources so essential to the most primitive

form of capitalism; that it is doublespeak, lies and ideological manipulation. These economic policies are in fact eliminating "individual entrepreneurs" from the marketplace and sustaining powerful multinationals who know no borders, who have loyalty to no national identity, who recognize no government, except their own corporate one. The democracies that the multi-nationals will nurture and support are "democracies of the free market"; futile exercises, because the real political power and decision-making occurs in board rooms, and is carried out by faceless technocrats who are accountable to and elected by no one. It is the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization who call the shots in the world today.

It is neo-liberalism which the Zapatistas are fighting against, in the midst of progressive forces which are unable to identify their enemy, and the failures of rigid Marxist dogma, and this is the global significance of their struggle, this therefore makes their front line your front line as well.

Some have called the Zapatista project "crazy, desperate, impossible, suicidal, idealistic." I want to mark for you now, the history of the Zapatista struggle, to point out those things which make it very different from anything which has been seen before.

FIRST: The Zapatista Army emerged by adhering closely to the Mexican

Constitution and the Geneva Accords which govern war and clearly set itself on a trajectory to win political objectives much larger than its military capacity. On January 1, 1994, hundreds of Zapatista troops were transported to the cities of San Cristobal de Las Casas, Las Margaritas, Ocosingo, Altamirano, Comitán, and held the cities in their possession while the Mexican Army slept off its New Year hangover. The Zapatistas posted a declaration of war. They stated they were adhering to Article 32 of the Mexican Constitution which states that the Mexican people are the source of legitimacy for the Mexican government, and that they have the right to overthrow the same if it is not representing their interests. They demanded the right to be recognized as a "belligerent force" under the Geneva convention, and called upon the Mexican Army to respect the well-being of the civilian population. They have never characterized themselves as an irregular, guerrilla force, but as an Army, one which trained in the Lacandon jungle for ten years, whose members undertook armed struggle after many years of peaceful but unsuccessful political activism.

SECOND; The EZLN has made it a political priority to maintain a public dialogue with the civilian population of Mexico, and the international community challenging its concepts of democracy, citizen participation and social change. It has used its moral authority to organize a new political space for independent activists. Through communiqués, through dozens of delegations to their territory, and through the progressive media, they have maintained a high public profile, explaining the reasons for their actions, their demands, their positions on different issues, reaching out to broad sectors of the Mexican public. They have been visited within the conflict zone by hundreds of activists from around the world, and are interested in developing a global resistance movement to neo-liberalism.

THIRD; The EZLN has called for and nurtured the peaceful activism of the civilian population by consistently allowing it to take a leadership position, indeed to suggest that peaceful civil protest defeat the need for armed struggle. How has this happened? In January, it was the civilian population who called for a ceasefire by massive mobilizations all over the coun-



# Revolutionary Ecology

by Judi Bari

In the June 1993 edition of the *ALARM*, Orin Langelle wrote an article about Revolutionary Ecology. He started from the very reasonable, but unfortunately revolutionary, concept that social practices which threaten the continuation of life on earth must be changed. Orin then called on activists to help define a theory of Revolutionary Ecology that will encompass social and biological issues, ecofeminism, class struggle, and a recognition of the role of global corporate capitalism in the oppression of peoples and the destruction of nature.

I would like to respond to Orin that I believe we already have such a theory. It is called deep ecology. The problem is that, in the early stages of this debate, deep ecology was falsely associated with such right wing notions as sealing the borders, applauding AIDS as a population control mechanism, and encouraging Ethiopians to starve. This sent the social ecologists justifiably scurrying to dissociate. And I believe it has muddied the waters of our movement's attempt to define itself and unite behind a common philosophy.

So in this article, I will try to explain, from my perspective as an unabashed leftist, why I think deep ecology is a revolutionary worldview. Like Orin, I am not trying to proclaim that my ideas are the Absolute Truth, or even that they represent a finished thought process in my own mind. These are just some ideas I have on the subject, and I hope that by airing them, it will spark more debate and advance the discussion.

## Biocentrism

Deep Ecology, or biocentrism, is the belief that nature does not exist to serve humans. Rather, humans are a part of nature, one species among many. All species have a right to exist for their own sake, regardless of their usefulness to humans. And biodiversity is a value in itself, essential for the flourishing of both human and non-human life.

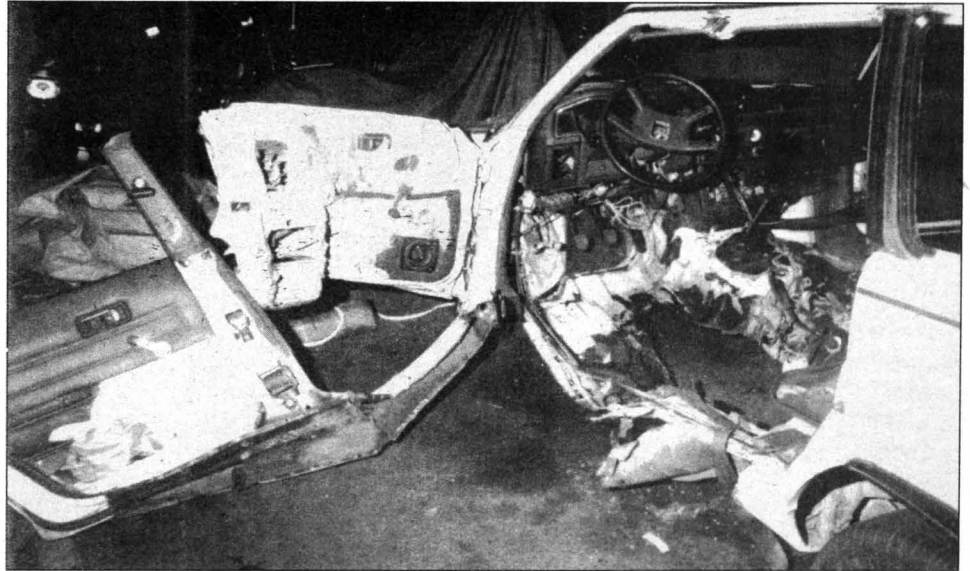
These principles, I believe, are not just another political theory. Biocentrism is a law of nature, that exists independently of whether humans recognize it or not. It doesn't matter whether we view the world in a human-centered way. Nature still operates in a biocentric way. And the failure of modern society to acknowledge this—as we attempt to subordinate all of nature to human use—has led us to the brink of collapse of the earth's life support systems.

Biocentrism is not a new theory, and it wasn't invented by Arne Naess. It is ancient

native wisdom, expressed in such sayings as "the earth does not belong to us. We belong to the earth." But in the context of today's industrial society, biocentrism is profoundly revolutionary, challenging the system to its core.

## Biocentrism Contradicts Capitalism

The capitalist system is in direct conflict with the natural laws of biocentrism. Capitalism, first of all, is based on the prin-



Judi Bari was pipe bombed in Oakland CA in an assassination attempt in 1990, just before Redwood Summer. Depicted is her car after the bombing. She is currently suing the FBI for their role in the bombing.  
Photo: Oakland Police Department

ciple of private property—of certain humans "owning" the earth for the purpose of exploiting it for profit. At an earlier stage, capitalists even believed they could own other humans. But just as slavery has been discredited in the mores of today's dominant worldview, so do the principles of biocentrism discredit the concept that humans can own the earth.

How can corporate raider Charles Hurwitz claim to "own" the 2000-year old redwoods of Headwaters Forest, just because he shuffled a few papers and traded them for a junk bond debt? This concept is absurd. Hurwitz is a mere blip in the lives of these ancient trees. Although he may have the power to destroy them, he does not have the right.

One of the best weapons of US environmentalists in our battle to save places like Headwaters Forest is the (now itself endangered) Endangered Species Act. This law, and other laws that recognize public trust values such as clean air, clean water, and protection of threatened species, are essentially an admission that the laws of private property do not correspond to the laws of nature. You cannot do whatever you want

on your own property without affecting surrounding areas, because the earth is interconnected, and nature does not recognize human boundaries. Seal off the borders? What borders?

Even beyond private property, though, capitalism conflicts with biocentrism around the very concept of profit. Profit consists of taking out more than you put in. This is certainly contradictory to the fertility cycles of nature, which depend on a balance of give and take. But more important is the ques-

tion of where this profit is actually taken from.

According to Marxist theory, profit is stolen from the workers when the capitalists pay them less than the value of what they produce. The portion of the value of the product that the capitalist keeps, rather than pays to the workers, is called surplus value. The amount of surplus value that the capitalist can keep varies with the organization of the workers, and with their level of privilege within the world labor pool. But the working class can never be paid the full value of their labor under capitalism, because the capitalist class exists by extracting surplus value from the products of their labor.

Although I basically agree with this analysis, I think there is one big thing missing. I believe that part of the value of a product comes not just from the labor put into it, but also from the natural resources used to make the product. And I believe that surplus value (i.e. profit), is not just stolen from the workers, but also from the earth itself. A clearcut is a perfect example of a part of the earth from which surplus value

(cont'd on next page)



has been extracted. If human production and consumption is done within the natural limits of the earth's fertility cycles, then the supply is indeed endless. But this cannot happen under capitalism, because the capitalist class exists by extracting profit not only from the workers, but also the earth.

Modern day corporations are they very worst manifestation of this sickness. A small business may survive on profits, but at least its basic purpose is to provide sustenance for the owners, who are human beings with a sense of place in their communities. But a corporation has no purpose for its existence, no moral guide to its behavior, other than to make profits. And today's global corporations are beyond the control of any nation or government. In fact, the government is in the service of the corporations, its armies poised to defend their profits around the world, and its secret police ready to infiltrate and disrupt any serious resistance at home.

*In other words, this system cannot be reformed.* It is based on the destruction of the earth and the exploitation of the people. There is no such thing as "green capitalism", and marketing cutside rainforest products will not bring back the ecosystem that capitalism must destroy to make its profits. This is why I believe that serious ecologists must be revolutionaries.

### **Biocentrism Contradicts Communism**

As you can probably tell, my background in revolutionary theory comes from Marxism, which I consider to be a brilliant critique of capitalism. But as to what should be implemented in capitalism's place, I don't think that Marxism has shown us the answer. One of the reasons for this, I believe, is that communism, socialism, and all of the other leftist ideologies that I know of, speak only about redistributing the spoils of raping the earth more evenly among classes of humans. They do not address the relationship of the society to the earth. Or rather, they assume that it will stay the same as it is under capitalism—that of a gluttonous consumer. And that the purpose of the revolution is to find a more efficient and egalitarian way to produce and distribute consumer goods.

This total disregard of nature as a life force, rather than just a source of raw materials, allowed Marxist states to rush to industrialize without even the most meager environmental safeguards. This has resulted in noted disasters such as the meltdown of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the oil spill in the Arctic Ocean, and the on-going liqui-dation of the fragile forest of Siberia. It has left parts of Russia and eastern Europe with

such a toxic legacy that even the rate of human fertility has slowed. Marx stated that the primary contradiction in industrial society is the contradiction between capital and labor. I believe these disasters show that the primary contradiction is between industrial society and the earth.

But even though socialism has so far failed to take ecology into account, I do not think that it is beyond reform, as is capitalism. One of the principles of socialism is "production for use, not for profit." Therefore the imbalance is not built in under socialism as it is under capitalism, and I could envision a form of socialism that would not destroy the earth. But it would be unlike Marx's industrial model.

Ecological socialism, among other things, would have to deal with the issue of centralism. The Marxist idea of a huge body politic related to some central planning authority pre-supposes (1) authoritarianism of some sort, and (2) the use of mass production technologies that are inherently destructive to the earth and corrosive to the human spirit. Ecological socialism would mean organizing human societies in a manner that is compatible with the way that nature is organized. And I believe the natural order of the earth is bioregionalism, not statism.

Modern industrial society robs us of community with each other and community with the earth. This creates a great longing inside us, which we are taught to fill with consumer goods. But consumer goods, beyond those needed for basic comfort and survival, are not really what we crave. So our appetite is insatiable, and we turn to more and more efficient and dehumanizing methods of production to make more and more goods that do not satisfy us. If workers really had control of the factories (and I say this as a former factory worker), they would start by smashing the machines and finding a more human way to decide what we need and how to produce it. So to the credo "production for use, not for profit," ecological socialism would add, "production for need, not for greed."

### **Biocentrism Contradicts Patriarchy**

Patriarchy is one of the deepest and oldest forms of oppression in the world today. It is so deep that we are discouraged from even naming it. You can say you are against apartheid without offending progressive white people. But start talking about the patriarchy and you will run into howls of protest and ridicule from otherwise progressive men. Nonetheless, patriarchy needs to be addressed by any truly revolutionary theory. In fact, the failure to address patriarchy

is one of the great shortcomings of page 7 Marxism.

Ecofeminism points out that there is a parallel between the way this patriarchal society treats nature and the way it treats women. This is reflected in such expressions as "virgin redwoods," and "rape of the earth."

More important, however, ecofeminism holds that one of the reasons for the destruction of the earth is that only the "masculine" traits of conquering and dominance are valued by this society, while the "feminine" traits of nurturing and life-giving are devalued and suppressed. Both men and women, by the way, possess both masculine and feminine traits. But feminine behavior is held in lower esteem no matter who is exhibiting it.

The relationship between the suppression of women and the suppression of nature is particularly clear in third world nations, where the colonial powers take over the land by forcibly removing peasant and tribal women from their traditional role as keepers of the forest and farmlands. The women's methods of interacting with the earth are supplanted by men and machines, as logging and agribusiness replace their small-scale farming, ripping off nature's fertility, rather than nurturing it. This is why third world environmental movements are often women's movements, such as those in India, Kenya and Brazil.

As anyone knows who has ever dealt with the Forest Service or the EPA, "science" is the ultimate authority used to justify this system's relentless assault on the earth. Science is presented to us as neutral and objective, a path to Absolute Truth. But in fact, the type of science endorsed by the industrial patriarchy is not value-free. It is openly described by its founders as a masculine system of knowledge, based on the assumption that nature is separate from man, to be conquered and subdued by him. And, reflecting that separation, its methodology is based on reductionism, or breaking the whole into separate parts in order to study it. Reductionism leads to that incredible compartmentalization of the brain that allows such conclusions as (and I'm not making this up) that clearcutting followed by single species replanting is the most effective method of forest regeneration because, after five years, clearcut areas have more "stems growing" than select cut areas.

Reductionist science has indeed created such wonders as nuclear bombs, plastic shrink-wrap, and Twinkies. But it has not resulted in a true understanding of the world,

(cont'd on page 29)

## Great Whale Project Victory? Or an H-Q Attempt to Silence Opposition?

by Anne Petermann

In a shocking move, the Quebec government has postponed Hydro-Quebec's internationally opposed Great Whale Project indefinitely. The Cree leadership is wary of so-called postponements, calling instead for the permanent cancellation of the project. The announcement comes on the heels of a "blistering attack" by Cree Grand Chief Matthew Coon-Come against recently elected Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau to a political body in Washington DC that would steer the US in relations with a sovereign Quebec. It also directly followed a denouncement of the project's Environmental Assessment as severely flawed. Both of these events make the timing of the announcement suspect. In addition, just hours after Mr. Parizeau's announcement, his Chief Aide stated, "We are giving Hydro-Quebec no instructions to stop their preparation of the project". You begin to see the deception unfolding.

Luis Eguren, from the Grand Council of the Crees explains it this way, "Even though the project is delayed, the process to get the authorization to build it continues (mostly under the false impression that it's dead—i.e. no resistance from concerned groups)... this has been one of H-Q's preferred strategies; delay a project while working through a review, get the authorization and sit on it for several years. Then, when the time is right...start building. Any opposition at that time is futile."

Another reason for the postponement seems to be that Separatists fear that the Great Whale Project could stymie a push for independence due to its international opposition. If the project seems tied to Quebec sovereignty, it could create road-blocks. With the project shelved, Parizeau's government appears to be clearing an international path for Quebec independence.

The Cree meanwhile have made overtones that if Quebec secedes from Canada, then they could secede from Quebec. This threat may be backed up by the 1898

Quebec Boundaries Extension Act, with which Canada granted Quebec the northern section of the province (the traditional land of the Cree and Inuit) under the agreement that Quebec remain a part of Canada. Should Quebec secede, the jurisdiction over this land is called into question.



Cree elder women demonstrate traditional activities at the First Annual Whapmagoostui (Great Whale) gathering in July, 1993. If the Great Whale river is dammed, the Cree residents of that region will lose many of these traditional activities.  
Photo: Langelle/NFN

## HQ Threatens Nitassinan, Land of the Innu

by Alexis Lathem

Long before Quebec Premier Bourassa announced Hydro-Quebec's "project of the century", the James Bay hydro development scheme, considered the largest construction project ever, HQ had been damming the wild rivers of Eastern Quebec, the land of the Innu, Nitassinan. While opponents of the James Bay projects held jubilant victory celebrations following the newly-elected Premier Parizeau's announcement last November that phase 2 of the James Bay project has been suspended, before pausing to consider whether, in fact, it has (it has not)—the construction of the latest dam project in Nitassinan, SM3, is well underway and the Innu communities who are opposing it are suffering under the overwhelming legal and political burden of that challenge.

Already there are 19 dams in Nitassinan. The Innu traditionalists who are opposing the project believe that this assault on their ancestral lands would mean the ultimate devastation of their culture, which is hanging on by a single thread.

That thread is the Moisie (Mishtashipan) river—the last significant river in Nitassinan that still remains in its natural state, where thousands of Atlantic salmon return every summer to spawn. With the SM3 project, which involves the diversion of its headwaters into the St. Marguerite, the Moisie will go the way of the Bestiamites, Outards, and St. Marguerite rivers, which also had healthy, plentiful salmon popula-

The Great Whale Project is not dead until it is permanently cancelled, and any Environmental Assessment process halted. Until this occurs, our vigilance against this project must increase! We must not be fooled by their sleight of hand.

Anti-HQ activists are using this announcement as an opportunity to organize against lesser known H-Q projects such as the SM3 (see related story this page) and other overseas H-Q International projects. "In no way do we plan to stop our fight against this multinational. The Great Whale project is one of many. We will continue the fight by focussing on their US contracts, investors and other projects which are just as hideous as the Great Whale" said Orin Langelle of the Native Forest Network.

### To get involved,

contact the Eastern North American Native Forest Network at PO Box 57, Burlington, VT 05402, email: en!peacejustice.

tions before they were dammed, and now have none.

"It is our gateway into the bush," explained Evelyn St. Onge, one of the many in her community who have been jailed for opposing HQ. "This dam will mean the door to our traditional life will be closed." The semi-nomadic, cyclical life of her ancestors followed the course of the Moisie, the salmon and the movement of the animals in a seasonal cycle that closed again at the river's mouth. In 1951, when the Quebec government decided to build a military base there, the Moisie band was removed from the site of its age-old base camp, and the Mani-Utenam reserve was created.

Still, the Innu from Mani Utenam spend their summer months salmon fishing on the Moisie. Since the SM3 project was announced, a cultural and spiritual renaissance has bloomed, and more and more camps are appearing along the Moisie, as the community stakes its claim to the threatened river. In winter and in autumn, it is a place for them to return to, away from reservation life, plagued with alcoholism, drug abuse, suicides, violence against women, and tense political conflict.

Despite the 400-year long presence of the Europeans in Nitassinan, the territory remains sovereign. Without having obtained any agreement from the Innu, on April 18th HQ began (cont'd next page)



(Nitassinan cont'd from page 8)

work on the first phase of the SM3 project, the proposed 250 km access road through a vast area of forest whose only highways are its rivers, whose only airstrips are its lakes. One month later, a group of Innu traditionalists, the Coalition for Nitassinan, established a Peace Camp and blockade of the access road in opposition to the construction. A barricade of dead trees erected on a small bridge at kilometer 24 prevented the workers from passing, while for the 17-day life of the camp, the Innu lived in their traditional canvas and pine-pole tents, cooked caribou and porcupine over open fires, cured their illnesses with pine-sap and willow bark, and drew their water from the pristine rivers that plunged under the little bridge that had become the line of defense for their way of life. From the site of the camp, a tapestry of coniferous forest in its thick carpet of lichen and moss, laced with a myriad of rivers and lakes, and patched with peat-bogs and tundra moors, extends unbroken as far as the eye can reach—except for the access road which cuts like an ugly scar across the land described by the first European intruders as the “the land of Cain.”

*A helicopter circles the camp, swoops down and lands on the other side of the barricade. Mark Vollant and Andy Canapé climb over the bridge and meet the two HQ officials who step out of the chopper. I am standing beside Phillipe Thomas, an Innu elder who was born here where the access road is tearing through the forest. From across the barricade, we watch the encounter...*

*With evident confidence, Mark Vollant unfolds a piece of paper and presents it to the men. It is a letter from his uncle, Donald St. Onge, who holds the crown-sanctioned hunting rights to the land we are occupying, granting us permission to be there. The HQ officials respond with a barrage of legal documents ordering us to leave.*

*The Innu's aboriginal title to the territory, guaranteed by the crown, is apparently as soluble as the ink on the sheet of paper in Mark's hand, fluttering in the gusts of wind from the choppers blades as it takes off...*

When the protesters were brought to court and charged with obstructing HQ's “lawful” business and with criminal trespass on their own land, they were lectured by the judge for their radical methods of expressing their discontent. “It will not be by breaking the law,” he said, “but by appealing to the Crown, whose courts are the fairest and most tolerant in the world, that you will arrive at the just result of your conflict.”

The truth is, after years of pursuing a just result through legal and “democratic” channels, the Innu traditionalists are left with no other recourse than civil disobedience and physical

obstruction to defend their land and their aboriginal rights, because their legal and constitutional rights have been blown away and churned up in the wheels of industrial “progress” like so much paper. The wheels of the machines that rolled over the Peace Camp on June 14th, are the same wheels that continue to crush indigenous resistance through the manipulation of so-called democratic processes. In the history of the Innu's struggle over SM3, these processes have proved nothing more than that might is right.

In mid-June, HQ obtained its “agreement” from the Innu communities of Mani Utenam and Uashat following a referendum in which 52% of the people voted in favor of accepting \$67 million in compensation for the destruction of their



**Innu traditionalist Jeanette Pilot is arrested by Quebec police for participating in a peace camp and blockade of a Hydro-Quebec access road to the construction site of the Sainte Marguerite III project in June of 1994.**  
**photo: Sureté Quebec**

land. Since then, one hears a good deal about this agreement. “Agreement” is however a misnomer. The Innu have no more agreed to the project than the Cree agreed to Hydro-Quebec's scheme in 1975 when they were coerced into signing the James Bay Agreement. What one does not hear is that four previous referendums were held in Mani Utenam in which the community voted 80% against the project. This time, HQ spent \$100,000 on the referendum to insure the results would turn out in its favor, paying consultants \$300 a day to “inform” the community on the contents of the agreement. The traditionalists, on the other hand, were prohibited from holding similar consultations within their own community by an injunction criminalizing all opposition to the SM3 project. Anyway, HQ already began construction on the project before the referendum was even held. Can one really believe that if the results had turned out differently, the HQ workers would have been sent home?

It is true that the Innu are tragically divided over this issue. The outside world is discouraged from “taking sides” in what is perceived to be an internal conflict. It is important to remember, however, that it is HQ that is driving the wedge into the heart of this community, using deliberate methods of corruption and manipulation, the same methods of divide and conquer that we have witnessed over and again in the 500 year

history of genocide in North America. page 9  
We would be blind not to recognize it. Intimidation, jail terms, corruption and a growing sense of hopelessness have driven many to drop out of the struggle. The reluctance of the outside world to “intervene” in this conflict drives them further into a spiral of hopelessness and defeat.

*....On the morning of our pre-trial, we woke from our bed of spruce-bough inside a tee pee our Innu hosts had prepared for us beside the Moisie. It was a clear day, and the silky river flowed gently by under a cloudless blue sky...*

*We entered the courtroom still scented with wood smoke, our hair damp with river water...The proceedings were conducted in French so we were able to feel something of what the Innu must have felt, watching the strange pantomime of the black robes whose ritualized verbal gestures spoke reverence to an alien power. Within the sacred circle described by those gestures, our testimony on behalf of the inhabitants of Nitassinan—golden eagle, salmon, caribou, ptarmigan, lynx, Innu—had no place. The law clearly was there to protect HQ's financial interests, and much was said about the “damages” we caused. But about HQ's assault on the earth -- that can fairly be called theft, rape, ecocide and genocide — not a word was heard.*

*...That night, we returned to the river and watched the night sky in the wash of cosmic vortices, the Aurora Borealis whose whorls and streams of light were reflected in the river as it flowed on in its eternal current. I am reminded of a story by Gabriel Garcia Marquez called “Light is like Water” about two children who have discovered the magical power of turning electric light into water. There should be nothing mysterious in this — that if the electricity that floods our living rooms is produced by hydro power, then, at the other end of the magical equation, where there is light there is flooding. In the story, it takes a child to make the leap of imagination to see the illuminated objects around him floating in a tide off rising water.*

*...Perhaps this was the meaning of Phillipe Thomas dream, that he recounted to us: “When I first heard about the dam, I saw the city of Sept Isle submerged in water.” What will it take for us to understand that our cities, our brilliant civilization, is quickly becoming a lost Atlantis, because of our inability to see what we are doing to the earth?*

*[Note: On September 8 the seven activists (this writer included) who joined the Innu at the SM3 blockade were sentenced with \$1000 fines or three months imprisonment. The fifteen Innu charged have postponed their sentencing until March 6th, in order to prepare and raise the funds for their legal defense. Please send contributions to the Friends of Nitassinan, P.O. Box 804 Burlington VT 05402.]*



## Teaching and Resisting Aboriginal Women Elders Lead Saskatchewan Blockade

**A Nation is never defeated until the hearts of its women are on the ground.**

-Indigenous saying

by Jacqui Barclay and Marlene Larocque

"I was trying to protect my land. That is why I went to jail" states Mary Fleury, one of the Elders leading a blockade against clearcutting and other harmful forestry practices in Northern Saskatchewan. Mary is from the Canoe Lake Cree Nation and is one of the Elders who joined together to form the Protectors of Mother Earth.

Mary Fleury remembers vividly that day when over 100 heavily armed RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] descended upon their peaceful blockade lead by a group of Aboriginal Elders and traditional land users. It was the largest RCMP action in Saskatchewan history, directed against a group of Aboriginal men, women, Elders and children. Mary recalls "the RCMP moved in at our camp with rifles, guns and surveillance cameras taking pictures 24 hours a day." Among the 31 protesters arrested were two pregnant women. It had a profound impact. "All the little kids were crying for their moms and grandmothers."

Supporters who have spent time at the blockade are struck by the commitment of the Elders to share the leadership and decision making among both men and women. The women and men share an equal voice. Mary Fleury states that the women Elders have provided leadership at the blockade and a spirit of motivation for young people to protect their land and Mother Earth.

As an example, Mary Fleury talks about the importance of actions by Cecelia Iron, another Elder from the Canoe Lake Cree Nation and a powerful spokesperson for the Protectors of Mother Earth. "When Cecelia went to Arsenault Lake to stop the logging trucks from going through, that was very important. She stood up to the RCMP." When protesters heard that Cecelia was picked up by the police at Arsenault Lake they formed a human line across Highway #903 to prevent her from being taken to jail. "Why should they pick up an Elder, a woman of 73 years, and put her in a paddy wagon?" asked Mary. For Cecelia Iron, "the most important thing is

that we are trying to save something for the future of our children, great grandchildren and those yet born. That is who we are thinking of. That is why we are still struggling." "We hope to stop the clearcutting so that the future of our children will not be destroyed. We don't want our forests destroyed. We have taken this stand for all the people of the north. Even if some don't see it that way."

Mary Fleury echoes the words of Cecelia Iron that the Elders are carrying on this struggle for future generations. She says that if they clearcut more trees, it will effect the water system and the rivers will be dry. "Do we want deserts for them?"



graphic by Karen Coulter

What will they live on?" she asks. The northern forest supports a way of life as it provides food and shelter for First Nation and Métis people who live a traditional lifestyle by hunting, trapping and picking berries for medicines.

Mary describes how the clearcutting has affected their families ability to make a living from their traditional lands. Together with her husband Joe Fleury, a traditional land user from the area, she traps and grows wild rice. Today the land where they get their medicines and berries is being torn up and the surrounding lakes are going dry.

Joe Fleury describes what things were like when he made a living logging and paints a starkly different picture than current practices. Joe spent many years working in the bush. He relates how he would just cut down the big trees and used skidders which are a more labour intensive means of logging. He says when you look

you can't tell where he logged in the past. Now, he says, "they clear cut and rip up the land. Planted trees are just dying. Nothing will grow there."

Mary Fleury has noticed positive changes as a result of the blockade. Other reserves are getting their own skidders. "Bands are getting help whereas before they never did. People are buying skidders from the band and they are logging." She adds that it is good they do not have mechanical harvesters. "Mechanical harvesters are big machines which rip up the land and one machine takes the place of forty people." She has noticed more direct involvement and control by the surrounding communities and reserves. She says that people within the surrounding communities are "starting to see things moving and turning around." Mary cites all of this as a clear example of the benefits that have resulted from the blockade.

Emil Bell, an activist from the Saskatoon Indigenous Coalition who has provided ongoing support to the Elders, shares his reflections regarding the impact and role of the Elders in this political struggle. "The Elders are always thinking about the children - those born and those not yet born. This is what they are fighting for. They are also fighting the corporate mentality which is a suicide mentality. Decisions are made on immediate profits, while the impact on future generations is disregarded."

Maria Campbell, a renowned writer, filmmaker and respected community activist living in Saskatoon, relates "By both men and women working together, the Elders have provided a role model for a community where, as in so many communities, the significance of the role of women has been lost. In the traditional teaching, women own half the circle," explains Maria. "The Elders at the blockade are living this tradition."

*This article was edited and reprinted with the permission of the authors from the Solidarité Newsletter of the Aboriginal Rights Coalition, Spring 1993.*

*The blockade did end after 18 months, but the indigenous people of this region are still struggling for control of their land and lives. For more information about this article and about the current situation, please contact:*

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# Mother Earth Healing Society

Presentation by *Lorraine Sinclair* to the Native Forest Network Conference in Missoula, Montana, 1994

In order for us to work together as environmentalists and First Nations, we have to understand each other. That's the process that we're going through in meetings like this. You heard from a young man who spoke about respect and talked about alcohol and its devastating effects upon our people. That young man asked, in a very respectful way, that you not have alcohol at your gatherings when you bring First Nation's people together, and that's something that you need to keep in mind for future meetings. If you want to work with us, then you also have to show us that respect.

I've been working with you as environmentalists in Canada for fourteen years now. And there was many a time I wanted to knock over a few environmentalists. It's tough. You have a different way of being. Movement is a gift of the white people, according to our teachings. You are the nomadic ones, not us. We're still here; this is our land. We didn't go anywhere. But you travelled here and you're still travelling. I don't look at you as the enemy at all; you're the closest thing to us, but you still have a lot to learn.

I'm with the Mother Earth Healing Society. In 1980 we found out there were going to be seven coal mines coming in less than a period of five years. So I was very active in the region, and I was asked by the people to speak out on their behalf. Some of the people wanted jobs with these coal mines, and the intent I had initially was to go in there and try to get Native people employed. I know you guys are probably pretty poor, but I don't think a lot of you come from poverty. Our people are the poorest of the poor. We have been poor for generations and we always get pushed aside and marginalized, so my intent at that time was to help Native people participate in the mainstream. That's the way that a lot of us were educated at that time. But I learned.

I began learning my culture. I had to go back, to my Elders. It was about two generations ago where that cultural cut-off happened, with the impacts of industrialization and christianity. Where I'm from in northern Alberta,

white contact began in the mid to late 1800's. Further up north, in the Lubicon Cree territory, it's been less than 50 years. It's always the same thing: we get a road, it affects wildlife habitat, it affects the wildlife population, it affects the subsistence economy.

The thing that people don't talk about is how our men have been effected. The man has always been in our culture the one who goes out there and gets the moose. For the men not to be able to provide for the families causes a very deep pain that we're still feeling. A lot of the work I do is with healing circles in the communities. Alcohol is used to push the pain down. That's what we need to understand and I think we're being a little bit slow in standing up for our land. It's because our people are healing. Not only do we work on environmental issues, healing Mother Earth, but we're also working on healing our people. That's the hardest job of all.

This is sweetgrass braid. The teaching of the sweetgrass is the unity of mind, body and spirit. We all have

mind, we all have a body, we all have a spirit. Mind is who you think you are; it's like your ego. Body is who everybody else thinks you are. Spirit is who you really are. When we, as human beings, learn to unite our own minds, bodies and spirits, that's who "me" is. That's where the healing of Mother Earth begins, is with "me."

That's how the Mother Earth Healing Society came about in 1988. I went to an Elder. I was burnt out, again. I gave him tobacco and said "what more can I do to heal Mother Earth, because nothing I'm doing is helping." And he said "start with yourself and a small core of women, heal yourselves, and then teach us to be men." That "teach us to be men" I put on a shelf because I didn't know what he meant by that. But I started a healing circle in Edmonton. And I've been doing it for 6 years, every week; we have never missed a week. And I do healing circles across Canada and I've been to England and Scotland. I've sat with people: white, Native, men, women, it doesn't matter what your background is. We all need to heal. Look at yourselves. And what you are doing. It's easy to identify the enemy. We talk about the World Bank. We talk about the corporations, governments, but not ourselves, who we are and how we are out of balance. When we



graphic by *Karen Coulter*

bring that mind, body and spirit together, of ourselves, the mind, body and spirit of the community will come together. And through that process, it affects me, it affects my family, my community, my nation, and Mother Earth. That's how we heal her; that process starts here.

I'm also here to bring you a message from Milton Born-With-A-Tooth, who tried to defend Oldman River, and is now in prison. I know how hard it is for these guys to stand up, especially Leon Iron, from the Elders from Saskatchewan, who set up a blockade, the longest running blockade in at least Canadian history, probably US history too. You don't know how hard it is. We are not a violent people by nature. Our people generally are very shy, very modest. We're not like the warriors you see in those phony movies from John Wayne. It takes a lot for us to get pissed off and set up blockades. For Milton to have stood there was a last resort. The RCMP moved in, surrounded that reserve, that land. Milton offered his life to the river. He said "if anybody's going to die, it's going to be me." He went and stood at a place where they could see him and fired two warning shots in the air, to let them know that they were trespassing on Indian land. As a result of that he got arrested. In September he was sentenced to 16 months in prison. Milton does not deserve to be in there. The provincial government in Alberta are the crooks; they are the ones who've broken federal law.

Another issue is the Lubicon Cree people, up in northern Alberta, who have for 50 years been trying to get recognition of their traditional territory. In the last 15 years, the provincial government and the oil companies and gas companies have pulled out seven billion dollars in resources. The Lubicon people are the poorest of the poor. In a period of five weeks this summer there were eight deaths, all associated with alcohol. Our people aren't natural drunks; it's the result of industrialization. Our people will stand up and fight when they have empowered themselves. To empower yourself, you have to heal. The healing of our people is connected to front line activism. To me that is the front lines: listening to the people and their pain, with suicide, with alcohol, with drugs.

The Lubicon Cree are right now fighting Unical, who have built a gas plant illegally on their land. The Lubicon have informed Unical that they want that plant dismantled. There are 400 gas and oil developments surrounding Lubicon territory and that's enough. So they are prepared to fight and I want you people, when Native people stand up, to put your bodies on the line because there's not very damn many of us and you can't afford to lose us. We can't afford to lose us.



## The Battle of Solsbury Hill

by Sally, Avon Gorge Earth First!

In Britain we are forced to defend the last vestiges of the wild that once covered this country. The process of deforestation and enclosure now destroying and fragmenting the wilderness areas of North America took place here hundreds of years ago. Thus every battle over every acre of ancient habitat becomes of the utmost importance. I had been involved in Earth First! for about a year before I joined the Solsbury Hill campaign in early 1994. The anti-roads movement had started to kick off because of the Twyford Down campaign which started around January 1992 and had people trying to defend the area of land which included ancient woodland, downland and water meadows, in all a place about four miles long and half a mile wide outside of the city of Winchester. This was the first time Earth First! had organized on a national level to protect a piece of land with constant direct action.

Our Earth First! group had only been together a couple of weeks when we heard of a campaign set up by two women, Tania and Kathy, called S.O.S trying to stop two roads schemes going through an area of land near where they lived, two very large expensive bypasses which would destroy water meadows, many hundreds of years old trees, areas of woodland, the side of Solsbury Hill and the communities it was planned to go through. We went along to their meeting and found out they had already been to the public enquiry with objections, and the road was going to go through, but they wanted to make a symbolic stand. Whilst their campaign was coming to an end as legal challenges had been made, it was only the beginning for us. As a group, we went to the area that was due to be destroyed and saw all the life there, and then we decided to start fighting for it. We pitched our tents on the side of the hill and prepared for the day set for construction of the roads to start. At first the S.O.S group were uneasy with having a camp, and with the

idea of direct action, but as soon as it was time for the first day of action they were down on the site with us locking onto the bulldozers, occupying the offices and blocking the entrances. Work was unable to start for two days whilst more and more people joined the Solsbury Hill campaign and the camp, from the region, and from all over the country, to try to defend the land. The campaign continued with civil disobedience, defensive tree villages set up along



**Dolly (above) lives on Claremont Ave, proposed site of the future M11 road. She has been evicted from this house, which she has lived in for 93 years, through two World Wars. She continues to occupy the house, which has been barricaded, to prevent its demolition. Photo: Langlell/NFN**

a line of trees with platforms, hammocks and walk ways, the squatting of land and houses that were barricaded on the route and monkey wrenching of the construction machinery. This happened on a daily basis until the land was eventually taken from us in late August. Five months of the action camp had still lost the land and we know the roads will get

### The Loss of English Countryside

by Tania

As the new year approaches I am mourning the loss of yet more countryside and wildlife habitats, and a part of my spirit. The side of Solsbury Hill near Bath and the entire water meadows below are now replaced by swathes of mud, clay and cement and pricked with steel structures and bright earth-destroying machines with ruthless claws and bloody teeth. Razor wire fencing keeps me now from the paths I walked to see the song birds, foxes and bats. An ancient badger set has been torn up, and enormous dumper trucks crash over the strange red earth piled over where those intricate tunnels used to be. The peaceful River Avon is disturbed by the daily driving of piles into its insect-rich bed as the road-builders construct two huge

built (later, and at a far higher cost than they had expected!), but we try to remember how much we achieved. The campaign brought large numbers of people out to fight against the machines who were radicalised by their experiences. The national effect of the anti-road campaigns set up all over Britain was that the anti-roads movement got their issues not only on the agendas of the established environmental groups who are now talking of becoming less centralised and getting involved in local based campaigns and direct action, but also on the government's agenda as seen

when this year they backed down on a number of planned road constructions as the issue had become so controversial, (it must worry them when well known celebrities talk of breaking the law along with lords and ladies, MPs, and Tory voters as they all get ready to confront the bulldozers!) We know it is only a small part of the mega machine that we are confronting, but hey its a good start. We have managed to stop some of the construction of the infrastructure the government desperately wanted to improve the transport of goods for production and

consumption. And out of the local based anti-road campaigns amazing things have happened. In many of those places a community of resistance has grown, of people doing daily actions against the whole of the capitalist system which is threatening the ecology in that area.

bridges designed to take tens of thousands of lorries and cars round Batheaston and into the city of Bath - all part of the construction of the Swainswick and Batheaston bypasses due to finish in early 95.

The power and capital behind the project is too great for the road to be stopped by the hundred or so activists who truly tried to defend the land, and it always was, but we still have to do it, if only because our natural instincts force us to. It is a hard fight and our army is so often disappointingly small-but at least we are fighting. No giving up, no turning back, no compromise in defense of the Earth!

*Avon Gorge Earth First!,  
Box 51, c/o Greenleaf bookshop,  
82 Colston street, Bristol BS1 5BB*



## Rainbow Keepers for the Safe Destruction of Chemical and Nuclear Weapons

Article compiled from Russian Journal "Novaja lejednievnaja" and Rainbow Keepers press agent Olga Miriassova. "The purpose of the Rainbow Keepers movement is to organize radical protest actions for the defense of the environment, as well as to educate young people on the new ecological conscience. The actions of our organization exclude violence against animals and humans. We organize demonstrations, meetings and protest encampments. We establish blockades against technology and other routes of communication. We occupy administrative buildings in order to hinder their activities. Fifty militants are active participants in the organization, half of which are young women."

Presently the Russian and American armed forces have 100,000 tons of toxic chemicals. This quantity was declared by the Russian and American governments at the signing of the Convention on Chemical Disarmament in 1993. However, according to the figures of independent experts, more than 1,000,000 tons of toxic chemicals were produced in Russia alone. According to the Convention, the two governments have assumed responsibility for the destruction of all chemical weapons by the year 2010, that is, by 2017, liquidate all toxic agents produced for the century.

Before the Convention was signed, the United States undertook a massive liquidation of weapons on the Island of Djonson in the Pacific Ocean. But after the agreement was signed, the Secretary of Defense of the US proposed to build 8 additional facilities on the continent as storage sites. It is claimed that the method of destruction of these weapons must be by incineration in order to avoid the expense that would be required to perfect a safe method. In 1989 in Russia, in the town of Tchapagusk a facility was built for the destruction of chemical weapons but was never put on line due to the active opposition of the local population.

Today this problem is arising for the inhabitants of Oudmourtie and the region of Saratov. In this region chemical weapons, such as iprite and lewisite, have been concentrated and their liquidation is intended to begin in 1995 in spite of the fact that a safe technology does not exist. An agreement has been reached on the construction of a facility in the region of Saratov. American and Russian activists have tried to stop the military's plans. The members of the Rainbow Keepers have made the following demands:

1) Block the programs of chemical arms destruction until a safe technology has been developed and these programs are coordinated with the participation of local populations, experts, public organizations and local gov-

ernments.

2) Include, in the programs to liquidate chemical arms, a series of measures for studies concerning the consequences of their destruc-



graphic by Peggy Sue McRAe

### NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE FROM WOMEN IN BLACK, BELGRADE TO THE INTERNATIONAL NETWORK OF WOMEN AND PEACE GROUPS

We address you this way just like last year because individual messages sent by mail from our country would arrive very late or never get to you. Like last year, the sanctions imposed from abroad and inside harden communications. The embargo is only affecting the civilian population and serves the regime as an excuse for all the failures and inner repression and for the impoverishing of the civilian population on behalf of war, war-profiteers and state police violence. For a month already, we have lived in real darkness: there are everyday restrictions of electricity up to 15 hours, which is causing even more disturbance to this country already deeply in chaos and misery. These electricity restrictions are just a continuation of the exhaustion of people in a strategy to reduce the meaning of their lives only to physical survival.

We have to add to this "the informative darkness." There is a real raid on independent media going on. We know that this regime is being fed by hatred and violence and that it is constantly creating crises in order to remain in power. Nevertheless, we

tion, production, storage and utilization. **page 13**

- 3) Prohibit the transport of chemical weapons
- 4) Take inventory of all the storage sites
- 5) Present information on all new advances in chemical weapons technology
- 6) Examine all new international agreements so that they contain safety requirements and delays necessary for the two parties to utilize appropriate technology to liquidate chemical arms.
- 7) Renounce the destruction of experimental chemical arms models in the village of Gorniz in the Saratov region until laboratory research has developed a safe method for their destruction.

have to repeat again that the international community is acting for the benefit of the militarist regimes in this part of the world, and never takes into consideration the interests of civilian population but their own interests or those of the local elite.

In spite of this we have managed not just to continue, but even to spread our activities due to the solidarity of the network of women's and peace groups around the world. We are encouraged by the care and friendship we feel through our international contacts. We are also enriched by the exchange of our practical and theoretical experiences.

Without exaggeration we believe that we are building together alternative international politics. We invite you to continue to weave our network of solidarity, friendship and tenderness.

your friends and sisters,  
Women in Black, Belgrade  
30 XII 1994 Zene U Crnom Protiv Rata/  
Women in Black Against War  
Marka Kraljevic 12/IV, 11000 Belgrade,  
Yugoslavia  
Tel: 381-11-624701/ Fax: 381-11-334706



Pollok Free State is the liberated Pollok Estate, one of the largest urban parks in Europe, located in Glasgow, Scotland, and imminent target for desecration by UK roadbuilding. Pollok Free State is presently occupied by nonviolent resisters to the M77 roadway plans to take this place from the people of Glasgow.

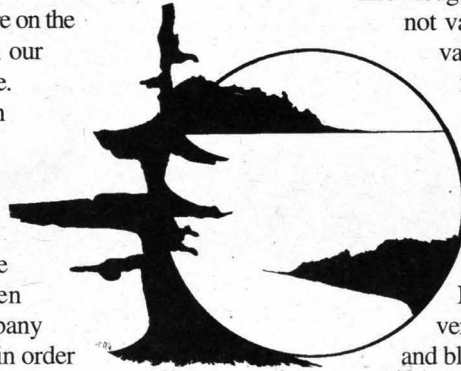
Contact: Glasgow Earth First! at 041-946-2700 or 041-331-2473 or email gn:roadalert .

## Page 14 Intellectual Property Rights

Excerpt from Winona Laduke's Keynote Address to the NFN's 1994 First North American Temperate Forest Conference. Full speech available in the conference proceedings.

Intellectual property rights is the big international discussion right now. 75% of all plant-derived pharmaceutical products come from indigenous people. A lot of medicines that are on the shelves, like aspirin or ephedrine, come from our people. They come from our traditional knowledge.

One of the big struggles that is going on now in indigenous communities is the struggle over intellectual property rights. Our people use these things for thousands of years. Down in the rainforest (where the front lines of the struggle are right now), some of these people have 200 to 300 medicines that they've been using all these years. What happens is a company like Merck or Squib will come down there and in order to save maybe \$2-3 million, rather than mashing up tens of thousands of different kinds of plants, they go down there and they ask one of the tribal Indian people what this plant is, or they go ask them what medicines they use, and they ask them how they prepare it. That saves Merck and Squib a lot of money. And they go down there and they do this over and over and over. And they collect these things. Now our struggle has evolved that somehow, first of all, what these drug companies are interested in is solutions to cardiovascular problems, cancer or AIDS. Now these tribal communities are dying of TB, flu and other diseases that are totally curable. But there is no reciprocity between those drug companies and these communities. What we have here is the mining of knowledge out of these communities. And so what is happening is that. It's not a financial thing; it's not just about compensation for intellectual property rights. It is also about what is just and what is moral.



graphic by Natalie Springuel

Because I will tell you that Merck and Squib could care less if there are no Kaiapo, just so they get their plants out of it. Now somehow what has happened is that when *we* have the knowledge it is a *common* property right, but when *they* have it, it is a *private* property right and they can patent it. This is a process that is going on all around the world and it is of extreme significance to indigenous people right now because many of them are facing extinction yet our knowledge is incredibly valuable to this world. But we are not valued for our knowledge, for our culture; we are valuable only when they can extract the knowledge from us.

Perhaps the most sickening example of this is the Human Genome Project which is being conducted by the National Institute of Health (NIH) and several other organizations. What they are doing is studying about 400 indigenous populations in the world, 200 of which are in North America. These are people that are on the verge of extinction and they are collecting skin, hair and blood samples from these people because they want to catalog their DNA. Now we have a big problem here because the reality is that the NIH could care less about the Delaware Shawnee people. They do not care that these people are losing their language, that they have no land base or that they are facing extinction. They do not care. What they care about is their DNA. So this is a kind of an extension of the problem of intellectual property rights; it is the right to your body; it is the right to your destiny; it is your right to control your future. This is a microcosm of the problem that we face. To a great extent in the most conservative elements of the environmental movement, it is the preservation element: the people who like to collect things and catalog them before they are gone versus our right to control our own destiny, our own future. This is the conflict that our people face all around the world.

To order the First North American Temperate Forest Conference Proceedings, please send \$10 to ENA NFN, PO Box 57, Burlington, VT 05402

## The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Impacts on Indigenous Peoples

excerpted from a piece by Connie Reimer in *Indigenous Woman* (see box on p15)

Both GATT and NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) will directly threaten the sovereignty, property, health and spirituality of Native peoples. The general public and negotiators of these agreements have shown little concern for individual rights and have utterly disregarded the legislated sovereignty of indigenous peoples. Despite the fact that the proposed overseers of GATT, the World Trade Organization (WTO) would circumvent tribal authority, traditional indigenous leaders and tribal government members have been excluded from the negotiations. In a June 30, 1994 memo from the US Trade Representative's office, "Indian Tribes" were specifically included in the list of sub-federal governments that would be subject to GATT disciplines and challenges. This wholesale abandonment of indigenous peoples sovereignty was never subjected to approval. The power of GATT to abolish indigenous

sovereignty is of major concern. Would GATT break the existing treaties between federal governments and tribal nations? Would provisions of GATT supersede previously enacted provisions in tribal treaties if they are deemed unfair trade barriers? Would tribal representatives continue to be excluded from GATT negotiations procedures? Affirmative answers to these questions are likely given the current structure of the GATT/WTO process and its emphasis on economics above all.

In Canada—where "First Nations" are protected by a clause in the constitution—land claim negotiations are under way which are designed to solidify constitutional guarantees of land security and rights to self-determination. GATT could make it more difficult to negotiate land claims when third party interests, such as mining or logging, are involved. Because First Nations are not parties to GATT, their claims could be considered as secondary to those of the parties, and First Nations' rights to natural

resources on their lands could be considered a barrier to trade.

The GATT/WTO proposal also covers intellectual property rights and is particularly onerous to indigenous peoples. It calls for the "adequate and effective protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights:"—legal claims that turn the traditional knowledge of native peoples into the private property of corporations. GATT officially legitimizes these long-established practices of exploitation and profiteering in the infamous chapter called "TRIPs"—"Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights." Nowhere in the GATT/WTO treaty does it define any indigenous product [or knowledge] worthy of protection.

Indigenous peoples in the US, India, Mexico, Canada and other countries are leading a global campaign to defeat GATT. For information contact the Fair Trade Campaign, Box 80066, Mpls., MN 55408 or call 612-379-5965.

For more info on GATT please contact the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, 1313 Fifth St. SE, Suite 303, Mpls., MN, 55414 or the Cultural Conservancy, PO Box 5124, Mill Valley, CA 94942.



# Village Based Struggles: India

From a Speech Made at the 1994 Conference of the International Transpersonal Association at Kalarni, Ireland

by Vandana Shiva

I was born in a privileged home in the simple sense that I had had three generations before me that had been enraged at the unequal treatment of men and women.

I had a grandfather who gave his life making the school he ran for rural women recognized as a college. He went on a fast, which is something we do politically in India all the time, for social justice reasons. Sometimes the response came in time. In his case the response came 2 days too late, and he gave his life in 1954 when I was a two or three years old. My mother had grown up with that legacy and she was educated when no other women in her community went to study. So it was very easy for me to walk into educational fields when normally there has been tremendous discrimination against women, so I trained as a physicist and I started my early career in physics in a fast breeder reactor.

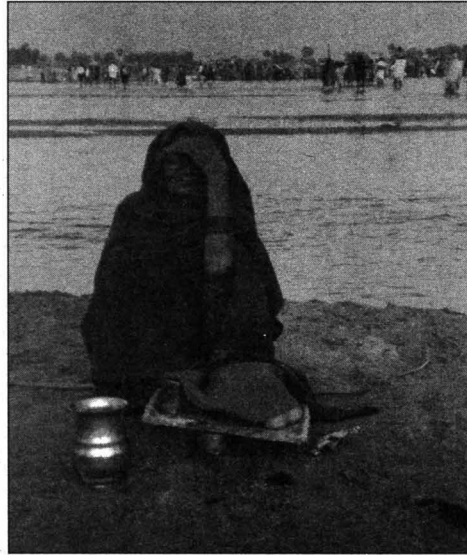
The first major contemporary environmental movement in India was this movement called chipco which basically means "to embrace." It came out of the folk songs women had created to resist logging in the Himalayan in the late 60's and early 70's and they used to say, "if you don't stop cutting these forests we are going to embrace the trees, and you will have to get us before you get the tree." That tactic was used over a whole decade. Village after village, community after community, would move into the forests because a small patch was threatened.

The people would just stay in that forest until the logging team and contractors had been driven away and that forest patch had been removed from the list of forests to be logged.

The movement eventually achieved a logging ban in 1981, but the most important element of this particular movement's evolution was that in 1977 the top layer and shallow layer of contradictions had been removed because one of the slogans was, the profits from logging shouldn't run down to the plains they should stay in the mountains so the government said sure, we'll cut the trees, and we'll give you the contracts so that you will make the money. Many of the men settled for that.

**We never called ourselves Indian, we didn't even call ourselves Hindus, that's a name given from outside. The only name we had for who we are was the "civilization that comes from the forest."** A civilization that has seen the forest is the most evolved part of humanity. Not the other that says you must destroy to prove being civilized, but that part which gives to you the very basis of humanity,

because only in a forest do you see diversity of life allowing place for the big and the small. Out of that flow models of democracy, the kinds of models of democracy on which community democracy in India have been based. That means you do not treat nature as unintelligent, as a mass of matter. The so-called enlightenment defined nature as inert raw mass and all you have to do is mold it into the shape that is good for industrial progress. Without it,



**Woman in India** Photo : Lesley Spector  
it has no value; without it, it has no intelligence. It lies there dead waiting to be given meaning, value by the external manipulation.

One of the key issues when you start recognizing that there is a life to these amazing systems that renew themselves, that regenerate themselves, is that you find all kinds of symbols, metaphors, cultural molds to which to pay tribute. All the time to make boundaries to not destroy, and that's where, to me, the notion of the sacred in nature emerged. For us in India, still today the sacred sites are the sources of all our major rivers. Where do you go for pilgrimage? You go to the Ganghi tree, the source of the Ganges. You go to Yamina tree, the source of the Yamina.

If some of you have been following the environmental movement in India, one of the reasons movements like the anti-dam movement is so strong is because it is coming not just from people who are being displaced. If you merely see it as a problem of displacement, you think the people are being uprooted and they are rebelling against that uprooting. You don't really understand the full story. **The reason people are able to act as strongly against damming of rivers is because this damming destroys the life of the river and the life of community.**

It's the underlying metaphor in Indian ecology that Shiva's hair is the forest; Shiva's

head is the peaks. Shivalics is the page 15 range near my home town. It's called Shivalics which means God's head—the head of the Shiva. Every bit of forest in the Himalayan that is safe today is in central Himalayan from where I come. You find there are only 2 reasons why there are patches of forest left, and otherwise it's very barren terrain—you will either find a Goddess temple on the hilltop where the surrounding forest is sacred, or you will find a community organization like Chipco having resisted destruction and having organized conservation, very much around the notion that forests on mountain tops are the source of the water, are the source of your life and therefore must be protected.

There was a beautiful slogan that came out of the Chipco movement. Some logging contractors were being resisted by some Chipco women and the forest department and the police were there to insure that the trees could be cut, and the forest department officials said, "you are blocking national progress by stopping this forest being cut. Don't you realize these trees give revenue and timber?", and the women just sang out in chorus a phrase which became the slogan of the ecology movement in India. They sang out. "You are mistaken. These rivers give water, soil and pure air."

In these regions where it's still peasant agriculture, people are the main reason agriculture is even possible. It is because women will collect fodder from the forest, give it to the cattle, compost the fodder, and put it on the fields. Every time they go to the forest, they'd stop, take their slippers off and they take a bit of leaves out of the bundle and do something. I said, "what are you doing?" And they'd say, "oh we're just apologizing to (Pa ne bei) the Goddess of the leaves. We apologize that we have hurt you. You can see we haven't taken anything more than we need, for keeping our families and our cattle alive. We promise we will never take more than what is necessary for our survival and we know you will forgive us because you are the basis of life and you will never mind this little pain we give you because on the basis of this, other life is possible." Self restraint is built into the very cultural process of using the gifts of nature.

*Taken with permission from Indigenous Woman, a publication of the Indigenous Women's Network (IWN), a continental and pacific network of women who are actively involved in work in their communities. Subscriptions to "Indigenous Woman" are \$10/year/2 issues (Foreign \$20 US); Supporting (non-Indigenous) membership \$25: payable to Indigenous Women's Network @ IWN, PO Box 174, Lake Elmo, MN, USA, 55042. Indigenous Women's Network (IWN) is supported in part by tax deductible donations. Due to present tax law and regulations, IWN may and does encourage nonviolent direct action but may not endorse civil disobedience.*



## Choosing an Effective Strategy for the Long Term Preservation of the Earth

by Anne Petermann, NFN

### It's all our fault: the guilt trap of the multinationals.

The very multinational corporations who are trashing the earth and selling us her entrails in pretty plastic packages would have us believe that we can save the planet if we each do our share to recycle or use eco-friendly products, that somehow we actually live in a pure supply and demand economy where the consumer controls the market with his/her purchases, or that it is actually we who are responsible for the planetary destruction.

Although we must certainly be aware of our consumer choices and make them as wisely and conscientiously as possible, we must never fall into the trap of believing that we as consumers can save the planet merely by modifying our choices to be "earth-friendly." The guilt-tripping of the individual is of little value. The multinational corporations and the ruling elite that they serve are the people truly and ultimately responsible for the decimation of the living, breathing earth.

If we are to make a difference in the preservation of life on this planet, we must dismantle this power structure.

### Capitalism is Never Caring

Capitalism is fundamentally about using more than you need with the basic philosophy that 'he who has the most, wins.' With this worldview dominating life on earth, there can be no "earth friendly" products, laws, and so forth. Before any kind of ecological sanity or "sustainable" society can be achieved, this capitalist system of daily business must be dismantled. There is no way around this. As long as we continue to believe that we are doing enough by recycling or buying eco-friendly dish soap, the corporations will continue to rape and ravage and plunder at will. They may even buy out that "ecofriendly" company, making the choices that much more complex.

It is also not enough to lobby or introduce legislation or the various other political means of "working within the system." The system is inherently corrupt and based upon turning "resources" into money and power. A capitalist society can *never* be eco-friendly. As long as we insist that we can reform the system, the health of the planet will slide further downhill.

We must also be careful to prevent our work on the individual brushfires that pop up from keeping us from working on the larger picture. A limited tunnel vision ultimately

works in favor of the system of exploitation. While I agree that it is essential that activists work to preserve individual wild places that are under the saw, it must be done in concert with a larger strategy. If we fight each



Anne Petermann, one of the Watts Bar 59, outside of the Dayton, TN courthouse, site of their legal proceedings. These became known as "Monkey Trial II, Evolution on trial once again." Photo: Langelle

brushfire alone the beast will either fight and cheat until it eventually wins or, if the local activist base is too strong, it will move on to a region that doesn't have a local group to oppose it.

What then must we do to stop the corporate capitalist beast dead in its tracks— organize, educate and network. We cannot stop the beast by ourselves or even as the eco-movement. We must join with other movements as we work to expand our own. We must learn to speak to members of the general public in terms they both understand and can relate to. Trying to win an argument with obscure references to "the ESA" or "ASQ's" or the evils of "the patriarchy" or "gentrification" is likely to get you blank stares. Choose your words and topic carefully.

In the push to make our work as efficient and effective as possible, we use many forms of technology that have been branded as evil by various eco-activists. We feel that the employment of such practical technologies is essential in defeating the beast with its own tools. With email we can communicate with activists across the globe instantaneously for a fraction of what it would cost via the telephone. One computer hacker cost the defense department millions of dollars because he broke into their top secret files and stole over one million passwords. The possibilities are endless.

We refuse to follow the politically cor-

rect trend and get rid of our television because we use it to keep our finger on the pulse of this country and the worldwide political scene. What lies are the public being fed? How are they being manipulated? By answering these questions, we can get a feel for what Joe and Jane America are thinking about so that we know how to speak to them in our educational work. As the country gets more right wing and increasingly violent toward the left, understanding the propaganda that people are hearing is essential in orchestrating an effective response. Television is, after all, the most effective propagandizing tool ever invented. If we don't monitor it in some fashion, we are limiting our ability to counteract it.

### Coalition-Building

Regardless of where we are, or what our fight, linking with other movements is essential. One of my roles with the Native Forest Network (NFN) is Outreach Coordinator. I find other groups outside of the traditional eco-movement with whom to network. We have more in common with these social justice groups than you may have been led to believe. We are all exploited by the capitalist greed system. One way or another we are all viewed as resources for exploitation. These commonalities can be used to gain trust and mutual aid and understanding. We must keep in mind, however, that the forces in power fear these unions and will actively work to stop them. Communication is key to thwarting their efforts toward divisiveness.

Networking and cooperation on a global basis takes the privilege away from the multinationals. Multinationals are used to being able to bounce around the globe to suit their needs. If we are able to form strong and extensive worldwide links, then when Diashowa leaves Australia and heads for Guyana, we can warn our contacts there of Diashowa's oppressive history so the locals can begin organizing and fighting them immediately. Worldwide days of action magnify the efforts of local groups and internationalize their local issue, increasing their effectiveness.

As the multinationals meet to devise strategies for the efficient and complete plundering of the "resources" of the Earth, so must the grassroots internationalize a strategy for the preservation of the Earth. The Native Forest Network has already begun this process. The NFN has held two international temperate forest conferences, the latest one in Missoula, Montana this past November. To get involved, please contact us at our Resource Center listed below.

Eastern North American Resource Center, PO Box 57, Burlington, VT 05402  
(802) 863-0571/fax: (802) 863-2532  
email: en!peacejustice

# Do Not Die In Silence

by Landi

As the "Grand Old Party" (better known as Gobbling Old Patriarchs) take over the congress in the coming year, amerikans will be faced with increased censorship, major cuts in social programs, tax breaks for the rich, the installation of GATT, larger police forces, construction of more prisons and less government regulation of corporate criminals. The voices of dissent will encounter severe repression.

The republicans are creating a police state with no avenue for public expression, as they threaten to cut federal subsidies for PBS, NPR and local public access TV because they are too "biased," according to one republican congress person who was quoted in the New York Times in mid-December. The passage of GATT will create new U.S. colonies, shifting the focus further from domestic crises in pursuit of corporate profits. The construction of new prisons, stricter immigration laws and laws prohibiting homeless people from panhandling, provides the government with reason for increased incarceration. Media hype about violence in the streets and overpopulation validates police brutality against blacks for "self defense" and forced sterilization (attempted genocide) of women of color. The republicans' proposal to amend the konstitution to enforce prayer in schools replaces freedom of religion with fanatical christian brainwashing. The deprivation of the means to create change by free expression of dissent will catalyze revolution. These are just a few examples of the republican power which is chipping away at our freedom.

The result of these policies will be the

## Assault Victim Bites Back

A man in Phoenix had almost 2 inches of his tongue bitten off by a woman he assaulted. He was arrested after seeking treatment.

Javier Salinas forced his way into a 35-year-old woman's pickup truck as she was leaving work. He began kissing her but she fought back, biting off the piece off Salinas' tongue and spitting it on the truck floor.

polarization of public opinion. Moderate political views will dissolve into fascist right reactionaries or the increasing ranks of alienated "minorities," disillusioned intellectuals and anarchists. The disintegration of the political center will culminate in a chain of action and reaction building up to mass insurrection. The intense repression amerikans will experience in the following years of republican domination will destroy basic freedoms and entitlements. Because the government is serving its own needs to generate profits and maintain control over the population through its reign of violence, the United States government is no longer legitimate because it does not serve the needs of the people. When people cannot meet their basic needs, they will rise up out of desperation to take what is rightfully theirs. The time has come to take initiative to return the power to the people.

## Preparing for the Revolution

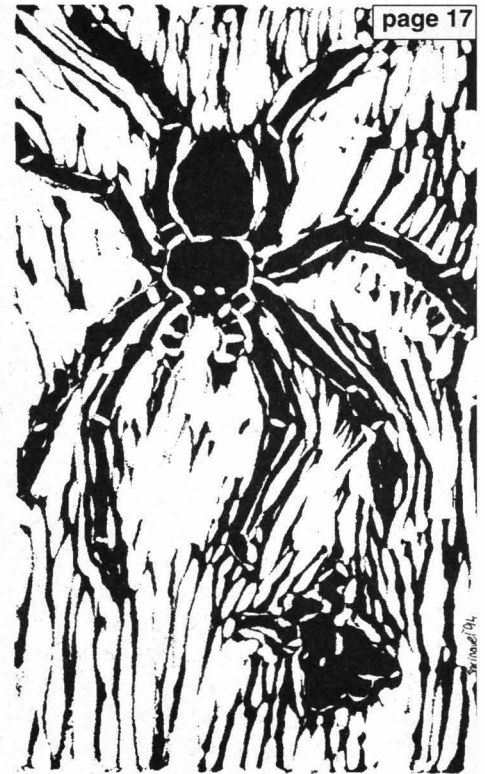
by Jan Weston

**Change** is coming. Of this there is no doubt. If we are to be successful in our quest for environmental and social justice, then we must be fully prepared to take advantage of the wave of change that is coming. What does this mean?

As we have learned from protests of the sixties and the gulf war more recently, the forces in power are definitely not giving up without a serious fight. They learned their lessons from the sixties and are using their endless PR machine to do most of their dirty work, swaying public opinion and disempowering the masses. We now have "friendly" wars with "peacekeeping forces." We're out marauding and murdering to help the oppressed.

The battle to stop the death machine will be just that—a battle. They have the experience and the manpower and the guns. We have truth, love and the force of the good. But we too must have experience to defeat them once and for all.

What kind of experience do we need and how do we achieve it? First: consider what kind of weapons they will use against you: billi clubs, tear gas, tanks, rubber bullets, real bullets, water cannons, real cannons, their PR machine, soldiers,



linoleum cut by Natalie Springuel

bombs. Basically whatever they consider necessary to overcome this "threat to national security." To be prepared for this onslaught, we must look at each individual tool that they will use and figure out how to neutralize it—to use their own lingo. How do we deal with a situation where we are demonstrating peacefully in the streets and they suddenly lob tear gas at us? Are we prepared with gas masks? Is there someone prepared to bat the canister right back at them? When they send out the tanks, are we ready? Do we know how to assemble the tools that we will need? Have we read army manuals so we know what they know?

The one important thing that we must remember in forming our strategy is that they do not know how to function without a hierarchy. If the leaders are absent, the sheep wander aimlessly. This is key to their crumbling.

Now obviously none of this is going to be happening in this country tomorrow. But to think that it never will is white middle class naivete. So we must be ready when it does. We must start forming the strategies, getting in peak physical condition, finding our hide-outs, and learning to build the tools we will need in the struggle that awaits us.



# Internal Dynamics

by Raven

A major internal problem our movement faces is our lack of recruitment of new blood. The historic barriers to this in the Earth First! movement have included: cliquishness, a macho image of the movement (portrayed by both the media and internally), an image of "environmentalism" as a "white" privileged-class issue, and our failure to share and pass on skills and experience. It is with a spirit of hope and caring that I write the following. I write so others may carry on our work/play, joy/struggle, without having to re-discover whatever insights I and others have to offer as to what has gone wrong that could be avoided in the future.

Blame for the lack of new activists can, in part, be placed on a pronounced tendency in this society to passively "follow the leader" and on the growing (corporate-manipulated) passivity of the public as they plug into the continually "new" forms of Techno-Wonders: There is also the ever-increasing removal of the average citizen from Nature and any vestige of natural life. The need to reach a tuned-out public brings us back to internal dynamics. To open the blockages and free the people's suppressed desires, we need to be fiery and strong ourselves.

Yet what I see occurring is a continual burn-out of older Earth First!ers and other radical activists; more drop out than stay, with fewer to replace them. Why? It's a Catch-22 situation: if just a few people are left to shoulder the burden, they tend to tire of fighting the monolith and want to be able to enjoy life, to hand over the struggle to those with greater energy. And new energy would, in turn, encourage the older to keep on trying. I know that when I don't see many others out there fighting and not compromising, I begin to lose hope and want to enjoy what remains of my life by getting out into the wilderness for a change, pursue my art, etc. Yet being around someone for whom activism is first taking hold is exciting, and the new strong activists who I know are in it for the long haul and would no more compromise the land than I would. Yet there's far too few of them.

Since I am a woman in the movement and an activist in the larger society, I begin there. We are at least half the population and our potential strength and *insight* as activists is becoming more

apparent. Witness the brave, dramatic actions of womyn in the recent Cove Mallard campaign actions; the dynamic persuasion of the all womyn's Zero Cut panel at the Forest Reform Rally in La



graphic by Karen Coulter

Grande; the courage of Innu womyn facing Hydro Quebec's planned genocide; the historic significance of the Keynote speech of Zapatista Representative Cecelia Rodriguez at the Native Forest Network's Second International Temperate Forest Conference (see speech, page 4). Think of the value to the struggle of the strong womyn organizers you know. Womyn tend to be less visible, but are very effective. Guess again if you think monkeywrenching has been the domain of men; if you think ALF does not comprise many active womyn; if you've forgotten the key roles womyn anarchists and other strong womyn have played in making "History" *our* story.

So what is keeping womyn from being strong within the movement, nurturing their fierce but wise spirit. How can we attract more womyn to the movement? Sexism is extremely ingrained in American culture. The effects of sexism lie under your skin, often outside your awareness until something triggers it. And I'm speaking about the effects in both men and womyn. Everyone (male and female) carries their own insecurities in this fucked-up society of alienation. Unlearning this oppression can have very real benefits for our joy in life, our effectiveness as activists and our staying power

as a movement.

Here's an example: Wild Woman has a hang up with criticism. She was constantly barraged with criticism from her father or other male authority figure from an early age. This all became part of her self-concept even as she rebelled steadily against it. She became recognized as a strong activist in the movement. Then she starts a productive, strong working and intimate relationship with a male activist and the pattern begins again. He criticizes little things she does because she is not as meticulous as he is and forgets things. A tremendous storm rises within her. She is angry and defensive, a creeping insecurity returns. This insecurity makes her less effective as she becomes depressed. His criticisms escalate along with her reactions. Whatever nurturing environment they had is gone. Both of them lose effectiveness as the friction increases and both are unhappy, unsupportive of each other.

This kind of scenario can be turned around. But it takes a lot of listening, and respect for each other. A "talking stick" can work wonders in this situation (where one person is completely quiet while the other talks until they are finished and passes back the talking stick). Counselling could help, if available. The point is, however, that the personal has become political because the emotional and the gender dynamic have overridden the activists' effectiveness in working together.

What effects of sexism have I had to deal with as an activist? I've had my name dropped off the list of authors for a published report for which I was the original author before it was updated (my name was replaced by that of two men). I've seen qualified womyn continually bypassed in favor of men as speakers at conferences; wise things womyn have said ignored because they were not men, did not yell or dominate the discussion. Womyn defer to men for key action positions/roles because of the notion that men have superior physical skills or because of the macho nature of many actions.

Biographers of our movement ignore the crucial roles and work of most womyn in the movement (Chris Manes' *Green Fire* and Susan Zakin's *Coyotes and Town Dogs* are examples of this).

All of this hurts men, too, in often unnoticed ways: men feel compelled to take these roles "because otherwise no one else will" or with the perception that it

(cont'd next page)

won't succeed otherwise. Men feel pressured by taking on too much. We all miss the benefits of the holistic perceptiveness more common to womyn because they are trained to be quiet. Men become targets for state repression more readily, both as a result of this higher "visibility" and of a patriarchal state that automatically will assume the men are the leaders.

Also, many of the problems facing womyn can be used to try to understand why we don't have a greater racial/ethnic mix of activists in our movement; why shyer men leave the movement; why children don't join in great numbers. If society's barriers make it rough on womyn, what about the additional burden of racism for women of color? Think of the barriers to people of homophobia, ageism, classism, etc. In this context, combatting sexism looks like a comparatively easy place to start. But is it?

The barriers are all too evident: Having been part of EF! for the last ten years (and an activist before that) I have watched, in my region, 3 strong EF! groups die. Out of these three, one died because of an obvious lack of successful new recruitment. The second developed horrible internal dynamics which revolved around a few "dominating male activists who, in trying to keep the group active, also greatly alienated a series of womyn, who either left the movement or became active years later elsewhere. The third group lost its strong woman leader and fell apart due to a "follower" syndrome and the regular activist turn-over of a university town.

Having been part of the first group when they were strong and as they began to decay, I can report that we didn't attach enough importance to keeping our new people, we appeared cliquish, speaking in acronyms and using our meetings as familiar social gatherings. Womyn who were quieter, shyer, or newer to activism eventually drifted off. Our theoretical "leaders" (who to their credit, did not wish to "lead" and deferred leadership at critical junctures) did make attempts to pass on their skills via workshops, etc. But this was not enough to sustain the group beyond the gradual attrition of the more active first participants.

There is an antidote for these situations after the fact—start another group. Failure to start a different group (even before the first is totally dusted if need be) can stall out that movement's activism in the area for years. Let the group decide what to call itself. The name doesn't matter. Plan strategically. A friend and I started a group this way which saved thousands of acres of old growth habitat - permanently - through a city-wide campaign.

It is hard to deal with the follower mentality, but workshops, skill sharing, and rotation of key responsibilities helps. We as a movement need to start thinking in terms of apprenticeships, consciously taking on the responsibility for encouraging and fully training new people, not to "take our place" but to "take *their* place." It's their future, their love for the land, their spirit too - and only the young ones and the new ones living and breathing the movement's vision can make it come to pass when we are gone (or hopelessly burnt-out).

Likewise, we need to not think of *others* as leaders if we wish to succeed in the long term. This can be especially relevant to womyn, as we are trained from early childhood to follow and defer to men. There are not enough activists for any of



graphic by Karen Coulter

us to defer to anyone due to a timidity of lack of self-confidence. We all have something unique to contribute that is our strength. Further, there are currently not enough activists to truly bring about comprehensive and lasting change even if we are each as strong as we can be. We must bring in new activists and help them overcome the barriers to reaching their potential effectiveness.

It makes sense to share "leadership" roles.

by Landi

No eternity  
spiral infinity  
time forever  
space dissolving  
circle revolving  
existence transforming, Ever Never

But we behave, patronize, enslave  
resisting freedom in pursuit of kontrol  
inability to conceive of  
Limitless space, Endless time  
corrupted by Domestication

Indeed, to share them among so many people that the concept of "leadership" becomes nullified. We need so many ever-changing targets that there are no easy targets for them to aim for that could disrupt the movement.

So how do we turn around the effects of sexism? First, it's a commitment. Then comes some careful evaluation of what's going on—the dynamics as others see them, the weak links that the corporations and the government look for.

I'm beginning to wonder whether revolutionary change, as wonderful as I and others dream it, will ever come about and if the point of all this struggle after all is the struggle itself. The struggle for integrity, and loving something more than yourself. The struggle for the wild, beautiful places, the critters, the indigenous peoples fighting to survive in this insane society of conquerors.

We need to accept and commit ourselves to the task of unlearning oppression and nurturing the diversity of approaches and people in our movement.

We need to maintain our vision but it must evolve. We need more people involved, or this effort will remain, in the end, a futile series of band-aids or, at best, a cultural experiment that was inspirational but ultimately failed because we could not maintain and broaden the numbers of those who understand, and strongly desire to act to attain the "utopian" future - which is nothing more than a return to natural life, living in balance with the earth and each other.





This photo was taken at the Republican national Convention at Miami Beach in 1972. Over 1,000 anti-war protesters were arrested. Photo: Langelle



Womyn arrested at the July 1994 Watts Bar anti-nuclear Action are lead back from court in leg irons after their bonds were set at \$1,000. 59 people were arrested, making it the largest anti-nuclear action since 1980. Photo: Michael Patrick



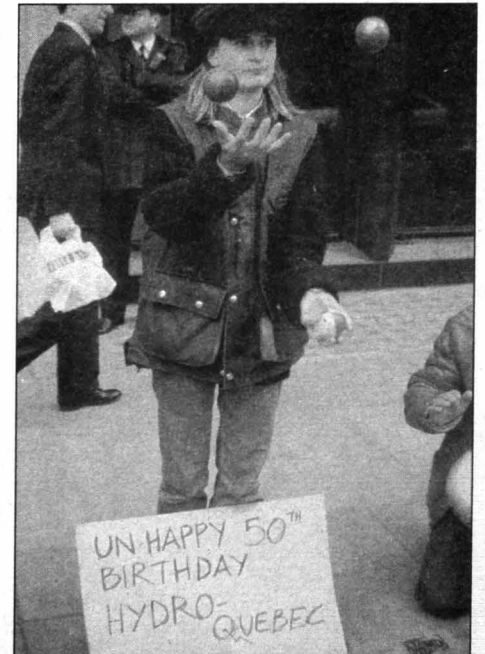
Cree Elder womyn at the First Annual Whapmagoosui Gathering in summer 1993. Photo: Langelle/ NFN



Womyn warriors after the NFN's Second International Temperate Forest Conference in Missoula, MT. Photo: Andy Caffrey



Left: photo was taken during an 80-day occupation of the Shawnee National Forest by Earth First! in 1990. Photo: Langelle



Right: A womyn juggles at an action in London that was part of the NFN's International Day of Action against Hydro-Quebec. Eighteen cities participated in support of the Cree, Innu and Inuit people and the Quebec land. Photo: Langelle/ NFN

# It's All Bullshit! Award

Three womyn were sexually assaulted last spring by a man they were working with politically and had trusted as a friend and mentor in the action that had placed them together. The *ALARM*'s **IT'S ALL BULLSHIT** award we place on the reality that patriarchal vio-

lence poisons **all** of our spaces and respects no political or cultural boundaries.

Dis-Honourable Mention goes to the **silencing** of womyn survivors of sexual violence, especially when "greater political goals" demand "strategic" response.

## Blessings

(for Stockham island)

by Christine Wilks

Today I kissed you as I passed by  
Sword-fern, salal-leaf  
I owe you so much more than a kiss  
More than a hundred kisses  
or tears—it doesn't matter.

Today I danced through the forest  
giving thanks with each movement,  
feeling love with every footfall.  
Today I took the spreading branch  
of the delicate yew tree

and touched its smooth red fingers  
With this step, I give thanks.  
With the next step I give praise.  
With every step, I am given gifts.  
I am given blessings.

*I step on this stone for the first ancestor.  
I step on this leaf for the second ancestor.  
I skip over this moss for the third ancestor.  
I walk on this soil  
and I step on these roots  
for all of those who came before me.  
I step carefully, gently,  
for those who will come after me..*



A womyn occupies a crane during a demonstration against the M11 link road in London's East end.

Photo: courtesy M11 Campaign



Left: Women textile strikers attempt to disarm national guard trooper trying to break up picketing at Loray Mills, Gastonia, North Carolina. April 5, 1929.

Above: Women with rifles guard their tent homes at Elksdale, West Virginia, just before martial law was declared in an attempt to break the statewide 1912 coal strike.

Above Photos from the Archives of Labor and Urban History, Wayne State University courtesy of IWW Hungarian Literature Fund from their '95 calendar. Calendars may be ordered by writing PO Box 204, Oak Park, IL 60303



## Women Activists:

### An interview with Cielo Myczack, Riverkeeper

by Olivia Lim, a Hillbilly ecowarrior living in the katuah region of the Northern Hemisphere

**Cielo Myczack** is a dedicated river activist who lives a simple life defending and protecting the waters that she loves. Cielo travels the Tennessee River educating the public about the river's ecosystem and what we can do to save it. She is also the coordinator for the Broadened Horizons Watershed Campaign. The campaign focuses on protecting the forests of the Tennessee River Valley watershed.

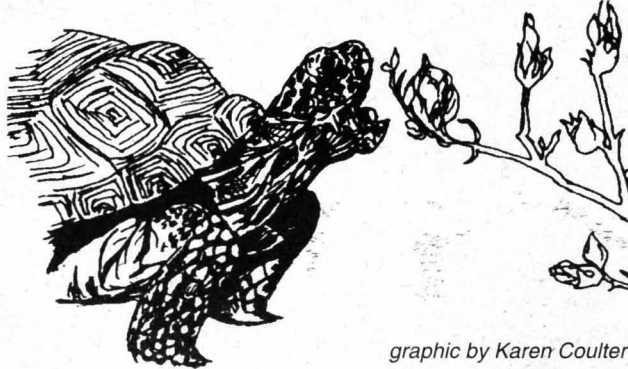
**Olivia:** How did you get your start as an activist?

**Cielo:** When I was born I think I came into the world as an Earth activist, a defender of the Earth. Everybody saw me as a healer of plants. They called me a "green thumb" when I was growing up. I always hung out in trees and played outside more than I did inside. So I've always had a natural inclination to be able to feel comfortable with the Earth. My father was a developer. He would put red tapes around trees. When I was in grade school I would take the tapes down. My father would have to spend lots of money replacing them, and he never knew who did it.

**O:** What events led you to where you are today?

**C:** From about 1980 to 1984 I lived with my husband, Leif, in the woods. Leif and I decided we wanted to build a boat and see if we could be sustainable and self-reliant on a boat. Since most of the planet is water we wanted to live on the water. In 1985, we bought a small fishing boat, expanded it, and turned it into a sail boat. After completing two years worth of construction on our boat we took it down to the Gulf of Mexico. Leif and I lived aboard the boat for 6 months to see if we liked living on the water. Immediately we realized we did but the boat was much too small. So we sold the boat in 1986 and came back to the Tennessee River. It took us three years of blood, sweat, and tears to build the "Broadened Horizons," our boat. During this time we became very attached to the river we were living beside. Construction of the boat during the summer was sweaty and hot work. We stopped the building process around noon and went to cool off in the river for about three hours. Many days I noticed the river was impossible to get into because of the dead fish, dead mussel bodies, and the stench com-

ing down the river. And I said to myself, "What the heck is going on? Who is killing the river?" Many federal agencies were also asking the same question. What the agencies determined was that they needed to study it more. When we launched our boat in 1989, we vowed to dedicate 6 months of our lives to find out who was killing the waters, and we headed up river. The agencies were doing the



graphic by Karen Coulter

studies at the bottom of the river. My common sense told me that the problem was coming from upstream.

**O:** Is this when you became a Riverkeeper, and what does being a Riverkeeper mean?

**C:** A Riverkeeper is somebody who goes down to the river, shuts down all pre-conceived notions about what a river is. A Riverkeeper lives on the river, with the river, and asks the river to speak to her/him. We believed early on that the river did talk to us. The river creatures talk to us also. I learned quickly that there was other life in the river besides us. A Riverkeeper is one who asks the river what it needs, and is willing to speak out for the river.

**O:** Why did you name your boat the "Broadened Horizons?"

**C:** Even before Leif and I had her finished we knew that what we wanted to do was to expand our perception. Just as most humans do, we looked at life with a pretty narrow view. Our intention was to pull back the blinders and look at something larger than ourselves. The vehicle to pull back the blinders was going to be our boat the Broadened Horizons. And not only do we want to broaden our own horizons, but we wish to broaden others' as well.

**O:** Where do you call your home?

**C:** After 5 1/2 years of being out here on the river I'm beginning to realize that my roots are aquatic. My root systems are intertwined with

the capillaries of the Earth, and those capillaries being the rivers. It is very important for me to be in touch with the rivers that I defend. So that means being a part of it and flowing with it. I am attempting to not fix myself in one place. My base to date is the rivers of the southeast, predominantly the 652 miles of the Tennessee River

**O:** What are your thoughts about being a woman in the environmental movement?

**C:** At first I felt like I was crying out and nobody was listening to me. I was among so many men and so many loud-mouth men. And I looked up to them and respected them. My challenge was not to put them above me or model myself after them. Probably for the first 4 years of the Riverkeeper project I have beaten myself up because I could not communicate as well as my "fellow" earth warriors. In the last couple of years I have recognized that my voice filled the void I felt for so long. My voice in addition to what the men were saying created a wholeness. I realized that I needed to acknowledge what I had to say was just as valid as a man's point of view. It has been tough being a woman on the front lines in the grassroots movement. Every time I went into a press conference they immediately looked to the man. They assumed that he was the articulate and knowledgeable one. That threatened me. As a matter of fact that shut me down. I had to find out a lot more about myself and where my strength lay. I needed to give myself a lot more credit than I had ever done. I never wanted to be competitive with men, but I found myself being thrust into a competitive role. Only in the last couple of years I have recognized that being competitive was not self-serving or earth serving. Once I claimed my truth amazing things began to happen. I began speaking for myself.

**O:** For the past few years I have been trying to get more women in my community involved in the environmental movement and found that it has been very difficult. Do you have any suggestions?

**C:** Well, I would suggest that they get in touch with the Earth and ask her for direction. She gives incredible wisdom and direction. I have learned that is where my answers come from. Gosh, Olivia, all these guys around us, but now I see some pretty darn powerful women too. I'm seeing women pop up more and more. Just watching you I say "Yes, there is hope." You're young and it must begin with the youth. That is what I tell the young schoolgirls I talk to. Honor your own truth and don't compare yourself to anyone.

# Bison Kill

by *Alaina*

They're killing bison again along the border of Yellowstone National Park (YNP). Twenty one since Fall. Thirty-six in 1994...Over a thousand since 1985. Another thousand predicted for this Winter's slaughters. Yes, another thousand just this Winter. Bison are being shot as you read this. What's the point? No point, just a line, a border line. Bison crosses, gets blown away. It doesn't make sense. So I am here, with a friend, hoping to haze bison back across that imaginary line that makes the difference for them between life and death. It's not a big difference we are making here in the chilly morning. The first group of 8 respond to clapping and yelling, but we've had the most success when we managed to slow to "bison grazing gear" and wait nearby while they ate, then, as they moved on, pressure them further into the safety of the park. Later the eight joined ten and later still we'd searched out 34 and persuaded them back across the border and well into the park. For all we know, they may walk back down this river valley again today, grazing as they go. There is an abundance of new grass in the lower land outside the park boundary. The sweet taste of Spring grass is much more compelling than my annoying behavior of clapping and whistling and yelling.

It is cold along the border of Yellowstone at dawn in May. We'd left home in the unreality of 3 a.m., arriving here in time to see the crescent moon rise just as night was going to grey. Down by the river, we heard birdsong, Sandhill cranes and killdeer and Canada geese. We remained still as a beaver ferried across the current just in front of where we stood. Out by Horse Butte we saw a moose and a small herd of mule deer that disappeared into the morning mist like ghosts through a wall. Even at its edges, Yellowstone is a place of great peace and magic. Imagine being one of the wild inhabitants of this magical landscape, a bison grazing peacefully in the early morning mist by the river.

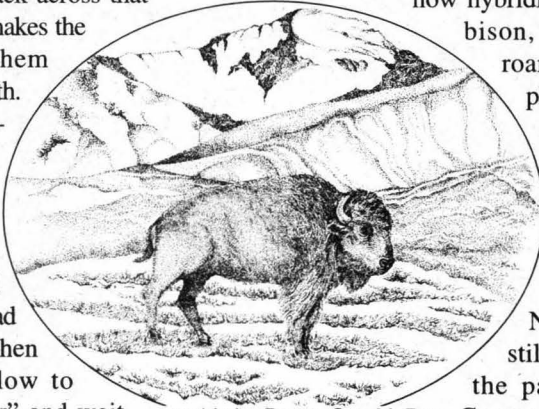
I approach a large female and simply watch awhile, enjoying being in her presence. I am close enough to catch her scent. A few paces closer and I could touch her. Her eyes,

steady on me, are the same Earthy brown color as her hide. The hump of her shoulder is at eye level. Her weight is probably ten times mine. Her shiny black horns, so infamous for the seasonal goring of tourists pressing too close for their perfect wildlife photo, are undoubtedly pointed in my direction. I back away into the sagebrush, feeling a ridiculous sense of safety in keeping the sage between me and her and her herdmates. I don't need to move very far off for her to lose interest in me. There are very few creatures a bison needs to worry about.

These animals are descendants, though now hybridized with mountain bison, of the bison that roamed the American plains before the government-sponsored slaughters of the mid to late 1800s. They've been protected in Yellowstone National Park, and still roam free within the park's boundaries.

Currently, the bison are caught in a soap opera tangle between a number of bureaucratic agencies. The state of Montana wants to sue the US Department of the Interior for lack of proper management of bison in Yellowstone National Park. The state department of Fish, Wildlife, and Parks is threatening to sue the US Department of Agriculture for failing to create viable options for bison control. Montana's governor, Marc Racicot, walks the non-committal line of a true politician; he doesn't want to kill our nation's last free-roaming bison but...

The Montana Department of Livestock handled the slaughters last year, and they've been testing for brucellosis on the dead animals. To maintain the myth of brucellosis passing from diseased YNP bison to cattle, they've been taking only blood samples, not the tissue required for a reliable test. Tissue samples of bison slaughtered in 1989 did more to refute the brucellosis threat than support it. (For in depth coverage of the brucellosis hoax, see D.J. Schubert's article in the Yule edition of the EF! Journal). The USDA, in turn, is threatening to revoke Montana's brucellosis-free status, which would have a devastating impact on the state's livestock industry (do we mind?). The USDA would like to give itself jurisdiction over wild bison. Legally, an Environmental Impact Statement would have to be conducted before the USDA takes any action.



graphic by *Peggy Sue McRae*

An inter-agency bison management plan has been in the works for 5 years now, with no result other than more bison being killed in the interim. The director of the National Park Service is reviewing all bison management plans in other areas, like Wind Cave National Park, which is fenced, and Teddy Roosevelt State Park, where the bison herd is heavily manipulated and managed. Meanwhile, back in Yellowstone, the Park Service would really like the brucellosis issue settled. Still, they can't avoid the fact the park has a larger bison population than the land can support. They must roam to eat. In the past, the YNP bison herds have been almost entirely self regulating. Luckily, the park's bison biologist, Dr. Mary Meagher, is finally beginning to get through to "higher-ups." Her analysis is that the main cause of more and more bison leaving the park to graze is snowmobile trail grooming. She estimates the YNP bison population is currently double the size it would have been had snowmobile trail grooming never been permitted within park boundaries. She has done extensive studies that show the bison use the snowmobile trails as easy travel corridors to grazing areas both inside and outside the park, which reduces winterkill, upping overall population.

So, I stand here in the midst of a group of bison, listening as they chomp the native grasses, smelling their Winter coats as their backs are warmed in the sunlight, watching as they graze, then move on, then bend to graze again. They tolerate me, I honor them. I move with them through the cold morning air, wondering if one of these I'm with will be the next to be blown away, mainly for eating in the wrong place. And I don't know what to think about the alternative to bison control. Is letting them starve slowly and become "winter kill" any better? How do I feel about a bison hunt? What about designating increased winter range? As I walk with the herd, I feel that familiar contempt for man's need to "manage" wildlife. I want these bison left in peace, the peace they knew before humans arrived, the peace they emanate, the peace they deserve.

## What You Can Do:

Write to Governor Marc Racicot, Rm 204, State Capitol, Helena, MT 59620. Tell him you want Montana agencies to stop shooting bison and admit there isn't evidence to support the perceived threat of brucellosis passing from Yellowstone bison to cattle.

Write to Mike Finley, Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, Box 168, YNP, WY 82190. Encourage him to terminate snowmobile trail grooming as the only chance to restore natural population control of bison.



## Why I Am Not A Misanthrope

by Judi Bari, from *Timber Wars*

In the (Yule 1990) EF! Journal, Chris Manes responds to the question, "Why are you a misanthrope?" by saying, "Why aren't you one?" After all, humans have a 10,000-year history of massacres, wars, ecocide, holocaust, etc., so the burden of proof is on us non-misanthropes.

I would like to respond to Manes' challenge, and my answer has nothing to do with humanism, anthropocentrism, or the belief that humans are a "higher" life form. Unlike Murray Bookchin, I reject that claim from the git-go. I believe in biocentrism, and think that all life forms are equal. I agree that human population is totally out of control. And I am as appalled as any misanthrope at the havoc that humans have wreaked on the natural world.

But I disagree with Manes' conclusion that the problem is "humankind." You cannot blame the destruction of the Earth on, for example, the Quiche tribes of Guatemala or the Penan of Borneo. These people have lived in harmony with the Earth for 10,000 years. The only way you could identify the Earth's destroyers as "humankind" would be to exempt such people from the category of "human." Otherwise you would have to admit that it is not humans-as-a-species, but the way certain humans live, that is destroying the Earth.

Manes briefly acknowledges that these ecologically sound cultures exist, but he dismisses them as trivial because "the fact is most of the world now mimics our dissolute ways." This statement completely ignores the manner in which "most of the world" was forced to abandon their indigenous cultures or be destroyed. You cannot equate the slave and the slave master. Only after massacres, torture, ecocide and other unspeakable brutality did the peoples of the world acquiesce to the conquering hordes with the culture of greed and destruction.

Technocratic man, with his linear view of the world, tends to see tribal societies as earlier, less evolved forms of his own society, rather than as alternative, simultaneously existing methods of living on the Earth. The presumption is that, given time, these cultures would somehow be corrupted like ours. But there is no evidence whatsoever that these ancient

civilizations would have changed without our violent intervention. So it is not humans, but industrial-technocratic societies, that are destroying the Earth.

In the same manner that misanthropy blames all humans for the crimes of the industrial/technocratic society, so does it blame all humans for the crimes of men. The list of atrocities for which Manes condemns the human race—massacres, wars, ecocide, holocaust—are not the works of women. Of course a few women can be found and paraded out who participate in the male power structure. But by and large, throughout history, wars and atrocities have been the territory of men, in the interest of men, and against the interests of women. By categorizing as "human" traits that are actually male, misanthropes are being androcentric (male-centered) instead of biocentric (life-centered) as they claim to be.

So misanthropy is not a form of humility, as Chris Manes says. It is a

by Annie

I want to offer my thoughts on calling wimmin with children "breeders" and on the analysis, or lack thereof, implied by the use of this language. "Anti-breeders" workshops at EF! rendezvous' offer yearly forums for the discussion of these environmentalist "ethics," but I would like to add my piece here, because I think the use of this label is offensive and the analysis behind it misguided at best and fatally misogynist regardless.

"Breeding" to me implies MANipulated reproduction, a creature reproducing at the will of a man, for the man's purposes. Even if you want to try to argue that wimmin are the "breeding" pawns of patriarchy, (and even if I gave you credit for a *simplistic* insight into the problem of wimmin and overpopulation), I don't accept the derogatory labeling and I think this "blaming of the victim" diverts us from recognizing and resisting the true forces responsible for humyn overpopulation.

Regardless, wimmin are not merely the "breeding pawns of patriarchy", and I

form of arrogance. By blaming the entire human species for the crimes of technocratic men, Manes conveniently avoids any real analysis of who is responsible for the death of the planet. Not surprisingly, Manes himself is a member of the group who most benefits from our consumptive society—privileged white urban men.

If the purpose of philosophy is just to play mind games, then misanthropy can be seen as provocative or enticing. But if the purpose of philosophy is to help us analyze the crisis we are in so that we can try to find solutions, misanthropy fails. It preserves the status quo by refusing to distinguish between oppressor and oppressed. It goes against one of the basic instincts of all life forms, preservation of the species. And, without contributing anything of value to the analysis of the problem, it alienates us from the people we need to work with to bring about change—people whose ideas are grounded in reality and experience, not in college textbooks.

## "Breeders"

don't think that's what you are talking about anyway. You (I think) don't really equate a womyn's power in the reproductive situation with the level of choice involved in being mounted by "Secretariat" in a Kentucky corral. So, I *guess* what you're doing by calling wimmin "breeders" and the act of having children "breeding" is simply about trying to denigrate the act of humyn reproduction because you're angry about the obscene

overpopulation/over-consumption of humyns in the industrialized world. Fine. You're angry and disgusted. Righteously so. So you're angry and you want things changed. Good. I agree. I too acknowledge the obscene overpopulation of humyns. I too acknowledge the imperative of putting

humyn needs into a perspective that acknowledges the needs of the planet and the other beings here. I too aspire to the personal strength and commitment to refrain from bringing any more children here. But I think you are missing the point.

So let's take this deeper. This is not as simple as those who would call wimmin  
(cont'd next page)



("Breeders" cont'd from page 24)

min "breeders" or push for "zero-population growth" would make this. Having "too many children" is simply a symptom of the problem. The *problem* is the rule of (primarily white, european) patriarchy; patriarchal politics are *at the root of* the overpopulation of humyns. The problem is not individual wimmin's choices. Cultures where wimmin have power within themselves do not over"breed." Patriarchies, with their pro-natalist bent, act to override healthy and natural social instincts to keep populations in check. Patriarchies have perverted the social context of individual wimmin's choices and, in combination with capitalist exploitation, have led us to the obscene overpopulation of humyns on this planet. The domination of wimmin is the cornerstone of patriarchy; it **is** patriarchy. Patriarchy rests its power on the control of wimmin's sexuality and reproductive choice. Patriarchies do this because wimmin's control over reproduction is the ultimate power in a society; men recognized this and acted (and are still acting) to wrest this control away from wimmin. The maintenance of this power involves keeping wimmin childbearing and rearing, twisting our capacity to bear children into our ordained role. We do not need your "help" to figure this out; we need your help to smash patriarchy. The *solution* is nothing short of the abolition of patriarchy. Anything else is reformist or fascist.

So your strategy is misdirected. A lack of child-bearing and rearing will not stop the machine, or the havoc it wreaks. Sure, we could all stop having children and reduce the population burden, but if capitalist patriarchy is left intact, the planet will fare little better. Nothing short of resisting and stopping the machine itself, the patriarchal ordering of "life," is going to save this planet. And I do not want to live in a culture where I'm told not to "breed" or where I am segregated by my "reactionary" choice to have children. Have you read the *Handmaid's Tale*? I will not exchange one fascist ideology for another. Stopping patriarchy means stopping, *not re-creating*, the disempowerment of wimmin. Because you *are* re-creating our disempowerment when you impose political mandates on what we do with our wombs, as opposed to recognizing and resisting our exploiters.

Look at where your anger has taken

you. You are expending all this energy to denigrate reproduction so wimmin stop reproducing. You are, in effect, telling wimmin not to have children, still telling wimmin what to do with their sexuality and reproductive capacity. Sorry, you cannot be "pro-choice"/pro-wimmin/anti-patriarchal and do this. And please don't stand next to me at the clinic defense line, 'cause I might forget how you are supposedly different from the Operation Rescue folks.

And how effective do you think shaming wimmin about our child-bearing is? I can, and have, responded to the



graphic courtesy HAG

harmful reality of bringing children here. I/my body has made such choices that I have no children. But I'll tell you, any decisions about this came from my heart, ultimately, and not my intellect. My heart (mind/body/spirit united) recognizes that right now my energy is best directed to addressing present needs, as well as resisting the root causes of injustice. I have faced, in my work in a youth crisis shelter, the real experience of unwanted, abused and homeless children. That is my choice about how I direct my nurturing energy. And this choice fits hand in glove with my "environmental" activism, which is about confronting and resisting capitalist-patriarchal power. I applaud any work that alarms us to the state of the planet, and the state of children born into a world that does not support their existence and the state of wimmin with children are integral parts of this. But this is my way, born of my experiences, and all wimmin need to ultimately express their own way. When's the last time you acted to empower wimmin, as opposed to regulating us? Acting to support our empowerment, on our terms, is the act of liberatory resistance that serves us all, as well as the

planet.

So try listening to us. To our strategies. To our needs. We do not exist for you to rule. We are finding our own way, battling our desecration and the silencing of our heritage by the "culture" of patriarchy. We are resisting having our very existence being defined and stunted and mutilated by a misogynist society. We do not need your politics to validate our worth or *to define our path*. And obviously not all childbearing and rearing arises from or because of the patriarchal machine. There is a myriad of choice, a myriad of biology, the expression of love and community, and the instinct for survival involved here (try not to forget that certain indigenous and other populations face a very real threat of their own "extinction" - would zero-population growth apply to them?).

So quit scapegoating wimmin. And it is about scapegoating because the root cause of overpopulation lies with the rule of capitalist patriarchy. And you are scapegoating *wimmin*, because the fact is the burden of the pregnancy choice and the reality of abortion lies with the womyn. The onus for "zero-population growth" or "voluntary human extinction" rests upon the womyn. So hear this: Wimmin are not responsible for cleaning up after what is ultimately a male-created mess. To the male misogynist misanthropes, I say: Do your own friggin' dishes. Scrub patriarchy. To any and all who push the "anti-breeding" agenda: Be celibate. That, I think, would be the only honest way to meet a purist and simplistic "commitment" to zero population growth, as no other form of "birth control" is 100% and abortion is a harsh "cure-all." You cannot have your cake and eat it too.

I am *not* saying that we should not address the reality of humyn overpopulation, but I am saying that we need to put it into its proper context and address it accordingly. Focus on resisting the engineers of overpopulation and those who profit by it, whether in wealth or in social power via keeping wimmin "producing" for their own purposes, (eg more consumers, more cannon fodder). Spend your time organizing and preaching against the corporations, the pope, and the myriad of minor patriarchs. Basically, take your hands and your politics off my womb. I refuse to allow you and Operation Rescue to DICKer over what I should do with it.



# Using Our Ancient Power

by Landi Fernley

Herbal abortion is a safe, private alternative to mechanical abortion. While neo-fascist anti-choicers are blowing away our local clinicians, women are capable of taking control of their own bodies by practicing "safe" sex, or controlling their fertility through herbal abortion if the situation arises. Women have been controlling their fertility for centuries without the aid of doc-

## Pregnancy, The Sacred Cow

by Aimee Mostwill

Over the past year I have had over 15 women friends become pregnant. The majority of the women either chose to have an abortion or they miscarried, while the others did continue their pregnancies and now have beautiful, healthy children. About a month ago within the period of a week, I found out that two more of my friends are pregnant. For one woman it will be her second child and the other her first. Both of these women are active in environmental work and yet I find it very difficult to discuss with them the issue of overpopulation and their personal choices of having a child.

Whenever I first hear my women friends are pregnant, I immediately go into the logistical "let's figure this out" mode. Having gone through an abortion myself and having been with several women friends who have gone through them I feel like I can relate possible feelings and scenarios in choosing that option. Conversely, if a woman's main concerns about having a child are whether or not she will be able to afford to raise it, have enough emotional support, etc., I always say that some of the best mothers I know are single moms raising their kids in strong matriarchs.

Being pregnant is different for every woman. For some it is an inconvenience, for others it is the most sacred and holy thing to ever happen to them. Whatever good, twisted, or indifferent feelings women have about being pregnant, making the choice to go through an abortion is never easy. While becoming a parent can be a joy in many ways, it is not always an easy decision to jump into either.

For those of us working in the environmental movement I like to think that we aren't in as much denial as the majority of our society is about all the shit that is hitting the fan with our planet. Yet when it

tors, machines, hospitals or plastic devices, by chewing on roots and stems or through breastfeeding infants, as lactation deters pregnancy for most women. Traditional abortions, before the intrusion of patriarchal, technological medicine, were performed manually, by or drinking concoctions of herbal tea. It is evident that herbal abortion has been a common method of cleaning out the uterus, particularly early in

comes to having children in our own lives, by us denying that our breeding is not affecting the planet as much as someone in India having five kids is, we're pulling the wool over our own eyes. Just by being born an American means our children will defacto consume three to five times as much as any Indian child. And still people will say, "But what if activists don't have any kids? Then who will be raising earth-conscious kids?" How many people do you know - yourself included - that have turned out the way their parents wanted them to? Become an environmental

teacher, adopt a child, continue to be an activist if you want to influence a child. As activists in this movement, we feel the pain of the destruction of the planet personally, deeply, and so I wonder when activist women choose to have a child why one of the biggest factors in their decision is not what about the needs of the planet.

I will continue to support my women friends who have kids, but I am also going to push myself more to trust our friendships enough to talk about the question of the sacred cow.

the suspected pregnancy, as there are at least 70 different herbs which are abortifacient.

Praising mechanical abortion for its convenience and localized procedure relieves many women of dealing with their bodies as feeling, breathing, growing relics of evolution. It forces us to feel the pain and endure it rather than rely on some heroic doctor to make us feel better. Self abortion allows us as women to realize our power to create and destroy, a power which men in positions of "authority" continue to try to deny us of by making laws to control our bodies or by using violence to intimidate us.

Women can use herbs to treat their entire bodies rather than fragmenting their bodies and treating the uterus as the only "infected" part. The external use of machinery and synthetic pain relievers is more chemically toxic than the amount of poisons in tea made of specific recipes of herbs such as pennyroyal, rue, black cohosh and yarrow. Herbs that are combined have properties which synthesize the potencies of the other herbs in the infusion. For example, while black cohosh and pennyroyal are both emmenagogues, pennyroyal's stimulant effects are counteracted by the sedative properties of black cohosh.

Because herbal abortion is self induced, women are empowered to take charge of their own uterus rather than depending on doctors and machines to expel the consequences of pleasure. Rather than just using them as a cure when certain symptoms appear, women who incorporate herbs with nutrition to maintain health on a regular basis are likely to respect the potency of medicinal plants. For more information about women's self health, a great resource is a booklet by Suzann Gage called, "When Birth Control Fails How to Abort Ourselves Safely" which can be ordered directly from Speculum Press at Self-Health Circle, Inc., 1043 University Ave., #169 San Diego, CA 92103



Graphic by Stella

# Why I Think Herbal Abortion Here and Now in America is a Really Bad Idea

*by a girl who knows a lot about girls' bodies*

It feels like every punk 'zine that I look in that says anything about women and our bodies is telling me how to self abort with herbs, and what a revolutionary act it is. I believe that the demystification of health care is revolutionary, and that returning to women control over our own bodies is fundamental to any kind of liberation. However it's scary to me that self control is being manifested recently in a way that's dangerous and potentially fatal. Hurting ourselves, while we have other options in the name of self control isn't revolutionary, it's fucked up.

Here are some of the things that I know that make me question herbal abortion. An early clinical abortion is really safe; the death rate is about 2 deaths per 100,000. A clinical abortion takes about 5 minutes. An herbal abortion can take up to 2 months, with the after-effects lasting much longer.

The way that an herbal abortion works is that you put a drug into your whole body that you only want to affect one very specific part of you. If the drug has the desired effect, and your uterus becomes sufficiently irritated to expel its lining, the drug will have affected all your other body systems too, causing

## Fuck Anti-Choice!

typical anti-choice question-what if your mom had decided to have an abortion when she was pregnant with you? logical answer-quite frankly, who gives a fuck. there would not be one person in this world who would miss me, unless I had some friends in the womb. it's like wondering what would've happened if your parents had never fucked: you would never exist. no one would care. the reason people like randall terry (founder of Operation Rescue) claim they care has nothing to do with fetuses, it has to do with control of womyn's habits and bodies. this is a man who claims he cares so fucking much that he opposes abortion even if the abortion is needed to save the womyn's life. that's fucked. this is a man who believes that all sex except for procreation should be abolished. womyn at operation rescue protests are not allowed to speak to the press. this is a man who believes that working womyn are destroying the family unit (because the man is no longer the sole provider therefore causing him shame and the loss of his manhood), yet if his wife hadn't worked, his family would've starved. and let's talk about his wife. just why is she so opposed to abortion (she started picketing clinics before he did)? jealousy. it took her five years to conceive her first child (a slight infertility problem, you see). so she looks upon womyn who can conceive too easily and then just "throw the fetus away" with disdain. and if these people give such a fuck about abortion, why are they so against prevention of it (i.e. condom distribution, sex education, etc...)? the answer lies in insecurity, for men, their masculinity is threatened. here's why: if a womyn understands her sexuality, and is comfortable with it, she'll make use of and learn how to

use things like contraceptives, thus she's not at the whim of men for enjoyment. men like virgins because they don't feel that they're competing with another man from the womyn's past. when womyn use birth control and abortion they're controlling their sex life, and not allowing men to tie them down (men have had this possessiveness thing going for quite awhile, if you hadn't noticed). they become liberated. this may explain why randall terry and his followers hate lesbians (they have nothing against male homosexuals, though) and why at an operation rescue protest between all the cries of "amen" and "we just want to save you the victimization of abortion", you'll hear a lot of "dyke" and "whore" whispered under their breath, expressing their hatred of womyn who don't go for that whole male/patriarchal thing. the anti-choice movement cares not a thing about fetuses (or "babies" as they call them, a term they use to make people sympathize with them). i don't know why they would. but most of all they could care less about womyn. anti-choice is a disease. kill it if you care.

- the ladder (a distro, zine, record label, and publishing co. 49 Farewell St., Newport, RI 02840.)

### **rant by annie**

I did not make these rules  
I had no choice  
place already caste  
in patriarchal concrete tombs.  
I did not make these rules  
I had no say  
in stalwart structures  
where choices are lies.

unknowable effects. This means that not only your uterus, but all of you gets really, really sick. Sicker than you can possibly imagine. In many cases in order to abort you need to bring yourself pretty close to death. In some cases, you die.

Another likely probability is that you stay pregnant. Many of the articles on herbal abortion I've read simply give lists of herbs, saying take some of this or that 3 times a day for this many days. Herbalists that I've talked to maintain that if herbal abortions are to work they will only do so under precise conditions in exact amounts, and then not always. Taking some from list A, and some from list B will almost definitely make you sick, and almost definitely not make you abort. Furthermore with this method you're exposing yourself to the "double jeopardy" of a clinical abortion after the sickness of a failed herbal one.

Abortion in this country is safe and legal, and most of us in the "punk" community have access to it. In California, and some other states too, if you have no money the state, under medical, will pay for your abortion for you.

There are definitely times, here and now in America, when women don't have access to a clinical abortion: women who are frightened because they are here illegally (or, with the passage of Prop. 187, everyone who can't prove legal status here is denied all but emergency health care), women who are under 18 and cannot tell their parents, poor women who live in states that don't fund abortions, poor women who live far from clinics and cannot travel. These are women who, out of necessity may need to seek an herbal abortion. But because these women may seek herbal abortion is no reason to praise this dangerous ineffective method; it's a reason to fight against the forces that deprive us of access to clinical abortion. We need to fight the forces that deny us access, make us ashamed, make us scared to go to women's clinics, deny us information about what's happening to our bodies. We need to fight the right wing fundamentalists, fight the medical establishment, not in ways that will hurt us, but in ways that will help all women.

In Northern California if you need information about where to get a clinical abortion call ACCESS at 1-800-376-INFO. If you don't live here look up Planned Parenthood in the phone book. My last thought on this all is that, if you're having consensual sex; the best way to avoid the potential of both herbal and clinical abortions is to use a condom.  
from SLINGSHOT, Berkeley, CA, Harvest Season 1994.  
Sponsored by Long Haul, 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA, 94705



by Sandra Coveny

Once, for a short while, I forgot I was wild. It turned me into a mess.

But there was a big hurricane. It leveled Florida. And a huge earthquake shook San Francisco apart. And there was a huge snowstorm. It kept people home for a week. And there was a full moon. It made people giddy. And there was a meteor shower. It brought me outside and made me look up and out. And then I remembered: I AM wild!

I took all of the anger at those who I thought had done me wrong and I gave it to Orion. I imagined that he put it in his quiver and shot it out into the universe. Now it is out there in a place where I can always remember it, but it's not in me anymore. In its stead, a spark. The spark became a flame. Now I am fanning the flames and I want to invite you to sit by my fire. . .bring kindling.

At my fire I will share a story. It begins: How I remembered I was Wild

I invite the four directions to help me fan the little spark left where undirected anger once was. I ask the north for its cold, windy darkness, its howling desolation, and exotic solitude. And I ask the west for hope of renewal, for ancient wisdom, and a wild raging river of pleasure. I ask the East for strength to meet challenges, offer introspection, and old stoic perseverance. I asked the south for spring-like renewal and warmth, freedom and wildness. In each direction I celebrate five sacred things: earth, fire, wind, water and spirit.

Now I can talk about the anger that I sent careening into space. It is clearer with the distance, of course (just like a star...it isn't clearly a star until you're really far away from it).

When I forgot I was wild, all of the bad things knocked me down. I even began following politics with interest. I competed with unfair opponents and took my defeats to heart. I believed lies about myself (that other people told). My intuition fell asleep, out of boredom I suppose. I couldn't find the voice to defend myself, even when I knew I was right. But worst of all, I didn't question what I knew was wrong.

When I remembered I was wild I realized that the forces I was allowing to knock me down were not those of my "enemies" but those of my "allies." I quietly realized that some of those very same forces that I detest in "the bad guys" were rampant in those who I thought were "the good guys." I guess Pogo was right (I have seen the enemy and he is us). I listened. I heard a lot of people saying the same thing: there is sexism, exploitation, greed, oppression and blatant lying within the walls of the environmental movement. Just like everywhere else! Only difference is, we haven't yet addressed it. That is not to say it's gone where it has been addressed, but at least it is recognized!

We all need to speak out for each other, ourselves, and speak up for what we believe in. Someone wrote to me recently, ostensibly in defense of a person who had wronged me, but in reality as an excuse not to have to confront this person:

"My main tutor in college, an ecofeminist,...taught me to realize that almost any of us could have committed most any of the evil acts Hitler and his cohorts committed. We are all, virtually, capable of

# The Tree

by Dianne Gabel

We perceive nature as beautiful because we know our lives depend on its preservation.

This is why A clean flowing river looks beautiful to us:

we know we want to drink it, fish it, swim in it.

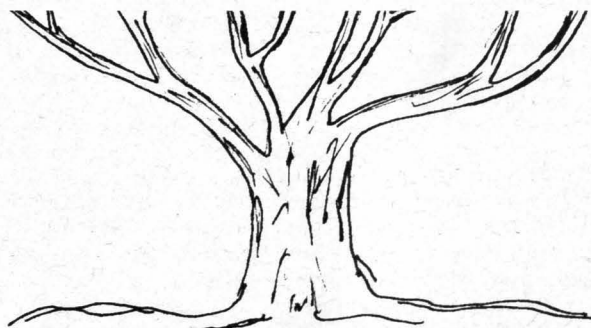
It is pleasing to the eye because it invites us, it says "Come drink me, come without fear, I will give you life," while a murky, gray, poisoned river says "You cannot drink me, look somewhere else. Drinking me would cause you harm."

A healthy forest says, "Come, I'll give you shelter from the hot sun and harsh winds. I'll give you food and you can use my wood to make a fire and keep warm, cook food, and boil the water you took from the river. Here you'll find comfort."

Stumps of A clearcut forest sound a warning. An empty voice tells us,

"You cannot find comfort here. The sun will beat down on you and you will find no shade. There is no water to drink because the forest is gone. Go and find another forest. I am no help to you."

In perceiving nature as beautiful, our desire to preserve it is fueled



because we know its preservation depends on our lives well-lived.

great evil or great good or both—which is partly why I try to avoid condemning other individuals. I fear (this person who wronged you) has a mean streak, but so do countless other essentially good people. (The person) means and does well, but occasionally mistreats others, irrationally, in so doing. (This person's) treatment of you is despicable, in my opinion, but not reason to condemn the (movement) as a whole, or even in large part."

But this person mentioned above was "in power" and I was cast out of a forum where I felt my energy was well spent. I was left knowing that even though this person did an unfair thing to me, and my "friend" agreed, I must be the one to bear the burden. Gee, sound familiar? (She asked for it...It was her fault...she provoked him...). Is this "friend" saying that the Third Reich was ok, just that some of the folks were bad? Or is he saying just because the person in power is an evil idiot, he means well, so it's ok? Is he saying that because he (cont'd on next page)

**(Rev Eco cont'd from page 7)**

because nature's parts are not separate, they are interdependent. Thus, as pointed out by ecofeminist philosopher Vandana Shiva, reductionist science has given us antibiotics that create super bacteria and fertilizers that create barren soil.

Instead of this masculine system of separation and domination, ecofeminists seek to promote a science of nature. Nature is seen as holistic and interdependent, and humans as part of nature, our fates inseparable. Rather than conquering or subduing, ecofeminist science seeks to live within the pre-existing fertility cycles of nature, enhancing those fertility cycles through our informed interaction, but not interrupting or subverting them.

This ecofeminist view of nature is perfectly consistent with biocentrism. In fact, it is another way of saying the same thing. So to embrace biocentrism is to challenge the masculine system of knowledge that underlies the destruction of the earth.

Ecofeminism does not seek to dominate men, as women have been dominated under patriarchy. It seeks only to achieve a balance, as in nature. Of course, in this lopsided culture, achieving a balance would involve a tremendous rise of the feminine—both a rise of individual women and a rise in feminist values among both women and men. But without this balance, society cannot make the changes that we need to survive.

**What This Means for the Movement**

The fact that deep ecology is a revolutionary philosophy is one of the reasons Earth First! was targeting for disruption and annihilation by the FBI. The fact that we did not recognize it as revolutionary is one

of the reasons we were so unprepared for the magnitude of the attack. If we are to continue, not just Earth First!, but the ecology movement must adjust our tactics to the profound changes that are needed to bring society into balance with nature.

One way that we can do this is to broaden our focus. Of course, sacred places must be preserved, and it is entirely appropriate for an ecology movement to center on protecting irreplaceable wilderness areas. But to define our movement as being concerned with "wilderness only," as Earth First! did in the 1980's, is self-defeating. You cannot seriously address the destruction of wilderness without addressing the society that is destroying it. It's about time for the ecology movement (and I'm not just talking about Earth First! here) to stop considering itself as separate from the social justice movement. The same power that manifests itself as resource extraction in the countryside manifests itself as racism, classism, and human exploitation in the city. The ecology movement must recognize that we are just one front in a long, proud, history of resistance.

A revolutionary ecology movement must also organize among poor and working people. With the exception of the toxics movement and the native land rights movement, most US environmentalists are white and privileged. This group is too invested in the system to pose it much of

a threat. A revolutionary ideology in the hands of privileged people can indeed bring about some disruption and change in the system. But a revolutionary ideology in the hands of working people can bring the system to a halt. For it is the working people who have their hands on the machinery. And only by stopping the machinery of destruction can we ever hope to stop this madness.

How can it be that we have neighborhood movements focused on the disposal of toxic wastes, for example, but we don't have a workers' movement to stop the production of toxics? It is only when the factory workers refuse to make the stuff, it is only

when the loggers refuse to cut ancient trees, that we can ever hope for real and lasting change. This system cannot be stopped by force. It is violent and ruthless beyond the capacity of any people's resistance movement. The only way I can even imagine stopping it is through massive non-cooperation.

So let's keep blocking those bulldozers and hugging those trees. And

let's focus our campaigns on the global corporations that are really at fault. But we have to begin placing our actions in a larger context. And we must continue this discussion to develop a workable theory of revolutionary ecology.



graphic by Peggy Sue McRae

**(Emperor cont'd from page 28)**

means well, and professes to be on "our" side, his abusiveness and all of the bad things he has done are forgivable? And is he saying that if I don't forgive this person, and if I hold others responsible who knowingly support his behavior, that I am the one who is in the wrong?

Where have we heard this before? This is the 'stand up for the good old boys mentality' (they didn't mean anything by it...heh heh heh).

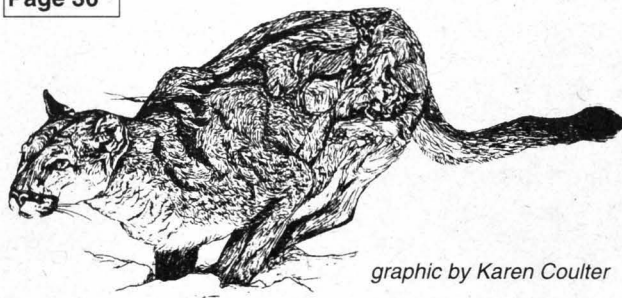
This whole event, for me, embodies the nature of the problem we all face, and must collectively solve: How can we stand up for what we believe is right without endangering our desired outcome?

This is the story about the naked emperor. This sort of tolerance has got to go or we will never solve the problems that plague our world. The root of this problem is in how we view power. Power comes in many forms. We are currently awed by the 'power over' kind. We need to learn how to tap into the 'power with' kind. We need to learn to take care of ourselves in a way that takes care of the community around us. We need to nurture our abilities to have power with the forces of nature, instead of power over the forces of nature. Women are closer to this kind of power right now. Men have the potential, but are spinning their wheels because we haven't taken the lead and refused theirs. We have to stop worrying about FAME

and WHO is WHO! We have to start remembering that when we feel like there is something wrong, we MUST SPEAK OUT, even at the risk of losing friends and sounding redundant (you won't lose your real friends), and we especially need to remember to do this within our own circles, not just in front of the capitol building or Georgia Pacific.

Back to my fire (which by now is roaring and unstoppable): I encourage everyone: remember your voice! Remember that you are wild! We need to strengthen the environmental movement. It is in trouble as far as I can tell. There are too many men in power who sexually harass women, who abuse their power, who stick up for each other's crimes and who are helping the oppression and exploitation win. And there are too many martyrs who self-righteously expect everyone to sacrifice their very beings for a cause. I have news for everyone (to some it is old news): to succeed, a person must be well-balanced, healthy and awake, must take GOOD care of themselves. A person needs to remember they are wild, and they are strong and worthwhile. The same is true for "the movement" (whatever it is) if it is based in healthy attitudes, it can't fail. Right now we need to pay special attention (and quickly!) to our own house. We have a long struggle ahead, and a lot of frolicking along the way!





## Where Kindness Lies

by Debra

i'm staring at the ceiling white with textured swirls street lights reflecting off the walls

i'm wishing i weren't here a pounding pain in my abdomen pulling hairs like fists full of weeds

i'm staring at the ceiling tongue thrust into my mouth a slug running for life from shaker of salt

i'm wishing i weren't here the world pressed upon my body holding down a fly in spider's web

i'm staring at the ceiling memories of early days no iced cage to bar lessons being taught

i'm wishing i weren't here gasping for air feeling hot breath through eyes closed shut

i'm staring at the ceiling freedom worlds away from company no one there to feel my screams

i'm wishing i weren't here my own space filled with trusted stranger invite to stay without recourse

i'm staring at the ceiling wanting day to break the phone to ring searching mind for weapons to defend

i'm wishing i weren't here too afraid to speak words of discomfort ending off bed in bundle

i'm staring at the ceiling clanging dishes in the kitchen water splashes thieves or salvation

i'm wishing i weren't here close my eyes dark to darkness escape the torture who's to blame

i'm staring at the ceiling recurring themes imprinted words on paper no regretful meaning

i'm wishing i weren't here i'm so tired subjected body never knowing where kindness lies

waking up to the ceiling mocking my pain looking back no one understands

i'll just pretend it never happens.

## Why We're a Feminist

by Smith and Wesson

Smith: I'm a feminist because I'm tired of being fucked like a piece of meat.

Wesson: I'm a feminist because I'm sick of not being taken seriously.

Smith: 'Cause i'm sick of being told to sit down and told to shut up.

Wesson: 'Cause when i don't shut up i'm sick of being called crazy.

Smith: 'Cause i like hair on my legs.

Wesson: 'Cause i hate putting paint on my face.

Smith: 'Cause i especially hate to put paint on my face that is made out of dead animals.

Wesson: 'Cause bras hurt.

Smith: 'Cause tampons are expensive and poisonous.

Wesson: 'Cause women throughout the world are poisoned so rich men can play golf.

Smith: 'Cause condoms break.

Wesson: 'Cause most of them won't wear condoms.

Smith: 'Cause miscarriages are painful and abortions are costly.

Wesson: 'Cause pap smears even at feminist health clinics cost \$80.

Smith: 'Cause i hate smoking tobacco products that use sexist advertising.

Wesson: Yeah i hate camels with dicks for noses.

Smith: 'Cause i hate my body parts names being used to criticize or degrade others.

Wesson: 'Cause i hate my body parts being degraded.

Smith: 'Cause the only domestic quality i have is that i live in a house.

Wesson: 'Cause i hate being domesticized.

Smith: 'Cause the patriarchy bleeds me.

Wesson: 'Cause men are afraid of my menstrual blood.

Smith: 'Cause our language is a man's language and i'm not a man so i have no voice.

Wesson: 'Cause history is just that — his story, not hers.

Smith: 'Cause he held me down and said i'm gonna like it.

Wesson: 'Cause he didn't give a fuck whether i liked it or not.

Smith: 'Cause i never got to come first.

Wesson: 'Cause i never get to come at all.

Smith: 'Cause i believe that animals, youth and women have the right to be free.

Wesson: 'Cause i can't be free, 'cause if the boys don't get me the rich will.

Smith: 'Cause i hate nazi cops and other such fascist tendencies.

Wesson: 'Cause all cops are nazis.

Smith: 'Cause shit i really hate those fuckin' nazis.

Wesson: 'Cause those nazis hold the power over my full stomach or empty one.

Smith: Because i hate that our architecture is so phallic.

Wesson: 'Cause i hate fallacy.

Smith: 'Cause i gagged on his come.

Wesson: 'Cause he told me his come had a lot of protein.

Smith: 'Cause media and theatre warps and degrades my image.

Wesson: 'Cause i don't fit in to their image.

Smith: 'Cause i don't want to fit their image.

Wesson: 'Cause i carry mace.

Smith: 'Cause i wish i had a gun.

Wesson: 'Cause thelma and louise blew away sexist pigs.

Smith: 'Cause thelma and louise live.

Wesson: 'Cause there are no donuts in the dumpster today.

(cont'd next page)

**A rule with no exception--  
If it has tires or testicles, you're going  
to have trouble with it.**

Smith: 'Cause when a man's gone women can't make it on their own without being hungry.

Wesson: 'Cause i hate feeling like i'm on display when i walk alone at night.

Smith: 'Cause i hate only being on display.

Wesson: 'Cause i want my voice back.

Smith: 'Cause i hate to type but warehouse work, factory work and construction are all men's jobs.

Wesson: 'Cause i hate classism, racism and oppression in any form.

Smith: 'Cause i hate being beaten.

Wesson: 'Cause i hate how he held a knife to my nipple and made it bleed.

Smith: 'Cause if i kill him i'll go to jail.

Wesson: 'Cause my nipple still hurts.

Smith: He should have been killed.

Wesson: I'm a feminist but NOW and other such women's organizations are classist.

Smith: I'm a feminist but as a working class woman many feminists don't fight for me.

Wesson: I'm a feminist but not cause i read it in a book.

Smith: but i can't understand feminist books unless i have a dictionary

Wesson: but i'm not a man hater

Smith: but i still sleep with men

Wesson: but i do not choose to embellish in the stereotypes but i choose to smash them

Smith: but i hate all forms of authority

Wesson: but i choose to dissociate myself from racist women's organizations

Smith: but i hate pink

Wesson: but i hate the clean hippie girl look

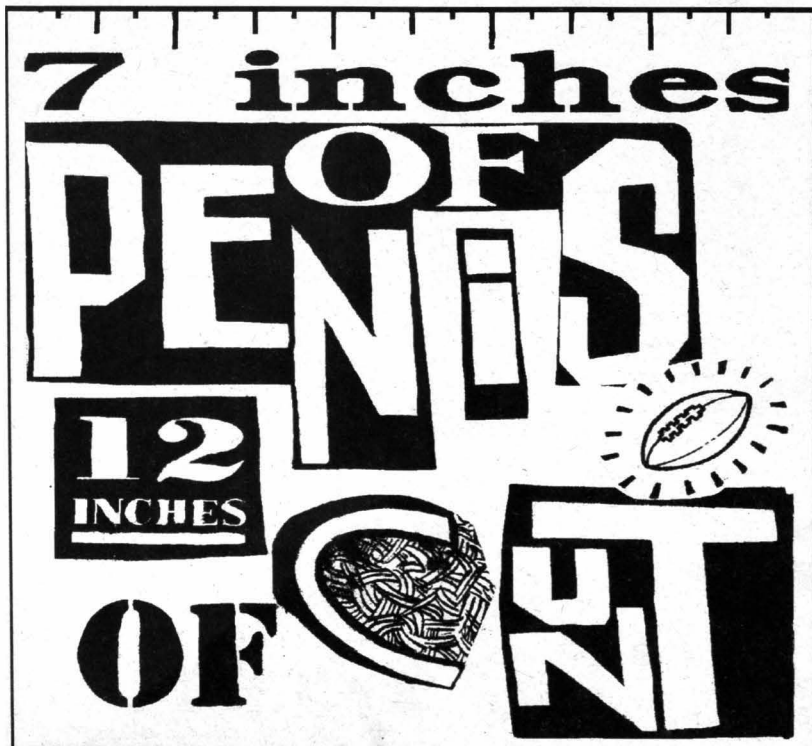
Smith: but i don't believe in non-violence

Wesson: but my spirituality is still important to me

Smith: but i hate crystals

**IF WE WEREN'T A FEMINIST WE'D DIE!**

- rant and graphic from NAAG (Nasty Anti-Authoritarian Girls) Notes



# Tampons

by Ellen Bass

... We bleed.  
 The blood flows out of us. So we will bleed.  
 Blood paintings on our thighs, patterns like river beds, blood on the chairs in insurance offices, blood on Greyhound buses and 747's, blood blots, flower forms on the blue skirts of the stewardesses. Blood on restaurant floors, supermarket aisles, the steps of government buildings. Sidewalks

Gretel's bread  
 will have  
 like  
 blood trails,  
 crumbs. We can always find our way.

We will ease into rhythm together, it happens when women live closely — African tribes, college sororities — our blood flowing on the same days. The first day of our heaviest flow we will gather in Palmer, Massachusetts on the steps of Tampax Inc. We'll have a bleed-in. We'll smear the blood on our faces. Max Factor will join OB in Bankruptcy. The perfume industry will collapse, who needs whale sperm, turtle oil, when we have free blood? For a little while cleaning products will boom, 409, Lysol, Windex. But the executives will give up. The cleaning woman is leaving a red wet rivulet, as she scrubs down the previous stains. It's no use. The men will have to do it themselves, and that will never come up for a vote at the Board. Women's clothing manufacturers, fancy furniture, plush carpet, all will phase out. It's just not practical. We will live the old ways.

Simple floors, dirt or concrete, can be hosed down or straw, can be cycled through the compost. Simple clothes, none in summer. No more swimming pools. Swim in the river. Yes, swim in the river. Dogs will fall in love with us. We'll feed the fish with our blood. Our blood will neutralize the chemicals and dissolve the old car parts. Our blood will detoxify the phosphates and the PCB's. Our blood will feed the depleted soils. Our blood will water the dry, tired surface of the earth. We will bleed. We will bleed. We will bleed until we bathe her in our blood and she turns slippery new like a baby birthing.

- Excerpt from "Tampons," in *Healing Our Wounds*, editor Judith Plant.



## Love in the Age of AIDS

AIDS has been around for more than 15 years. What has it done to the way that women love? This article gives an overview of the situation and what is currently known about prevention. It also provides practical info on how to make love in the time of AIDS.

When it first broke out, AIDS was thought to be a disease of only gay men and intravenous drug users. For close to 10 years, the idea that women could be HIV positive without developing AIDS obscured women and children from research statistics and testing. Upon emerging from this maze, we are confronted with the fact that in North America, women are the largest growing group of people who are HIV positive.

Government statistics reveal that women have a higher rate of infection and a lower rate of survival than men. This may be because women who are HIV positive are not diagnosed or are diagnosed too late to receive treatment that could slow the development of infections. Another aspect is that research and treatment were oriented and developed around and for men for the first years of epidemic. We remain unfamiliar with many of women's symptoms because of this. Women still have minimal access to experimental treatment. In Canada and the USA, poor women and women of colour find themselves even more marginalized.

*As well, because of lack of social support and difficulties with male partners, few women are able to really practice safe sex.*

The Canadian Centre for AIDS in Ottawa has published figures which demonstrate the urgency of this situation:

\* 62% of women living with HIV became infected as a result of non-safe sex with HIV positive men.

\* 11.4% of HIV positive people in Quebec are women.

\* Women make up 27% of all new HIV positive cases per year.

\* 6.5% of all children infected in the womb live in Quebec.

### Who is at risk?

*Neither sexual orientation, race or gender increases a person's risk of infection. AIDS is, above all, a behavioral disease. To be infected, the bloodstream must come in contact with the virus. Contact can happen through the exchange of blood (including menstrual blood), sperm, seminal fluid (pre-sperm), vaginal secretions, breast milk or any other bodily fluid secretion contaminated by blood. Example: saliva mixed blood.*

No woman is automatically protected from HIV since it is impossible to know about the past or present of our partners. Safe sex is the only way to avoid endangering our lives, the lives of our children and the lives of our partners.

### What is safe sex?

Safe sex is more than a list of things to do and not to do. It's also a way to explore our sexuality. And for women, it's a protection against STD's, pregnancy and hepatitis. Safe sex also protects HIV positive people from possible re-infection, which could accelerate their sickness.

For now, the best protection against AIDS is latex products: condoms, dental dams, latex gloves. Dental dams are squares of plastic used during oral sex to protect the vagina or the anus. They can be replaced by a condom cut length wise or thick saran wrap. Always use water-based lubricants with latex products (no vaseline or other petroleum-based jellies, which disintegrate latex).

### What you need to know

\* Blood (including menstrual blood), sperm and seminal fluid have the highest concentrations of the virus.

\* Vaginal secretions have lower concentrations but can also transmit the disease.

\* Vaginal infections such as fungus, yeast, chlamydia can also increase the risk of transmission.

\* Bleeding gums, sores, cuts, scratches in the mouth or on the genital organs are other ways of transmission.

\* Condyloma or herpes are also means of transmission.

\* Some cases have been attributed to the ingestion of vaginal secretions, sperm and breast milk.

\* Tears and saliva have little or no traces of the virus, unless they contain blood.

\* It is recommended to avoid brushing your teeth before and after a sexual encounter as it can cause bleeding.

\* Never share unsterilized needles or syringes (tattoos, piercing). There are needle exchanges at prevention centers and effective ways of cleaning needles or syringes.

\* Sex toys (dildoes, vibrators...) must be disinfected or covered with latex before they can be shared.

\* Wear latex gloves for all vaginal or anal penetration with your hands if you have the slightest cut or sore.

*Keep in mind that monogamy is not the same thing as safe sex. If you think you are at risk or if you want to have a child, it's a good idea to get tested. Always request an anonymous test. This is important to keep results, and your name, from appearing in your med-*

## ADVERTISING

by Dianne Gabel

PIMPLES ARE IN !!

They said so in Glamour

In today's ad for Skin Tone Enhancer.

Just put on our Grease

And by the next morning

You'll be so pleased to notice them forming.

This potion is sure

To help them develop.

In just a night your pimples will swell up

To one inch around

Of Notice-Me-Yellow,

Here-I-Am-Red, and Tangerine Jello.

You'll soon be in Style—

The Envy of many,

Well worth the cost of that Pretty penny.

And if they're too small,

Then use our Enhancer.

Eight ninety five will buy you the answer,

And increase the size

And brighten the color

(Perfect to make your Friends appear duller.)

If Grease doesn't work

Then try Pimple Paint On, but

Make very sure that you don't get rained on

Or Make-up will run

And Others might notice

Your zits are fake; you don't fit the quotas.

We're sure you'll grow lots,

All gooey and runny.

Please buy our Grease,

(so we can make money)

ical file or else where.

If you are sexually active with men who don't want to wear condoms, ask them whose interests they have in mind and remind yourself that no fuck is worth risking your life. Tell yourself as well that we women are 18% more likely to be infected with HIV by men than the other way around.

From: *Hot Pants: Do it yourself gynecology and herbal remedies*

For Booklets, please send \$4.00 per/ or \$2.00 each for bulk orders to **Hot Pants**, CP 5756 succ. C, Montréal, Qué, Canada, H2X 3T7. Please specify French or English.

### Documents used for this paper:

\**Les femmes et le sida: un défi pour le Canada au cours des années 90.* Produit par Santé et Bien-être social Canada, 1993.

\**The New Our Bodies, Ourselves.* Updated and Expanded for the '90s.

\**Take Back Your Life. A Woman's Guide to Alternative Health Care.* By Alicia non Grata. Profane Existence Collective. P.O. 8722, Minneapolis, MN, 55408, USA (Send \$2.00 US).

### For further reading:

\**Susie Sexpert's Lesbian Sex World.* By Susie Bright. Cleiss Press, 1990.

\**The Invisible Epidemic. The Story of Woman and AIDS.* By Gena Cora. Harper Perennial, 1993.

\**Making it Safe.* By Cindy Patton.

# Wise Use Ransom Notes

by Wildcat

The oppression of women and the oppression of the earth have a long and intertwined history. Ecofeminists point out that the patriarchal, dualistic and anthropocentric forces of domination are the root of these (and other) related oppressions. Examples of this mutual oppression are abundant today, and to explore this, I will examine a recent statement from our friends in the wise use movement. At a Wise Use rally opposing Montana Congressman Max Baucus' so-called "Wilderness" Bill, a wise use organizer spoke about the social consequences he believed would be caused by any more protection of forests:

*Along with that [forest preservation] comes wife batterment (sic), child molestation and the rest of it. Now do you think conservationists give a damn about the fact that kids are going to be molested as a result of this?*

I want to say right off the bat that I have never met a logger who made such perverse statements, and it is not my belief that this is in any way representative of timber workers as a group. I will, however, respond to the "wise" use propaganda, in the hopes of inspiring woods workers to likewise respond, and to defend their names and reputations against the shameful accusations made about them by their so-called advocates in the wise use clubs.

So, what's the message we're supposed to believe here? That if loggers cannot rape the forest, then they're going to rape their own children? That if they cannot destroy ecosystems, then they will destroy their own families? That if they cannot kill a 500 year old tree, then they will kill their own wives? This is a strange and sadistic form of emotional blackmail, where the innocent and vulnerable are held hostage to the unforgiving demands of crazed environmental terrorists. There, I said it, and I mean it. Anyone who would threaten the lives and safety of their own children in exchange for their perceived "right" to rape and destroy the natural environment can be considered nothing less than a terrorist.

Beyond considering the senselessness of

the above "wise" use quote, the greatest harm that comes from it is that it fails to consider human choice and agency. Certainly, it is not destiny that all men who can no longer



graphic by Peggy Sue McRae

log old growth will turn against their families. Men who sexually abuse their children and violently beat their wives make a conscious and calculated choice to do so. To suggest otherwise is a grave disservice to the victimized family members, as it removes the responsibility for the choices made by the offender away from him and places it on some abstracted causal factors in the society. It is in this illogical way of thinking that the conclusion can be reached that environmentalists "don't give a damn" about the children in these families. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth! Our environmental work is driven by our hopes and desires for the future planet that our children will inherit. From where we now stand, though, the view of this future looks desperately alarming.

Indeed, it is for *all* children that we work: the children of the red squirrel, the spotted owl, the wolf, the loggers, the environmentalists, the Shoshone, the Apache, and all members of the web of life. It is for them that we find our strength to continue with our work toward a sane and ecologically harmonious future.

To really understand this "wise" use perspective, we must understand where it originates. Undoubtedly, there has been social research conducted which suggests that a decline in income or employment has a relationship to an increase in depression and drug and alcohol abuse. These factors, in turn, have a relationship to increased domestic violence, including physical and sexual abuse. What a study like this would fail to tell us, though, is the *causal* relationship of these factors. Correlations certainly do not imply causation. No social researcher worth their salt would suggest that protecting the last remnants of ancient forests causes children to be sexually abused! It's absolutely absurd! Rather, what we have to look at is the intermediate factors, and how they might be interpreted. The "wise" use movement has suggested only one solution to protect these innocent women and children, and that is to continue

the assault on the native forests. **page 33**

But even the most irrational of the "wise" users would admit that the harvesting of the last of the old growth cannot continue forever. The environmental movement looks toward many different, more realistic solutions, such as re-tooling old growth mills, retraining workers, creating secondary forest products, changing our patterns of consumption, and perhaps even implementing social programs aimed at communities in transition, to intervene in potentially abusive family problems.

In the cultural discourse of the "wise" use abusers, the source of their power comes from the complete and total domination of all that is vulnerable around them. They relish the opportunity to despoil the "virgin" landscape, and should that be taken away from them, they will respond by despoiling their young children. They would like us to believe that they cannot even control themselves from purposefully committing unspeakable atrocities against their own families. We reject this line of reasoning, and as environmentalists, we will not be held responsible for their heinous crimes. Wives and children of "wise" use advocates must speak out and demand to be freed from the holds of these psychological captors, and they must insist on holding such perpetrators accountable for their actions. They must not allow this ridiculous and dangerous rhetoric to make them victims. Likewise, those loggers who disagree with these assertions of the "wise" use movement must boldly react against this slander! I hope that the true meaning of family values will someday emerge amongst the rank of these "wise" users. I pray that women will stand tall against these threats of violence, refusing to let their bodies become the ransom notes in the war against the wild.

**HERO MOM:** At least one man won't be trying shit with womyn on the street any time soon. This loser walked up to a womyn at a gas station in Detroit, took her keys, and tried to drive off with her car, with her 5-year-old daughter inside. **Our hero** grabbed the door and beat him with her "Club," a steering wheel lock, as she was dragged for half a mile. Eventually, she pulled the man from the car. Passers-by helped hold him until police arrived. The man, 33, was in serious condition, with a broken leg and a concussion. The womyn, slightly injured, said: "I tried to kill him." Go Girl!



## Spiral of Life

by Laurie Sarachek

I dance around these trees  
 like the moon dancing around the Earth  
 Celebrating my birth  
 From the womb of my mother, Mother Earth  
 The spiral of life moves forward in time  
 Yet where we begin is where we end  
 and someday we all will learn  
 from the Earth we came  
 To the Earth we'll return. . .  
 Snow falling from the sky, winter time has arrived.  
 Seeds are sleeping beneath the cold  
     waiting for the sun's light to nourish life  
 Flowers blooming everywhere,  
     smell the springtime in the air  
 and the sweet, sweet sun is shining down on me  
     surrounding me with that summer's heat.  
 Leaves floating to the ground  
     As autumn time comes around  
 and the cold seeps back into the air,  
     as the winter time reappears.  
 The spiral of life moves forward in time  
 yet where we begin is where we end  
 and someday we all will learn  
 from the Earth we came, to the Earth we'll return.

(lyrics from a song she wrote and sings)

## Stream of Conscience

by Ilse

Here I am, Sitting, Exploring my thoughts and feelings on  
 this drizzly day, dreaming, wondering where will we all end  
 up, where we going, sub-consciously knowing the answer,  
 not wanting to hear the voice of truth that acknowledges  
 that the state of affairs in the world at large ain't so good,  
 easier to ignore the warning sounds, pretend the negative  
 forces that be don't exist, avoid, deny, suppress, shut down  
 those thoughts, those feelings, put up instead a veneer of  
 good cheer, a smoke screen, a shield of protection, but it  
 just won't go away, that voice still calls, we have to listen,  
 willingly or not, it will not be silenced or squelched into sub-  
 mission. the noise starts as a whisper, do the right thing, do  
 the right thing, Do the Right Thing, it repeats itself, getting  
 louder and louder, the spirit speaks whether we listen or not,  
 whether we run and hide and distract ourselves, or whether  
 we decide to quiet ourselves to be able to hear, it speaks,  
 the wisdom of the years, it sings, it gurgles, burps, hiccups, it  
 screams Wake up, You are here now, life is longing for itself,  
 live it well, take the good and the not so good, the ups, the  
 downs, the all-arounds, but always take it, giving and  
 receiving, that's the name of the game, it is a play after all,  
 and we are the players and Love is all it says.

## An Opinion, to Think of as You Wish

by Milkweed

The movement needs work

example:

i will no longer stand arm-locked in mute resistance  
 while HE shouts clichés in that certain inflection  
 which he practiced beforehand on His distorted reflection  
 for the antennaed-people to hear & fear

nor

will i be told on cue to speak for the band since  
 "you're the most capable Woman on hand"

The movement needs work

example:

i will not "fight the bastards" or otherwise fill  
 the struggle with mouth-sounds of hatred  
 (HIS military language and gun-sight vision have not  
 gotten me yet)

i will not throw the word "rape" around to grab  
 attention in glossy green ads . . . when i do use  
 it, i will not assume the tone of weary indifference  
 or the adrenaline-pumped vigor of the raper, but  
 with the shame and pain of the raped apparent

The movement needs work

example:

i cannot bear to hear that the movement  
 works to save the earth. MOTHER NATURE

don't need saving - we're talking about  
 survival, not revival tents

i will not listen to abuse of the first person  
 possessive ! pronoun that turns the movement  
 from a search for commonalities to a stump  
 for personalities

"my trees" "my strategy" "my organization"  
 will never sustain energy or life

The movement needs work

We cannot name call, compromise, back down, or  
 lie to sisters and brothers about the movement's progress  
 to boost membership and claim leadership. In a  
 strong movement there is no place for generals.  
 We cannot allow the movement to be contaminated  
 by the very power structure that has destroyed the  
 balance.

Changing the spelling of labels won't change the  
 MINDSET.

If we cannot escape from the chains  
 showMANship  
 violence and aggression

arrogance  
 sisters and brothers, we better put on the suits  
 go corporate, and  
 grab what's left

We've got no business continuing down the same  
 destructive human path. Carrying a green torch  
 don't excuse the movement.

## Fall

by Jenny

Walk with me  
 through the redpinkorange windswept lands  
 of Dinétah.

Wake with me under the greengray Juniper  
 to a salmon morning  
 where slate blue clouds sail across the sky like  
 Memories.

## Untitled

by Manx Shearwater

He writhes transcendent - orgasms in the screaming morning sun. The moon pulls the ocean up the beach beneath our window. A seagull drops a mussel-exploding breakfast on the rocks.

The slightest touch is brought to burning focus by a lens of wonder. I am pierced by blue eyes and tattooed by rhythmic bass and tone on skins living drum.

If all is illusion then this is maya I can live with. I wish to die in battle and live in passionate abandon. The World Trade Center was a petty mark - a speck in the crosshairs of *this* consuming ambition.

When you cram a varied planet such as this so full of humans the sacred act of creating life becomes profane. When I listen to the cravings of *my* womb I find not yearnings for procreation but rather a source of great creativity to be channelled for destruction. I explode in the bright wonder of his touch. The key to armageddon fits between my thighs. The great-transcendent source of bliss is gathered there. I am a walking contradiction of all I know.

## Wo-man

by Annie

What it is to lie dead by the side of the road  
with loud flies buzzing at your ear  
and blank eyes turned to  
the rocks and brush  
and pale body haphazard  
as if in a strange sleep  
and hair sweated to your face  
and cars rushing ignorant by

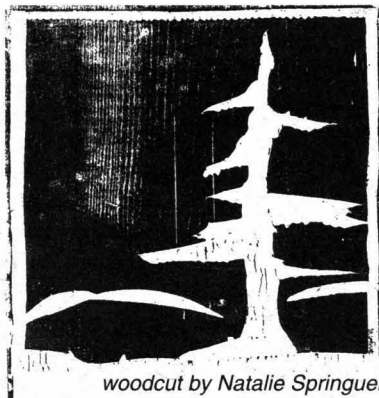
## Calling Strix Occidentalis

by C. Weygandt,

Temperature means something here  
how much you can do in a day  
how much you can sleep in a night

I have northern blood  
In this heat  
I drowse during the day  
and come awake at night  
like a bat  
or an owl

at each call point I look up  
see the warm  
dark sky filled with  
stars that curl in  
concentric circles  
that spiral in to a deeper  
source



woodcut by Natalie Springuel

## All the Same

by Landi

Slaves and nazis  
all the same  
kapitalize life  
enslaved for a price

Nazis in kontrol  
fear of free will  
slaves follow orders  
strive to obey  
all the same

Security illusory  
konformity compulsory  
freedom is difference  
survival is struggle  
all the same

we are all nazis and slaves  
until the world shakes off  
these chains of huMANity

## Pure and Simple

page 35

by Elizabeth Reeder, Scotland

Blown by the wind  
at the scottish dawn  
you left over an hour ago  
in true darkness.  
What led you along?

I try, tried, trying  
tired too  
broke that night  
a tight chest, alone in the hall  
as the aria screamed  
from within the room.  
You entered and angered me.  
Damning me  
in places I do not see,  
where you hide, safe and unknown.

You: an extraordinary version of liberty,  
the extended hand  
that blocks the tear stained face  
I did, do, not see.

How dare you, I whisper softly  
so that only silence  
ses my face  
aghastr and crying.

The burden of my words  
flying quickly back to me  
as if you wish yourself  
from these eyes  
demanding  
(demanding of you).

Memories lost as the melting snow.

My love I can reach  
only so far  
to hold you as  
you sit tired, demanded;  
as you sit solid and still.

## Something to Ponder

by Elizabeth Reeder, Scotland

What if she  
with pure white skin  
and blood red forehead  
did not want to be saved?  
Would their stakes fall limp  
against a woman with lascivious lips?



# The Forgotten Amazons

by Trudy Frisk

*The term 'warrior' has been so denigrated that most women are reluctant to claim their Amazon heritage. Understandably women are hesitant to be associated, except as victims, with the pain and violence of battle. However, that reluctance means that vast sections of women's history, and the insights they offer, have been overlooked.*

Women's history, (human history, really), is full of surprising contradictions to current theories of gender-based behavior. Despite popular belief, women through the ages were not all loitering round the cave, well or market, conversing in dulcet tones, monitoring the children, planning the evening's repast. Some were polishing swords, testing chariot wheels, planning strategy. They were warriors.

The word 'warrior' evokes diverse images. Until the advent of push-button warfare, warriors, whether heroes or villains, were perceived as having strength, courage and endurance. And testicles. 'Warrior', by definition, means a man. Doesn't it? Everyone knows women, those timid creatures, are incapable of acts requiring physical stamina.

Celtic tribes and the Romans sent to subdue them would have snorted in derision at such presumption. Diodorus of Sicily wrote of the Celts who fought the Roman legions; "The women are nearly as tall as the men, whom they rival in courage." Boudaccea, the most well-known Celtic woman warrior, led the Iceni against Romans who invaded her people's land, felled their sacred groves and raped her daughters. Celtic women were tribal chieftans, queens and battle leaders. Ireland had female soldiers until Christian legal reforms in the seventh century forbade women to bear arms. On February 22, 1797, Welsh women of Abergwan defeated an attempted French invasion. There were female captains and war-chieftans among the Vikings, women warriors in the pre-Aztec matriarchate. The Amazons were no myth.

Being a Celtic wife and mother was no barrier to being also an educator, officer, horsewoman, trader or judge. "Women," writes Breton historian Jean Markale, "could become head of the family, rule, marry or remain virgin, (which merely meant remaining unmarried). They enjoyed sexual freedom. Celtic mar-

riage was a free contract, divorce by mutual consent was legal, property was held jointly and divided equally upon divorce." Inheritance, including tribal leadership, often passed through the female line. Celtic, or Brehon, law prevailed in Ireland until the time of Queen Elizabeth the First when it was extinguished and replaced by British common law - to the chagrin of the Irish people.

Such societies admired artists as much as soldiers, and saw no contradiction in a brave warrior, male or female, being a poet or musician as well.

Cultures in which women were warriors were, generally, economically and socially egalitarian. Must we, then, revert to a constant state of armed conflict with women combatants? Certainly not. But, we should be aware that the present state of female docility is an aberration; not long ago men followed women into battle, trusted their judgement in trade and law. The current division of power is not genetically ordained. Women, in many cultures and eras, were considered active, strong, capable of leading both mentally and physically

Celtic women were lusty, proud of their strength and sexuality. For generations patriarchal edicts have denounced the body as evil. Women's bodies, especially, were declared objects of sin and temptation. Sex was for procreation, not pleasure. Today pleasure is expected. Women are becoming more aware of their bodies through aerobics, jogging, weight-training. Strength and endurance, though, are still usually reserved for men. Few women know the exhilaration of relying on their bodies' ability to ascend a mountain, ski challenging terrain or steady a canoe through rapids. They are strangers to the trust and respect among women and men who share such experiences.

Finally, warrior women, unlike most women today, were taught to protect themselves.

Nature offers many examples of the earnest determination of a female to protect her young and her territory. No one who's met a mother bear defending her cubs or seen a hen partridge decoying danger from her chicks and, should that fail, standing fiercely to guard them, could believe that females are biologically programmed to be pleading supplicants or helpless victims.

Warriors need not be oppressors. Dr.

Helen Caldicott is a warrior. Lois Gibb of Love Canal is a warrior. Women marching to take back the night are warriors. So is any woman standing firm and resolute for justice. Names have power. "Rainbow Warrior", the name of the Greenpeace flagship, denotes unwavering defense of the Earth, not pillage and destruction.

We are woefully unaware of our antecedents . . . But we *do* know that, for centuries, the institutions of religion, medicine and marriage forced women to adopt subservient behavior. Rebellious females were labeled mad and severely punished. Under economic and physical constraints intelligent, assertive women held their unruly tongues. How ironic that the very strategies of compliance, self-sacrifice, and submission to another's will, which they feigned for simple survival, are now extolled by many women, and not a few men, as innate feminine virtues, thus ensuring women's continued subordination.



graphic courtesy HAG

## You Can Find Me

by Olivia Lim

You can find Me in the  
dark and light  
in the depths of the water  
and in the height of the sky

You can find Me in the  
mighty oak  
in the green of a leaf  
and in the flow of the stream

You can find Me in the  
whispering wind  
in the howl of a wolf  
and You can find Me within

# Prisoner Lise Olsen Needs Support

Letter from 12-4-94:

Dear Friends and Well-wishers:

More charges have been levied against me that have led to denials of transfers and other harassments, and creates a situation in which I am obliged to vindicate and defend myself almost perpetually. The witch-hunt that led to my incarceration, i.e. "making me an example because I am an animal rights activist," continues in prison. For this reason, I must appeal for your letter-writing help yet again.

The situation is this: I have:

1. been denied transfer to a minimum-security prison.
2. been denied to apply for work release.

Prisoners with the charge of murder have been approved for both.

What is the "serious nature of the offense?" I was convicted of a charge called "Possession of Incendiary Devices," for lanterns I had constructed that were meant to illuminate a huge "Freedom" banner protesting a pro-fur advertisement painted on the side of a metal railway viaduct. Only one lit for five minutes, then went out. The other twenty did not work at all.

For this, I received a 4 year prison sentence, to "make an example of me."

## Support for Rod Coronado

*It is against my ethics as a human being to silently stand witness to atrocities.* - Rodney Coronado, October 13, 1994.

Rodney Coronado is a twenty-eight year-old activist of mixed Yaqui/Mexican heritage. On September 28, 1994 he was arrested by officials who claim he was responsible for a break-in at an animal research facility at Michigan State University in 1992. He was denied bail twice and was held in solitary confinement for the majority of his pre-trial detention. He has since been released on \$650,000 bail under the condition that he be electronically and personally monitored.

Rod has actively spoken out against the worst environmental and social abuses of our time. His direct, non-violent approach has drawn international attention to the whaling and fur industries.

\* He took responsibility for the sinking of two docked and unoccupied whaling ships in Iceland which were operating in violation of the International Whaling Commission's regulations. This effectively forced a moratorium on Icelandic whaling. Despite publicly accepting responsibility, Rod was never charged.

\* During 1988, while working with the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society to stop the illegal killing of ocean wildlife in the Faroe Islands, Rod was beaten and held for five days

A more recent travesty is that another charge, even more serious, called "Possession of Explosives," is under the same statute as "Possession of Incendiary Devices." Hence, I have been convicted by the Illinois Department of Corrections' computer of an even more serious "offense" I have never even been legally charged with, arrested for or convicted of.

The Illinois Department of Corrections has refused to delete this "offense" from the computer.

I was also denied work release due to the prosecutor's "Official Statement of Facts." In it he states that my lanterns endangered the lives of children and "countless citizens." The lanterns were suspended from the top of a giant metal railroad siding high over the road. People are prohibited from being there at all and are kept out by fences. The most I could be legally accused of in placing the lanterns is trespass. Yet I have never been charged with that.

I have done no property damage nor damage to any living being whatsoever. I lived free on bond for two years, following this, my only arrest, working, paying rent, and doing not one illegal act. Yet suddenly I am considered to be not as responsible as a murderer and am denied legitimate transfers due to the wild unsubstantiated claims of the prosecutor in his "Official Statement." Illinois Department of Corrections is also considering denying my "good time off" due to my "violent

by authorities until Amnesty International helped secure his release.

\* Rod also went undercover in 1990 for a year to investigate the fur industry, producing an exposé of fur ranching abuses which aired on *60 Minutes*. As a result a \$35,000 bounty was placed on his head and he received death threats from individuals in the fur industry.

\* Over the past two years, Rod has focused on Native American rights and youth empowerment. As a member of the Pascua-Yaqui Community, he has volunteered full-time doing the kind of hands-on work necessary to connect youth with their elders, reinforce a sense of pride in their traditions and steer them away from drugs, gangs and violence.

Rod's arrest is the culmination of years of government investigation into various movements, including the environmental, animal liberation and indigenous rights movements. Recent investigations of animal liberation actions, such as the one at MSU, have been taking place across the country. Grand juries are convened in at least six states and are working diligently to neutralize the struggle for social and political change. Dozens of activists have been questioned and their families threatened and harassed. Five people have each spent up to six months in jail for assert-

crime."

I appeal to you to write to:

Howard Peters III, Director Illinois Department of Corrections  
1301 Concordia Court PO Box 19277  
Springfield, Illinois, 62794-927 USA  
and/or phone at (217) 522-2666 or at 1-800-526-0844.

Please apprise him, again, of the facts in this case, that I have been sentenced disproportionately and am being treated discriminatorily in prison solely because I am an animal rights activist. Please appeal to him to investigate the reality of the case and heed the multiple letters of character testimony plus my attorney's multiple rebuttals of the false allegations made in the "Official Statement." Urge that I receive the second 3 months good time.

Please send me copies of your letters, which can be included in my clemency appeal. Since the governor of the state of Illinois is a hunter, little can be expected for an animal activist in terms of pardon. Yet my clemency request is to have my sentence commuted to two years.

My address is: Lise Olsen B48426 PO Box 1200, 2600 N. Brinton, Dixon, Illinois 61021 USA.



ing their Fifth Amendment right by refusing to answer questions posed to them by the grand jury.

Rod needs your help. Please contact the Rodney Coronado Support Committee. Contributions will be used to cover legal expenses and the costs of doing support work. Funds are also being set aside to bring members of the Yaqui community in Arizona to Rod's upcoming trial in Michigan, an important show of support for both Rod...as well as his jury.

Please make your donations payable to: **San Jose Peace Center/FOR**. Please write "RCSC" on your check so it will be properly credited. Donations are tax-deductible. Please mail your donations and letters of support to:

Rod Coronado Support Committee, 2530 Berryessa Road #820, San Jose, CA, 95132

Hotline: 408-235-1504

We regret we haven't the space to report on more of the folks imprisoned for their political work. For more information, particularly on the recent UK arrest of Robin Webb, ALF Press Officer, and the 14-year sentencing of UK ALF activist Keith Mann, please contact: ALF Supporters Group, POBox 8673, Victoria, BC, Canada, V8X 3S2



try. The EZLN accepted the cease-fire and has abided by it since January 12th. In March, the EZLN met with the PRI government in San Cristobal. It was civilians who formed an unarmed security belt in response to the EZLN's call, by standing arm to arm in shifts for the days in which the EZLN negotiated with the government. Lastly in August, the EZLN launched its massive project of organizing what is now called the National Democratic Convention. It has not called upon the civilian population to undertake the armed struggle, has not called the armed struggle a superior form of struggle, and has not interfered with other forms of struggle (it cooperated with the elections of August). It acknowledges that there are many forms of struggle and all are valid. In this spirit, the CND was convened in the Lacandon jungle by over 6,000 delegates representing communities from every corner of Mexico. The CND is working on the following issues;

1. The Transition to Democracy as a response to the inviability of the State-Party system.
2. Peaceful Methods of transition to democracy; the elections, civil resistance, and the defense of the popular will.
3. A National Project around the 11 points of struggle of the EZLN.
4. A plan for a Transitional Government.
5. A plan for a New Constitution and Constitutional Congress.

FOURTH; As part of its demands, the EZLN has asked for complete autonomy for the indigenous communities which constitute its base. It demands special provisions for indigenous peoples which will establish indigenous regions with their own governments, economies and justice systems.

FIFTH; The EZLN, in a determined effort to maintain the unity of democratizing forces in Mexico, has disassociated itself from the ultra-left; criticizing antiquated Marxist dogma and sectarian tactics which divide, and fracture a national movement for democratic change.

I just returned from the second session of the CND where more than 2500 delegates met to move the Convention's agenda forward. Contrary to what the mainstream press has said, the CND is not a gathering of "leftists", there are certainly delegates from left organizations, and registered political parties, but more importantly there are hundreds of people from the grassroots: campesinos, students, indigenous leaders, workers, teachers, colonos/or neighborhood activists, human rights activists, ecologists, women, gays and lesbians. In the hands of this grassroots activism, Mexico has moved into an era of social fervor; massive

mobilizations which have had a severe impact on local economies, and which are for the most part ignored by the media.

Encircled by what are now 55,000 troops, the EZLN has nevertheless constructed a relationship with an organized national body of civil resistance committed to a democratic change for Mexico. In the period of 10 short months, a democratic movement in Mexico has taken steps never seen before.

So what happens now? What does the



graphic by Peggy Sue McRae

future hold? As some of you know, the ruling party of the PRI won the election of August 21, with "supposedly" the cleanest elections in history. Although hundreds of eyewitness accounts and testimonials of irregularities have now come in, few international bodies have taken note of these and the PRI now insists it has a popular mandate to continue its rule.

Zedillo will be inaugurated as president on December 1. Eduardo Robledo Rincon will take office as governor of Chiapas on December 8. In its well-known habit of speaking out of two sides of its mouth, the PRI proclaims a commitment to a negotiated peace, while carrying out provocative military actions.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the civil resistance movement begin to suffer the harassment and persecution of the armed forces. Some of you may know that the PRD, which is the party of opposition has already had 280 of its militants killed since 1988, the most recent in September and October of this year (Amado Avendano, the PRD candidate for governor in Chiapas suffered an assassination attempt in July which he survived). Peaceful marches have been met with armed force, a march in September in Guerrerro had 300 of its participants injured by Mexican judicial police, as well as one in Mexico City, where the cavalry was used against protesters in the Zocalo. In addition, several indigenous and peasant leaders have been murdered.

It is said that the state of Chiapas is entering a state of siege. Amado Avendano has

announced his intent to take the governor's palace on December 8th and install a transitional government. High on his agenda is his intent to develop a plan for the autonomous government of indigenous communities in that state. Such is the strength of the peasant and indigenous movements of that state that experts have said the entire state must be militarized in order for the PRI to maintain control.

The prospect of a war in Mexico is the ultimate irony. The same corporate forces which implement neo-liberalism have now impoverished the world's peoples to the point of unleashing unprecedented waves of immigration, and the governments of developed countries scramble to close down their borders.

The war which the forces of neo-liberalism has unleashed on the world has gotten a response; one which it did not expect and intends to contain. This war has as its booty thousands of acres of land, miles of rainforest, tons of precious minerals, water, flora and fauna. It is a war for a new jugular vein for the vampire of capitalism; the new blood which will give life to its rotting carcass. A war to eliminate those peoples who stand in its way, who do not fit, who do not have a place in the scheme of things because of their cultural traditions, their commitment to the land, and their moral values. A war to define democracy on its own terms, to delude the peoples of the world into believing that it is they who choose the decision-makers, when in reality, the decision-makers are not even in the room.

I do not believe the democratic movement in Mexico will remain localized, I believe the seeds have been planted for a national movement and that the people of Mexico have reached the limits of their patience.

And so I stand before you today, to ask you the most unbearable of questions - can we do anything against the power of the multinationals? Is it possible that as a species we have given up the only quality which distinguished us, the ability to control the forces which we ourselves have created?

Whether or not the Zapatistas and the Mexican democratic movement struggles and dies alone, depends on our answer to this question. The Zapatistas can mark the beginning of a new era of struggle, one which reaches across issues, across cultures, across methods of struggle and across borders; one which looks for completely new formulas and new methods for our proposed struggles; one which questions the meaning of democracy and seeks to re-construct its basis, because only in that way can we respond to the power of the multinationals.

And for us, for those of us who are the inhabitants of developed countries there is a greater issue at stake.

Subcomandante Marcos recently commented that Mexicans who immigrate to the United States should stop exporting their

(cont'd on next page)

(Chiapas cont'd from page 38)

hopes, that they abandon their homeland in the hopes that a different social-political system can give them all they hope for.

In developed countries, we don't export hope, we are constantly shrinking it, squashing it, whittling it down to size. Clinton is better than nothing we say, miserable social services are better than nothing, hanging on to environmental protection laws which has been diluted to the point of extinction is better than nothing we say. In this way the 11 points of struggle of the Zapatistas become utopia, we cannot tolerate unleashing our imaginations to conceive of such a thing.

The path to those 11 points is in fact quite simple, we must go there together. Our only strength is in our numbers, is in our ability to understand and see our enemy clearly. We must throw our fates together, give up our illusions that our little organizations will, if they only work hard enough, be able to do it alone. We must learn to see beyond the immediate, learn to look towards one another, instead of towards some magic, easy solution which will present itself to us in the midst of one of our projects. We must leave our individualism behind and construct a different future with the wisdom of our experience and the passion of our commitment to a world which is balanced, just, and responsive to human needs.

So we can view this recent Republican victory with our usual dose of despondency, or we can understand it as the groping around of a people looking for an answer. Something is wrong, the American electorate believes; the standard of living is no longer rising; it's gotta be somebody's fault - the Bushes, the Clintons, the Congress, the criminals, the courts, the immigrants; something is wrong and there has to be something out there that can fix it.

From the armchairs of passivity, the American electorate seeks to define democracy as something which some individual politician is responsible for. Until that electorate is engaged in a political and social process, one which assumes responsibility for society and the well-being of the globe's resources, it will continue to seek the easy answers of ignorance, of hate, of xenophobia, of arrogance, of individualism. It is intended that way; it will preserve the rule of the corporations in that way.

That is why your work is important. That is why you must re-double your efforts to reach out beyond your own constituencies, to educate, to explain. To engage those who belong to the opposition is more important at this point in history than legislative advocacy, than demonstrations and marches. It is this difficult and painstaking educational process which we continue to sacrifice in the name of "impact" and "productivity" and so the results

are that our movements do not have the mass base to support our demands. We remain marginalized, weak and disorganized.

We fear a war in Mexico. A war conducted by military men trained by the United States, by guns and bombs made and sold by the United States, for reasons which benefit the needs of the multinationals.

I hope my presence here tonight will provoke you, will move you, will make you refuse to have Zapatista blood on your hands.

I am making a call to action in hopes that each of you will be willing to do something for the Zapatistas, that each of you will reject the idea that the death of these communities is necessary to sustain the privilege and power of the multinationals.

There are some basic demands that we need you to fight for;

1. That the military blockade around Zapatista territory be eliminated and the federal troops withdrawn from the state of Chiapas

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**Peggy Law,** "The Politics of Power and Empowerment"  
**Anthony Chavez,** on economic racism  
**Susan Meeker-Lowry,** author of *Economics As If the Earth Really Mattered*

2. That all economic and military aid be suspended until a process for a transition to democracy is established.

3. That the EZLN be recognized as a legitimate political and military force as defined by the Geneva Accords.

4. That NAFTA be suspended until the questions regarding the impact on indigenous communities be address, the effect on immigration is analyzed and an appropriate binational response is designed, and the impact on jobs and the environment is evaluated.

5. That the peace initiative designed by Bishop Samuel Ruiz be supported as well as the Bishop himself who has come under pressure by the PRI and the Vatican.

6. That this network participate in the peace camps being established by the CND in the conflict zone, that it bring its capacity for

mobilization to bear on examining and denouncing the exploitation of natural resources in the region, and that it educate its membership and constituencies about the reasons for the Zapatista struggle and the movement for democracy in Mexico.

It doesn't matter to me if this network only takes up one of these points, only that you do it well and you do it with all your hearts.

In conclusion I want to read a section of a Zapatista communique. It expresses well what needs to be done:

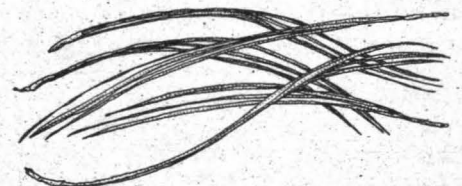
"Today, 502 years after that power invaded our lands, the powerful want to corner us in our Indian sorrow, despair, pain. They want to make us deaf to the laments of our brothers who are of a different color, language, and culture, and who walk the same sad journey we do under the domination of arrogance. We know that our oppression is not the fault of a skin color or the curse of a foreign language.

There are those who have white skin and a dark sorrow. Our struggle walks with these skins. There are those who have dark skins and a white arrogance; against them is our fire. Our armed path of hope is not against the mixed-blood; it is against the race of money. It is not against a skin color but against the color of money. It is not against a foreign language but against the language of money...today we say that that foreign vocation which sits, without reason or right, in the large chair of the government, must be expelled by the shame and the curse of all the good peoples of this land.

We have heard the doublespeak of the powerful: where he says peace, he makes war. Where he says life, he gives death. Where he says respect, he decrees degradation. Where he says truth, only lies walk.

Today our sorrow turns to seek a place in your hearts. Our thoughts ask little, only that you no longer hold back your desire to find that lost dignity. We only ask that a small piece of your heart be Zapatista. That it never sell out. That it never surrender. That it resist. That you continue, in your places and with your means, to struggle forever so that dignity and not poverty, be the harvest in all the corners of our nation."

Good peoples of the Native Forest Network, I ask that a little piece of your heart be Zapatista so that human dignity is the harvest in all corners of the globe. Thank you very much for your attention.



graphic by Peggy Sue McRae



# I Shake

by Faith Walker

## I Shake

I shake my fist at the penile winnebagos that slide with ease and comfort  
 into the parking lot that was my homeland.  
 I shake my bronze buttocks at righteous cops protecting the  
 American Way  
 of non-Living.  
 I shake my being at NAFTA, GATT,  
 at multi-irrational corporations.  
 I shake my fist at "Protect Your Forest" Forest Service signs  
 depicting a monoculture.  
 I shake my incisors at public lands bovine.  
 I shake my pussy at those afraid of my blood.  
 I shake my head at the apathetic tiny lives that pervade academia.  
 I shake my recent issue of the journal at you nincompoops  
 who fail to subscribe(!).  
 I shake my toes at critics of shaking.  
 I shake my multi-purpose Swiss army knife with fold-out axe at boy scouts.  
 I shake Darwin's *Origin of the Species* at the tourists who  
 faithfully  
 fall  
 off  
 the Grand Canyon rim,  
 illustrating natural selection in action.  
 I shake my bum at toilet paper.  
 I shake my belly at your SLAPP suit and grand jury attempts to intimidate.  
 I shake my breasts at the christian mores that tell me to hide them.  
 I shake my fists at advertisements that convince me I'm not whole  
 and then proffer poison remedies.  
 I shake my ragged hiking boots at every job I've ever turned down.  
 I shake I shake until death do I part.  
 Until I shake my o-hopefully-not-too-toxic body at Grizzly Bear.  
 I shake the dance on mountain peak, in slickrock canyon.  
 I shake 'round campfires with those whom I love.  
 I shake with the snake I just peeled from the centerlane.  
 I shake with the LA quake.  
 I shake, my Love, at the word vasectomy.  
 I shake my personal vortex-seeking power crystal (that cost just 12 grand)  
 at your feel-good-whatever-makes-me-happy religion.  
 I shake at the Glen Canyon Damnation.  
 Ants crawl  
 fish swim  
 eagles peck the eyes out of prey

Ishake.

**ALARM**  
**PO Box 57**  
**Burlington, VT 05402**

# untitled

by Medusa

We have all been dehumanized to  
 such an extent  
 that all these peices have to crumble  
 off of us  
 to be able to find peace

We are born in doctrine nation  
 taught that to find love is buy  
 pulling the petals off the flower  
 and to like it like that

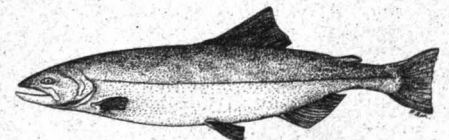
The earth is covered with concrete  
 from between witch  
 patient,  
 flowers bloom as medicine  
 to respect and protect

If one listens closely enough,  
 the insects talk  
 the winds hands caress  
 the truth dwells upon the wings of  
 the birds  
 who incircle the sky

The only thing that stands between  
 dreams & reality is fear & pain  
 We smell just like the earth our  
 breath must nurture in return

I am victim i zed, by fear

I survive by being brave enough  
 to grow petals & walk on concrete  
 with the know ledge  
 that the soil underneath is fertile.



graphic by Peggy Sue McRae

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