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Earth First!

Brigid January-February 2008

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Crossing a traverse line

BY LRDP RESISTANCE

In the early hours of November 7, people began hoisting climb lines and wooden platforms into three clusters of redwood trees at the University of California-Santa Cruz (UCSC). The trees and an adjoining parking lot are slated to become the site of UCSC's new Biomedical Sciences Facility—the first project of the 2005 Long Range Development Plan (LRDP), which would replace 120 acres of forested land with student housing, recreational facilities, roads and a research lab.

By 11 a.m., one person had been arrested, and three people were in redwood trees surrounded by the UCSC police, who had blocked off the entire area and confiscated anything left in the parking lot. The treesitters had been without food and water all night. One sitter, whose platform had been confiscated before it could be

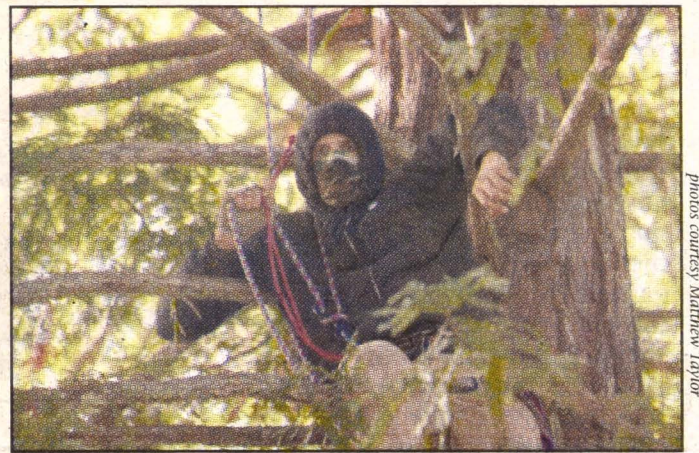
Takin' It to the Trees in Santa Cruz

raised, sat in a redwood tree in only his climbing harness. Meanwhile, elsewhere on campus, a planned rally in opposition to the LRDP was well under way. Hundreds of students listened to speakers elucidating the numerous problems with UCSC's expansion plans.

In a burst of energy, the rally morphed into a march to deliver supplies to the treesitters. Hundreds of supporters arrived at the treesit on Science Hill, armed with food and water. The first group of people to break police lines were tackled to the ground and arrested, but the crowd was not deterred. As they faced the police, they were met with pepper spray and batons. Regardless, they continued to move closer to the trees, reaching over the police to put food and water on the line dropped by a treesitter, while still under police attack. In a burst of success,

the crowd pushed the police line back and surrounded one of the clusters of trees. Cheers went out as food and water were lifted into the trees.

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photos courtesy Matthew Taylor

A treesitter in Santa Cruz

State Repression in Aotearoa/New Zealand

BY ASHER

In a wave of massive state repression, more than 300 paramilitary police carried out dawn raids on houses across Aotearoa/New Zealand and made 16 arrests on October 15. Search warrants were carried out in Auckland, Whakataane, Ruatoki, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington and other centers on the North Island, and in Christchurch on the South Island. The warrants stated that the police were searching for evidence for charges under the Arms Act and the Terrorism Suppression Act (TSA), making this the first time that the TSA has been invoked in a search warrant.

All of those arrested initially received multiple charges under the Arms Act. Police said they would consider filing further charges, including some under the TSA, for which permission was needed from the Solicitor-General. In the days following the initial arrests, many people around the country were questioned by police, and more properties were searched. The arrestees have been active in the Tino Rangatiratanga (loosely translates as "Maori Self-Determination"), anarchist, peace and environmental movements.

The raids were the culmination of 18 months of surveillance, including the bugging of telephone lines, cell phones and vehicles.

The police alleged that the 16 had been involved in "terrorist training camps" in the mountainous Urewera region in the northeast of the North Island—in the area known as Tuhoe country, named after the Maori *iwi* (tribe) that lives there. The police have suggested that some or all of the arrestees were

armed police for several hours. All cars leaving and entering were searched and their occupants photographed. In addition, many houses and people were searched and questioned.

In the first month, all 16 arrestees were steadily moved from prisons around the country to two Auckland prisons, to make prosecutions

more prisoners were granted bail, leaving just 10 of the 16 in prison (two women and eight men).

On November 8, Solicitor-General David Collins announced he would not permit the TSA charges, due to insufficient evidence. The next day, six arrestees were granted bail due to the change in circumstances. Three days later, the last of the arrestees were released. Following the Solicitor-General's decision, the police leaked cherry-picked suppressed evidence from their surveillance to the corporate media, in an attempt to influence public opinion against the arrestees and further inhibit any chance of them receiving unbiased jurors when the Arms Act charges eventually go to trial.

While all 16 are now out on bail, they still face multiple charges and potential prison sentences under the Arms Act. Their trials could still be years away, with tens of thousands of pages of evidence to be examined. In the meantime, many have non-association orders preventing them from interacting in any way with some of their closest friends, while others have strict curfews and have to report to the police multiple times each week. Some of the prisoners had virtually everything they own confiscated during the raids, some lost their homes, and the emotional and financial impacts on their families have been immense.

continued on page 8



Protesters in Aotearoa/New Zealand

planning a bombing campaign and other attacks designed to advance the cause of independence for Tuhoe country from the New Zealand government.

Prominent Tuhoe activist Tame Iti was the first arrested, at his home at 4 a.m. At 6 a.m., raids were carried out at A Space Inside, an anarchist social center in Auckland, and the 128 Community House in Wellington. In Tuhoe country, the towns of Ruatoki and Taneatua were blockaded by

more convenient for the police. This meant moving them away from their *whanau* (families), friends and support networks. Four prisoners were granted bail in the two weeks following the raids. On November 1-2, all 16 arrestees were to be heard in one court for the first time, in Auckland. Just prior to the hearings, the police announced they would apply to the Solicitor-General to file terrorism charges against 12 of the 16 arrestees. During the two days of hearings, two

photos courtesy Simon Oosterman, Civil Rights Defense

Earth First!

The Radical Environmental Journal

Brigid January-February 2008

Trannies Are Taking ~~Over~~ the Blame

"Trannies" have killed Earth First! Haven't you heard?

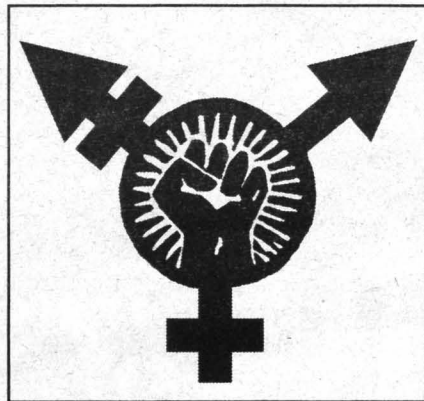
According to Michael Donnelly's article, "Green Sabotage as 'Terrorism,'" which appeared in *Counter-Punch* in May, Earth First! "has for all practical purposes been finished off." And what, Dr. Donnelly, was the cause of death? Why, it was the fact that the *Journal* "is now more concerned with the issues of transsexuals [sic] than any eco-issue."

Donnelly is not alone in making this false claim. SFBs, comments on the *Journal's* website, bluster at gatherings and whispered asides have made it clear that a good number of current and former EF!ers think that transgender folks—and more generally, feminists, their allies and anyone concerned with issues of oppression—are killing the movement. I strongly disagree.

There is nothing wrong with taking practical steps to acknowledge the fact that trans individuals are present within Earth First!; to ensure that they have the space they need to learn, teach, participate and take action with safety and dignity; and to establish the *Journal* as a place for promoting trans

awareness as it pertains to effective EF! organizing.

These are relatively simple goals, and they were all stated in "Trannies Are Taking Over" (see *EF!* January-February 2007). That article—which comprised a mere four percent of the issue in question—is what so many people are complaining about. And yet, I've gotten the distinct sense that few of its critics got past its plainly ironic title. The point of that article was simply this: EF! has a long way to



go before trans EF!ers will feel totally comfortable, understood, accepted and (most importantly) safe working and organizing in EF! circles.

What some EF!ers—and so many people in mainstream society—simply don't seem to grasp is that women, people of color, trans people, members of other marginalized groups and their allies don't want to spend all their time challenging oppressive behavior. Trans EF!ers want to be working on EF! campaigns and projects—just like the rest of us. If there's a significant focus on transgender issues, it's not because trans folks are trying to hijack the movement and turn it into Gender First!. It's because the lack of transgender awareness, the persistence of patriarchy and heterosexism, the inappropriate questions and the creepy stares make participating in EF! and taking direct action for the Earth so much harder for trans activists than it should be.

In short, as soon as those with straight, white and/or male privilege (including myself) start really behaving like allies—or at least express an honest commitment to work on our oppressive behavior—then we can all get back to work saving the planet.

Sound good?

—JOSH

Earth First!

Brigid

January 1, 2008

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

Submission deadlines are the tenth of every odd-numbered month in the calendar year. Articles should be typed or clearly printed. We encourage submissions via email. Art or photographs are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. Send a SASE if you would like submissions returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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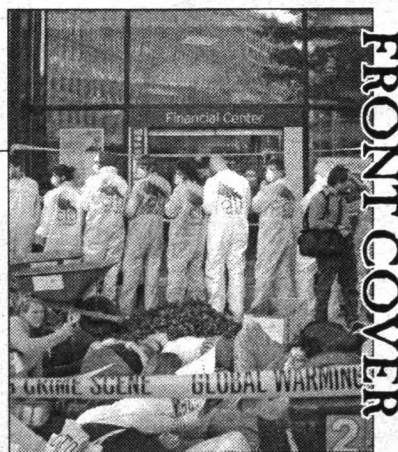
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Die-in outside Citi office in Washington, DC

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One-Year Milestone for Treesit in Berkeley Oaks



photos courtesy: Mr. Matthew

A student activist walks past others from the Free Speech Free Trees Student Coalition as they climb the fence into the oak grove.

BY KP

Who would have thought? A multitreed treesit in one of the biggest urban areas in the country—the Berkeley-Oakland-San Francisco megalopolis—just celebrated its one-year anniversary!

It was hard to see this far ahead when Native American activist Zachary Running Wolf, University of California-Berkeley (UCB) student Aaron Diek and new forest activist Jess Walsh hoisted themselves, in the dark of night, up into the branches of gnarly oak trees in a grove that includes nearly 40 old specimens of coast live oak (*Quercus agrifolia*), a towering redwood and cedars (see *EFJ* March-April 2007). They aimed to protect the trees from UCB, which plans to level the grove—which students, faculty and the public have used for decades as a respite from the urban chaos below—for a high-tech sports facility. The three activists climbed to their perches to make the point that, beyond inappropriateness, it is actually illegal to cut mature coast live oaks in Berkeley and, further, that people care enough about these trees to take direct action. But who thought we would find the support to maintain the action for a year and counting?

What began as a passionate act of daring has morphed into a nationally covered campaign, encompassing a conglomeration of issues, widely supported in the community, punctuated by more than 150 arrests and citations, and generating enough legal action to keep a couple dozen attorneys busy. The ecological underpinnings remain a primary rallying point and strong argument. The grove is a crucial link in the urban/wildlands interface, providing a wildlife corridor that connects pieces of the vast regional parkland in the Berkeley-Oakland hills above the UCB campus. The arboreal platforms also caused many curious visitors—dog walkers, football fans, baby-carriage pushers, classes of third graders, international tourists—to look upward as they entered the grove. This is a perspective not native to city-dwelling, appointment-hopping, fast-moving *Homo sapiens*. But oh, what a perspective it can be, as the abundant birds cruise in for a landing and squirrels lob acorns at heads below. Breathe deeply.... There's a whole other world up there.

Additionally, this campaign has brought both treesitters and observers alike to an understanding of sacred space and its meaning in our lives and evolution. Thanks primarily to Running Wolf, the indigenous archaeological aspects of the campaign

have been aggressively pursued. Early on, someone from the UCB Department of Archaeology covertly delivered a 1925 document to Running Wolf, verifying that bones had been discovered during construction of the adjacent football stadium. Back then, we didn't have the National Environmental Protection Act and the California Environmental Quality Act, which require Environmental Impact Reports to take native burial sites into consideration during any new construction. But besides the nuts and bolts of getting the university to address these issues, there has evolved a mindset—among the sitters, the multiethnic student body, the mainstream Sierra Club types and everyone else involved—that sacred sites are essential to our well-being and must be protected with a reverence and ferociousness that has given this campaign tremendous strength. This is how we evolve as human beings.

During the many months that it took three lawsuits (one was even filed by the city of Berkeley!) challenging the university's planning documents to come to court, many creative actions kept the campaign vibrant, growing and strong. The lawsuits finally came to court in September, culminating in a three-week trial during which the judge visited the grove. However, as we honor the treesitters and intrepid ground support on this one-year milestone, we are still waiting for the decision from Judge Barbara Miller as to whether UCB will be sent back to the drawing board.

Here are some highlights from the past year of what is probably the longest-running and most accessible urban treesit ever:

- In January 2007, legendary conservationist and Save the Bay founder Sylvia McLaughlin (age 90), City Councilwoman Betty Olds (age 86) and former Mayor Shirley Dean (age 71) ascended to a special platform to hold a press conference calling on the university to look at other sites for its project.

- In February 2007, more than 80 local residents—including grandmothers, a family of four, students and tenured professors—participated in a "24-hour community treesit," trying out hourlong stints on a platform in the oak branches.

- On February 20, 2007, Native American leaders from around the area joined Running Wolf in a ceremony and press conference, calling attention to the fact that UCB's plans would desecrate a native burial site.

- On a chilly March morning, 78 people removed their clothes and lay on the ground for a photo shoot by famed photographer Jack Geschit. He did another photo shoot the following November, as naked hands and toes gripped the newly erected chain-link fence.

- UCB police harassment of the treesit escalated in the Spring, with many early morning raids; confiscations of support gear, literature and personal belongings; and citations and arrests. This lasted until the end of August, when crews moved in to construct a perimeter chain-link fence that was meant to cripple all resupplies of the sitters' provisions. After an arrest for a food and water delivery, and a rash of negative publicity for the university, supply runs were resumed.

- In September, unable to suppress the treesit through arrests, harassment and supply blockades, UCB filed a civil lawsuit (essentially a SLAPP suit) against the treesitters and supporters, claiming it had the power to arrest even someone standing on the sidewalk hooting a warning of approaching police.

- Immediately after the filing of this lawsuit, around 40 UCB students in yellow T-shirts emblazoned with "Free Speech/Free Trees" joined with leaders of the 1964 Free Speech Movement to protest the fencing-in of the protest site. Students scaled the fence *en masse*, delivering food and water to the treesitters, resulting in 21 arrests. This also took the wind out of UCB's argument that it is outsiders, rather than students, in the grove.

- In early November, as students began a treesit protest in the redwoods of UC-Santa Cruz, work crews in Berkeley arrived with heavy equipment to construct a bigger, taller, meaner fence around a much larger perimeter, topped with three strands of barbed wire. Nighttime harassment was stepped up, with bright stadium lights powered by noisy generators. Security guards also began filming the grove around the clock.

- As police selectively but broadly enforced the injunction against those "acting in concert" with the sitters—arresting people providing water, food and blankets to protesters—community voices were raised. In mid-November, about 45 treesit supporters—including many from the Native American community—turned out for a nighttime prayer vigil. Riot police moved in with batons, violently arresting four people while someone surreptitiously cut the fence in several places. This police action was quickly followed by more arrests of people walking away from the grove, students leaving blankets on a table and people supposedly caught on videotape talking to treesitters.

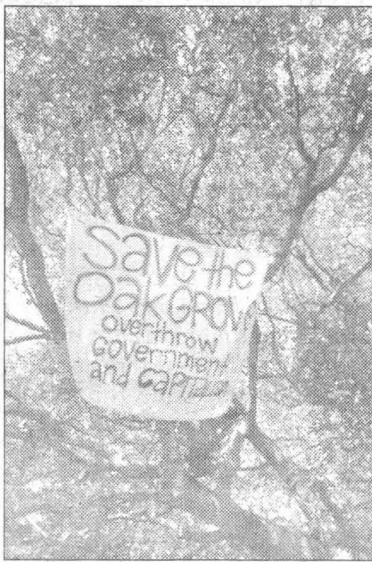
- As a response to the increased police action and the need for food and water, a Thanksgiving action by Berkeley Grandmothers for the Oaks delivered pies and other supplies to fenced-in treesitters. A tight circle of bodies prevented singling out as a treesitter, perched on a branch above the sidewalk, dropped a rope into the center of the circle and hoisted up supplies. Arrests were threatened but did not materialize.

- A similar food and water delivery was made at the one-year birthday celebration on December 2, with an even larger circle hiding those clipping the food bags to the sitter's carabiner. Earlier in the day, six attorneys from the National Lawyers Guild—including famed attorneys Tony Serra and Dennis Cunningham—held a press conference in front of the grove, lambasting the university for trampling on protesters' civil rights, as arrests and citations topped the 150 mark.

Wherever we go from here, it is clear that the campaign has brought together a diverse group of people who might not have otherwise collided on the political front. It has radicalized students, and it has opened people's eyes and hearts to the concept of sacred sites and the sanctity of the lives of our fellow species. Even visiting football teams and their fans have been intrigued and perhaps inspired as they trooped past the arboreal village on their way to the UCB Bears' stadium up the hill, realizing that we don't have to make choices between sports facilities and trees, because, as the giant banner hung for the "big game" crowd proclaimed, "Bears Love Trees."

For more information, contact info@saveoaks.com; www.saveoaks.com.

kp is an unapologetic treehugger who walks around with bark on her face.



A banner in the Berkeley oaks

DEAR SHIT

FER BRAINS

Dear SFB,

I thoroughly enjoyed the Mabon issue of the *EF! Journal* (see *EF!J* September-October 2007). My favorite article was "Fun With Cats," by Hayduke. It was good to see that Earth First! has not lost touch with its warrior roots.

I also very much enjoyed reading "What Goes Around Comes Around: Day of Action Against I-69 After the 2007 *EF!* Rendezvous." Although I can appreciate a day of action based on a marching protest and disruption of section offices, I hope to soon read an article about "A Night of Action Against I-69," utilizing Hayduke's methods.

After enough of these, I-69 should be no more (hopefully, before it ever really was).

Yours always,

—TUMBLEWEED

Dear *EF!*,

I've been a member of *EF!* for the past 20-odd years and was in Rainbow Summer 1990-1991. I love *EF!*

I'm concerned, however, about the recent trend toward feminist editors, etc. I believe that *EF!* should focus on *biodiversity*, not feminism. Exclude men (which you'll do), and you lose strength and eventually lose out on great opportunities to help biodiversity.

A shame.

Change your mind, and I'll send more money. Until then, I'll give it to other nature groups.

—ANONYMOUS

Dear Shit fer Brains,

Although I am a prisoner, I paid \$20 for a subscription 13 months ago.... I love our Earth Mother. I am biocentric. I am even a dedicated primitivist. Yet sadly, I *don't* enjoy 90 percent of your zine.

I'm far from hateful (I'm an ex-Anti-Racist Action [ARA] member), but if I wanted social activist topics of gay-, trans- and race-based oppression, I'd have remained ARA, support Anarchist Black Cross or subscribe to the liberal, mindless zines....

You could take some lessons from *Green Anarchy* or *Species Traitor* editors.

Remove my name from your mailing list.

For the grandchildren's Earth,

—STEVEN "ENVIRO" ANDREWS

Dear Sir,

I have just reread your paper, *Earth First! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth*, second line "Human Activities," sixth paragraph "Earth must come first."

Why don't you advocate a human reduction? Maybe six billion to two billion?

Thanks,

—ANGUS ASHDOWN

Dear Folks at *EF!J*,

I thought I would write you and tell you why I am *not* going to renew my subscription after all these years.

I wrote you a while ago and told you that your new large tabloid newspaper format was poor, as it made archiving *EF!J* very hard and made it hard to pass *EF!J* on to others, as opposed to the magazine format.

OK, you did not write me back. Your record with me for responses over the many times I have written is zero. *National Geographic* did not reply to me either when I wrote them and complained at their shift from recycled paper to environmentally harmful clear plastic mailing envelopes.

It is your newspaper, and you can publish it in any format you want, but what really got my hackles up was when you found it necessary to print testimonials to your new format in your renewal notices. That, my friends, was pure arrogance, and it was just too much for me. I shall save some trees and landfill space and not subscribe anymore, and give the money to a local wildlife rehabilitation center.

The Internet will furnish me with the same information until the global corporations and neofascists take it over. Then maybe, I will subscribe again if the *EF!J* is still around.

Peace,

—ELLEN

Dear SFB,

Alaska just passed a law that says, "Beginning in the year 2010, no emissions test will be necessary for a motor vehicle." I think that Maine passed this law also. What happened to the Kyoto Protocol? This sparked off a few thoughts for me.

First of all, what are the automakers going to do? Now, they are released from their emissions restrictions. They will probably save money by designing less restrictive exhaust systems. After all, even a small piece of platinum (catalytic converter) is an expensive item. On the other hand, since fuel is more costly, fewer people will be able to operate vehicles, so the emissions thing might even out....

Did you know they are coming out with a new cell phone that has a shaver in it (RAZR)? My company has a great product. It's called the "Porta-Snitch." Uses the latest cell phone technology! The Porta-Snitch is for you! Sneak behind the nearest obstacle and call the Big Guy! Report all eco-activity so they can stamp it out.... "Before It's Too Late!"

Also, there is the following theory: For example, mycelia

are the fungi that live underground a few inches. When they are covered up by cow pies or Autumn leaves, they send up mushrooms to propagate the species with spores. So, the theory is: When a species is threatened with extinction, the first thing it does is reproduce.

This seems not to make complete sense at first. After all, some species might just think, "Ah, hell, we don't want to live here any longer anyway, so goodbye." But think about movies and about war. What happens when the soldier or movie star has a narrow escape? The first thing they want is sex!

And now, think about the piston engine, the engine that has started the whole global warming thing.... Do you see a connection between the fear of death and a piston? There it is! Henry Ford in his garage creating a piston that moves up and down and explodes at the top!

So why are the automakers touting their body designs as "sexy"? And why, "the more pistons the better"?

So fear is a potent weapon. And, it induces the desire to reproduce. This is why some people use fear to get what they want, which is some perverse jolly pleasure that I don't understand. Yes, I am afraid of the police, not because of pain or of imprisonment, but because they upset my balance and take away my freedom. And let us not think that they are some pure saints! They do the same thing we do, but they spend all their time practicing subtlety so they don't "get caught."

Me, I prefer my independence in spades—to be obvious, right up front about it. Today, I will ride my bicycle in the snow instead of taking the bus. Yes, motors are handy and necessary for some tasks, but they are causing massive problems. And why? Because probably 90 percent of humanity sees them as something "magic," or a weapon, or a means to make others' lives miserable, or as an artificial sex toy.

But, we might as well burn up all the fuel and use up all the motors, because then we will have learned to do without them. In 20 years, maybe they will have a course in igloo-building taught at the university, because Home Depot won't be able to deliver lumber anymore!

Love,

—JOHNNY
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA

Dear Shit fer Brains,

I can't tell you how appreciative I am that Daniel McGowan is writing an article about Bill Rodgers (Avalon) (see *EF!J* November-December

2007). Thank you for helping him put the piece together.

I have been struggling with the way both the corporate media and activists have been portraying Bill. I have never had someone so close to me pass over, so this whole experience has been confusing and challenging. To add to the confusion is the fact that I only knew Bill the last three years of his life. I can't testify to Bill's character in his younger years. I didn't know him then. My respect and honor for Bill as I knew him, though, will never change, no matter what authorities claim of him.

We are all human. We are changing, and perhaps we would make different choices if we could do it all over again. So, here we are, Autumn 2007. Can you think back to 10-12 years ago? What were you doing then? Are you ashamed of any choices you made? Were others ever justly or unjustly ashamed of you? Would you put yourself on trial today for any of those things? I hope you wouldn't. I hope you would honor who you are now, and all the beautiful things you have done to learn and grow as a human being.

As part of this radical community, I think most of us agree that the justice system sucks. The last thing I want is to have some judge or FBI prosecutor deeming me a criminal for my beliefs. Whenever we can, we try to solve our issues without police involvement. When a tragedy like the Green Scare takes place, should we not continue to stick to these practices? In Bill Rodgers' case, some folks have chosen to bring up issues in court that they never would have involved the police in before, issues that occurred many years ago.

What concerns me even more is that the claims of Chelsea Gerlach and others of Bill's character are only one side of the coin, only one perspective, yet many who knew Bill well see it differently. I find it very disheartening that such talk is merely being used by defendants to reduce their own jail time. This, at the sake of ruining a "friend's" legacy.

Bill Rodgers is not here to speak for himself. He cannot dispute claims; he can't explain the world through his eyes. He lives on in our memories the way we choose to remember. If you knew him, I ask you to remember what Bill gave to you, and to hold that gift and live it! We must be aware of how we speak of the dead. We have to be especially careful as radical activists, because the government and corporate media want to over-exaggerate any

of our fallacies and humiliate and belittle our movement. Criminalizing Bill's character through the courts only acts to feed the Goliath.

Thank you for hearing these thoughts. Bill was one of the most inspiring people I have known—may his spirit be wild and free!

—KATIE NELSON

Dear Shit fer Brains,

Can someone please explain why, at this point, when it is well-known who cooperated in the Operation Backfire case in Oregon, resist.ca still hosts Darren Thurston's support site and mutualaid.org hosts Chelsea Gerlach's? What kind of message does this send to the people who didn't cooperate, to the families and communities of those people and to our movement? These two defendants don't even bother denying their snitching anymore, and copious court reports and legal documents have been made available making the issue clear as day.

Resist.ca and mutualaid.org are quick to point out how strapped they are for funds and how shoestring their budgets and networks are. Why would they spend these limited resources on people whose cooperation sealed the fate of their former allies? If you think this is as disgusting as I do, let them know. If their response is denial or silence (that's been the case so far), pull your website, cancel your email and stop using tech collectives that support this behavior.

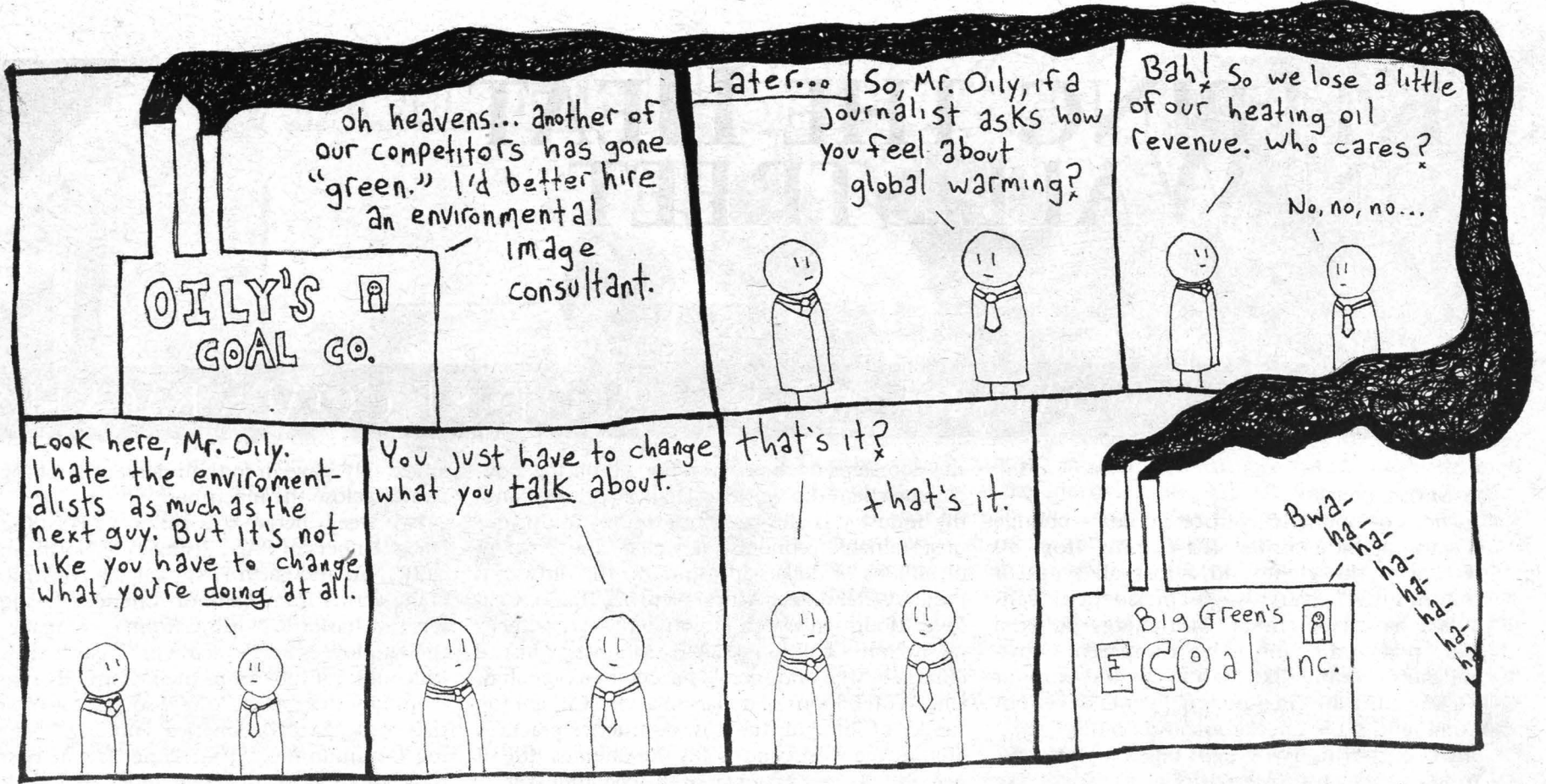
Sincerely,

—A. NOID

Dear SFB,

I feel the need to chime in on the prison debate, as my experience has been fairly different from Peter's and Jeff's—but I think that's the point (see *EF!J* May-June and July-August 2007). A lot of factors will determine how your incarceration plays out: classification and security level, region of the country, state or federal, and simply the kind of person you are.

I agree with Peter—there is a world of difference between a maximum-security state yard and a low, medium or even a US Penitentiary in the federal prison system. But despite that Peter and I were both in mediums in the same complex, a stone's throw away, our experiences sound drastically different. There's a lot more than a "long walk to the salad bar." (In fact, it's a walk here not worth taking—brown iceberg lettuce with the occasional shredded carrot.) In the past 11 months, we've had two race-fueled riots, multiple stabbings and



cuttings, and almost weekly fights and beatings. There's racial and gang politics, racial segregation and worst of all, eggs in the veggie burgers.

But after figuring out how to properly navigate it all, it's completely doable. Most of us, as activists, exist in a "liberal" world with integration, understanding, sensitivity and liberated language. That world rarely exists here. There's not much you can do to prepare yourself for that, but what I do suggest is writing political prisoners and asking questions. They might not all be able to be answered, but writing prisoners such as Peter was a huge help for me.

The bottom line is: Prison sucks. But if you have the courage, smarts and strength to take action on the streets, those same qualities will carry you safely through your time, with no problems. We're all going to have different experiences and do different time, but a life of inactivity based on fear isn't life at all.

—JAKE CONROY

Dear SFB,

I'm writing in response to the article "There Are No Safe Spaces on a Dead Planet" (see *EF!* November-December 2007). I was reading it, agreeing with some things, disagreeing with others, feeling it was a mostly worthwhile article, when I saw the rant against "transient urban anarcho-punks."

Too often in Earth First! circles, I've heard (typically older) people lament about how crusties are ruining everything. Sometimes, it's because this International Crust Conspiracy is said to commit the sin of skipping workshops at the Round River Rendezvous (RRR). Sometimes, crusties are condemned for (gasp!) drinking alcohol.

At each RRR I've been to, most people focus on networking, having a good time with old friends, meeting new ones and honing skills for use in *EF!* campaigns (usually, in that order). In this respect, I

feel that the behavior of these older *EF!*ers that evidently refuse to go to future gatherings and the younger crusties is not that different; the main differences seem to be based around the cultural divide between younger punks and older, hippie-leaning activists. *EF!* will never completely unite the d-beat and deadhead crowds. With that in mind, it helps for all of us to have open minds when working or playing with one another.

Also, I think the sentiment that new faces need to conform to some sort of *EF!* norm is not helpful. Of course, *EF!* is based around biodiversity, direct action and an absence of hierarchy, but the autonomy of *EF!* groups and people is something to be cherished!

A large number of those actually in the forests, barricades and treesits since the mid-'90s have been "anarcho-hobos." At the 2007 RRR, attendees were mostly neither crusties *nor* older folks. *EF!* evolves. It is who shows up and does actions *at least* as much as who came before. Many campaigns have been energized and maintained by punks, and as long as punks travel places activists are needed, many campaigns will continue to be carried by punks.

Let's start valuing all people who throw down for the Earth first!

Up da punx!

—DONNY

Dear Chimp Shit for Brains,

In his letter last issue, Lynn Jacobs claims that chimpanzees, gorillas, orangutans and gibbons, "our four closest animal relatives," are "all vegan or nearly so" (see *EF!* November-December 2007). This is not entirely accurate.

Jacobs is correct that gorillas, orangutans, bonobos and gibbons are overwhelmingly herbivorous. (They will occasionally eat invertebrates.) However, this characterization does not extend to the common chimpanzee

(*Pan troglodytes*), our closest relative. Since the 1960s, it has been known that chimpanzees—once idealized as peaceful vegetarians—regularly consume the meat of small antelopes, wild pigs and especially red colobus monkeys. In fact, chimpanzees are capable hunters, with individual group members taking on specialized roles in order to ambush their prey.

Although meat comprises no more than three percent of the chimpanzee diet, this level of consumption is high enough to make them true omnivores. Moreover, their hunting and sharing of meat serves an important, although not fully understood, social role. Some primatologists speculate that the hunt strengthens group bonds, while others theorize that the division of meat reinforces their social hierarchy. In short, hunting and meat-eating seem to serve the same purposes in chimpanzee societies as they do in human ones.

But none of this has any bearing on the "correct" human diet. The argument that humans *should* eat whatever is "natural" has been wielded by omnivores and vegetarians alike, with little success by either side. What matters is not how we're like other animals, but how we're different. No other animal's craving for meat has resulted in the extinction or decimation of countless species, the pollution of the planet's atmosphere and waterways, the domestication and abuse of livestock, and the industrial and fundamentally cruel slaughter of billions of animals every year.

That's the best reason to be vegan.

—NEHAR HUDSON

Dear SFB,

Oops, Lynn, I think you misunderstood my "conclusion" (see *EF!* November-December 2007). Somebody had said, "Aren't we all agreed about [not consuming animals]?" and I was pointing out that no, we were not—that some of us

believed along the lines I described. I presented one of the "different" beliefs as evidence that general agreement did not exist. It isn't relevant whether you feel that those are wrong beliefs—no need for you to present your argument why you feel that they are wrong. That doesn't change the reality with which we must deal, the reality that some of us do hold such beliefs and presumably hold them just as firmly as you hold yours. The problem is: How do we as an activist community cope with this reality? How do we manage to work together on the issues where we agree without letting the fact that we are very much in disagreement on other issues interfere?

If you imagine that there can be a solution based upon your being right, that you simply have to convince the wrongminded and then this problem will no longer exist, then you really do not understand the nature of the problem. Proceed under the assumption that you are right in your beliefs, but for whatever perverse reason, the others who will not accept your truth will persist in the error of their ways. If I were making

an analogy, [this sounds] just like the proselytizers [who] know "the truth" but are unable to convince the person upon whose door they knock that he or she is worshipping the wrong deity. Do you understand now? I have no interest in arguing with you about which of us holds correct beliefs, have no interest in trying to convert you—a waste of time. I do have an interest in discussion of the ways and means of our working cooperatively most of the time in spite of the reality that we will never come into agreement on some things.

If you disagree with my "conclusion" that the overall environmental community is not in agreement and that we will be unable to achieve agreement, speak to that. Do you think that positions along the lines I described aren't held by some of us? That those people aren't just as convinced about the rightness of their thinking as you are about yours? That this doesn't represent a problem for us and that we have to come up with "ground rules" and "conventions" to prevent disruption of our common efforts?

For the Earth,

—MICHAEL NOVACK

Please Keep Yr Letters to 300 Words or Less!



artwork by Texas F. Sim

KEEPING THE HEAT ON WALL STREET

DAYS OF ACTION AGAINST COAL'S BACKERS

BY MATT LEONARD

The movement to confront climate change is gaining momentum. It's coming from all sectors of the globe and across all types of communities. Every single presidential candidate has made climate and energy policy a main platform of his or her campaign. Growing mobilizations like Step It Up and No War No Warming are encouraging people to get out from behind the checkbook and do more than buy energy-conserving light bulbs, hybrid cars and Green Lattes. International networks like Rising Tide are growing by leaps and bounds, creatively confronting the root causes of the climate crisis. And, on November 2-5, I (and probably more than a handful of people reading this article) attended Power Shift, the largest youth gathering confronting climate change in US history.

Held in Washington, DC, Power Shift was impressive in many ways—not least of which was that 6,000 young activists came together to strategize on how to confront the bleak future that our current political and corporate leaders are creating for us. While a lot of the energy at Power Shift was focused on very liberal and legislative responses to climate change, it is important to remember that, historically, some of the most radical social movements have come from youth- and student-led movements.

Often, the beginnings of these movements aren't all that radical. Some of us may have exited the womb with a mohawk and one-finger salute, but for most people, radicalization is a process. From my experience, radicalization comes from first attempting to "play by the rules" to effect change in the world. Then, we start to realize that, more often than not, the rules are designed to ensure that people, communities and the environment don't meaningfully get in the way of profits and power. Sometimes, it takes people a few tries to realize that the "rules" are fundamentally structured to stymie our efforts.

After a weekend of hundreds of workshops, panels and speakers, Power Shift culminated with a mass "Lobby Day" on Capitol Hill. Thousands of students rallied on the Capitol Lawn and spent the day meeting with congressional representatives (or their aides) and raising concerns about carbon emissions, coal mining, renewable energy, green jobs and international climate treaties. But many people in the movement are already a bit jaded about lobbying, having recognized that politicians haven't saved us yet from environmental and social destruction, and that their kowtowing to corporate profits is what got us into this mess in the first place. Hoping that a 2008 Congress or president will miraculously prioritize people and the planet over their corporate donors isn't a gamble we are willing to take. It's telling that the recent Democratic presidential debates were sponsored by Americans for Balanced Energy Choices—a coal-industry front group.

Following the big rally, while many people continued to lobby "their" politicians, hundreds of students and members of coal-impacted communities decided to make an end-run around Capitol Hill and take their demands straight to

the doorsteps of the corporations profiting from climate chaos. Recognizing that the private banking industry is the backbone of an unjust and unsustainable economy, as well as the provider of billions of dollars in capital to the dirty coal industry, Rainforest Action Network (RAN), Coal River Mountain Watch, the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC), Mountain Justice Summer (MJS) and friends headed to a branch of Citi. With billions of dollars in assets, Citi is a top funder of some of the most destructive practices around the world and holds the dubious title of being the largest financier of the coal industry.

As several residents of communities decimated by mountaintop removal in West Virginia and Kentucky entered the bank to voice their objections to

amazingly, gave in to their demands, telling the bank to close the machines!

Two weeks before this action in Washington, DC, members of RAN, Rising Tide North America (RTNA) and Earth First! scaled a construction crane across from Bank of America's headquarters in Charlotte, North Carolina. We made sure the employees and executives at Bank of America could not hide from their destructive investments by dropping a 2,000-square-foot banner that read, "Bank of America: Funding Coal, Killing Communities." That same day, activists in New York City shut down more than a dozen ATMs with "Global Warming Crime Scene" tape and posted "Closed: Due to Dirty Investments" signs across the screens. A month earlier, Rising

Tide UK held a series of major actions targeting the Royal Bank of Scotland for its dirty investments.

As I write this article, we are receiving report-backs from the National Day of Action against Coal Finance. On November 16-17, Bank of America and Citi offices in more than 60 cities were targeted for their role in investing in and profiting from climate and community destruction. Here in San Francisco, a roving band of climate activists closed more than 70 ATM machines, as well as several bank branches and offices. In St. Petersburg, Florida, members of Earth First! and RTNA left a banner floating on the ceiling of a Bank of America lobby, held aloft with helium balloons. Back in New York City, Citi sponsored "How the

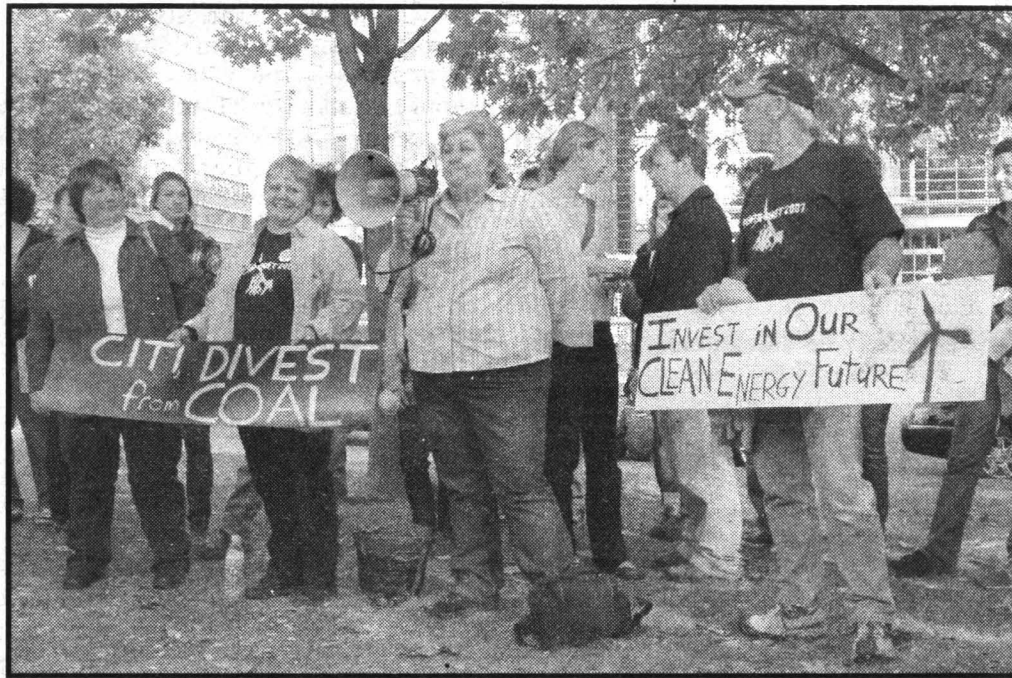
Grinch Stole Christmas"—giving some theatrical activists plenty of opportunities for culture jamming. The Day of Action was endorsed by RAN, SEAC, RTNA, MJS, Coal River Mountain Watch, Energy Justice Network and others.

If we take this message to Wall Street, we can identify and target two of the largest root causes of climate change. The first is coal, which is responsible for nearly 40 percent of greenhouse gas emissions worldwide and which requires an extraction process that causes the destruction of ecosystems and communities across the world. The second is an economic system that focuses only on an abstraction called "profit" while destroying our planet's ability to sustain life. We are building a campaign that will produce tangible results for people and the planet in the short term by taking down the coal industry, while building a vision and movement that seeks to transform our entire economy into one based on principles of ecology and justice.

It's time for radicals, biocentrists, deep ecologists, social ecologists and those not willing to compromise our future to really tackle the issues of climate change. We can't let this movement be led by corporate front groups or by people who encourage us to buy our way out of this mess. We have to confront climate change at its root causes: fossil fuels and an economy that demands infinite growth in the face of finite resources.

To learn more about the Dirty Money campaign challenging Wall Street to end investments in dirty energy, visit www.dirtymoney.org.

Matt works at Rainforest Action Network, working to reconcile "economy" with "ecology." His spare time is spent with the Bay Rising affinity group, climbing rocks and listening to obscure punk bands. He can be reached at matt@ran.org.



Residents of West Virginia's coal fields protest Citi.

Citi's mining investments, hundreds of students gathered in a park across the street. Once the bank asked these community leaders to leave, the rally took to the streets, joined by about a dozen people wearing white Tyvek hazardous materials suits and dust masks, carrying shovels and pushing wheelbarrows full of coal.

The Tyvek-clad folks dumped nearly half of a ton of coal on the doorsteps of the bank, as the crowd packed onto the sidewalk surrounding the bank. Suddenly, an uproar of coughing and hacking arose from the crowd as several intrepid activists circled the bank and sidewalk with "Global Warming Crime Scene" tape. Within moments, nearly 400 people had shut down the bank with a massive "die-in," blocking the bank entrance and sidewalk. As the bank scrambled to lock its doors, bank managers rushed to throw out another youth delegation that had entered the bank and had been informing customers of what Citi is using their bank accounts to fund.

This action exemplified what our movement needs to be doing: supporting impacted communities, recognizing that direct action must be a part of a broader campaign, escalating our demands and tactics, and making sure our actions are inspiring and resonating with others so that our movement can keep growing. Many people in the crowd had never participated in direct action before. The enthusiasm and excitement from people exploring a whole new approach to activism and social change was incredible. Seeing the teary eyes of 50-year-old coal-field residents inspired by 18-year-old college students really shook me. That is solidarity. I watched two young women informing the police captain that they weren't going to let even the ATM machine remain operating. The police,

STUDENTS LOCK DOWN AT DUKE ENERGY

BY ASHEVILLE RISING TIDE

In what appears to be a recurring phenomenon in North Carolina, angry polar bears have once again descended on a notorious climate criminal to disrupt its business. On November 15, local college students and members of Asheville Rising Tide converged at Duke Energy headquarters in Charlotte. Bearing signs reading, "Got Mercury?" and "Coal Fuels Climate Change," the protesters demanded that Duke Energy cancel plans for an 800-megawatt addition to its Cliffside coal plant.

Despite police and security guards already on the scene, two students dressed as polar bears used a bike lock to secure the headquarters' main entrance. Unfortunately, a police officer managed to intervene before the pair were able to lock themselves to the door. Once the cop managed to wrestle the locks from the polar bears, the two launched Plan B and commenced a sit-in in front



Santa and his helpers protest Duke Energy.

of the doors. Eventually more police arrived, and the students were arrested. The lock, however, remained, blocking the return of hundreds of Duke employees from their lunch break.

"North Carolina's youth will be living with the impact of dirty energy and climate change far into the future. We need community-based alternatives to the fossil fuel empire," said Nina Otter, a Warren Wilson College student, who was arrested.

"Coal has got to go if we want to solve the climate crisis."

At a time when we need to be making massive reductions in greenhouse gas emissions, the expanded Cliffside coal power plant would emit 312 million tons of carbon dioxide over its 50-year lifespan. Increasing dependence on coal plants in the face of our climate crisis is tantamount to suicide.

In addition to escalating climate change, the additional construction at the Cliffside plant would more than double the amount of mercury released by the plant to 405 pounds per year. Water is also a major issue. The entire Southeast is in the grip of one of the worst droughts ever recorded, with North Carolina hit particularly hard. All indications point to climate change as a major culprit. If expanded, the Cliffside plant would evaporate 21 million gallons of river water every day, while major cities like Atlanta teeter on the brink of running dry.

We also seek to expose Duke Energy CEO Jim Rogers for the greenwashing liar that he is. Rogers currently enjoys a certain amount of prestige as a "green CEO" for his recent push for regulations of greenhouse gas emissions through the US Climate Action Partnership (USCAP). When taken at face value, this seems like an extraordinary thing for the CEO of a major polluter to do. However, it has become apparent that the main role of USCAP is to push for extremely weak climate legislation in order to pre-empt any meaningful changes that might be made to fight climate change. This, of course, becomes increasingly apparent when Rogers is pushing for toothless legislation at the same time as he seeks to build a fleet of new coal-powered plants, including Cliffside.

Asheville Rising Tide is joining people across North Carolina who are dedicated to stopping the Cliffside plant dead in its tracks with public outreach and hard-hitting actions. This is just the beginning....

NO WAR NO WARMING

BY TED GLICK

My spirit was on fire on October 22. It was such a great day! After months of planning, we pulled off something the likes of which I've never been a part of before. For a couple of hours, with action after action, we disrupted business as usual on Capitol Hill. We sent out a message nationally (and internationally) that people are outraged that the US Congress has done nothing to end the war, pass strong global warming legislation, or address the myriad of justice and survival issues that are worsening because of the war and the climate crisis.

The protest began with the 10-person polar bear contingent arriving like clockwork right at 8 a.m., at the intersection of New Jersey and Independence avenues. The mass media promptly arrived with lots of TV cameras and reporters. The polar bears moved to one of the main entrances of the federal Cannon House Office Building and blockaded it. When forced to move by the police, they continued their demonstration, accompanied by thematic music amplified by a portable sound system.

Within minutes, an Iraq War veterans group arrived to take the place of the polar bears, blockading the same entrance. They refused to leave; after 10-15 minutes, arrests began.

While these actions were taking place, 25 people took part in a "Separate Oil and State" action on the opposite side of the Cannon building. They blocked another main entrance and were arrested.

Soon after the Iraq vets were hauled away, up came the Students for a Democratic Society contingent in their yellow Campus Climate Challenge T-shirts. They immediately moved into the middle of Independence Avenue, a major thoroughfare on Capitol Hill, completely blocking traffic for 45 minutes. The 25 young people chanted, "Resistance is Forming! No War! No Warming!" As the police moved in to start making arrests, a very sizeable crowd—which had by then clustered along both sides of the street—began to chant, "Arrest Bush, not the kids!"

"The kids" were moved off of Independence, and were slowly processed and loaded onto a waiting bus. But as traffic began to move again,

a second wave of activists blocked the street. This group consisted of six young people and me. We were all arrested. I later heard that five more people were arrested, including three polar bears, as the police overreacted to the second wave of action and began pushing people away from the intersection. The five arrested were in the process of moving away—apparently not fast enough for the police. None of the five had been given any verbal warnings, as the law requires, to move or face arrest.

Those of us arrested were taken to the Capitol garage. There, we began to discuss actions to challenge these illegal arrests. This time in the Capitol garage was memorable. For hours, we talked with one another; we interacted with the dozens of cops watching over us; we sang song after song; we started discussions about what to do next; and, over time our righteous and joyous—if tired—spirits began transforming the faces, body language and actions of some of the police.

No time for resting now. No War No Warming on the move!



Polar bears block the entrance to the Cannon House Office Building.



Students for a Democratic Society shut down Independence Avenue.

GREENPEACE REGAINS ITS TEETH

BY FELICIA FOX

The well-known, international environmental organization Greenpeace, which is often criticized in Earth First! circles for being too "corporate" and not "radical" enough, seems to have returned to its direct action roots a bit in recent months. Here at the *Journal*, we have been inundated with emails outlining some of the actions Greenpeace has taken:

On October 12, Greenpeace activists in Terneuzen, the Netherlands, stopped a ship from off-loading thousands of tons of newsprint from Canadian logging company Abitibi-Consolidated. Activists painted "No Newspapers from Ancient Forests" in Dutch on the hull of the 560-foot-long ship and are calling on the Dutch government to make sure that paper imports are not coming from old-growth forests. Abitibi newsprint is made mainly of virgin fibers from Canada's boreal forest, one of the largest intact

first-growth forests in the world. Dutch newspaper publishers PCM, Wegener and Telegraaf Media Groep purchase more than 28,000 tons of paper annually from Abitibi.

In Sumatra, Indonesia, local forest communities are fighting alongside Greenpeace activists to stop illegal, commercial palm-oil plantations by building dams. Yes, you heard that right: by *building* dams! On October 29, the activists began building five dams across 10-foot-deep canals that were dug by the palm oil company PT Duta Palma. The canals drain water out of Indonesia's swamp forests so that palm-oil seedlings can be planted there. PT Duta Palma and other palm oil companies are acting against regulations for Indonesian forest protection and a presidential decree. Activists hope the dams will hold water in the swamps, thereby halting construction of the illegal plantation. They have also set up a forest defenders camp nearby to keep watch and prevent more illegal dredging from occurring.

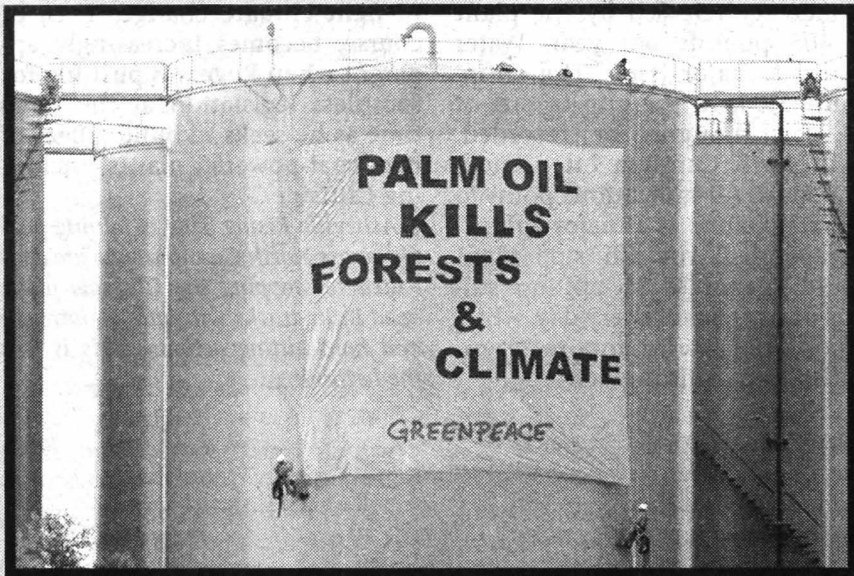
Along with building dams, Greenpeace has

taken action at sea against the destructiveness of the palm oil industry. On November 10, Greenpeace's ship, the *Rainbow Warrior*, dropped anchor next to a tanker carrying more than 33,000 tons of Indonesian palm oil. Greenpeace blocked the tanker from exiting the Indonesian port of Dumai, until being forced out of the way by three tug boats on the morning of November 18.

On November 15, Greenpeace activists occupied and shut down the Munmorah coal-fired power plant by locking themselves onto a conveyor belt to prevent coal from feeding into the plant in New South Wales, Australia. Activists also dropped a banner reading "Climate Change Starts Here" and painted "Coal Kills" on the roof of the building. The Munmorah plant is the oldest coal plant in Australia, lying about 100 miles north of Sydney.

It has been exciting to read about all that Greenpeace has been doing, and we hope that they will keep it up—nice and strong in defense of the Earth!

Felicia Fox is a woodsy hermit wannabe from the North, who is very much enjoying the Tucson "Winter" yet still dreaming of snow.



Greenpeace activists drop a banner in Indonesia.



photos courtesy Greenpeace

Locked down at Munmorah coal-fired power plant

STATE REPRESSION IN NEW ZEALAND

continued from page 1

The Context

"I weep for what has just happened at Maungapohatu in Tuhoe. The police raid seems to be about punishing Kenana for questioning the crown and will only take us back to the mists of fear and doubt.... I wonder if we will ever stop worrying when it might happen again."

—Karaitiana Rarere, *Ngati Kahungunu*, 1916

For the Maori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and for the Tuhoe in particular, repression and brutality at the hands of the colonial state are nothing new. The Tuhoe, the tribe at the center of many of the police allegations, never signed the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, with which the New Zealand government attempts to legitimize its rule over Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is in Tuhoe country that you will find the highest rate of Te Reo Maori as a first language, with English relegated to second. The Tuhoe have always remained staunchly independent and, as such, have always been considered a threat by the state.

In 1867, the government confiscated vast tracts of land from the Tuhoe, including all access to the coastline, under the pretext of punishing them for alleged involvement in the murder of a missionary. This confiscation left the Tuhoe landlocked and without a source of *kaimoana* (seafood). Almost all of the Tuhoe's fertile crop-growing land was also taken.

By 1916, many Tuhoe had flocked to the village of Maungapohatu, where a man named Rua Kenana preached a new way of life and opposition to World War I and the conscription laws. This was too much for the state to handle, and so it attacked, killing two, wounding others and taking Kenana prisoner. Kenana would spend almost two years in prison, despite being found not guilty of sedition, and the peaceful community he helped establish would never be the same.

The Tuhoe remained ever-resilient, however. In recent years, they have begun negotiations with the Waitangi Tribunal, in an attempt to retain their land and receive compensation for what the state has taken from them. It was during a tribunal hearing in Tuhoe country in 2005, that Tame Iti, one of those arrested in recent raids, was charged with a firearms offense, after shooting a New Zealand flag during a "welcoming" ceremony for state officials. That event was part of a wider welcome intended to make the officials see and feel a taste of what the Tuhoe had experienced at the hands of the New Zealand government since colonization began.

"We wanted them to feel the heat and smoke and the Tuhoe outrage and disgust at the way we have been treated for 200 years. [Colonizers] destroyed people's homes and burned their crops, and we wanted them to feel that. We wanted to demonstrate to them what it feels like being powerless," said Iti.

Solidarity Is Strength!

The raids provoked an immediate display of solidarity and support all across Aotearoa/New Zealand and, indeed, the world. One hundred people gathered at the Wellington District Court during the first appearance of the four arrestees on the afternoon of October 15. One thousand people marched to the court appearance of Iti in Rotorua, and 1,000 more marched to Auckland Central Remand Prison, where many of those arrested were held. On December 1, 2,000 people gathered in Wellington for an all-day festival to demand the repeal of the TSA.

Support has come from radical groups and individuals, Maori people, unionists and unions (although some seem too afraid to anger the ruling Labor Party), civil libertarians and others. While the political lines have differed from group to group, cooperation has generally been effective in most



photo courtesy Simon Oosterhuis

An activist yells at police.

centers. Some groups have taken on the responsibility of prisoner and *whanau* support. Others have focused on demonstrations and public events, with still others working on fundraising, writing articles for newspapers, education and outreach.

Solidarity with the arrestees has also been present overseas. Demonstrations have been held at New Zealand embassies and consulates from the UK to Australia. Messages of support have been received from Mexico (including at least one from the sister of a Oaxacan political prisoner), Greece, Canada and other places. Since their release, many of the arrestees have expressed their gratitude and thanks to their supporters all over the world.

"The history of the Tuhoe shows that the Tuhoe did not concede, did not cede, did not give up, did not even rent out their sense of sovereignty.... Their view is [that of] an independent people who want interdependence as a lifestyle," said Tamati Kruger, a Tuhoe activist.

For more information on the raids and solidarity events, visit www.october15thsolidarity.info.

Asher is an Aotearoa anarchist who has been reporting on the raids and solidarity actions for Aotearoa Indymedia at www.indymedia.org.nz.



photo courtesy Simon Oosterhuis

Protesters in Aotearoa/New Zealand

CRASH THE CONVENTIONS



BY UNCONVENTIONAL ACTION

The upcoming Democratic and Republican national conventions present tremendous opportunities for anarchists and other opponents of ecological destruction and oppression to demonstrate our resistance in the national lens. As the increasingly dramatic effects of global warming bring ecological collapse ever closer, and as new nuclear and coal plants spring up across the country at alarming rates, it is becoming easier to argue that neither docile demonstrations nor electoral campaigns are capable of significantly changing the US's attitude toward energy consumption. With the coming election year and the inevitable attempt to divert grassroots energy into politics, radical environmentalists must also make it clear that the Democratic opposition is neither capable of nor interested in providing more than green consumer choices and spurious legislation for polluting industry—let alone solving all of the additional problems capitalism poses.

Unconventional Action is an emerging network looking to complement the work of organizers in Denver, Colorado, and Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, with regional organizing throughout the rest of the country. Our goal is to build a horizontal, inclusive framework for protests that will disrupt the upcoming Democratic and Republican national conventions. We aim to organize militant direct action that manifests opposition to both the Democratic and Republican parties. As anti-authoritarians, we oppose representational politics itself. Yet even those who still believe in it must understand that we can only have leverage over our rulers by showing our own power—that we must back up our demands by demonstrating that we can interfere with their agendas as effectively as they interfere with our lives. If we successfully disrupt the party conventions, this will inaugurate a new era of oppositional activity—and just in time, as federal repression intensifies and rumors of the next Middle East invasion and occupation swell.

Why does protesting the conventions count as ecological defense? It is essential to bring a radical environmental critique to the wide range of interests that will inevitably be represented at these mobilizations. Working in coordination with other critics of the two-party system, environmentalists have a chance to draw attention to the impending collapse of life as we know it. Not unlike other organizing efforts, this will be an enormous undertaking, requiring the collaboration and efforts of both those wizened by experience and those wide-eyed with enthusiasm. We are fortunate to have many months ahead of us to organize for these protests, but we must

get started. Right now, we have to build up networks and infrastructure. We must go into these protests with a strategy that is widely known, instantly comprehensible, and integrates a diversity of tactics and approaches.

One of the fundamental shortcomings of the demonstrations at the Republican National Convention (RNC) in New York City in 2004, was that there was no general strategy for anarchists, anti-authoritarians and anti-capitalists. As a result, though tens of thousands came to the city, many had a difficult time coordinating their efforts or even figuring out what to do besides join marches organized by hierarchical groups. A good strategy provides a simple goal that individual protesters can combine to achieve.

The strategy of the Direct Action Network (DAN) at the 1999 WTO protests in Seattle, was a good example of this. By announcing early that its intention was to shut down the summit, DAN gave all the participants in the protests a common end to strive for. A strategy is not the same as a unified plan of action; it is simply a framework within which different plans and approaches can complement one another. Even explicitly autonomous actions are more effective in the context of broadly coordinated activity. A good strategy works whether or not the authorities are aware of it; it enables individual groups to retain their privacy in planning how to play their parts, and it takes into account the responses that can be expected from the police. Experience has shown that avoiding strategy, simply so the police will not catch wind of our plans, is not effective.

Organizers in the Twin Cities already hosted a pReNC consulta exactly one year in advance of the RNC in St. Paul. At the pReNC, more than 100 anarchists got together to discuss logistics, resources and strategy ideas. Participants at the consulta reached consensus on the following three-tiered strategy to disrupt the RNC:

Tier One: Establish 15 to 20 blockades, utilizing a diversity of tactics, creating an inner and outer ring around St. Paul's Excel Center, where the RNC is to take place.

Tier Two: Immobilize the delegates' transportation infrastructure, including the buses that are to convey them.

Tier Three: Block the five western bridges connecting the Twin Cities.

These tiers are organized in order of priority according to the number of participants who show up. If only a small number of participants were to create plans of action, the first tier will be focused on. Broader participation will result in the implementation of tier two and, eventually, tier three. The RNC Welcoming Committee has offered to help affinity

groups plan specific blockades by providing geographical details, ranging from intersection measurements to photographs; please contact them at rnc08@riseup.net with questions. It is important for a strategy like this to be publicly endorsed by groups that hope to see it succeed. This gives the strategy visibility and shows how many people are invested in it, which in turn enables others to invest themselves in its success. To endorse this strategy, email centralnc@unconventionalaction.org; all endorsements will be listed on our website.

Organizers against the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Denver, have also hosted one to finalize a strategy consulta, with a follow-up consulta planned for January 18-21. There have been some discussions about designating the first day of the DNC as a day of action for the environment. The next step is for on-the-ground organizers and activists across the country to communicate and hash out a plan. To participate in this discussion, visit unconventional-action.pbwiki.com or email Denver organizers at unconventionaldenver@riseup.net.

We urge everyone to begin discussing these strategy ideas and organizing direct action trainings locally and regionally so that affinity groups and individuals can begin to develop their plans for the conventions. At this time, when demonstrations are few and far between, it is crucial that activists with experience at mass mobilizations connect with others to share the knowledge and skills acquired over the years. In early Spring, the Welcoming Committee and Unconventional Action collectives will be touring the country, bringing strategy information and updates, as well as direct action trainings ranging from street tactics to legal and medic trainings. If you would like to host a stop or help fund the tours, please contact roadshow@unconventionalaction.org.

Finally, it is important that we do not approach these protests in a vacuum. We can expect to act effectively at the conventions *only* if there are actions leading up to them at which we can gain experience and momentum. Think about how actions and campaigns you are working on could contribute to this build-up. Likewise, we would do well to aim beyond the protests, using them as an opportunity to develop national networks capable of powerful, horizontal, decentralized organizing for a long time to come.

We invite others who share our goals to organize under the name Unconventional Action, as well.

Unconventional Action enjoys long moonlit walks along the Mississippi River and likes hot chocolate with a hint of cayenne pepper. For more information, go to www.unconventionalaction.org.

BARE BONES

Hushmail Open to Feds with Court Order

On November 8, US law enforcement agencies investigating drug trafficking obtained access to clear-text copies of encrypted emails sent through Hushmail. The access was granted after a court order was served to Hush Communications through a Canadian court.

Although Hushmail claims that not even its own staff can access encrypted emails, the company does have access through a server-side encryption option. This means that a copy of a user's passphrase can be obtained.

"Hushmail is useful for avoiding general Carnivore-type government surveillance and protecting your data from hackers, but definitely not suitable for protecting your data if you are engaging in illegal activity that could result in a Canadian court order," said Brian Smith, chief technology officer for Hushmail.

UK Activist Hit With Email Decryption Order

A British animal rights activist was ordered to hand over her PGP encryption keys to authorities on November 14. The Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act (RIPA), which became law in October, allows police to demand encryption keys or a clear transcript of encrypted text. Failure to comply can result in up to five years of imprisonment.

Passed by Parliament as a tool to fight terrorism, this statute is first being used on an animal rights activist whose computer was seized by the feds in May. The woman denies using encryption technology and said that even if she had, she wouldn't pass over the keys.

"Would I really want them to see... private communications... medical records, embarrassing poetry, soppy love letters or, indeed, personal financial transactions?" she asked.

Kansas Cans Coal

On October 18, Sunflower Electric Power Corporation's application to build two new 700-megawatt coal-fired generators near Holcomb, Kansas, was rejected by the state's top regulator, whose decision cited the 11 million tons of carbon dioxide that the plants would produce annually.

"I believe it would be irresponsible to ignore emerging information about the contribution of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases to climate change and the potential harm to our environment and health," said Rod Bremby, Kansas Secretary of Health and Environment.

Resistance to Oil and Gas

in Colorado's Sacred San Luis Valley

BY WINTER

The exploitation of public lands by the fossil fuel industry has become a serious issue since 2001, when President Bush signed an executive order to fast-track energy exploration in the Rocky Mountains. At the same time, funding was cut for federal land management agencies. Now, even our most sacred and supposedly "protected" sites are not immune to the onslaught of corporate greed. This is the story of one small community's fight to protect its surroundings.

The Place

The San Luis Valley lies between the San Juan and Sangre de Cristo mountain ranges at the Colorado-New Mexico border. The agricultural San Luis is the largest subalpine desert valley in the world. Some of the most pristine waters in the US flow out of its mountains. The valley contains two aquifers that feed a vast complex of wetlands and a diverse array of rare plants and animals—as well as crops and residences. The headwaters of the Rio Grande River are there. Water is the valley's most precious asset. (Sunlight could be its second. With one of the highest concentrations of solar energy in North America, alternative energy companies are setting up parabolic reflectors in the San Luis Valley to tap the sun.)

The valley is also the location of the US's newest national park, Great Sand Dunes. Created in 2004, the park brought more than 175,000 acres under federal protection. Along with the park, the 92,000-acre Baca National Wildlife Refuge was established. The transformation from national monument to national park was brokered by the Nature Conservancy, which managed to purchase ranch land from would-be water baron Gary Boyce. Environmentalists and farmers had fought for more than a decade to keep the aquifer out of the hands of those who would sell it off, so the creation of the park and refuge was a relief. However, the park was created quickly—in a mere 18 months—and in the negotiations, the purchase of subsurface mineral rights was overlooked. After all, exploratory drilling in the past had suggested little fossil fuel in the Mesozoic sediments of the San Luis Basin. The time and money needed to procure the mineral rights would have delayed the desperate battle to protect the water and the dunes.

The Problem

So, although the US government paid \$33 million to hold the Baca National Wildlife Refuge in perpetuity for the public, the mineral rights remained in the possession of a Canadian company, Lexam Explorations, Inc., which had purchased them in 1987, while the land was still owned by Boyce. Today, these subsurface rights include the entire Baca National Wildlife Refuge, the adjacent Baca Grande subdivision, and parts of Great Sand Dunes National Park and Rio Grande National Forest Mountain Tract. In addition, multinational petrochemical company Conoco Phillips holds a 25-percent interest. Should Lexam find significant oil and gas reserves in the area, the potential impact on the environment and on human communities would be widespread.

In August 2006, Lexam announced its plans to test-drill. Public concerns are many. The small

community infrastructure—including roads, emergency services, and communication and septic systems—will be burdened. Contamination in this area, which includes sensitive riparian corridors and wetlands, could mean the loss of high-quality surface waters for generations. Toxic chemicals used in the hydraulic fracturing process could leak into wells, and the emission of ground-level ozone can find its way into human and animal lungs. The test wells would extend almost three miles down through both aquifers in locations very near the Sangre de Cristo fault. These would be the deepest wells ever drilled along the fault line. Cluster earthquakes have been induced by stress changes and water injection at depths far less than this.

Community Values

Recently included in *US News and World Report's* special issue on the world's most sacred sites, the Crestone area is unusual. At the southern end of the Sangres stands the guardian massif Mount Blanca, known as Sisaajini to the Diné. This massif is one of the Diné's four sacred peaks and the site of human emergence for the Tewa and Hopi. Since prehistoric times, the valley has been one of the great spiritual centers of the continent. Indigenous nations have long gathered here for ceremonial purposes. There are numerous unstudied anthropological sites. The Crestone/Baca community is home to many international spiritual and retreat centers founded as a refuge "for the wisdom traditions in the end times." These spiritual centers are the backbone of the economy in an out-of-the-way place. Visitors and pilgrims are drawn to the extraordinary natural beauty, solitude and silence below Crestone peak. In fact, the quiet is so important to meditators and spiritual practitioners that the community successfully stopped low-altitude fly-overs by the Air Force. Known as the "straw-bale-building capital of the nation," the Crestone/Baca area is a model for green building and sustainability. Fossil fuel development and the considerable noise, air and water pollution associated with it are in direct opposition to the values of the community.

Last year, tobacco prayer ties and Buddhist prayer flags started showing up on the barbed-wire fences that circle the wildlife refuge. Cooperating with requests from the Baca Land Trust and the refuge manager, Lexam rolled its seismic trucks onto the land when it is least vulnerable—in the dead of winter. In response, prayer vigils were held. The desire for a more traditional protest to greet the trucks was bubbling through the community, but Lexam kept its schedule secret. The "stompers" found their way to the center of the refuge in the middle of the January night. Nearly a year has passed, and residents are gearing up now for the actual assault of the drilling.

Resistance!

Residents began their resistance to Lexam by educating themselves, visiting the gas fields in the Roan Plateau and Rifle area. The experience was terrifying. Most of the party were ill for days from ozone exposure and brought back horror stories from activists and residents of those communities. One of Rifle's activists brought to Crestone a DVD of the film *Land Out of Time*, a documentary about the fossil fuel industry's

attack on public lands. The film has begun to circulate around the valley; two educational forums have been held, and valley-wide outreach has begun. Petitions have been circulated and handed in person to Governor Ritter and other politicians. In addition, alliances and coalitions are being formed. Rising Tide North America activists visited, offered advice and took with them a copy of *Land Out of Time* to share on their Rocky Mountain tour.

This New Age community is devoted to peace and prayer, so direct action—and the images of violence it conjures—comes as a last resort. As Summer 2007 came to the high valley, indigenous spiritual leaders planned two large Medicine Wheel ceremonies as a form of protest—a direct action appropriate for the values of the community. Respecting the law, a location bordering the drill sites was offered by the Manitou Foundation for construction of the wheel. Spiritual leaders of many traditions attended. The media was invited, and a dramatic photo found its way into Denver's *Rocky Mountain News*.

Water is required for the drilling process—about 30 acre-feet per well. Lexam approached the Baca Water and Sanitation board with an offer to buy the water needed. Despite threats of water trucks rumbling over the roads to the refuge if it didn't give in to the "offer," the board refused to sell. It was another small victory for community values.

A "scoping" meeting hosted by the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) and some actual Lexam execs was a community high point. The Canadians were told face to face that they are unwelcome and need to get their moral priorities straight when it comes to developing energy for the future! With the help of the San Luis Valley Ecosystem Council, money was raised to hire lawyers to file a suit against USFWS. The suit asks for public input through the National Environmental Protection Act process—during which concerns, such as the lack of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), a biological inventory management plan for the wildlife refuge and an independent observer to monitor the drilling, could be addressed. The people won this first suit and no roads to well sites will be built on the refuge before an assessment is done. Now on to demand an EIS!

In a town of spiritual transients, communication and commitment is a struggle in itself. Hopefully the fears, fights and small victories will prove unnecessary because, in the end, the wildcat wells may yield nothing for the high-risk investors lured by Lexam's "politically safe" assurances. Still, that the threats of the gas industry have reached this tiny outpost—known as the "Shangri-La of the Rockies" or the "Crown Chakra of the Earth"—is an eye-opener to residents who fled "the real world" to seek inner enlightenment. The good of all of this is that we are now reaching out to each other, the valley, the country and the rest of the globe in the fight against big oil and global warming.

Winter is an artist and action medic. She has been an anti-coal activist with Mountain Justice Summer in Appalachia (she was one of the Marsh Fork 13) and with Doodá Desert Rock in New Mexico. As far as she knows, she is the only member of Rising Tide North America in southern Colorado—and certainly the only one who sits zazen.

Evolving EF! II

WHAT'S NEXT FOR THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT?

BY ALLAPATTAH

A little more than a year ago, an article was published in the *EF! Journal*, entitled "Evolving Earth First!" and based on a discussion that occurred at the 2006 Round River Rendezvous in Katúah (see *EF!J* September-October 2006). Its intent was to "evolve" the movement by clearly and simply articulating some of the perspectives that have become increasingly prevalent in EF! circles over the past decade and by offering them up for debate and dialogue. The article asked for response but received none. While those thoughts are certainly still open to feedback and debate, it is also important to simultaneously continue the evolution process. Below is a follow-up to that article, intended to initiate dialogue around strategic priorities in the radical environmental movement.

Defending and Restoring Wilderness Corridors

Throughout the 1980s and into the '90s, EF! made radically visionary strides by promoting the ideal of a rewilded continent. The movement researched, published and spoke publicly on the subject, and it organized actions that helped push that vision and strategy towards a wider acceptance. Restoring wilderness corridors has become a recognized, legitimate goal in the global effort to avert species extinction.

In 2003, realizing that the ante had been upped by corporate globalization, EF! activists in the UK utilized a body of research on global biodiversity and laid out a similar strategic vision of how to defend specific biological "hot-spots" around the world, in order to preserve the banks of biodiversity and to ensure the survival and proliferation of wild cultures after the inevitable collapse of industrial civilization.

In the past five years, those ambitious goals and brilliant strategies have become deflated by the reality of climate change and the trajectory of globalization. A hard truth is barreling toward us like a high-speed train: Our efforts to defend and restore the wild will be in vain if we can't derail this entire system, fast.

Obstructing and Destroying Industrial Corridors

While many biologists, ecologists, rural people, indigenous communities and environmental activists have been trying to understand the damage we've done and to learn how to restore ecosystems, industry has plowed ahead at an exponential rate. Where standards have been set, corporations have relocated to evade them; where resistance has been met, big business has sponsored repression. Defending land but not destroying industry is a dead end. The industrial system we live under must expand to continue; it is incompatible with the concept of sustainability. However, if we stop this expansion, the system immediately begins to crumble.

This simple assessment of our situation is no surprise to any EF!er reading this *Journal*; most of us know countless, detailed stories brutally illustrating the situation. Certainly, many of us would say that we understand with a painful clarity what is happening to the planet around us, but our actions and campaigns often don't reflect that understanding.

It's time to reassess our priorities and strategies. Our visions and goals have generally remained intact and relevant, but the playing field has been shifting around us. Rather than acting piecemeal in defense of the last remaining wild places or spending time and energy on random symbolic actions, we should identify and assess strategic campaigns that are capable of blocking the expansion of globalized infrastructure.

The concrete and steel of corporate globalization—ports, power plants, highways, etc.—point to where we can often combine our efforts with local communities of resistance and maximize impact at a systemic level. This may not always be as romantic and immediately gratifying as life 150 feet up an old-growth tree, and it might involve some less thrilling "paper-wrenching." (Sometimes, well-placed letters and permit petitions can cost companies a lot more than all of the roadblocks we can muster and all of the sugar we can fit in the gas tanks, combined.) But the joy of a full-spectrum strategic resistance can often offer inspiration and create opportunities for actions that expose beauty in unexpected places. For example, who would have thought that the small pockets of forests tucked between miles of monocultured, genetically modified corn farms in southern Indiana would be so enchanting?

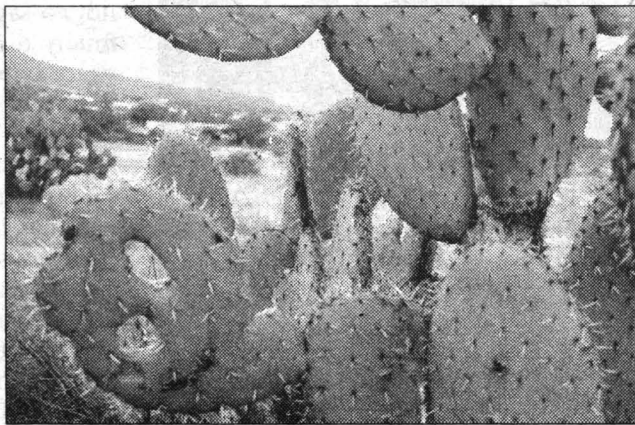


photo by Eskurantzha

Navigating Some Pitfalls

The momentum of concern around climate change has opened up some strong opportunities for an anti-infrastructure analysis, especially when challenging roads and energy projects. But it also comes with the risk of reducing the critique of industry's empire to a critique of carbon. Obviously, we are not against carbon itself; but we also need to clarify that we are not against climate change, either. We are against the system that created anthropogenic climate change, and we certainly can't trust the corporations who run that system with any other energy supply (not hydrogen, nuclear, biofuels, tidal, geothermal, wind or solar). These psychopaths can't be trusted. Period.

Another obstacle to an anti-infrastructure strategy is the negativity

that comes with defining and identifying ourselves by what we oppose. Localized efforts can often navigate around this by presenting alternatives and offering positive messaging. But, at its core, this is about facing the fact that destruction is outpacing restoration. This is about rejecting the delusion that so many people operate under every day. For now, the clarity of opposing industrial expansion may be more important than giving the strategy a positive, feel-good spin.

At first glance and as a larger movement strategy, fighting infrastructure may feel limiting for some people and places. But there is more to the strategy than fighting roads and power plants. Take, for example, the new border wall construction on the US-Mexico border. This is not necessarily a real demand of the industrial empire; it is a symbolic manifestation of it. It has very real impacts on the ecosystems and communities it is slicing. In this way, it offers amazing opportunities to connect with other diverse groups fighting border policy, globalization and the forced migration of land-based *campesino* communities—many of whom are facing (or fleeing) the most severe aspects of industrial expansion. Over the long haul, building these relationships is a strong step in obstructing the system's trajectory.

Perhaps the most treacherous pitfall to avoid is the tendency toward vanguardist, elitist or puritanical attitudes. This has been pointed out in recent instances, where activist rhetoric claims to have the *only* path to total liberation. Thinking strategically can be confusing and overwhelming, and is inclined to elicit some legitimate critiques. Our best choice is to work through any critiques by listening to and supporting each other, and by looking to the Earth for guidance.

Moving Toward Action

We are already beginning to see examples of anti-infrastructure projects popping up in EF! circles. Rising Tide, Root Force, Roadblock EF!, EF!ers in Vermont fighting that truck stop and EF!ers in Florida fighting power plants have all included anti-infrastructure analysis in their efforts.

By pushing the message of stopping industrial expansion through bold and inspiring actions, we can move environmentalists, farmers and neighborhood groups to begin opposing roads, dams and power plants.

We are onto something, but we have to continue to articulate and evolve our visions and aspirations. Most importantly, we have to communicate them through action. We're not just looking to defend, restore and rewild natural areas; we are aiming to undermine industrialism entirely, while we heal and reconnect ourselves in the process.

Allapattah, according to Florida cracker fiction writer Patrick Smith, is a Seminole word meaning "the end of all things." It is also the Seminole word for the alligators of the southern Everglades.

BARE BONES

SHAC UK Returns to HLS

On the morning of November 10, 700 people gathered in Huntingdon, England, to protest the ongoing animal abuse and murder committed daily by vivisection laboratory Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS). The gathering marked the recent defeat of an injunction that, for four years, had prevented Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty UK from holding a large protest at the lab.

The demonstrators, celebrating their dedication to shutting down HLS, were greeted by local folks who cheered, clapped and raised their fists in support, as the march wove through town and proceeded to the gates of the HLS laboratory. The rally began with a series of speeches urging people to keep up the fight. By dusk, the air was filled with the sounds of megaphones, sirens, voices, whistles and drums as people vented their grief and anger at the atrocities committed within the walls before them.

Wachovia Bank and Friends Drop HLS

Recent months have seen an increase in direct action against Wachovia Bank and other shareholders of HLS. In Brea, California, on November 13, a message reading "Cut your ties with HLS" was painted in red on the front of a Wachovia branch.

In Los Angeles, on November 19, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) jammed superglue into the card access slot at the entry gate of a Wachovia satellite office and attached a small sign that read, "Wachovia tortures animals. Drop HLS, assholes."

On November 20, Wachovia Bank, the insurance company AXA and the investment firm Rathbone Brothers announced that they had sold all of their shares of HLS. Wachovia and AXA were HLS's second- and third-largest shareholders respectively.

Since May, Wachovia, AXA, Rathbone Brothers, Dresdner Bank, Deutsche Bank, La Grange Capital, Robeco Investment Management and Fairfield Greenwich Associates have all joined the growing list of those who have dropped HLS!

Largest Environmental Settlement Ever in US

Ohio-based American Electric Power (AEP) agreed on October 9, to pay \$4.6 billion to cut chemical emissions from its power plants and to pay a \$15-million civil fine.

In 1999, the Justice Department sued AEP and six other companies for violating the Clean Air Act. AEP was accused of spreading smog and acid rain across the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic. This is the largest environmental settlement in US federal history.

Resistance Against the Wall

A Report from the No Borders Camp



photos courtesy Raulo Zapata

BY NON SERVIUM

On November 7-11, more than 500 people gathered at the US-Mexico border between Calexico, California and Mexicali, Baja California, for the first ever No Borders Camp on Turtle Island. The camp was meant to be a temporary autonomous zone, networking forum and manifestation of resistance against the border regime and its concurrent violence against people and the planet.

The idea for the camp came from efforts to develop a No Borders network in North America. Workshops, meetings and *encuentros* (consultas) took place throughout 2006 and 2007, in various locations (including San Diego, Tucson, Mazatlán, the Zapatista Intergalaktica in Chiapas, the US Social Forum in Atlanta and the Earth First! Rendezvous in Indiana) in order to plan the camp and catalyze this network. Similar No Borders camps have been taking place across Europe, Africa and Oceania since the late 1990s.

Building and defending the camp began on November 7, with a march on both sides of the border to the campsite about three miles east of downtown Calexico/Mexicali. Along the way, roads were blocked on the Calexico side by the US Border Patrol (*la migra*). There were also unmarked vehicles tailing us and surveillance cameras on top of nearby buildings. Despite this intimidation, energy was high as we shouted chants from one side of the wall to the other. Periodically, a black flag would surface over the border wall in Mexicali, to rousing cheers from the Calexico march.

We were welcomed at the campsite by dozens of *migra*, including numerous agents clad in riot gear, holding pepper-ball guns and what appeared to be sonic weapons. After about a half-hour, it became clear that they were most concerned with keeping our *compañer@s* from Mexicali from joining us. A perimeter was built using fallen branches and debris, and we proceeded to set up camp. Within hours, the Calexico side had a community kitchen, water, latrines, communal shade structures, an independent media center with wireless Internet and a pirate radio station.

The campsite that we'd chosen was right at the space where the wall ends and the All-American Canal begins, with a short vehicle barrier between the two. The area south of the canal, on the east side of the boundary wall, was technically US territory, thus creating a constant threat that either side could be attacked by *la migra* at any time. At first, *la migra* concentrated

at the vehicle barrier, preventing access between the east (Mexicali) and west (Calexico) sides of the camp. *La migra* would allow people to go from the west to the east side, but would not allow people to come back.

On the morning of November 9, we decided to occupy the vehicle barrier by moving *en masse* around it and serving breakfast across the border. A group of kids with a breakfast table locked down to block *la migra's* vehicle access, while dozens of people moved to fill in the space between. *La migra* responded by deploying dozens of agents in riot gear—about 15 of whom crossed in formation into the east side of the camp, where folks kept their distance and remained tranquil. Finally, after a tense standoff and negotiation with *la migra*, we were able to unify the two sides of the camp, as well as limit *la migra's* access to our *compañer@s*.

Later that day, about 200 people marched to the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Detention Center in El Centro, California. This is one of the largest detention centers in the country. Hundreds of

in its stark reality, with rows upon rows of gravesites with nothing to mark those within except a small brick with the word "*desconocido*" ("unknown").

There were lots of other events all week long on both sides of the camp. The border wall was thoroughly redecorated, with gorgeous murals and profane statements against the organized violence that the wall represents. Among the workshops were a presentation by the Beehive Collective, a forum about I-69, a hands-on audio/radio training, a street medic training, a discussion about consent and dealing with sexual violence in radical communities, resistance in Oaxaca, and at least three different workshops and discussions about the environmental impacts of militarization and neoliberal development in the borderlands. There were also a number of cultural events, including videos and slideshows projected against the wall and from one side to the other, a *transnational* "freedom of movement" dance party, a

The Mexicali side of the camp had a slightly more mellow tone than the Calexico side, due partially to smaller numbers. A lot of human energy went into sustaining and maintaining the camp. There were folks from a handful of different countries and indigenous communities, as well as one person who rode a bike 1,500 miles to be there. At times, the process was challenging, as people adjusted to changes in circumstances (dust storms or *la migra* posturing) or changes in numbers as campers from the Calexico side came over. There were a number of bilingual trainings and workshops, but fewer large, organized actions occurred specifically on the Mexicali side of the camp.

Still, some of the most inspiring moments occurred when actions were happening simultaneously on both sides of the wall. It would be difficult not to be moved by cross-border call-and-response chants like, "*Queremos Un Mundo*" ("We Want One World") on one side, followed by, "*Sin Fronteras!*" ("Without Borders!") on the other. Communication was maintained in spite of the wall—either over it by people atop ladders or face to face at the vehicle gate. The resources shared and friendships forged were testaments to the camp's overall success. This is not to say that we thoroughly and finally dismantled the internal, abstract borders that separate us, but that the spirit of camaraderie and solidarity was undeniable from the Mexicali side.

The construction of the border wall has had a tremendous impact on ecosystems and ecological corridors in Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas. Numerous species that have historically migrated across what is today the international boundary have been cut off from their habitat, separating populations from one another and depleting genetic diversity. Lands that once were set aside for conservation have become a war zone, with thousands of federal agents, motorized vehicles, heavy equipment and enforcement infrastructure tearing apart desert, mountain and riparian ecosystems.

The wall has already been partially constructed through the San Pedro River Valley and the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge. The Secure Fence Act of 2006 mandated that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) build up to 700 miles of physical barriers along the international boundary. In November, DHS released an Environmental Impact Statement for the construction of 70 miles of border wall in south Texas, without having completed any engineering or biological surveys.



Activists show their opposition to the border.

children, women and men are interned there awaiting immigration hearings and deportation. Although there were scores of law enforcement amassed in the area, they kept their distance as protesters redecorated the signs in front, took over all six lanes of traffic nearby, removed the visual barriers from the surrounding chain-link fence and made a humongous ruckus to let the folks on lockdown inside know we were out there to support them.

On November 10, a march and memorial traveled to the Holtville Cemetery, where more than 600 migrants who've died in the nearby desert are buried. The groundskeepers have instructions to remove anything memorializing those buried within (flowers, crosses, etc.) and to pile these in an adjacent ditch. It was here that we saw the human toll of border militarization

florescent exercise bloc, musical performances, puppets, samba and more.

All of the logistics of the camp were self-organized in teams (*comisiones*), including translation, security, sanitation, health and wellness, independent media and legal support. One criticism of the camp was about the impact of so many people gathering in the middle of a fragile desert landscape. Not to shame the US side of the camp, but the environmental impact of the camp on the Mexican side was far lower, owing to a more thorough clean-up and a large, combined humanure/food-waste compost. Still, any impact from the camp was mitigated by the fact that the land we were on is run with drag lines (for tracking) every day by *la migra*, not to mention all of the other environmental impacts of ongoing border militarization.

Only two public meetings have been planned before the project is railroaded forward.

In 2007, more than 70 miles of border wall were constructed in California and Arizona. DHS has announced plans to complete more than 330 miles of wall by the end of 2008, through areas including Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Cabeza Prieta National Monument, Santa Ana National Wildlife Refuge, Bentsen-Rio Grande Valley State Park and World Birding Center, and Sabal Palm Audubon Sanctuary. Groups that are organizing against the wall include the Texas No Border Wall Coalition and Tohono O'odham Voices Against the Wall.

The violence that is inflicted on the Earth by the border is a mirror of the violence inflicted on people. One of the focal points of resistance against the wall construction has been the Tohono O'odham Nation, whose traditional lands have been bisected by the international boundary and who endure constant harassment by Border Patrol agents occupying their land and communities. O'odham organizers hosted the second Indigenous Border Summit of the Americas at the same time as the No Borders Camp, including representatives from 19 different indigenous nations from across Turtle Island who are affected by borders and the militarization they bring.

A major force driving migration from Mexico, Central America and elsewhere into the US and Canada has been the impact of neoliberal globalization on indigenous communities and subsistence farmers, who've had their livelihoods and communities destroyed and have gone north searching for work. This economic violence is concentrated in the borderlands, where *maquiladoras* assembling consumer goods bound for the US market employ workers for \$6 a day, while dumping industrial chemicals in nearby waterways. The result is some of the highest rates of cancer, lupus and other diseases in the world. A member of the Cucupa Nation who attended the camp in Mexicali gave a talk about how they are no longer

able to fish in their traditional waterways due to industrial pollution from Mexicali.

Free trade and environmental contamination, piled onto problems of organized crime, a lack of social infrastructure, and a culture of impunity related to public officials and law enforcement create a chaotic environment along the border, rife with social and environmental injustice and the systematic violation of people's human and political rights. The femicides in Ciudad Juárez and the complicity



A scene from the November 11 march against the border

of the US border agents in the drug trade are examples of this.

Over the past 10 years, more than 4,000 people have died while attempting to cross through the borderlands. In Fiscal Year 2006 alone, more than 195,000 people across the US were kidnapped by ICE, torn from their families and communities, detained and deported. This modern-day ethnic cleansing is legitimized in the name of the Homeland Security state. It is part of the ongoing repression and militarization of daily life, as reflected in the Green Scare and the criminalization of dissent.

On the last day of the camp, this violence was inflicted directly upon us. To end the camp, we organized a binational march back from the campsite to downtown Calexico/Mexicali. By this time, many people had started heading home, leaving much lower numbers than days before. Thinking that things would be mellow,

a lot of people on the west side of the camp crossed over to the east side. The march retained a festive spirit; when we arrived at the downtown port of entry, folks began playing volleyball back and forth over the wall and continued drumming and chanting. People in Mexicali began a "die-in," blocking traffic through the port for brief periods of time, as others walked around to talk to passersby about the demonstration, the camp and the reasons why we were there. A few people

tried to start a binational kissing booth through a hole in the border wall.

After about 30 minutes, *la migra* began to move into the area. Soon we were flanked on all sides. Without warning and without an order to disperse, about 100 *migra* attacked the crowd of about 40 demonstrators, randomly injuring people with pepper-ball guns and batons, tackling, isolating and beating individuals. When small groups of demonstrators attempted to leave the area, they were followed, surrounded and assaulted again. In all, about 30 people were detained and then allowed to leave, five at a time. Three people were arrested, one of whom, Juan Ruiz, is currently facing charges of assault on a federal officer.

All three people who were arrested were severely beaten and in need of medical attention—including medication for

pre-existing conditions. While in detention, they were denied medical treatment despite repeated attempts to obtain it by doctors, attorneys and the detainees themselves. This experience is shared on a daily basis by thousands of detainees in the borderlands who, after as long as six or seven days in the desert, are denied medical care despite suffering from severe heat exhaustion, dehydration, and other injuries and illnesses. Ruiz, a Colombian citizen who faces deportation if convicted of his charges, is a classic example: He has been charged with assault after being brutalized at the hands of the Border Patrol.

Despite the violent repression on the last day of the camp, as well as other mistakes made throughout the week, we succeeded in reclaiming and holding a space that has too long been one of violence and death. We built relationships and resistance across borders, taking a leap forward in our struggle to tear down the walls that surround us. Together, we created an autonomous space—an experiment in what it would be like to live in a world without borders, capitalism and the arbitrary separations within and between us.

Prior to the attack by *la migra* at the closing march, I walked around downtown Calexico, speaking with passersby about the demonstration and our reasons for being there. People talked about their families divided by the wall, working in the fields and factories of the US, being arbitrarily stopped and searched by *la migra*. I responded, "This is why we are here: to speak out against these borders, these walls, to struggle on both sides together. *Es decir que, algún día, el muro va a caer.* (It is to say that, one day, these walls will come down.)" Invariably, whenever I said this, whomever I said it to would grin, and a glint would shine in their eyes.

To find out more about the camp and ways to support Juan Ruiz, visit www.noborderscamp.org.



photo courtesy Panda

No Borders! Earth First! Throws Down!

BY NB!EF!

In the early morning hours of November 11, No Borders! Earth First! sent a clear message to the El Centro, California, office of Granite Construction Company: The continued construction of the US-Mexico border wall will not be tolerated. The activists hung one banner reading "Save the San Pedro!" on Granite Construction's entrance gate, and another banner that read "Stop Building a Wall of Death" was unfurled from the building's roof. Activists also wheat-pasted a message to the company on its front door, demanding that it halt construction on seven miles of the border wall, which will cut through the San Pedro National Conservation Area in the Southern Arizona desert. Locks on the front door and entrance gate were jammed with glue, and the gate was immobilized with epoxy.

Activists also "replanted" discarded memorials from Holtville Cemetery in front of Granite's

office. Holtville Cemetery houses hundreds of unidentified migrant graves for those who have died trying to cross the US-Mexico border. Flowers, crosses, wreaths and other memorials are removed regularly by officials. Activists reclaimed a discarded headstone and attached it securely to the office's front step.

The San Pedro is one of the most important riparian areas in the US. It is home to 84 species of mammals (including the federally endangered jaguar), 14 species of fish, 41 species of reptiles and amphibians, and 100 species of breeding birds. It also provides invaluable habitat for 250 species of migrant and wintering birds, and contains archaeological sites representing the remains of human occupation from as early as 11,200 years ago.

In October, Homeland Security Chief Michael Chertoff, using powers given to him by the 2005 Real ID Act, suspended 19 Arizona laws that protected the San Pedro region from

border construction. The Sierra Club and Defenders of Wildlife have filed lawsuits to stop the project, but Granite Construction, with its multimillion-dollar, publicly-funded contract, has not halted.

The wall through San Pedro would extend nearly 30 miles of existing border barriers near Douglas, Arizona, in what has become the nation's busiest corridor for undocumented border crossings. As a result, tens of thousands of migrants would be pushed into longer, more dangerous desert crossings in an area where death is already a major risk. A recent study released by the University of Arizona found that the post-1994 policy of "prevention through deterrence," including building border walls, increased migrant deaths by 2,000 percent between 1994 and 2005. No Borders! Earth First! has promised not to let Granite Construction Company forget or overlook the people and the ecosystem it is killing.

Frontlines

Grenade Attack on Mexican Consulate

Early in the morning of October 29, an unknown bicyclist threw an improvised hand grenade at the Mexican consulate in New York City, shattering the building's windows and waking neighbors. No one was injured. New York police detectives reported that surveillance footage shows what appears to be a man in his early 20s biking away from the crime scene at around 3:30 a.m. The consulate was shut down for the week for a complete investigation.

The "bombing" took place close to the one-year anniversary of the murder of Brad Will, an American journalist and longtime *EF!*er, who was reporting on the popular uprising in Oaxaca, Mexico (see *EF!* January-February 2007). Will's murderers have been identified as members of local security forces. Police refused to comment on whether they considered the attack to be related.



Mine Site Sabotaged in Virginia

Workers at a mountaintop removal coal mine in Wise County, Virginia, were surprised when they arrived at work on September 24, and found that a drilling rig would not start. Soon, the miners noticed that their "Terex" earth mover was also significantly damaged and called the sheriff's department. Investigators said that the saboteurs had focused on the engine, hydraulics and electrical system of the Terex, which sustained \$100,000 in damage.

The Committee to Defend the Land and People claimed the action in a communiqué: "In celebration of the Fall Equinox... we sabotaged one drill rig, two D11R Caterpillar bulldozers and a goliath Terex earth mover. We have watched the oldest mountains on Earth be destroyed by greedy coal companies. This is an assault on the people of Appalachia and the land we depend on for life. The coal companies have raped and pillaged the land and people of these mountains for more than 100 years. To destroy these beautiful mountains for the sake of coal is a crime. This devastation must come to an end."

Israeli Cell-Phone Tower Vandalized

Riots broke out on October 30, in the Israeli Arab community of Pekiin, when police tried to arrest a person suspected of vandalizing a local cell-phone tower. Residents were able to successfully drive the police out with rocks, but not before one villager was reportedly shot.

Community leaders in Pekiin have said that there are more than 100 cases of cancer that they attribute to the tower, and the owner had been repeatedly asked to take it down to no avail. The proliferation of cell-phone

towers in Israel has many people concerned about the link between such towers and cancer.

One Thousand SUVs Deflated

This Fall has seen a rise in vandalism against SUVs in Sweden, with more than 1,000 of these gas-guzzlers already targeted. A decentralized group has claimed that it has let out the air from the SUVs' tires in order to discourage motorists from driving vehicles that impact the environment so heavily. Originally, the attacks were centered in Stockholm, but the fun has caught on all over the country.

In addition to deflating the tires, the assailants have also left notes on the SUVs, warning the drivers against continuing their wasteful ways.

Up the Ducks!

Nighttime gardeners visited the Warringah Golf Club in Sydney, Australia, on the night of November 22, digging holes and wreaking extensive damage to seven putting greens.

The vandalism was an act of revenge against the golf club, which had hired marksmen to shoot the native wood ducks who like to land on the course. The ducks make small holes in the turf to forage for food and are considered pests by the golfers. Many of the club's neighbors expressed sympathy with the note left by the nocturnal gardeners, which stated, "Warning! You bastards kill one bird, and we will destroy all your greens at our leisure. We will be watching and waiting."

The Great Puerto Rican Kayak Escape

Since July, Puerto Rican activists have been camped out at a beach in San Juan, in an attempt to stop a hotel development by Paseo Caribe. The development would block public access to the beach.

One of the activists, known as Tito Kayak, scaled a construction crane on November 6, to halt work on the development. The action soon developed into a weeklong "crane-sit," with dozens of supporters coming out daily. Finally, police tried to apprehend Kayak on the night of November 13, but they were bitterly disappointed. While a large number of Puerto Rican Special Forces police watched from the land, sea and air, Tito Kayak repelled down from his perch. Fellow activists assisted him into a kayak, and he quickly paddled away.

Police on jet skis and in two helicopters were in hot pursuit, but the activists outsmarted them. In a well-choreographed plan, Kayak switched places with a look-alike under a bridge and escaped while police chased, detained and unhappily released the fake Tito Kayak.

BP Executive Pied

A biofuels conference, held in the UK and sponsored by energy company BP (formerly British Petroleum), was disrupted by pie-wielding protesters on October 17. BP's biofuels director, Oliver Mace, was confronted by a crowd of activists who swarmed the stage, with one tossing a cream pie at the director. At the same time as the pie attack, another demonstrator locked down to the podium and told the audience, "We need to reduce our consumption now; technological fixes are not the answer!" Someone then set off a fire alarm, causing the conference to come to total halt.

Later, an activist group called Eastside Climate Action held a press conference, criticizing BP and other multinationals for corporate greenwashing of climate change: "Biofuels are not part of the solution; they are part of the problem."

ALF Targets UCLA Vivivector

Edythe London, a primate researcher at the University of California-Los Angeles, was paid a visit by unexpected guests on the night of October 10. Animal Liberation Front (ALF) activists

flooded the scientist's Beverley Hills home by breaking a few front windows and turning on a garden hose they had placed inside the house.

The group issued a communiqué, which states that London had been targeted for her leadership in research that injects lambs with cocaine, and addicts primates to methamphetamines and nicotine.

The communiqué also mentions that the activists had originally wanted to employ arson but were worried about unintentionally starting a wildfire—a very real concern in southern California this time of year.

Anti-War Activists

Blockade Olympia Port

For two weeks in early November, hundreds of activists blockaded the port of Olympia, Washington, to stop a shipment of military vehicles from being unloaded. The vehicles are intended for use in the Iraq War but are being refurbished at a military installation near Olympia. The Port Militarization Resistance (PMR), a network of activists dedicated to fighting the growing militarization of Olympia's ports, helped organize the actions.

The activities started on November 7, with more than 100 people blocking the streets nearest to the port to prevent the unloading of vehicles. Police cleared the streets with force, arresting and beating a number of people.

The next big day of action was November 9, when different groups employed a diversity of tactics to block the port. At one exit, about 60 people stopped a truck by lying in front of it. The other exit was sealed by a blockade. Activists successfully stopped all military equipment from leaving or entering the port for more than 17 hours, until police eventually pushed people off the lines.

A similar system of soft and hard blockades was employed on November 13, shutting down the military transports for half of the day. A rally of about 200 supporters came to show solidarity with those physically resisting the transports. In the middle of this rally, a soldier actually walked out of the port, saying he was against the war and refused to transport war equipment.

After 10 days of resistance, it looks like the military will not use the port of Olympia again for military shipments—at least while the Iraq War is under way.



ANTI-MOUNTAINTOP REMOVAL ACTIVIST IN DANGER

BY MARIA GUNNOE

On September 19, Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition (OVEC) members had a meeting on the proposed valley fill that a local coal company wants to put in Dry Branch Hollow in Bim, West Virginia. This meeting was meant to engage local people in the legal battle to stop the fill. The meeting was held near my home, in a community building in Wharton, that I had rented for the evening in OVEC's name. The meeting was due to start at 6 p.m. About half an hour prior, disgruntled workers from the coal company started gathering in the parking lot. Within 15 minutes, the workers had filled the parking lot, blocking all parking areas so that community members coming to the meeting had no choice but to pass by.

I went to the parking lot to ask these men to allow people to park, and things started getting ugly. The workers literally surrounded Jim Foster, an OVEC member and retired deep miner, and screamed at him, calling him stupid and instigating anger in a 79-year-old man with heart problems.

The workers were very intimidating and made verbal threats against me and other OVEC members. Some of the workers were drunk, and all were out of control. At 6 p.m., when the meeting was due to start, the mass of workers came crashing into the building. My co-worker and I were literally pushed out of the doorway.

My 13-year-old daughter also attended this meeting and became upset enough to start crying. One of the workers had the audacity to wink at her. Eventually, the invading workers took every seat in the building and shut down the meeting. We decided to continue the meeting at the end of a nearby road.

Since then, there have been many threats on the safety of my family in our home. There was a young coal company employee who said to a friend, "It's odd sometimes how houses just catch on fire and people die in them." The workers have organized at a local convenience store to help garner support for their jobs. They have started petitions and posted a four-by-eight-foot letter on the front of the building that blames me for the loss of their jobs and refers to people who

don't want this valley fill as idiots who think rocks and trees are more important than jobs. The problem is that this store is also my children's bus stop and where our post office is. So, it is not a place that I can avoid.

There's a man who rides an ATV past my home in the wee hours of the morning. One time, he was followed after passing by the last time and drove straight to the mine office. Another time, in the middle of the night, there were about 15 workers who walked on a railroad track that runs by my house. After the threats that they made, I was very unsure of what would develop from this organized walk by my home.

In response to these threats, I have people helping to guard my property around the clock. They watch over my home while I am working and sleeping. I am also in the process of getting video cameras set up around my house. This has become a very real threat to my family. My son looked at me the other night and said, "Mom, I



Gunnoe testifies about the impacts of coal at the United Nations in 2006.

am afraid to go lie down. I am afraid they will burn us up in our home while we sleep."

I am very concerned for our safety at this point. A judge recently ruled in our favor. Now, these men are likely to get laid off. This is where it will start getting really serious. The workers are brainwashed by the company to believe that their jobs are more important than our lives. I was asked, "Why don't you just leave?" This is what they want. They want me out of here for many reasons, but the main reason they want me out is because I am successful in organizing the community members here to fight their activities. I live on the property my family has owned for ages. I refuse to give up the only memories I have of my family. The company wants me out at all costs. I refuse to go—dead or alive.

Maria Gunnoe is currently raising money to pay for security at her house. For more information or to make a donation, contact POB 46, Bob White, WV 25028.

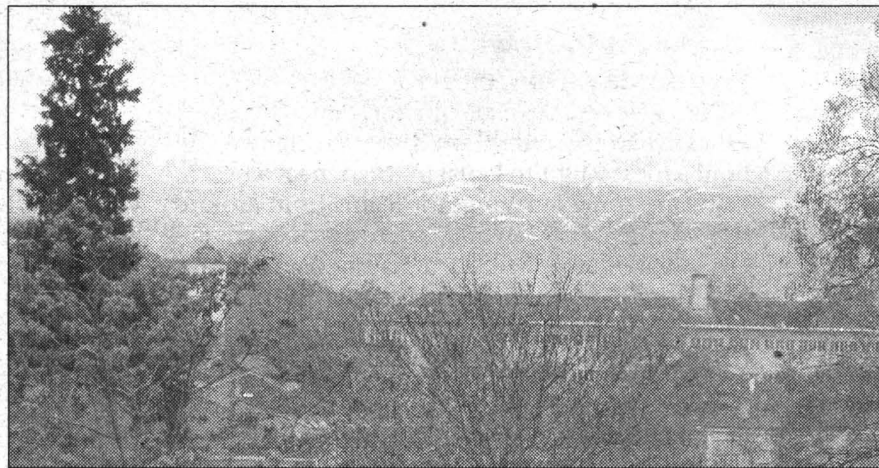
Bulgarian Forest Defenders Threatened

BY KATHERINE CHANDLER

On October 27, an awareness-raising action at Rila National Park that was conducted by Za Zemiata, an organization for the protection of the Bulgarian environment, was stopped by a group of thugs. Armed with guns and knives, the hoodlums arrived *en masse* at the Panichishte visitor information center, where Za Zemiata members and concerned citizens were giving information to passing cars about an illegal ski development occurring in and around park boundaries. Za Zemiata also tried to halt a shipment of construction equipment to the area, but the small group of environmentalists wasn't able to stop the bulldozers and machinery.

"We'll kill you," shouted one of the assailants, brandishing his weapon and threatening the group. Fortunately, the threat was hollow, and the action's participants were merely forced to a nearby parking lot. When police arrived on the scene, nothing was said to the attackers. Instead, environmentalists were warned that, "Next time, [the police] might show up too late." The threat was clear. The police helped the thugs force the activists back into their vehicles, and in the process, one activist received a concussion.

When I arrived in Bulgaria, just four days prior, local environmental activists had warned me that the situation was critical. However, I was not prepared for what



A forest in Bulgaria

happened at the Panichishte visitor center.

The leafleting was organized to protest the Ministry of the Environment's decision to exclude the Rila Buffer Zone from the international biodiversity network NATURA 2000. Despite ample scientific evidence for its inclusion, the area did not appear on the final list. Instead, members of the Environmental Ministry maintained that developers' interests were of "national priority," apparently taking precedence over European laws to prevent biodiversity loss.

This decision follows a long list of environmental oversights in the Rila Mountain area. In September, construction of a new ski area began without a permit. The park's chalets and lodges, allegedly acquired under coercion from a nearby tourist cooperative, are being transformed into hotels and condominiums. Paths that are marked as trails on the national park map are now

roads. Trucks speed down from the mountaintops, hauling away timber cut to make way for ski slopes.

The construction project is an initiative of Rila Sport, an affiliate of the offshore firm Real Stone Trading Business Corporation. Tihomir Trendafilov, head of the company, refuses to name the consortium of investors that he says will spend \$150 million developing Rila. Local support for the project comes from Sasho Ivanov, the mayor of the nearby municipality. His government sold 50 acres of land to Rila Sport in 2006, for a supposed \$2 million. In a shady move, the land was only offered to Rila Sport and not at public auction. Additionally, the areas bordering the National Park were never environmentally assessed, and the terms of the sale were never made public.

Rila National Park is a certified Protected Area Network park. It

achieved this internationally recognized, independent standard in 2005. The national park accomplished this under the directorship of Vasil Petrov, who was fired from his post in early 2007. Many speculate that his removal was caused by his opposition to the ski area development.

Rila National Park personnel expressed uncertainty about future plans. "It's a big problem," said a local ranger. "Before, there was hiking. Now, Jeeps!" There are projects around the area that are planned in regions formerly protected for biodiversity. Potential foreign buyers are largely unaware that these developments are in protected areas.

This past Fall, the Bulgarian Ministry of the Environment fined the local government more than \$7,000 for illegal road construction. Katerina Rakovska, protected areas officer for the World Wildlife Fund in Bulgaria, called this the weakest possible sanction. "All of the projects are going forward without necessary permission," she said.

"All that we ask for is compliance with the Bulgarian environmental laws and inclusion of the Rila Buffer zone in the NATURA 2000 network of protected territories. Authorities have taken no action against the illegal logging or the ongoing construction of roads and chair lifts near Panichishte," explained Tsveta Hristova of Za Zemiata.

For more information and to sign a petition, visit, www.forthenature.org.

Everglades Uprising 2008

EARTH FIRST! ORGANIZERS' CONFERENCE AND WINTER RENDEZVOUS

FEBRUARY 14-18 ★ PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA

BY EVERGLADES EF!

It's been almost 500 years since Florida's coast was "discovered" by conquistadors and colonizers. It took another 300 years before Empire was able to penetrate and subjugate most of the vast, wild swampland and the communities in resistance who sought refuge there. Today, the fight for land and freedom—and for the survival of the Earth itself—is in our hands. It's time for a new wave of rebellion in the Everglades.

You're Invited!

In 2006, the radical environmental movement met in Palm Beach County for the annual Earth First! Organizers' Conference (OC) and Winter Rendezvous. The gathering was not only a memorable moment in the history of the movement, but it also became part of an amazing story of victory over a sprawling corporate biotech nightmare—the 2000-acre Scripps Research Park—that was planned for the former orange grove next door to our campsite (see *EF!* July-August 2006). Now, another industrial monster is lurking around the corner....

Since the 2006 OC, EF!'s presence has grown in the Everglades, taking on other development issues; restoration politics and energy infrastructure projects. Our actions have centered around the local battle against Florida Power and Light's West County Energy Center, a 3,800-megawatt gas-fired power plant in the Everglades Agricultural Area. This would be the third-largest fossil fuel power plant in the US, pumping out more than 12 million tons of greenhouse gases. It would sit in the middle of a giant, scandal-ridden rock mine, on the edge of an "Everglades restoration" reservoir, 1,000 feet from the Arthur R. Marshall Loxahatchee National Wildlife Refuge. If completed, the plant would store 12.6 million gallons of diesel on site to be burned as "back-up" fuel. It would also require a deep-well injection system that would dump more than seven billion gallons of wastewater underground every year and a new high-pressure gas pipeline that would run 34 miles through wildlife areas. Both of these components of the plant have yet to receive permits. Still, this plant is currently under construction—despite the growing public outrage, pending lawsuits and the lack of essential permits.

Location/Directions

For those who like the comfort of familiarity and were here in 2006, you'll be pleased to know that our gathering will be back at the JW Corbett Wildlife Management Area, Campsite P. Directions are easy: Take I-95 to northern Palm Beach County, exit at Northlake Boulevard and go west. Turn north on Seminole Pratt Whitney Road and go until you can't anymore (about a mile down a dirt road). The Corbett "south check" station will be on your left. Deposit \$6 for a day pass, grab a map, and we'll see you at camp!

For those who may want to see another part of the bioregion, there is a high likelihood that field trips can be arranged to other locations, such as the Loxahatchee River, the Everglades National Park, the Fakahatchee Strand, Big Cypress Preserve, and other natural areas in our swamps and coastal scrubland.

About the OC/Rendezvous

In previous years, the Winter Rendezvous has often been thought of as the "lesser" of the two annual get-togethers. There is typically a smaller crowd with a more focused agenda. While we don't intend to fully disrupt that tradition, we feel the shrinking pool of longtime EF! organizers showing up at gatherings necessitates a broader invitation to be put forth in the hopes of roping in more folks, both newbies and old-timers, into the loose network of radical organizers.

Plus, while you all might be hibernating in your caves up north, we are in our active season here in subtropical South Florida. We'd love for all of you outta-towners to come see it for yourself. If you will need travel assistance to get a representative from your bioregion or campaign here, let us know.

Also, we could use extra funds to offer travel assistance to those who need it. This is an important part of bringing older EF!ers, international people and musicians down. Please help if you can!

What to Bring

Bring whatever you need for five days of camping, hiking and swimming in mild weather; food and water to contribute to a community kitchen; literature and information from campaigns and projects in your bioregion; ideas for workshops and discussions; music, poems and rants; enthusiasm and props for post-camp actions (and extra time, if you can spare it); and money (for a suggested \$25-\$50 donation) to contribute to camp planning for this year and next.

We are planning to have medics, a mediation team and childcare available. If you intend to utilize these, are able to contribute to them or have any other needs we should know about, please contact us.

Some Guidelines

Don't bring drugs, alcohol or weapons. The camping area prohibits these things, and we expect plenty of surveillance. In addition, no abuse or assault will be tolerated. If you or someone you know has a history of violence or violation, or are in a current conflict that puts the gathering's safety at risk, please let the mediation team know ASAP. Also, please don't bring your dogs.

The Night to Howl:

Wednesday, February 13

This will be a special gift for y'all who show up early! In the afternoon and evening, we will hold a local Night to Howl in town, near a beach, featuring some amazing musicians from around the country and beyond, such as: Sobrevivencia (Guatemala), Blackbird Raum (Santa Cruz, California), Here's to the Longhaul (Appalachia), Lars Din (Gainesville, Florida), Son Del Centro (Los Angeles), South Florida United Queers and Trannies (SoFUQT) and others.

The Organizers' Conference:

Thursday and Friday, February 14-15

The OC will begin early Thursday morning with a welcoming ceremony and introduction to the bioregion. This will be followed by a meeting to set times to discuss topics like the state of the movement, the *EF! Journal*, prisoner support, the Green Scare/government repression, internal anti-oppression work, and strategies, tools and tactics for EF! campaigns.

There are two concrete, movement-oriented tasks to bring input on. The first is helping to shape a new EF! primer. The last one is out of print. With this new primer, what improvements, updates and general revised changes do we want to see? The *EF! Direct Action Manual* also needs to be reprinted. This publication has been out of circulation for far too long and sorely needs to be available again. What updates or changes need to be made? Are there new tactics to add? (For example, could anyone please explain that crazy new use for super glue that the Brits have pioneered?) Another proposal for the OC is to have a focused discussion on vision and strategy in regard to the larger movement, specifically

asking how we will renew and reinspire our direct action culture.

The Winter Rendezvous:

Saturday and Sunday, February 16-17

Technically, these days are known as the Winter Rendezvous. The camp's numbers typically swell and include lots more local folks. There will also be a broader range of workshops, skillshares and discussion groups. On Saturday night, there will be an EF! rally with lots of music, poems and ranting. Sunday will have time dedicated to preparations for the week's actions.

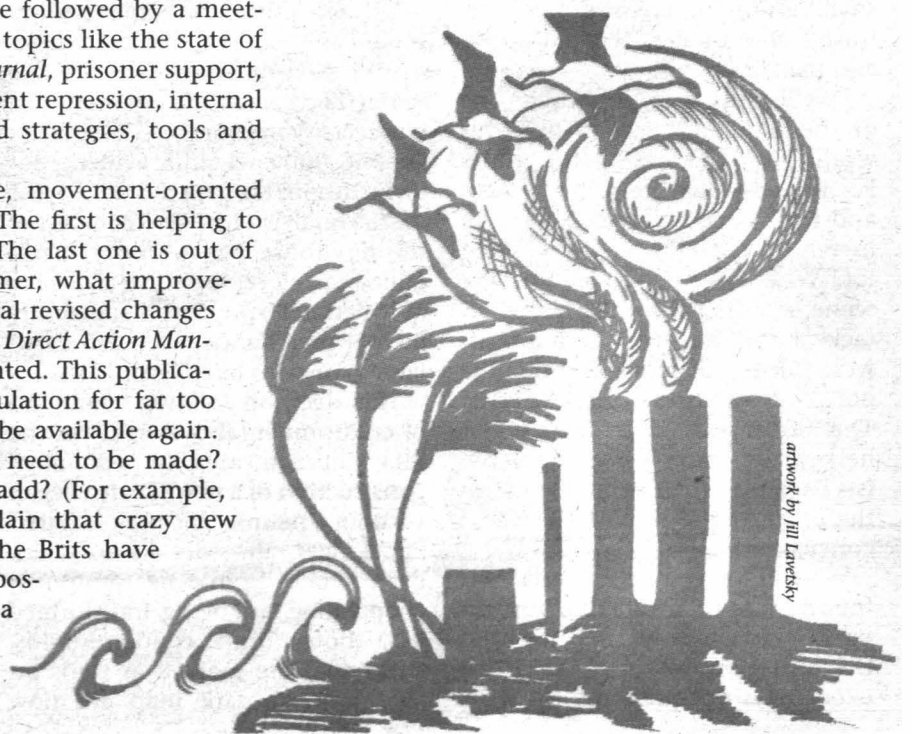
The list of possible workshops includes: Climate Change and Rising Tide; Everglades (Radical) Restoration; Fighting Plum Creek in Maine; Stopping the Border Wall between the US and Mexico; Mountaintop Removal; Taking Back the Land; Wild/Edible Plant Walks; Ecofeminism; Crafting With Wild Materials; Art and Conservation; Making Consent Sexy; Coastal and Marine Ecology; Challenging Oppression; Middle Eastern Environmental Issues; Direct Action and Your Legal Rights; Homonormality and the Gay-stream; Return of the Nuclear Nightmare; Root Force and Anti-Infrastructure Analysis; and more!

Action(s)!: Monday, February 18

On February 18, there will be a call for a coordinated civil disobedience action, the locations and specifics of which will be announced later. (He he. Wouldn't *you* like to know?) While we do not seek a return to any "good ol' days" of mass actions, we recognize that pulling off openly planned group actions involving everyone at a gathering can be empowering and inspiring for people—integrating local folks with travelers and broadening our movement's direct action skillbase. There has been a clear lack of these types of actions at recent EF! gatherings. Perhaps, this will be a healthy way to respond to the fear and distrust that has been manufactured by the government's ongoing Green Scare repression. Our thought is that a more participatory direct action could nurture a broader culture of resistance which has been sparse lately. There has also been a local call for an all womyn's action.

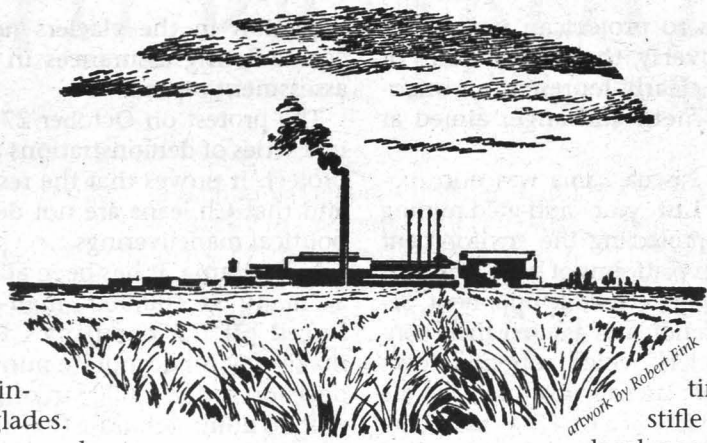
In addition, we encourage autonomous affinity group actions for those who come organized and prepared to take the initiative. We can offer materials and information to groups that respect our basic guidelines and will reflect the message of our call to action.

For more information, contact Everglades Earth First!, (561) 588-9666; evergladesearthfirst@gmail.com; www.earthfirst2008oc.info.



CALL TO ACTION!

Shut Down Florida Power and Light



artwork by Robert Fink

February 18 will be a day of civil disobedience for restoration and sustainability in the Everglades. No more fossil fuel or nuclear energy! No more rock mining in the Everglades, and no more sprawl and corruption!

In the spirit of past movements for justice, activists from around the country will be in South Florida to put their bodies on the line to stop the illegal construction of a giant gas-burning power plant across from the Loxahatchee National Wildlife Refuge. Residents have petitioned, met with elected officials, protested and filed lawsuits. Still, the construction continues. Corporate pay-offs to

politicians and environmental groups have continually attempted to stifle all conventional, legal means of opposition. We are taking it to the next level!

The climate crisis facing the planet demands that humanity stop all greenhouse gas emissions and begin restoring damaged ecosystems immediately. Here in Palm Beach County, local activists are joining a global movement to take drastic actions to avert the worst disasters of human-caused climate change and begin repairing what we have done to the Earth—for our own survival and for the future of life on this planet. We invite you to join us!

WE ARE EVERGLADES EARTH FIRST!

Earth First! is not an organization. There is no membership, no payment of dues and no board of directors. It is an idea—simple and self-explanatory. We see EF! as a loose, amorphous global network—a movement of individuals and collectives taking action in the defense of planetary life-support systems and communities that depend on them. We feel that it is not about putting concern for the environment over care for people. It is about recognizing that the way we treat the Earth reflects the way we treat one another, that all life is connected and that defending the Earth is a form of self-defense.

The idea of putting the Earth first has been planted in this subtropical corner of the US empire. The seeds sent up green shoots amid rubber bullets and riot cops during the Miami Free Trade Area of the Americas summit in 2003. It spreads its roots in the compost of urban community gardens. It nurtures its spirit in the sacred fire ceremonies of indigenous Mayan immigrants. It basks in the fury of our many hurricanes, celebrating power outages and wandering unnoticed after curfew. It showed its first blossoms in the battle against coastal development, urban sprawl and corporate biotechnology. Now, it's beginning to bloom in the fight against the empire's energy infrastructure, which is encroaching into the Everglades bioregion.

Everglades Earth First! is based in the place now known as southeast Florida. This area was inhabited by the Jobe, Ais, Jeaga, Tekesta and Calusa communities before colonization and conquest destroyed their coastal homes. Seminoles and escaped slaves later inhabited the region and fought for the land and their way of life. We find inspiration in the indigenous ancestors of all lands and work in solidarity with native activists.

Update on Scripps Biotech Research



Although a massive battle has been won, the fight against Scripps continues. The Biotech Institute has settled in, with much smaller facilities, at Florida Atlantic University's (FAU) North Campus.

But Scripps and Palm Beach County still have their eyes on the 600-acre Briger Tract across from the campus. It is one of the few remaining substantial pine-flatwood and wetland habitats

east of Interstate 95 in South Florida. It hosts rare and threatened species, such as the gopher tortoise and the Florida pawpaw.

The FAU laboratories are known to conduct animal testing, and their primary contracts are through pharmaceutical giants and the Department of Defense. Expanding these labs onto the Briger land must not go unchallenged!

Fossil Fuel or Nuclear? Neither!

An Expression of Intent from Everglades Earth First!

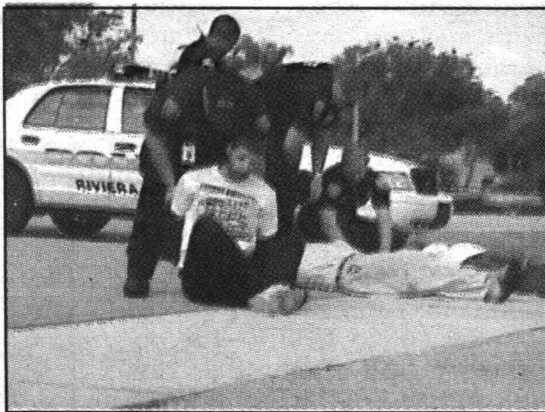
BY HOPE FREID

The main focus of Everglades Earth First! (EEF!) has been stopping the construction of a natural gas plant that Florida Power and Light (FPL) has proposed building less than a quarter mile away from the Arthur R. Marshall Loxahatchee National Wildlife Refuge in our corner of South Florida (see *EF!* May-June 2007).

At maximum capacity, the plant would emit 12 million tons of carbon dioxide and suck up 8.5 billion gallons of water per year—dirty water that would not be cleaned and recycled back into the ecosystem, but deep-well-injected into the ground, below the aquifer, as wastewater. During the course of EEF!'s battle against the Loxahatchee plant, however, FPL announced plans to expand its nuclear facilities in Miami-Dade and St. Lucie counties.

We came to realize that by focusing solely on carbon dioxide and fossil fuels, we were leaving the door wide open for nuclear power to creep in as a viable alternative. This is a deadly mistake—one that Al Gore, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Florida's very own Governor

Charlie Crist aren't likely to admit. By fighting greenhouse gases, politicians get to look like they care about the environment—at a time when such a thing is considered chic. By switching from one form of toxic energy to another, industry giants such as FPL still get to make their money. Nuclear power is starting to be seen as a cure-all—a way to have our massively consumptive cake and microwave it, too. But, there is a problem: Nuclear power plants cause cancer.



Arrests following a lockdown at an FPL shareholders meeting on May 25

In 2003, the Radiation and Public Health Project released a study concerning the levels of strontium-90 found in the baby teeth of children living near nuclear reactors. Strontium-90 is a cancerous byproduct of nuclear fallout that has been directly

linked to brain and central nervous system cancer in children. The study found that "in each state analyzed [one of which was Florida], the average strontium-90 concentration is highest in counties situated closest to nuclear reactors."

Between 1981 and 1996, health investigators found 28 cases of brain and central nervous system cancer in children in the St. Lucie area. The region was referred to as a "cancer cluster," and FPL faced litigation from two families who claimed that

catastrophe—one that might not be as immediately evident.

Our tactics in battling FPL have included a blockade of the driveway to FPL's Juno Beach offices, banner drops, flyering, postering, tabling, petitions and biweekly protests alternating between the Juno Beach offices and various FPL plants. In addition, we have begun holding forums on the topic of toxic energy and renewable resources so we can more effectively reach out to the community—or at least find other people interested in the matter. With these forums, we hope to create a moveable model that we can bring to other communities dealing with power plants, thereby helping foster a larger movement.

We hope that all anti-fossil-fuel activists will give this topic the attention it deserves and join us in our efforts to broaden the battle. We're not asking anybody to give up the fight against fossil fuels—we're still embroiled against the West County Energy Center, after all—but by being as all-encompassing as possible, we stand a far better chance of moving forward in defense of Mother Earth.

For more information, visit www.riverofgas.info.

Resistance to Barrick Gold Grows

BY SAKURA SAUNDERS

On October 27, more than 1,000 people poured into the streets of Santiago, Chile, with costumes, music and dancing to protest the proposed Pascua Lama gold project—a multibillion-dollar mining operation that Barrick Gold has been promoting since the late '90s—which threatens the fertile Huasco Valley (see *EF!* September-October 2006). Meanwhile, on the other side of the world, almost the same number of strikers at Barrick's Bulyanhulu mine in Tanzania refused to work after negotiations with management broke down over salaries, working conditions, medical care and other contentious issues. Within four days, Barrick fired every striking worker.



Protesters march through Santiago, Chile, against the Pascua Lama mining project.

While Barrick tries to project an image free from political controversy, these latest flares of organized resistance clearly represent an ongoing struggle of discontent and anger aimed at this mining giant.

In Chile, opposing Pascua Lama was once politically mainstream. Last year, anti-gold-mining sentiments aimed at protecting the environment dominated the election platforms of both President Michelle Bachelet and her erstwhile opponent, Sebastián Piñera. Both candidates assured their constituents that the glaciers, which currently cover the proposed site of the Pascua Lama mine and are situated right in the middle of a UNESCO biosphere reserve, would not be touched.

Then, in a move that mine opponents believe was planned from the start, Barrick abandoned its proposal to relocate the glaciers, and the project was approved. The mine's opponents, including the Diaguita Huascoaltinos indigenous group and Alto del Carmen Councilperson Luis Faura Cortes, remain undeterred by what they see as paper assurances and politicking. What's more, Barrick's exploration activities have since been publicly revealed to be linked to a 56-percent to 70-percent

depletion in the glaciers near the mine site, contradicting assurances in its environmental assessment reports.

The protest on October 27 was just the latest in a series of demonstrations against this mining project. It proves that the resistance is still alive and that Chileans are not deceived by Barrick's political maneuverings.

In Tanzania, it has been almost 10 years since as many as 400,000 small-scale miners were forced off the company's Bulyanhulu site to make way for corporate mining. But the recent decision to fire 1,000 striking miners at the site will no doubt rekindle this historic resentment. The deal to take this mining concession away from those small-scale miners was brokered by Sutton Resources CEO James Sinclair, who was a friend of the then-president of Tanzania and several senior ministers.

Accusations of high-level cronyism have since plagued the Bulyanhulu operation, with allegations of millions in tax evasion surfacing last year. Additionally, just this July, the Tanzanian government was criticized for signing a mining agreement with Barrick prematurely and selling its 15-percent stake in the Bulyanhulu mine for too little money.

With the political veneer now stripped off, Barrick may be forced to respond to growing movements of discontent in Chile, Argentina, Tanzania, Australia and the US, or face the consequences.

For more information, visit protestbarrick.net.

Santa Cruz Treesit Continued

continued from page 1

The police seemed powerless in the face of the determined crowd and eventually left, much to the surprise of the people gathered.

And so began the organized on-campus resistance to UCSC's 15-year expansion plan.

The LRDP maps out a rapid expansion of campus facilities over the next 13 years to accommodate up to 4,500 new full-time students. The plans include new buildings and roads on currently forested land in Santa Cruz, a community that is already completely "built out" and experiencing traffic congestion, water shortages and unaffordable housing.

UCSC is not your typical UC campus. Unlike UC Berkeley or UCLA, which are outgrowths of suburban sprawl surrounded by university-themed shopping centers, UCSC occupies a space made of meadows, chaparral, and mixed-evergreen and redwood forests on a mountain above the city. Only about one third of the campus land is built upon. The north part of campus is undeveloped, with an impressive array of forest ecosystems crisscrossed by hiking trails and dirt roads. More than 500 distinct plant species and an equal number of mushroom species have been identified within campus boundaries. Furthermore, UCSC is surrounded by protected state and city park lands. Upper campus is an important wildlife corridor between the parks; it contains the headwaters of three important watersheds that pass through wildlife preserves before draining into Monterey Bay.

All of these things are under threat from UCSC's ambitious expansion plans. The academic consequences of the trajectory set by the LRDP will be far-reaching. UCSC is under pressure to give up its countercultural, liberal arts reputation and become an impersonal research institution with tall, glassy laboratories that can attract private funding and prestigious faculty. The university is becoming less of a place for intellectual growth and more of a place where one receives job training. The ecosystems that have always been so vital to both the campus and the surrounding community are now appreciated only for the "green aesthetic" that they lend to UCSC's public image.

Opposition to the expansion has been fomenting from all quarters of Santa Cruz since the university began the planning process three years ago. The comment section of the LRDP's Environmental Impact Report (EIR) is flooded with criticisms and concerns citing the inaccuracy of impact analysis and the inadequacy of proposed mitigations. The city of Santa Cruz, as well as county and community organizations, have filed dozens of lawsuits after having their concerns ignored by UCSC, which holds the authority of a state agency, but behaves as a private corporation. In August, a judge ruled that the university's EIR did not adequately account for housing, traffic and water impacts. This lawsuit is currently stalled in attempts at out-of-court negotiations. The final outcome of these court cases is anyone's guess, and UCSC is showing no intention of

altering its plans. Before giving its final approval to the LRDP, in spite of the criticisms and exhortations of city officials and local residents, the only comment from the Board of Regents was to ask why the plans accommodate only 4,500 students and not more.

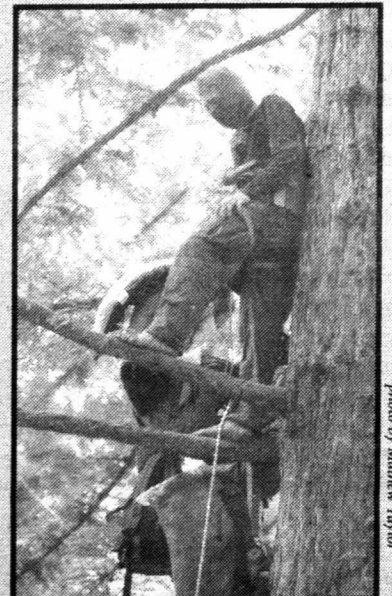
Students have heard little about the LRDP and had only the illusion of input in the process. Concerned students were told to submit comments or attend public comment hearings. On campus, little had been said about the LRDP since its final approval in 2006. But since November 7, all of campus has been buzzing with talk of the LRDP. It is now an issue that can't be ignored. Forums and discussions are being held to further educate students and generate ideas that weren't touched upon during the original planning process. Professors discuss the issues in their classes, anti-LRDP graffiti abounds, and the administration has devoted considerable resources to trying to repair its image after the police violence on November 7.

By the time the treesit had been up for three weeks, the parking lot below the trees had been fully transformed into an autonomous community space, with people camping out to hold it. The occupied space is a hub of activity, with people from many different perspectives united by their victory over the police. The occupied space hosts concerts, discussions, art classes, workshops, potlucks, movies and celebrations. Hundreds (if not thousands) of students and community members have passed through the site to attend events

or just to check things out. Forest walks depart every Saturday, with guides discussing plants, animals and local history, while introducing people to the remarkable places that are threatened by the LRDP.

At UC Berkeley, treesitters are celebrating a year spent in the trees (see page 3). In light of UCSC's reluctance to respond to criticism, the UCSC treesitters are prepared for a long-term campaign that may take on many different forms before the expansion plans are called off. The forest at UCSC is worth the effort and energy that will be required. The treesitters see their struggle in the larger context of defending the few remaining wild areas that exist and opposing the profit-driven agenda that the LRDP represents.

For more information, visit www.Irdpresistance.org.



A Santa Cruz treesitter receiving supplies

DOING IT DIFFERENT DOWN UNDER

A Report from Earth First Australia

BY PETER MACLEAN

The beauty of the Earth First! movement is that there is a widespread acceptance that each of us, each group or community, needs to make change in our own way. Ideally, we all keep in mind the "no compromise" philosophy that is supposed to separate us from other single-issue or mainstream protest organizations. How attainable this goal is depends on our personal view of what constitutes compromise.

Many years ago, Earth First Australia (EF Oz) split from the Friends of the Earth (FoE) movement, as we felt that true consensus was an essential ingredient for change—something that FoE couldn't or wouldn't embrace. We were also concerned that city-based protests were becoming an end in themselves and that we needed to make changes toward sustainability in our own lives before we began preaching to others. So we started an organic farm project on unwanted, cheap land in the middle of nowhere and invited others to participate.

A lot of work has been done on consensus worldwide. The general agreement by those of us who try to practice true consensus is that we need clear principles and guidelines for all to see and understand, that these must be open to question and debate, and that groups working by consensus are by nature very conservative. This doesn't suit those who are used to "democracy," the basis of which is that any six people can shove their own views down the throats of any four others at the drop of a hat.

Cult of personality also plays as much a part in democratic process as philosophy or fact. Under consensus, however, a lot more work is needed to understand the objections and to address the concerns of those opposed to an issue. Over time, we have found that we needed a process to cover any one individual blocking consensus on an otherwise unanimous decision for reasons that seemed selfish rather than philosophical. The practical solution was that the individual who refused to budge probably didn't represent or respect our group or its ideals, and that the rest of the group could kick out that individual by full consensus. This might seem harsh, but remember that it only takes one other person to support an individual's right to block consensus for this rule not to apply. Fortunately, we have never actually needed to enforce this process.

Compromise is another concept that we have struggled with. Last year, we had some very interesting correspondence with the organizers of the EF! Winter Gathering in the US. We asked if organic produce from local farms was being used to feed the mob and were surprised to learn that bin raiding was more the go. This started a debate here on the wisdom of our approach to food—that it must be fully organic or we go without. I could no more eat food from

a hamburger chain dumpster than I could fly to the moon. But the point made by the US organizers—that it is better to consume waste than to purchase food in a commercial system—was and is still valid. We have decided that in the longer term, we need to be altering agriculture globally toward sustainability. At present the corrupt, flawed certified organic model is our best hope. Mind you, as Parmalat, Kellogg's and Cadbury Schweppes buy their way into the organic market, this approach has to be considered carefully.

The real future of food lies in communities producing their own clean, ecologically sensitive food via cooperative efforts. We have "compromised" on supporting an economically and ecologically unsustainable organic industry until we can help bring about sustainable, community-based models—but we keep this compromise in mind at all times. My wife, who orders the produce for our co-op, has questioned our support of multinational food companies via the produce we stock. I also question supporting rich landowners who are cashing in

on the organic food movement. However, our shelves would be empty if we didn't do these things. Our current take on the matter is that Gaia really doesn't care who's rich and who's poor; the job at hand is to reduce the pesticide load on the broader environment. So, we operate the co-op as

best we can, while working to bring about economic and social change.

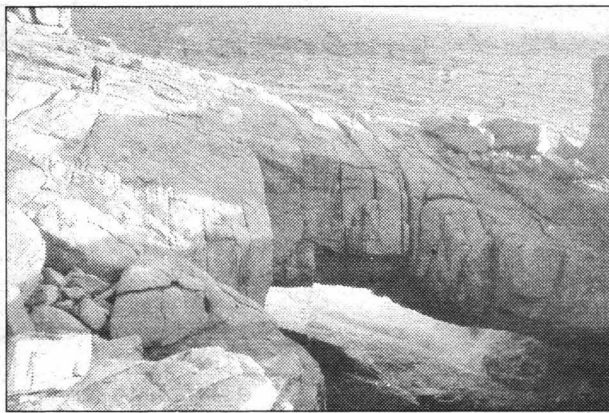
One of the ways we are trying to bring about these changes is by approaching the Aboriginal people of Australia to work together on setting up sustainable community gardens and co-ops. We are at the very beginning of this process, but, hopefully, the next article we write will have some positive news on this front.

Another of the apparent compromises we were forced to make is that we had to set up an incorporated body in order to legally run the co-op or take on any other worthwhile commercial projects. We did this by setting up Earth First Conservation Projects, Inc., a nonprofit community-based association. We have been very clear to members, though, that EF Oz is a group of individuals with a common purpose, whereas the association exists to operate in a commercially regulated sphere. As EF Oz, we protest and agitate; as an association, we remain focused on the commercial tasks. This has allowed us to broaden our association membership to more than 400 people, many of whom would normally have nothing to do with such a "radical," "fanatical" movement as EF!

This brings us to our name, which doesn't have the "!" in it anymore.

About 10 years ago, we were bloody livid that EF!, via the *Journal*, was selling genetically modified (GM) cotton T-shirts with the EF! logos on them. We felt that this was hypocrisy of the worst sort—particularly as we were heavily protesting the expanding Australian cotton industry and GM cotton in particular. In fact, it was the encroachment of GM cotton farmers and their crop-dusters full of toxic chemicals that finally forced us to wind up our first farm project. We dropped the "!" from EF Oz in disgust and sailed on by ourselves for many years. Time heals much and brings greater wisdom though, and we decided that only by participating in the broader EF! movement can we be part of the global changes all Earth First!ers want to see.

Our activism is aimed at changing the broader society, rather than at single issues. I can well appreciate that, in the UK, it is worth fighting the felling of the last remaining forests and the construction of motorways. Similarly, in the US and Canada, the indiscriminate logging of old-growth forests is still a big ecological issue, as



A natural bridge near Albany, Western Australia

it has been here for many people. Of greater concern to us though, and unseen by most city folk, is the burning of tens of millions of acres of native bush each year, just so a handful of beef cattle can eat a bit of green grass after the rains. Tens of billions of life forms are sacrificed needlessly in this manner, not to mention the effect this has on global warming. So, to change these practices, we are working to set up alternative economies and farming models, which aren't all that glamorous and might not have broad benefits until our grandchildren's generation.

Hanging out with hippies is great fun, but as we became more dedicated to the cause, we found it harder to participate in the "protest" movement. It's really disappointing to attend forest rallies where everyone chants "Save the Planet" as they dig in to their Heinz Wattie's baked beans, smoke their Douwe Egberts tobacco and end up at the pub drinking their Lion Nathan beer—all without a qualm or pang of conscience.

We welcome comments, points of view and constructive debate on the issues we have raised, and our membership is open to all. The greater needs are probably served best by making these comments publicly via the *Journal*, though we always endeavor to reply to individuals who take the time to contact us directly.

All the best to everyone. Peace on Earth and goodwill to all.

For more information, contact Earth First Australia, c/o Earth First Conservation Projects, Inc., POB 1270, Albany, Western Australia 6330, Australia; efoz@earthfirst.org.au; www.earthfirst.org.au.

Rules of Earth First Australia

These rules were developed by negotiation with the consensus of the group over time. They are subject to constant review and discussion, and apply mostly to our housing and farm projects.

No Dogs or Cats: This rule is for the benefit of the native animals and to encourage the native animals into community spaces. There are several small omnivorous marsupials that might be suitable as house pets to deter vermin and provide companionship.

No Drugs: What people do in their own home or space is their own business. What they do in community spaces affects others. All EF Oz projects are smoke- and alcohol-free, with no exceptions. Projects that allow for private dwellings or living spaces as part of the project are included in this rule, but the rule does not apply to those who live in private dwellings or living spaces.

No Raising of Animals to Kill for Food: There is a corollary to this. No dead animal products are to be cooked or consumed in community spaces or sold in shops in community spaces. There is a possibility that the consensus will change over time toward a vegan lifestyle. However, at this stage, we will have dairy cattle, egg-laying fowl and grazing animals to provide wool.

Consensus: There has been a recent tendency to define consensus as a majority of more than 50 percent, but this is not how we regard consensus. We define consensus as the total approval of all involved in a decision. There is no voting. Those empowered to make a decision have the power to block consensus. This effectively stalls any further actions by the group on this issue until a conflict or disagreement is resolved.

At present, we have a model that involves a functional hierarchy. We have trustees who have the power of full consensus on all issues. Basically, these people are the founders of EF Oz. New trustees are appointed with the full consensus of existing trustees, and any trustee can be dismissed with the full consensus of all other trustees. (This rider exists to forestall the possibility of any one individual misusing the trust placed in them by the group.)

All processes are transparent and open, and members may attend any meeting on any topic or view any records of the group. It is the task of existing trustees to train and assist members wishing to become trustees. In practice, trustees should obtain group consensus on any issue before proceeding.

In the morning I hear a riot of crows
& pull back the curtain to see
an orange cat crouching low
on my neighbor's driveway
while above it sitting on power lines
eleven crows declare their strong opposition
to such objectionable company
Once the orange cat goes
the crows can resume
dropping walnuts on the pavement
to crack their shells open

Later walking above the ocean
we spot two crows
sitting on a log
& another much larger bird
standing nearby with a head
that looks too small for its body
As it spreads its wings & takes the air
we recognize it as a turkey vulture
The two crows make not a move to flee
as we pass noticing that the log
is really a dead sea lion

There's no holier book than nature itself
because nature is so alive
no death can finish its work
& because it's closer to the original source
of creation than anything
described by language
& because it starts all over
with every new life

—Steve Toth

Reincarnation

An old black vulture landed in a tree
overlooking Chickamauga Creek;
gave me a sidelong glance.

I thought of Edward Abbey
outspoken critic of government agencies,
professor and park ranger.

Abbey, buried in an illegal grave
a cairn of stones to cover
his mortal remains.

His friends saw to his last request
wrote on one stone
"Edward Abbey, no comment."

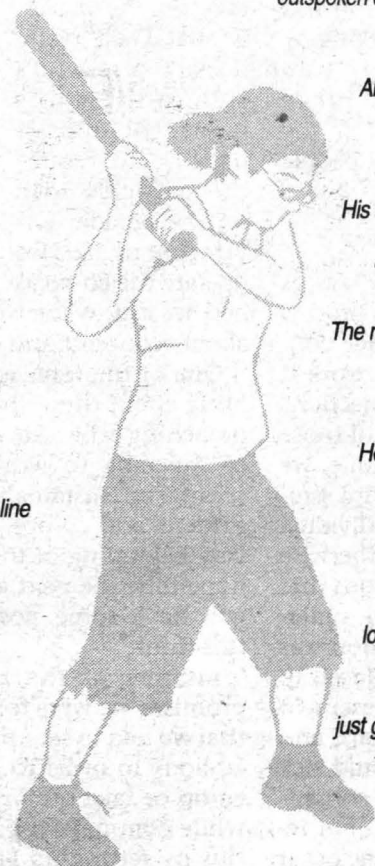
The nemesis of Glen Canyon Dam
didn't want a memorial and
got one anyway.

He always said he'd come back
as a vulture next time
just seemed fitting.

I looked up into the oak
said "Hey there Ed,
looks like a good day for flying."

Abbey didn't say a word
just gave me that sidelong glance,
the old buzzard.

—Mockingbird



artwork courtesy prole.info

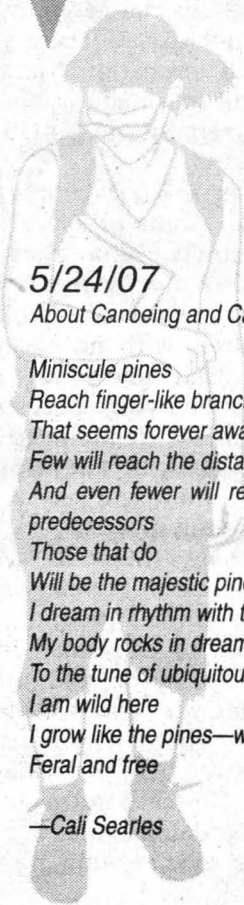
send poems to:
Warrior Poets Society
PO Box 14501
Berkeley, CA 94712



Armed Up with Visions

all rights reserved to authors

clear as cut glass
&
just as dangerous



5/24/07

About Canoeing and Camping in the Border Waters of Minnesota

Miniscule pines
Reach finger-like branches toward a canopy
That seems forever away
Few will reach the distant canopy
And even fewer will reach the heights of their
predecessors
Those that do
Will be the majestic pine forest of tomorrow
I dream in rhythm with this experience
My body rocks in dreamless sleep
To the tune of ubiquitous chickadees
I am wild here
I grow like the pines—with the pines
Feral and free

—Cali Searles

John Calvin's Ghost

Oil and gas companies from the US, Canada, Russia and Denmark are circling the Arctic like scavengers circling a wounded animal anticipating its death, exposing petroleum riches hitherto buried beneath Arctic ice.

Mother Earth isn't dying at once, but as a diabetic, a part at a time. The Arctic is the first to go, thus the vultures. Mother is dying from the greed of her children.

Scientists predict inundation of Pacific Islands, Bangladesh and half of Florida. Killer droughts in Africa. Drying rivers in India, China and Vietnam due to disappearing glaciers in the Himalayas. All a boon for disaster capitalists.

This all happens to the preterite, not the chosen, in the Calvinistic corporate view. The chosen will be raptured to a gated community guarded by Blackwater Security. The Valhalla for corporate warriors.

The chosen will live on with the approval of the strange God they believe in, and think he believes in them, while immigrants from the South clamor at the gate for work. Price evicted from their land by low priced corn produced by agribusiness.

The revenant of John Calvin lives on in every corporate structure. It is the driving force of the rapacious corporate faith and philosophy. It is the real ghost in the machine.

—Sid Bridges

From Haiku Aviary

frigid morning:
geese squat together
without any heads

honking loudly,
a lone goose waddles in circles—
spring snow

spring freshet—
a mallard coaxes
her ducklings

courting again...
a flicker hammers
an oak's dead limbs

April morning
spring
in the robin's hop

bluebird
trickling down
the dry mountain stream bed

a song for every direction
mockingbird atop
the weathervane

lazy afternoon—
a chickadee answers the calls
on my bird tape

cool August morning
swallows along the telephone line
change places

rising mist...
repeatedly a killdeer's cry
scissors the silence

the red tailed hawk's glide—
quiet growing among
the snowy pines

—Wally Swist

Where Have All the Rednecks Gone?

BY CHRIS IRWIN

I have been reading in the *Earth First! Journal* of the efforts to make sure that members of the transsexual community feel comfortable and safe while organizing in Earth First! circles and at events (see *EF!* September-October 2007). Almost every issue of the *Journal* has something about transsexuals and their oppression. This is a laudable goal; everyone should feel safe and welcome at our events. But I am struck that while one marginal social group is singled out for protection and space in the *Journal*, another larger group has been mostly driven out of our movement. Yes, I'm talking about rednecks.

"Rednecks for wilderness" was one of the first Earth First! slogans I heard when I got involved and began attending Earth First! meetings in the late 1980s. (I still attend them once a week.) This was the period when *EF!* was a threat to the system. Earth First! was on *60 Minutes*, and we really looked like a mass movement about to burst from the confines of control to create social change. There are a lot more rednecks than transsexuals in America. They are a larger demographic, and this was reflected by their numbers in our movement back then. The *Journal* during that period had 10 times the number of subscribers that it has today.

It was in the late '80s and '90s that I saw the systematic driving away of rednecks from *EF!* circles by largely young, white, middle-class "anarchists." I remember at one Round River Rendezvous in Colorado, this good ol' boy stood up and thanked everyone for coming to the great state of Colorado, expressing pride in his home state. Immediately, he was publicly attacked by the black-clads for expressing pride in any state. I watched him sit down and realized that he would never come back. As a young

white person who subscribed to many anarchist ideals, I couldn't help noticing the irony of this trend. Classical anarchists embraced the working class; the neo-anarchists in our movement drove them out.

How they were driven out is as instructive as why: lack of acceptance. Apparently, to be



an *EF!*er now (in some circles), you have to be white, middle-class, wear black, be angry all the time, shoplift, bathe irregularly, be in your 20s, have no sense of humor and, in general, walk so lockstep with the new groupthink that you lack any real diversity or individuality. To be different is to be treated with suspicion and criticism.

And this homogenization of our movement along almost purely class lines has had devastating effects. Our numbers have dwindled and our diversity has narrowed. As a result, we are in danger of becoming little more than a historical footnote.

I find it curious that now that *EF!* has become largely white and middle-class, many efforts are

being made to protect and nurture a tiny subgroup of society while completely ignoring that a much larger demographic has been driven out. Basically, the white middle class drove out the poor, country, working class from our movement. We have fractured along class lines with devastating results. Who is more likely to know how to take apart a CAT dozer? A good ol' boy who can field-strip a 1970 Ford engine in his sleep? Or an alienated, suburban product of the white middle class? And now we appear to be appealing to an even smaller subset of society while ignoring the larger class that originally made *EF!* so dangerous.

Our society is racist, sexist, and homophobic—all the isms and schisms. *EF!* cannot grow as a movement through litmus tests of being "radical" enough. Pretending to reach any level of ideological purity while ignoring the rejection of the larger demographic based on class pushes our movement into narrower and narrower confines, which I believe accounts for the steady diminution of our numbers.

This is not a condemnation of transsexuals but a reality check. If the definition and acceptance of what it takes to be in Earth First! continues to narrow, so will our movement. We need rednecks, transsexuals, older people, white men, women—anyone who will join our struggle. Lack of true acceptance, not just acceptance for popular subsets, is strangling our movement. We have lost a lot more rednecks than transsexuals due to lack of acceptance. If one is to be addressed, the other should not be ignored.

To survive and thrive as a movement, we must combat this narrow ideological dead end that *EF!* seems to have drifted into. Our doors need to be open wider, not shut, to *all* members of society. Otherwise, we are just a social club with dwindling numbers.

ENVIRONMENTAL NEWS OF THE WEIRD

Who Needs Coal? We'll Burn Salt Water!

John Kanzius, an inventor from Erie, Pennsylvania, accidentally discovered a way to burn salt water while trying to desalinate it using a radio frequency generator that he had developed to treat cancer. The radio frequencies weaken the bonds between the elements that make up salt water, releasing hydrogen. Once ignited by the heat energy that is also released by this reaction, the hydrogen will burn for as long as it is exposed to the radio frequencies.

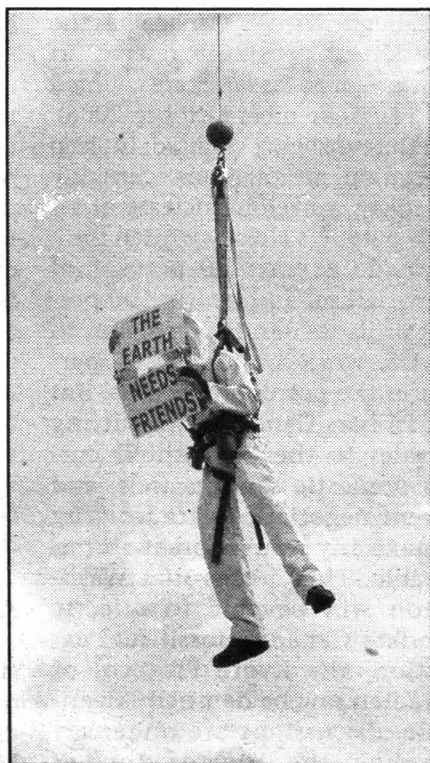
Scientists are excited by the possibilities of using the most abundant resource on Earth to power cars or heavy machinery. "[This is] the most remarkable [discovery] in water science in 100 years," said Rustum Roy, a chemist at Pennsylvania State University.

It's a Bird! It's a Plane! It's Bagonaut to the Rescue!

If you had been in a certain Sam's Club parking lot in San Angelo, Texas, on September 8, you might have been witness to the very first action of the very first bagonaut, Egan Sanders. To raise awareness on how plastic shopping bags are ruining the environment, Sanders enclosed himself in the world's largest, reusable canvas shopping bag, christened BIGBAG1, for 24 hours. While Sanders was sealed in BIGBAG1, people who donated food received their very own regular-sized canvas shopping bag in return.

Bagonaut's main goal is to empower people to do at least one little thing to try and conserve some of our dwindling resources.

In a shocking move made after Sanders' stunt, Sam's Club announced plans to cease all use of plastic bags in its stores. Just kidding.



Bagonaut being lowered into BIGBAG1

Salmon Spawn Baby Trout

In an effort to preserve endangered fish, Japanese researchers have engineered one species to give birth to another. The method, called "surrogate

broodstocking," is accomplished by engineering salmon to be sterile, then injecting the newly hatched salmon with male, rainbow-trout stem cells destined to grow into sperm. Ten of the 29 male salmon who received the injections went on to produce trout sperm. Goro Yoshizaki, the leading researcher, then injected female salmon with the male cells. Five of the test subjects produced trout eggs.

US conservationists are also taking up the experiment in an effort to expand populations of endangered fish species, such as sockeye salmon, sturgeon and paddlefish. The Japanese researchers' ultimate goal is to boost populations of the commercially much-desired bluefin tuna using the smaller and less tasty mackerel as surrogate parents.

As of press time, there were no plans to artificially increase the equally popular Filet-O-Fish population.

Germans and Californians Reinvent the Sailboat

Marine shipping is responsible for higher carbon dioxide emissions than planes and releases more sulfur than all the world's vehicles combined. That's why Hamburg, Germany-based SkySails and the Californian firm Kiteship have reinvented the sailboat or, perhaps more accurately put, the kite-ship.

Both companies use a combination of conventional engines and giant, computer-manuevered kites to power ships. The kites range from 480 square feet to 15,000 square feet,

and can save between 10 percent and 35 percent of the fuel costs.

Industry analysts expect the two companies to announce that their next reinvention will be the wheel.

Humungous Fungus Among Us

In Oregon's Blue Mountains, there's a new tree-killin' villain in town—and it ain't the Bureau of Land Management, the Forest Service or a timber company. It's *Armillaria ostoyae*, the oldest and largest living being in the world! At a whopping 2,200 acres in size and 8,000 years of age, this root rot infestation grows by sending out tentacles that wrap around tree roots, eventually killing trees in dense canopy forests. Next time you find yourself in the Blue Mountains, you had better watch out, or the humungous fungus might get you, too!

Webotage in Bangladesh

Wielding a pair of scissors, an unknown person successfully shut down Bangladesh's entire Internet link and international phone network for most of November 13. This is not the first attempt at webotage in Bangladesh. A similar attack occurred in October 2006. The assailants in that case claimed that someone had given them money to cut the cables, but investigators are baffled as to whom.

Authorities are encouraging residents to be on the lookout for "a man with scissors."

If You Liked NAFTA

You'll Love Deep Integration

The SPP, NAFTA Plus and the US Plan for Hemispheric Domination

BY ATLATL

Admit it, you've thought about it: What are you going to do when the shit really hits the fan here in the good ol' USA? I'm sure Canada has crossed your mind, right? There's socialized health care, vast tracts of wilderness, widespread firearm-ownership? Hell, there's even a book on how to wage guerilla war against the US from Canada! Or, maybe you live farther south and have decided that equally vast wilderness, a number of well-publicized people's uprisings and a police force with a reputation for easy bribery make Mexico a more attractive option.

Well, put those plans on the shelf, my friends, because deep integration is coming.

It's NAFTA... Plus

Simply put, the concept behind deep integration is to make Canada, Mexico and the US function as a single country, controlled from Washington, DC. This means more fully integrating all aspects of law and commerce between the three countries, so that resources can be extracted and moved, borders and infrastructure can be defended, and "internal disturbances" can be crushed with minimum hassle and maximum benefit for the corporate leaders of a unified "North America."

Keep in mind that what we're talking about here is a concept—there is no one treaty to point to, no one summit to protest. Deep integration is an overarching conceptual framework that is currently guiding a number of seemingly disparate (and radical) policy changes in Canada, Mexico and the US. This is another important point: *Deep integration is already happening.*

The concept of deep integration first emerged in the early '90s, while the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was being negotiated. A former member of the US National Security Council, Robert Pastor, began to publicly critique NAFTA for its exclusive emphasis on trade. In 2001, he published a book, *Toward a North American Community*, in which he proposed a North American Union—similar in principle to the European Union but with certain key differences. In particular, Pastor urged discarding elements that could be traced to certain European values that he considered "inappropriate" in North America—namely, the regulation of market forces in areas such as food, health, housing and other public goods.

Pastor's ideas gained popularity in influential Mexican and Canadian circles in the years that followed NAFTA's 1994 implementation. In Mexico, it quickly

became clear, even to corporate elites, which country had gotten the short end of that stick. Because NAFTA guaranteed the free flow of goods but not of people, Mexico was left unable to exercise its primary "market advantage": a vast, cheap labor pool. In Canada, corporate-political leaders became upset that the US continued to favor its own industries to the detriment of certain Canadian businesses.

These problems came to a head after September 11, 2001. A paranoid, xenophobic Washington immediately sealed its borders, throwing the Canadian and Mexican economies into turmoil. Canadian industry suffered millions of dollars in losses *each hour* that the border was closed, forcing 11 factories to shut down. Mexican

border in response to a threat to either country. It led to Plan Sur in 2001, whereby Mexico militarized its southern borders and began aggressively hunting down and deporting undocumented Central American migrants to prevent them from reaching the US. It is part of why the US defines its defense perimeter, the "North American Command," as extending from the Arctic Circle to Mexico's southern borders.

US Customs and Border Protection agents have been given expanded access to Canadian and Mexican territory, even in the interiors of those countries. Negotiations are underway to harmonize the three countries' no-fly lists and to implement biometric identification systems that would be required for anyone entering or exiting "North

security. A leaked document from the North American Future 2025 Project—a series of closed-door, roundtable sessions to enable business leaders to assist in the process of deep integration—reveals that heads of state are discussing bulk water exports from Canada and Mexico, as both countries have vast reserves that are not currently "being used." (In other words, this water is sustaining healthy ecologies, instead of corporate economies.) Once water exportation begins, NAFTA would prohibit any restriction of it.

As with all aspects of empire, the glue holding together a North American Union would be infrastructure. Plans are underway for massive pipelines to carry water and fossil fuels to the US, along with ports and roads to move everything else. Under the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP), a series of trilateral talks working toward actualizing deep integration, the majority of funding in Mexico is going into infrastructure projects like Plan Puebla Panamá (PPP) (see *EF!* September-October 2006). Leaked SPP documents mention "the establishment of a grant fund... with US and Canadian resources to finance the development of physical infrastructure in Mexico."

Just in case you thought it was only a few crazy radicals talking about how infrastructure is a weak point of global empire, here it is, straight from that leaked North American Future 2025 document: "Whatever North American security architecture is ultimately... agreed upon, it is clear that the protection of critical infrastructure will continue to be of foremost importance from the standpoint of protecting human life and ensuring national and North American economic stability." Critical infrastructure is defined as "agriculture, water, health and emergency services, energy (electrical, nuclear, hydro, natural gas and oil), transportation systems (air, roads, rail, ports and waterways), information and telecommunications networks, and banking and financial systems."

A More Perfect Union?

This would be no European-style union between powers roughly equal in size, power and disposition. As Mexican analyst Miguel Pickard puts it, "Mexico and Canada are rapidly integrating with a country that is in practice opposed to negotiating fundamental differences, particularly with weaker countries." Inevitably, Mexico and Canada



Anti-North American Union protesters

President Vicente Fox saw his dreams of greater northward migration collapse.

In order to avert another such economic catastrophe and gain the favors they wanted, Canadian and Mexican leaders independently approached Washington with similarly bold proposals. Basically, Mexico and Canada promised to make it just as hard for "terrorists" to gain entry into their countries as it would be to enter the US, thereby allowing the US to dissolve its southern and northern borders. To sweeten the pot, they also offered the US essentially unlimited access to the natural resources of their countries and greater freedom to operate militarily in their territories.

This Is What Security Looks Like

So what does this mean on the ground?

To understand deep integration, it's important to realize that the deal-breaker is the issue of "security." The US simply won't play if that concern is not addressed, and it's the starting and ending point for all negotiations.

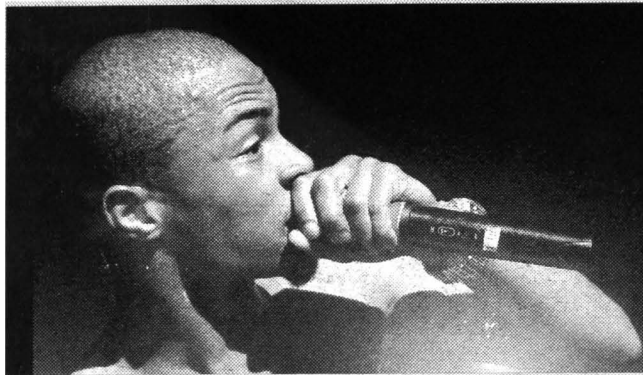
In one sense, this means the obvious: Canada and Mexico need to harmonize their policing and border-defense procedures with US priorities. This is what led to a December 2002 agreement allowing US and Canadian troops to freely operate on either side of the

America." Canada's more rigorous civil liberties laws are being rewritten to line up with US demands.

Security also includes energy security. In light of increasing obstacles to US control of Middle Eastern oil, the offer of free access to Canada and Mexico's resources is intensely appealing to the US. Canada has the third largest petroleum reserves in the world, if its tar sands are counted (see *EF!* September-October 2006). And they *are* being counted: In deep integration negotiations currently underway, a fivefold increase of tar sands output is already written in.

Canada exports 70 percent of its overall oil and nearly 100 percent of its tar sands petroleum to the US, while importing 60 percent of the petroleum it uses. But NAFTA bars Canada from cutting oil sales to the US without cutting domestic sales as well, and current negotiations are working to make any restriction at all impossible. This means that Washington will be able to directly mandate Canada's fossil fuel extraction, the Kyoto Protocol or Canadian law be damned. Meanwhile, discussions are underway regarding the privatization of Mexico's vast natural gas oil reserves, which may last for as long as a decade.

According to statements by US President George W. Bush, Canadian water is also part of US energy



Updates

Big Shit's Poppin' Around the World

Court Reverses \$600-Million Peabody Decision

The US Court of Appeals has reversed a federal claims court decision and found that the Interior Department breached its trust responsibility by not disclosing critical information to the Navajo Nation regarding royalty negotiations with Peabody Coal in 1987.

The September 13 reversal found that the Navajo Nation has a "money mandating claim" against the federal government for \$600 million in damages. The case will now go back to the US Court of Federal Claims for reconsideration.

The appeals court upheld the Navajo Nation's assertion that there is a substantial network of laws and regulations to establish specific trust responsibilities. It said these regulations can be interpreted to require compensation for damages resulting from a breach of those duties.

The Navajo Nation began leasing land on Black Mesa to Peabody Coal and its predecessor in 1964, with approval from the US Department of the Interior. The lease established royalty payments at 37.5 cents per ton, with a provision for a "reasonable adjustment" by the federal government in 20 years. In 1984, that rate was deemed an "inequitable deal" and "substantially lower" than the 12.5 percent minimum royalty set by Congress in 1977, for coal mined on federal land. At that time, the Navajo Nation asked Interior Secretary William Clark to adjust the royalty payment. Approximately three months later, Navajo Area Director Donald Dodge adjusted the rate to 20 percent. However, in July 1985, Peabody Coal requested Interior Secretary Donald Hodel, who succeeded Clark, to postpone the decision on the 20 percent or rule against it. Peabody also retained Stanley Hulett, a former Interior executive aide and friend of Hodel, to represent the company. The court found that Hulett met with Hodel without the Navajo Nation being present, and that, shortly afterward, Hodel signed a memorandum prepared by Peabody Coal that urged the company and the Navajo Nation to return to the bargaining table.

In August 1987, the Navajo Tribal Council approved a package of lease amendments that were approved by Hodel the previous December, raising the royalty rate to only 12.5 percent. It also added 90 million tons of coal to the 200 million

tons originally leased. In 1993, the Navajo Nation sued the federal government, seeking \$600 million in damages, asserting that the federal government violated its statutory and fiduciary trust duties to the Navajo Nation by approving the lease in December 1987, when the Navajo Nation had no knowledge of the Peabody memorandum issued by Hodel. They asserted that this led to an economic loss to the Navajo Nation, a diminution of the value of the trust responsibility and harm to their sovereignty.



Forest Defense Heats Up in Tasmania

Gunns Ltd., the woodchipping giant, has been given approval to increase logging rates in the forests of Tasmania, Australia. The proposed project will be the Southern Hemisphere's largest pulp mill, contributing at least two percent of Australia's greenhouse gas emissions and, alone, will consume almost half a million acres of native forest.

A wild and special island, Tasmania will see its ancient forests continue to be exported as woodchips and pulp. The combined appetites of the export woodchip mills with this pulp mill will double the current rate of woodchipping in Tasmania. In southern Tasmania, forest activists have kept the pressure on the government-sanctioned destruction in wilderness valleys that continues to destroy wildlife habitat and contribute to climate chaos.

Controversially, forest activists are now being targeted to pay the costs of their direct actions. One activist, Alana—known from a stunning photograph of her efforts as the Weld Angel (see

EFJ May-June 2007)—has been the first activist to be singled out in this approach. Alana was part of a Weld Valley action in early 2007, where three separate entrances to threatened, World Heritage-valued forests were blockaded.

After intense pressure by the Tasmanian Green Parliamentarians and the public, the case against Alana was subsequently dropped. However, Forestry Tasmania, the government's logging arm, continues to sue for about \$2,000. The case is not expected to be resolved until next year.

A crisis report regarding the logging of Tasmania's southern forests, was sent by the Huon Valley Environment Center to the World Heritage Committee in Paris. At the committee's most recent meeting in July, in Christchurch, New Zealand, representatives of 21 countries voted to express their concern about these logging threats and determined to send a delegation to Tasmania in the next six months.

Despite the international attention, logging continues unabated, and the Weld Valley is on the chopping block for Summer 2007-2008. There are plans to build a road and bridge over the Weld River, which would open up almost half a million acres of untouched ancient forest for logging. This is the largest piece of rainforest in southern Tasmania. North of the Weld Valley, blockaders have also established themselves in the Upper Florentine Valley.

With treesits and passion, activists are committed to fighting the proposed logging operations that would destroy these tall, ancient forests and wild rivers.

La Parota Dam Put on Hold

In early September, a Mexican federal judge ordered a provisional halt of the controversial La Parota Dam, proposed to be constructed in the state of Guerrero (see *EFJ* September-October 2007). The judge's order cites that the dam project violates the right of the local community to a healthy environment. Activists expect the government to appeal the decision, which would take about seven months to reach conclusion.

Despite the court order, the developers are still working in the project area. In turn, villagers have stated that they will not stop disrupting the building of the dam until it is completely canceled.

Picking Apart US Imperial Strategy, continued...



would become subservient to the US, creating not so much a North American union as a US empire.

This means that Canadian public health, safety and environmental standards would be immediately dismantled—and the entire social safety net would eventually be eliminated. According to another leaked document (from the October 2004 meeting of the Independent Task Force on the Future of North America), "No item—not Canadian

water, not Mexican oil, not American anti-dumping laws—is 'off the table'; rather, contentious or intractable issues will simply require more time to ripen politically."

More fundamentally, deep integration would accelerate the dissolution of Canadian and Mexican culture and identity, strengthening the onrush of a homogenous consumer culture. As Pickard says, "Fox's government formalized the idea of creating an exclusive 'North America space,' to which Mexico would gain entry, in essence, by turning its back on Latin America..."

But the US won't stop there. If deep integration works between the US, Canada and Mexico, it will prove that the integration of a superpower with a Third World country is possible. This would pave the way for slowly and inexorably expanding the North American space southward, working toward the ultimate realization of the dream articulated by the currently stalled Free Trade Area of the Americas

(FTAA): total hemispheric domination by the US.

Resistance

By and large, deep integration is being implemented piecemeal—a law changed here, a regulation loosened there—with the summits and treaties mainly providing opportunities for leaders to bounce ideas off one another in person. Having learned from opposition to NAFTA and the PPP, the people who are killing the planet have returned to the strategy that has always been their strength: death by a thousand cuts.

So what do we do about this heinous plan to enshrine US power and domination throughout North America? I would submit that this is the wrong question.

Deep integration—like Atlantica, the PPP or the FTAA—is merely one part of a concerted US imperial strategy. This strategy is designed to guarantee the continued wealth and power of a small group of people by

ensuring that their ability to devour the world's biological diversity goes unrestrained. You and I know that this death-worshipping strategy will only end when all life on this planet has been destroyed—unless we stop it first.

Deep integration is not the problem any more than deforestation or unequal voting access is. The problem is a global economic system of which deep integration is only one support structure.

Understanding deep integration is important, then, because it provides us with an insight into how the enemy views the future. What are the resources that the system needs to sustain itself? What are the weak points, and where is the enemy gathering its strength? What does our enemy fear?

People used to say that the system was nearly invisible—you could talk about it, but you couldn't really see it. Well, now you can see it. You can see the gears turning.

Got your monkeywrench?

part two

an interview with Daniel McGowan



BY THE EARTH FIRST! JOURNAL COLLECTIVE

Daniel McGowan was recently sentenced to seven years in prison for actions committed in defense of the Earth. He was rounded up as part of the FBI's "Operation Backfire," which sought to prosecute people for unsolved Earth Liberation Front (ELF) actions. This is the second segment of a two-part interview conducted by the Earth First! Journal. For part one, see EF!J November-December 2007.

Earth First! Journal: There seems to be a pretty massive divide between the radical environmental movement's anti-snitch rhetoric (e.g., "snitches get stitches") and the movement's actual response to snitches. What do you make of this divide, and what are its implications for the movement's chances of discouraging snitching?

Daniel McGowan: I have little tolerance for the whole pro-violence against snitches thing. Not only is it phony—let's be real, no snitches in our movement "get stitches"—but I find it counter to what we believe in. We are not the Irish Republican Army. We are not Marxist-Leninist rigid cadre organizations that punish weakness with personal violence. Some of the comments on Portland Indymedia were so useful to the prosecution that they must have been posted by law enforcement of some kind—especially after the agents moaned to my lawyers that I was spearheading this campaign against the snitches. Again, I want to be crystal-clear: I don't support violence against informants in my case.

I do support their complete and total ostracization from the movement, as I think they are dangerous people. They have shown themselves to be so self-centered in their outlook as to sell people out when they swore up and down they never would. (Here's a funny aside: The biggest informants were the ones who were the most tough and militant at the time of the actions. What does *that* say?) No welcome back should be given to these people. When you think of their actions and feel that, at one point, they were honorable people trying to do their best to make the world better, that is fair. But keep in mind, the people who sold me out are not the same people anymore.

As far as the movement's chances of discouraging snitching, I do think the movement has a responsibility to educate new people who get involved, so that they can know their own history. My understanding of my case and my views are greatly informed by the past: the Justin Samuel debacle and how Darren Thurston was sold out by someone involved in his 1992 Animal Liberation Front action. Knowledge is power, and you can begin to see how things were done in the past and how they could be done in the future.

I'm concerned with the historical legacy of my case and am hoping that people learn lessons from it. One thing I hope people can see is that you do not have to sell your friends out. Also, arson is a very serious thing, and the consequences are lifelong. You will be connected to people for the rest of your life if you choose to do any direct actions. I think that the movement can show principled, strong and long-term support for defendants, and this can serve as a discouraging factor in informing. Support from the

movement helped me solidify my positions and made it a lot easier. If we can show one another that we will be there for one another, then the prospects of snitching will be less.

Overall, I think that the movement needs to have an honest and frank discussion about these tactics, who seems to choose them and what that means for the prospects of prison.

EF!J: What led you to decide that sabotage was not an appropriate tactic—or at least not an appropriate tactic for you?

DM: I decided that arson and sabotage were not the right tactics for me shortly after the Jefferson Poplar action. Part of it was my experience dousing SUVs and trucks with gasoline and being profoundly affected by that. It just didn't feel right. I started to realize that all that was in my future was more destruction, and that destroying things doesn't make a movement. In our situation, I felt that we were too far removed from the broader environmental movement to even be complementing their efforts. There was also this sort of ticking clock I thought about—regarding whether we were getting closer to someone getting hurt. Some of my co-defendants started exhibiting behavior that was scary to me, and it dawned on me that our goals were very different. To me, arson and sabotage are means to an end. I really did not take pleasure in destruction like some of my old friends did.

I decided to take some time off to clear my head after a particularly disappointing meeting—what the prosecutors call "the last book club meeting"—where we discussed our goals and why we did what we did. Although I risked my life with these people, it was surprising, to say the least, to find out how divergent our ideas were. I was dismayed by growing factions that felt that what we were doing was not enough, at a time when I felt we should be pulling back, engaging only in sabotage actions that could bolster bridges between us and aboveground campaigns.

My time in Canada was full of new possibilities. I saw how indigenous people were resisting forest destroyers in their territory. I saw aboveground but militant and creative forest defense campaigns being fought in the Elaho wilderness, and I met inner-city harm-reduction activists working to decriminalize heroin users and work for safe injection sites. Inspired by their public and yet unapologetic militant stance, I came back to the US and made my break with the ELF final.

EF!J: On Democracy Now, you told Amy Goodman that the solidarity action with Jeffrey "Free" Luers—the Romania action, which he believes was partly responsible for his original 22-year, eight-month sentence—made you "start to look at [your] actions as being very dangerous and having repercussions beyond [your] control." Can you explain in more detail what you meant by this? To what extent should radical activists be required to anticipate or even feel responsible for the government repression that arises in response to their actions?

DM: I want to be very frank about the Romania action. It ruined Free's chance of a jury trial. Now, of course, a jury trial may have sent him to prison for a long time as well, but we will never know. Romania was serious and dangerous because it was horribly timed and showed a very

poor logic—that somehow going back to the site of the original arson would have some positive effect on Jeff. This strategy was really poor, and the action was perceived by many as rather adolescent and taunting.

Did the people who took part in this action mean to harm Jeff? No, of course not. The thing is, our actions do have unintended consequences, and I feared that this group would continue to be interested in engaging in similar actions. I felt personally responsible for Jeff's outcome—not because I was involved, but because I was out of town and couldn't stop the action. Shown the communiqué afterward, I pleaded to have Free's name removed from it and was rebuffed.

I think radical activists really need to consider their impacts on prisoners. Personally, I think "solidarity actions" are sort of creepy and centered way too much on us and not on the issue at hand. A prosecutor's wet dream is for a solidarity action to happen in the midst of a legal case. Any action dedicated to someone on trial or in a legal case will be fodder for the prosecution. That is just a fact, based on seeing it happen in many cases. Some people may like these actions—to them I say: to each their own.

EF!J: Your support group was one of the first to form following the December 2005 arrests, and it appears to be one of the most visible and effective prisoner support groups currently operating. Do you have any insight into why this is? Do you have any advice for folks doing prisoner support work?

DM: My support group is a bunch of badassess led by my wife, Jenny—who, despite all claims that she is not an activist, is one of the best organizers I have ever met! The shock of my being ripped out of our city was a major factor in the fast response to my arrest: I was arrested at 4:12 p.m. on December 7, 2005, and the courtroom was packed the next day. My friends were able to mobilize a lot of the people I had worked with during the past five years in New York City. My family, employer, co-workers, fellow students and friends were out in full force, aided by the simple fact that my family got everyone this information really fast. I remember being in jail in Eugene, Oregon, and not only finding out that I had a lawyer ready to be interviewed and hired, but that I had a website and listserv, and letters were already being generated for a bail hearing that I didn't even know was planned! My friends chose to fight like hell for me, and I think that made all the difference. Living in New York, a huge and rich city, they hosted more than 50 benefits for me in the last two years and contributed massive amounts to my legal defense fund, as well as those of many of the other Green Scare defendants.

Is this something you can learn? I think good prisoner and defendant support grows out of deep relationships with people and a lot of mutual aid. I had put eight years into prisoner support, and I had met and worked with a large number of people in NYC against the Republican National Convention. I feel like the support I gave out was reciprocated.

I would also like to see people who are not well-known receive a lot of support. That would be a good goal: Can we support those we do not know but who nonetheless deserve our support?

My best advice is to let the defendant/prisoner guide the work in some way, and to be flexible and work with their family and legal team. It's challenging but worth it in the end.

EF!J: What's the best way that people can show their support for you?

DM: I have received such insane support that I could never give anything but praise for those who have helped me out. I suppose the best way people can show their support is to engage in activism of some kind—the kind that is long-term and promotes ecological sanity in our society. Yup, it's a clichéd answer for sure, and I feel silly writing it, but it's the truth. I get lots of mail, books and magazines. Really, another great thing is for people to get others to take a look at the Green Scare cases, and help those defendants and prisoners out. I also have a special place in my heart for Joyanna "Sadie" Zacher, Nathan "Exile" Block and Jonathan Paul, so keep an eye out for them and ask them what they need. For more information, check out www.greenscare.org.

Finally, I want to ask that people consider the partners, wives, husbands, boyfriends, girlfriends and families of those indicted and imprisoned. We are not in this alone, and our families and partners bear an awful burden.

EF!J: This Summer, you were accepted into Antioch University McGregor's distance learning masters program. Can you tell us more about this? Do you have any other goals or plans for your time in prison?

DM: I was accepted into an environmental sociology program at Antioch University that is self-directed and attended a residency in April. I am responsible for recruiting my own instructors and creating syllabi, as well as keeping up with the workload like any student. I am on a leave of absence right now, due to my time in transit. I will be starting the program again in the Winter. The Antioch staff has been really open to working with me and has not hesitated at all, despite the many obstacles that this program represents for me as an incarcerated student. With luck and hard work, it will take me a little more than two years. I am also lucky to have a crew of graduate students on the outside who have helped me tremendously with my writing and preparation for a graduate-level program.

As for other plans, I am consistently exercising a lot these days and trying to take advantage of the track and many machines they have here. So far, I prefer rowing and a stationary bike, but I intend to add weights into the mix soon, too. The Bureau of Prisons makes you work, so I will be starting a job as an orderly tomorrow. Hopefully, that won't stop me from studying too much. I also intend to catch up on a huge reading list

and correspond with a lot of people that I have not been able to for some time now, due to my sort of frantic schedule on the outside.

EF!J: What concerns you? What inspires you?

DM: A major concern I have is that the cases that comprise the Green Scare will spread fear and paralyze people from action and organizing. Like Will Potter ("Green Is the New Red") has pointed out, legislation like the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act and the federal crime of terrorism (which I and most of my co-defendants received) have the potential to create a severe chilling effect on activism. It's difficult, because it's necessary to speak of what happened, but we have to balance that with the paralysis that can set in from too much analysis or worrying. I think that groups like my support crew learned during this ordeal that action is indeed the antidote to despair—that moving, struggling and advocating for our friends' futures and the movement is what we need to do to combat this fear factor.

I'm concerned that my case seems too complex, and, thus, people will get confused by things like the names of who cooperated or didn't, the names of the charges and will "check out." This does not bode well for a movement that needs to combat amnesia and stop history from repeating itself. Of course, so much of what is happening in our movement and society concerns me—ongoing and endless war, seemingly impending war in Iran, the day-to-day ecological destruction that is seen as normal, activists in our movement facing serious time in prison, the fallacy of white people wanting to build a 700-mile fence on our so-called border, and hearing the word "faggot" and other slurs more times in the last three months than in the last 15 years and that being seen as okay.

Lately, I've been inspired by beautiful writing about resistance and emotions. Something about this ordeal has really affected my sensibilities, and I find myself crying when I think of solidarity and the support I have received and things like sibling relationships, friends who have passed on this past year or so, and our prospects. I'm inspired by brave people—the quiet kind who seek no accolades and who keep at it, day after day, with no end in sight and with no victory assured. I'm inspired by the selflessness of my co-defendant Jonathan—who could have gone to trial and fought his charges further, not having the 30-year mandatory minimum count, but took the plea bargain to save us from spending the rest of our lives in prison. Finally, I am inspired by my wife and partner, Jenny, whose dedication and support I am so appreciative of.

EF!J: Is there anything else you want to say to Journal readers and the EF! community?

DM: First off, I want to thank anyone who has picked up a pen to write to me or my co-defendants, has donated any money to help us pay for our lawyers, has sent supportive emails and letters, or has hosted benefits. Your support does mean something to me, and I will never forget it. I want to say that my co-defendants and I are human—just like you. We make mistakes; indeed, I have made many mistakes, like speaking to an old friend on a wiretap, allowing myself to grow overly cautious in my legal defense and not appreciating my wonderful life until so much of my freedom was ripped away.

I did what I did—not cooperating—because I honor my word to my allies. There is nothing inherently different in me that influenced that decision. You too are capable of acting with integrity, and I implore people to truly think through the consequences of your actions and work on building deep relationships that are able to withstand the pressures of legal battles that may happen 20 years from now. I erred in allowing myself to get desperate and lash out at entities that caused me great frustration. There are other ways of effecting change, although they may not give you the instant gratification that some actions will, nor will your actions be considered the most militant.

We need to have serious conversations about whether militancy is truly effective in all situations. Certainly, direct action is a wonderful tool, but from my experience, it may not be the most effective one at all times or in all situations. This opinion will land me in disregard by both the militants (many of whom are hyper-theoretical and, thus, their opinions exist in a sort of vacuum) and my enemies (who accuse me of playing both sides of the story). The truth is that things are more complex than that. In some instances, direct action is the most effective tactic. For instance, in 1999, I was involved in an action that destroyed a tremendous amount of genetically modified (GM) grass and equipment belonging to the company testing it. The risks of the GM grass were verified, and groups even sued to stop it—claiming that the GM grass would inevitably spread to the forests and grasslands, polluting them with herbicide-resistant or faster-growing GM grass. The action happened in 1999, but it took six years for the courts to rule in the plaintiff's favor, imposing a moratorium on the growing of GM grass. Actions that are understood by the public and seen as logical can have a positive impact on pre-existing campaigns and struggles.

On the other hand, I have to admit that I have been involved in some hare-brained actions that I am not proud of, that were fueled by an intense need to "just do something." We need to balance our need to do something about what we see happening with strategy and a healthy understanding of the risks inherent in these actions. By "actions," I am *not* just speaking of sabotage but any action on any campaign.

These discussions are the sort of articles that need to appear in the pages of the *Journal*. Despite the fact that my particular case is over, it's imperative that we discuss tactics and strategies in a way that people can actually hear and listen to what each other are saying. Someone once told me that many activists are not into criticizing actions that have been taken by the ELF because they want to support the defendants and that any criticism of the actions may be perceived as a diss on the people. I appreciate the sentiment and the consideration, but I think, now that much of the case is over, we should *soon* start to have these dialogues. I, for one, can take any criticism levied on me regarding actions that I have been involved in. In that way, we can move the conversation forward on how to resist ecological destruction in a serious and principled way, without losing so many of our friends to prison, burnout and despair.

Thanks for giving me the opportunity to share my views with everyone. Feel free to contact me at Daniel McGowan, #63794-053, Unit I, FCI Sandstone, POB 1000, Sandstone, MN 55072.

For more information, contact Family and Friends of Daniel McGowan, POB 106, New York, NY 10156; friendsofdanielmcg@yahoo.com; www.supportdaniel.org.



Daniel with his friend, Ben

photo courtesy Friends and Family of Daniel McGowan

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE GREEN SCARE



BY DANIEL MCGOWAN

There has been some discussion in radical circles—especially in the pages of the *Earth First! Journal*—about whether it is appropriate or accurate to use the term “Green Scare.” The argument, as I remember it, is that this backlash against radical environmentalists and animal liberationists is too small or targets a population too narrow to constitute a “Green Scare” (see *EFJ* January-February 2007). Further, some argue that by using this term, we alienate potential supporters and activists from other movements (see *EFJ* May-June 2007). I’ve reflected on this for the last couple of months and also have had the opportunity to discuss the original letter with its author.

Ironically, I appear to have been one of the first people to use the term—in a 2000-2001 edition of a newsletter I worked on called “Spirit of Freedom.” It’s immaterial whether I coined it or not—many people in different places at different times coin phrases or come up with ideas. I used the term to describe what I saw in the Northwest at the time: an increasing federal interest in incidents claimed by the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), greater demonization of activists who would not condemn ELF actions or would speak in support of them, many new bills being proposed to increase fines and sentences related to ELF and anti-genetic engineering actions, and a growth in the wise-use industry with the creation of Stop Eco-Violence—an “astro-turf” organization run by a former public relations hack for Louisiana Pacific logging. Since then, I have only seen more events living up to the term “Green Scare.”

Arguing against the term, detractors point to the limited number of people who have been arrested or caught up in various legal cases, such as the SHAC 7, Operation Backfire and the Sacramento ELF prosecutions. While we are technically, looking at a number that is clearly not huge, we lose something when we start reducing lives to numbers. Consider that each defendant has a family, friends and is part of a community. The repercussions of these prosecutions extend way beyond the number of defendants. I have seen this myself, as my family struggles with ways to explain my absence to my three-year-old niece.

My case has four individuals whom the FBI considers “fugitives from justice,” going so far as to place “Most Wanted” posters for them on the “domestic terrorism” page of its website. How many people are affected by their absence and the harassment of the federal government in their attempts to arrest them? The impact of the Green Scare cannot be reduced to numbers.

The federal government has strange priorities and is incredibly concerned with the growth of the radical environmental and animal liberation movements. As things get worse in our society and as our demands for ecological sanity and compassion for animals get ignored, many people inevitably lose faith in polite ways of effecting change and choose more radical methods. Knowing this, the government has used high-profile prosecutions like mine and the SHAC 7 case to spread fear, creating a serious chilling effect on our movements.

Let’s look at some aspects of my case (Operation Backfire) that illustrate my point:

The initial arrests were conducted as part of a multistate operation that arrested seven people, subpoenaed activists and made a huge media splash about the apprehension of “domestic terrorists.” The numbers would eventually grow to 14 arrests, four fugitives and one unindicted übersnitch named Jacob Ferguson.

The case was “cracked” with the creation of a Joint Terrorism Task Force based out of Portland, Oregon, with participants from many agencies—including the FBI; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives; Eugene and Portland local police, and Oregon state police; the US Forest Service and more. An estimated 40 agents have been cited as working on this case.

Grand juries investigating this case cast a wide net, essentially serving as a fishing expedition for suspects. No one knows exactly how many people cooperated with them, only that one person—Jeff Hogg—did not and served six months in a crappy county jail for refusing to testify.

The prosecution overcharged all of the defendants, not only with absurd numbers of arson counts (such as one count for each vehicle, not each incident) but also with the dreaded 924(c) count: “use of

a destructive device.” This count has a mandatory 30-year sentence for one count and a mandatory life sentence for two. Who would want to gamble their life on that with a jury? We called this charge the “snitch maker.” The cop who arrested me said, “924(c)? Yeah, that’s what Chris McIntosh was charged with and look, he pleaded to eight years.” The implication was that I should be smart, cut my losses and start cooperating.

The prosecution and media called us “ecoterrorists,” “domestic terrorists” and, when they could get away with it, just plain old “terrorists.” For example, immediately after my arrest, federal agents raiding my New York City apartment told my neighbors that they were investigating a “domestic terrorism” situation. In a national press conference about the case in 2006, then-Attorney General Alberto Gonzalez said, “Terrorism is terrorism, no matter what the cause.”

The government argued for a “federal crime of terrorism” enhancement for eight of 10 defendants in my case. The legal definition of the enhancement was broad; if the judge thought our behavior was designed to coerce government behavior, we got it. I received it because one sentence in the communiqué for an action I was involved in referenced the Oregon and Washington legislatures. Many of us got this enhancement even for actions in which private businesses, not government agencies, were targeted. Despite not being charged with domestic terrorism, we nonetheless are now considered terrorists. The linkage of sabotage with terrorism in this case is a stunning legal and public relations victory for the government.

Wiretaps, suicide, snitches—is this starting to sound like a Green Scare to you?

The true effects of the Green Scare may not be felt for some time, but the fear is palpable in the Northwest. There seems to be very little resistance to ecological destruction in a region that was full of grassroots campaigns against old-growth logging for the past 30 years. On many occasions, I have heard how these cases have freaked people out. “Will I be prosecuted under the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act?” “I’ve dug up a logging road. Will the government

paint me as a terrorist?” When people are scared, they get paralyzed. They wring their hands and theorize about horrible outcomes to their activism. So, we need to look at these prosecutions as more than the government’s line of “just catching people who break the law.” If we let them scare us into inactivity, then this Green Scare will be successful for the corporations that continue to destroy the planet with impunity.

In writing about this topic, I have inevitably focused on Operation Backfire, as it’s what I know the most about. To get the full grasp of the Green Scare, you have to look at the other cases: Eric McDavid, who is facing years in prison on a conspiracy charge orchestrated by a paid agent provocateur; Rod Coronado, who, after serving an eight-month sentence for a hunt sabotage (an unprecedented amount of time), is now fighting a 20-year “destructive device” charge for *speaking* about an incident he already served time for; the SHAC 7; and Tre Arrow, who is fighting extradition from Canada after having been charged with two ELF actions and who also faces the dreaded 924(c) charges, yet he asserts his innocence!

When discussing the appropriateness of the term “Green Scare,” maybe we need to really take a step back and have a frank look at the effects of these new laws and prosecutions. While it doesn’t compare in scope to the red scares of the 20th century, does that make it any less relevant to us now? If people find the term to be an exaggeration, talk to them about the lives affected by the prosecutions, the campaigns disrupted and opportunities lost when we are organizing only around legal defense and not for proactive campaigns—to end old-growth logging, for instance.

If there is a bright spot to all of this, it’s that, in its quest to destroy this movement, the government has succeeded in bringing a lot of people together. For that, I’m grateful. When it comes down to it, whether we use the term “Green Scare” isn’t the point—it’s that we acknowledge the impact these actions by the government and corporations have had on us and work for solutions to overcome them.

Daniel McGowan is serving seven years for his role in ELF arsons at a lumber company and a hybrid poplar farm. For his address, see page 28.

SHAC Rolls Onward

Average Folks Wage a Not-So-Average Campaign

BY DARIUS FULLMER

As I sit down to write this article, news comes that Huntingdon Life Science's (HLS) three largest shareholders have all abandoned that notorious animal-abusing laboratory (see page 11). That would make them, by my count, the 269th through 271st companies to do so since the beginning of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign.

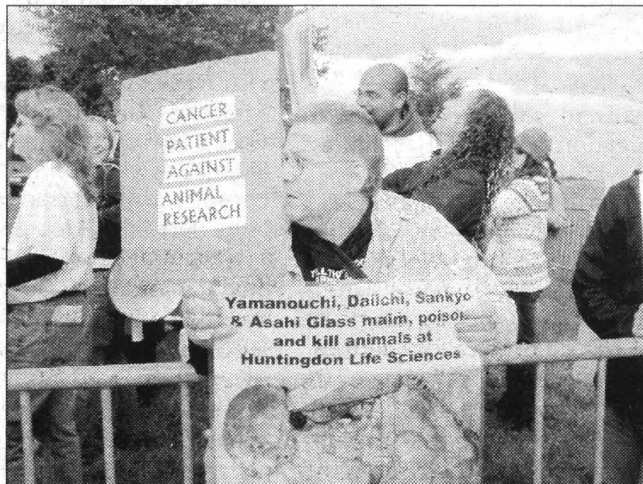
Contemplating these latest in a very long string of victories, I realize that I do not know who is running this campaign anymore. The folks who organized SHAC-USA sit in various federal prisons around the country, while across the Atlantic, their British counterparts sit in theirs. Yet the campaign is still moving forward.

The amount of support my co-defendants and I have received from around the world has been truly astounding. But, as we said from the beginning, the most important form of support anyone can give us is to do whatever is in their power to fight for animal liberation. So, I am thankful for this latest news—not only for the animals imprisoned inside HLS who are now one step closer to freedom, but for my co-defendants, knowing that the day that the news of these latest victories finds its way to them will pass that much easier.

The SHAC 7 case had nothing to do with crime and punishment. My co-defendants and I were prosecuted as a means to an end—that end being to put a stop to the campaign against HLS. The plan was to prosecute a few of the more public faces of the movement and scare the rest of them into silence—or so they were hoping.

It is now becoming clear that the worst fears of the pharmaceutical industry and the government agencies that do their dirty work are coming true. Could it be that activists have seen through their fear-mongering for the hollow threat that it is? The fact that both aboveground and underground actions against HLS and their financial supporters continue tells us this is true.

This fact has not been lost on the animal abusers. In order to show cause for a recent temporary restraining order filed against activists, they claim:



Folks committed to shutting down Huntingdon Life Sciences

"In May 2004, a federal grand jury indicted SHAC-USA and six of its individual members with 'animal enterprise terrorism,' stalking and conspiracy. On March 2, 2006, after a trial before a jury, these defendants were convicted on all counts. They were sentenced on September 13, 2006, to an aggregate 24 years in prison. However, their incarceration did nothing to prevent other organizations and individuals... from stepping

into their shoes and continuing their campaign of harassment and intimidation."

What is it that they are so afraid of? Why have the governments of the US and the UK been so concerned about this particular campaign? Consider this: HLS is currently more than \$100 million in debt. When it finally does go under, this will be the first time in history that a social justice movement has brought down a multinational corporation.

Take a look at the people involved in this campaign. We are not the rich, the famous, the privileged or the holders of political power. We are students. We are blue-collar workers. We are average in every way. This terrifies the powers that be. People like us are not supposed to hold sway over corporate decision-making. People like us are not supposed to have a say. Yet, a read through the list of companies that have cut ties with HLS tells us otherwise: Citi (the world's largest financial institution), HSBC (the world's second-largest bank), Marsh (the world's largest insurance broker) and UBS Global Capital (the world's largest private bank). The notion that people like you and I can hold influence over such companies is their fear... and our victory.

That victory is as real today as it was in May 2004, when federal agents came knocking on my door. The government wasted millions of dollars and countless resources to prosecute a handful of public spokespeople for this campaign. We are only six out of many thousands. The struggle has continued and will continue until HLS is closed forever.

Darius, one of the SHAC 7, was released from prison on September 29, after serving one year for his role in the SHAC-USA campaign.

THE SHAC *(More Appealing Than Ever)*

BY ANDREA

The SHAC 7—Jacob Conroy, Darius Fullmer, Lauren Gazzola, Joshua Harper, Kevin Kjonaas, Andy Stepanian and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty-USA (SHAC-USA)—were indicted on a broad range of federal felonies on March 26, 2004. They were charged with conspiring to violate the Animal Enterprise Protection Act (AEPA), conspiring to commit interstate stalking and conspiring to use a telecommunications device to harass others.

With the odds stacked against them from the beginning—the judge installed an anonymous jury, admitted nearly every piece of evidence the prosecution offered, and required *only* the defendants, their attorneys and supporters to go through a second metal detector placed at the courtroom doors—the SHAC 7 were found guilty of all

counts on March 2, 2006. Later, they were given prison sentences ranging from one to six years (see *EFJ* November-December 2006). They started their sentences in November 2006.

Luckily, the story does not end there. Appeals are in the works, and the opening briefs were finally filed this past October. Trying to summarize the arguments in the appellate briefs would consume entirely too much space and put the average person to sleep. Suffice it to say the briefs, when combined, exceeded 700 pages and attempted to address the myriad errors the judge made in her rulings, the extraneous evidence that should have never come in, the inapplicability of the laws as applied and a full challenge to the constitutionality of the AEPA—not only as applied to these defendants but in general terms as well.

The Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Lawyers Guild and the First Amendment Lawyers Association have thrown their weight behind the appeal by filing an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief, arguing why the convictions should be overturned and addressing the potential ripple effect the SHAC 7 convictions could have on other social justice movements:

"The focus of this case is words—primarily, words posted to a website—used in the context of an emotionally charged political struggle. Appellants now sit in federal penitentiaries for using those words.

"If appellants' convictions stand, virtually all Internet-based social justice campaigns are at risk of prosecution. Any social justice campaign that identifies an individual or organization as a target of a boycott or demonstration will be at risk

of criminal sanction if a third person takes illegal action against that target. Anti-war website operators could be aiding and abetting a variety of crimes by reporting on an anti-war sit-in in a senator's office."

Although the appeals are moving forward, the fight is far from over. From here, we await a reply from the government, followed by a reply by the defense. Then, the appeals court will take the case under submission and will likely take months to render a decision. This is a big case—it involves thousands of pages of briefs, thousands of exhibits (pieces of paper introduced as evidence at trial) and the fact that this is the first time the AEPA has been challenged. All of this means a decision will likely be some time in the making.

So, when will we know something? Optimistic bets are Fall 2008. Keep your fingers crossed!



The Fab Four have nothing on the SHAC 7!

Prisoners in the Struggle Support Them!

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

Prisoner and Legal Updates

•Gregg Avery, TA7450, HMP Winchester, Romney Rd, Winchester, SO22 5DF, UK. Awaiting trial for alleged conspiracy to blackmail people linked to Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS). He has been moved to the above address.

•Mel Broughton, TN9138, HMP Woodhill, Tattenhoe St, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire, MK4 4DA, UK. In December, Broughton was charged with conspiracy to blackmail and possession of explosives in connection with the campaign against Oxford University's primate lab.

•Rod Coronado pleaded guilty in December, to telling people how to construct an incendiary device. For more information, visit www.supportrod.org.

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

•Julia Didrikson, of the UK, was sentenced to five months in September, for sending threatening emails to companies linked to HLS. Her address was not available at press time.

•Jeffrey "Free" Luers, #1306729, Lane County Adult Corrections, 101 W 5th Ave, Eugene, OR 97401, USA. Awaiting resentencing for an arson at a car dealership and the attempted arson of an oil truck. He has been moved to the above address. For more information, visit www.freefreemove.org.

•Josephine Mayo and Suzanne Taylor, who are in prison for actions against the British vivisection industry, have asked to be removed from prisoner listings, so they can focus on their studies.

•Eric McDavid, X-2972521 4E231A, Sacramento County Main Jail, 651 "I" St, Sacramento, CA 95814, USA. In November, McDavid undertook a two-week hunger strike to protest the jail's ongoing refusal to provide adequate vegan food and medical treatment. His sentencing, for conspiracy to destroy the US Forest Service's Institute of Forest Genetics, a cell-phone tower and power plants, is scheduled for January 24. For more information, visit www.supporteric.org.

•Chris "Dirt" McIntosh, #30512-013, USP Hazelton, POB 2000, Bruce-ton Mills, WV 26525, USA. McIntosh, who previously requested removal from this list, has asked to be reinstated. He is serving eight years for a joint Animal Liberation Front (ALF)/Earth Liberation Front (ELF) arson of a McDonald's. For more information, visit www.supportchris.net.

•Deborah Morrison, of the UK, was sentenced to eight months in November, for sending threatening letters

and emails to companies linked to the vivisection industry. Her address was not available at press time.

•Jonathan Paul, #07167-085, FCI Phoenix, 37910 N 45th Ave, Phoenix, AZ 85086, USA. Serving 4.25 years for the ALF/ELF arson of a horse slaughterhouse and meat-packing plant. He has been moved to the above address.

•Joshua Rosenberg was charged in September, with vandalizing a Texas restaurant that serves foie gras. He is currently free on bail.

•Martin Shaw, of the UK, is awaiting trial for attempting to destroy a test crop of genetically modified potatoes in July. He is currently free on bail.

•Mark Taylor, who is serving four years for demonstrating outside the offices of companies linked to HLS, has asked to be removed from prisoner listings.

Awaiting Trial or Sentencing

•Mumia Abu-Jamal, #AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Dr, Waynesburg, PA 15370, USA. Awaiting the results of his May appeals hearing. Abu-Jamal, a politically active journalist, was framed for the murder of a cop in 1981. For more information, visit www.freemumia.org.

•Natasha Avery, NR8987, and Heather Nicholson, VM4859, HMP Bronzefield, Woodthorpe Rd, Ashford, Middlesex, TW15 3JZ, UK. Awaiting trial for alleged conspiracy to blackmail people linked to HLS. Avery is also serving 16 months for using abusive words and behavior toward a fox hunter.

•Tre Arrow, CS#05850722, Vancouver Island Regional Correction Center, 4216 Wilkinson Rd, Victoria, BC, V8Z 5B2, Canada. Appealing extradition to the US to stand trial for alleged involvement in the arsons of logging trucks and vehicles owned by a sand and gravel company. For more information, visit www.trearrow.org.

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

•Briana Waters' trial for alleged involvement in an ELF arson at the University of Washington's Center for Urban Horticulture is scheduled for February 4. For more information, visit www.supportbriana.org.

Animal Liberation

•Jon Ablewhite, TB4885, John Smith, TB4887, and Kerry Whitburn, TB4886, HMP Lowdham Grange, Lowdham, Nottingham, NG14 7DA, UK. Serving 12 years for conspiracy to blackmail a supplier of guinea pigs for vivisection.

•Jacob Conroy, #93501-011, FCI Victorville Medium I, POB 5300,

Adelanto, CA 92301, USA. Serving four years for conspiracy charges stemming from his work with Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC). For more information, visit www.supportjake.org.

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

•Sarah Gisborne, LT5393, HMP Downview, Sutton Ln, Sutton, Surrey, SM2 5PD, UK. Serving 5.5 years for conspiracy to damage vehicles owned by people linked to HLS.

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

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

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

Ecodefense

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

•Nathan "Exile" Block, #36359-086, FCI Lompoc, 3600 Guard Rd, Lompoc, CA 93436, USA. Serving nearly eight years for ELF arsons at an SUV dealership and a hybrid poplar farm.

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

•Ibai Ederria and Julio Villanueva, Carcel de Pamplona, C/San Roque Apdo 250, 31080 Iruñez, Pamplona, Navarra, Spain. Serving nearly five years for sabotaging machinery at the Itoiz Dam construction site in 1996.

•Daniel McGowan, #63794-053, Unit I, FCI Sandstone, POB 1000, Sandstone, MN 55072, USA. Serving seven years for ELF arsons at a lumber company and a hybrid poplar farm. For more information, visit www.supportdaniel.org.

•Helen Woodson, #03231-045, FMC Carswell, Admin Max Unit, POB 27137, Ft. Worth, TX 76127, USA. Serving nearly nine years for violating her parole by dumping a cup of red paint over the security apparatus of a federal court and making warnings ("threats") of weapons of mass destruction. In 2004, Woodson completed 20 years for disarming a Minuteman II missile silo with a jackhammer, mailing warning letters with bullets inside to officials, and robbing a bank and burning the money.

•Joyanna "Sadie" Zacher, #36360-086, FCI Dublin, Camp Parks, Unit E, 5701 8th St, Dublin, CA 94568,

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

Il Silvestre

Il Silvestre is an Italian eco-anarchist group whose members have been framed for a variety of direct actions. In May, Alessio Perondi and William Frediani were found guilty of terrorist conspiracy and participating in direct action. They are under house arrest pending their appeal. Ragusa and five others who are free on bail are awaiting trial for allegedly using explosives to damage power lines.

•Costantino Ragusa, Casa Circondariale, Via Prati Nuovi 7, 27058 Voghera (PV), Italy. Serving more than two years for an arson at a corporate office and organizing an anti-genetic-engineering protest.

Indigenous Resistance

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

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

MOVE

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

•Debbie Sims Africa, #006307, Janet Holloway Africa, #006308, and Janine Phillips Africa, #006309, SCI Cambridge Springs, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403, USA.

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

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

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

Political Prisoners

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

Prisoner Support Groups

•Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network, elp4321@hotmail.com; www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk.

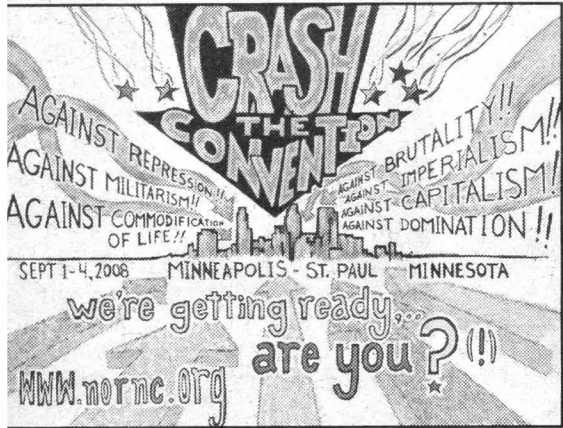
•National Jericho Movement, POB 1272, New York, NY 10013, USA; www.thejerichomovement.com.

•North American Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network, naelpsn@mutualaid.org; www.ecoprisoners.org.

announcements

The RNC Welcoming Committee Wants to Visit You! Winter/Spring 2008

The Republican National Convention (RNC) Welcoming Committee is delighted to announce an early-2008 tour of these stolen lands we call the United States. Between the end of January and the (as-yet-unnamed, ReNC-like) event we're planning for May Day weekend, we'd like to cover the entire country, region by region, spreading anti-RNC fervor and gathering feedback, information and resources for next September's anti-RNC protests in St. Paul, Minnesota. The more networking and exchange we have now, the stronger we'll be come convention-crashing time!



Understanding that most people can't make it out to Minnesota before the convention, we see this tour as an opportunity to bring the Welcoming Committee to your hometown, and to bring your thoughts, ideas and voices back to Minnesota. We're prepared to do everything, from a basic "What the RNC Will Look Like" presentation, to strategizing and infowapping sessions, to one-on-one discussions with folks organizing for the protests. Additionally, we'd love to see the tour stops incorporate workshops and skillshares—street medic, direct action, consensus, you name it—that address the needs and interests of people in your community. While we don't expect funds (or lack thereof) at any one stop to be a deal-breaker, we would appreciate any help in paying for this thing and in saving up for anticipated costs at the RNC. And, of course, we'd like somewhere to rest our heads occasionally along the way!

If you'd like us to stop in your city, township or Hooverville, or if you just have questions or concerns, email us at tour@riseup.net. Join our announcements list by emailing

rnc08-subscribe@lists.riseup.net. If you just want to stay informed, visit www.nornc.org/the-tour.

Help Defend Our Wild Friends in Indiana!

February 1-3 • Southern Indiana

Southern Indiana is home to one of the largest predator hunts in the country. The Indiana Predator Hunters Association will be sponsoring a three-day coyote and fox hunt on February 1-3. Come to Indiana this Winter and let these senseless murderers know what you think of them! Residents of Southern Indiana will be fighting to stop the slaughter of hundreds of our furry friends. Join the fight!

For more information email hoosierhuntsab@yahoo.com.

11th Annual National Conference on Organized Resistance

March 7-9 • Washington, DC

The National Conference of Organized Resistance (NCOR) is an annual event that brings together people from all backgrounds for a weekend of learning and discussion of local and international social justice issues through workshops, panel discussions and skillshares. NCOR is held on the main campus of American University, in northwest Washington, DC.

For more information, or to request a table or to set up a workshop, email ncor@mutualaid.org.

13th Annual Bay Area Anarchist Bookfair March 22-23 • San Francisco

Bound Together Books is hosting the annual Anarchist Bookfair in San Francisco, on March 22-23. It will be held in Golden Gate Park, at

the San Francisco County Fair Building (at the intersection of Ninth Avenue and Lincoln Way). The weekend will feature more than 50 anarchist publishers and vendors, and will include a spoken-word program. There will be a free bike valet service, a kids/family space, a café and no cover charge.

A six-foot table for both days costs \$100. For more information, contact the Anarchist Bookfair Committee, c/o Bound Together Books, 1369 Haight St, San Francisco, CA 94117; (415) 431-8355.

Fossil Fools Day: Worldwide Day of Resistance to the Fossil Fuel Empire April 1

For more than a century, the fossil fuel industry has been fooling with our lives. From extraction to combustion, it has poisoned our air, polluted our water and altered the Earth's climate to the detriment of all life. It is time that we turn the tables and unmask the real fools.

There is no doubt that fossil fuels are the primary source of climate change. If there is to be any hope of averting a complete climate meltdown, we must immediately stop burning fossil fuels. Despite melting ice caps, unprecedented species extinction, droughts and extreme weather, it is clear that the governments and corporations of the world will not do this voluntarily. Instead, we must join together in collective action to create a better world.

On April 1, join thousands around the world in shutting down the fossil fuel empire. From your local gas pump to international coal ports, communities will be taking direct action to show that we aren't fooling around. Plan an action in your town!

For more info, contact cleancars@globalexchange.org; www.fossilfoolsday.org.



In Memory of Monica Stokely (1981-2007)

BY THE STOKELY FAMILY

We are very sad to note that Earth First!er Monica Stokely, of Jacksonville, Florida, died on October 25, in Ferndale, Washington. She was 26. Monica's life followed an extraordinary path of passionate service to the environment and those less fortunate than her. She will be greatly missed by her friends and family.

Monica demonstrated her love of animals and the environment in many ways. As early as elementary school, Monica organized the family's recycling program. When she was in middle school, Monica volunteered at a local humane society on weekends. In her adult life, Monica volunteered at Paynes Prairie State Park, the Sarasota Aquarium and Florida Wildlife

Care, rescuing and rehabilitating animals of all types—from turtles to owls to opossums.

In Spring 2006, Monica did land-based support with Diné grandmothers resisting relocation on Black Mesa in northern Arizona.

Later that year, Monica attended the Earth First! Round River Rendezvous in Virginia, with her dog, Barney. Monica shared her Poi fire dancing one night with the group, with the flames from her poi making exciting forms in the dark. Monica's commitment to recycling was demonstrated during this event as well, as she organized much of the camp's recyclable trash. The week ended with a protest of one of the large coal plants in the area, of which Monica was an integral part.

Monica spent December 2006, in New Orleans, where she helped gut some of the homes damaged by Hurricane Katrina. She also shared sewing craft projects with some of the kids there.

Monica loved being in the natural world and traveled throughout wilderness areas in North America. She hiked both the Appalachian and Pacific Coast trails, and enjoyed camping in many of our beautiful state parks.

Monica's family has set up a memorial website at www.monicastokely.com, with pictures and links to some of the causes that Monica was most passionate about.

In memory of Monica, contributions may be made to the University of Florida Foundation, Inc., with a memo that they be used for the

Monica Stokely Memorial Scholarship, and mailed to the Florida Fund, Attention: Melissa Tyrone, POB 14425, Gainesville, FL 32604.



Monica Stokely

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"I spent a year in the Northwoods of Wisconsin at an outdoor school. It was not a survival school, because I died. I died to my old way of thinking. I died to being egocentric. I died to the pursuit of the civilized lifeway.

"I became alive to many other things—became alive to the Circle, I became alive to the native lifeway. I became alive to the connectedness of all things. I became alive to trusting, being and the now.

"My heart is full. I have much to share, more than words can say."

—Coyote Three Feathers a.k.a. John Herron (Wilderness Guide Program 2004-2005)

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The *Earth First! Journal* currently has an opening for a new member of our editorial staff. It could be you! Being a part of the *Journal* is full of rewards—working on a consensus basis with a tight collective to create a publication essential to the radical environmental movement. Our new long-term editor ideally will have publishing experience, be personally compatible with existing staff, have excellent editing skills, be computer literate, have a sense of humor and be able to commit to at least a year and a half. As a collective, all of the work is shared, so a motivated, hard-working individual is required!

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

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

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"We are the descendants of the peoples, nations and tribes who first gave name to these lands, who were born of Mother Earth and maintain a sacred respect toward her that provides us with life and keeps us in death. Thus, we declare to the entire world that we will care for and defend Mother Earth with our lives."

— Declaration of Vicam



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