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Suggested citation: Hanta, et al., eds., *Earth First! Journal* 23, no. 2 (1 January 2003).  
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The Next Environmental Movement · McWorkers Revolt · Homeland Insecurity · Wild Bioregionalism

# Earth First!

The Radical Environmental Journal

Brigid January-February 2003



*Beneath the Silence, Beneath the Shouting...*

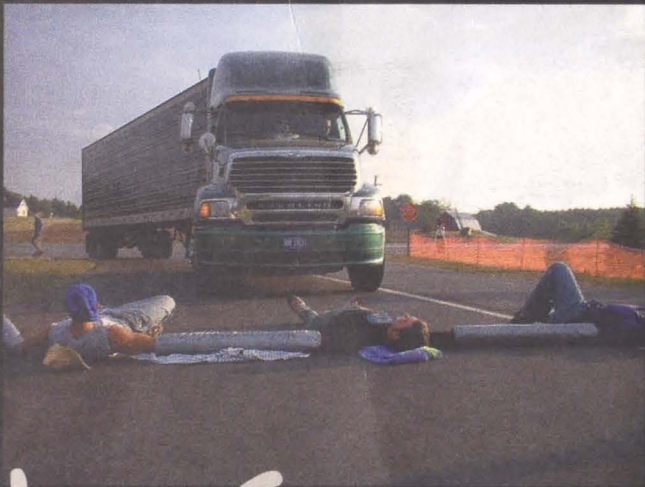
## *QUITO SAYS NO FTAA*

\$4.50 US \$7.00 Canada



[www.earthfirstjournal.org](http://www.earthfirstjournal.org)





Combating Michigan's water wars

No Compromise



Sticking it to NAWLA in Texas

in Defense



Planned development threatens Bahia

of Mother Earth!!!



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Brigid January-February 2003

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EuroGreenpeace Grrr! doing a Full Service lock down at an ExxonMobil (E\$\$O) gas station. On October 25, more than 600 people shut down all 28 ExxonMobil stations in Luxembourg. This was a protest against ExxonMobil's continued sabotage of global warming agreements.

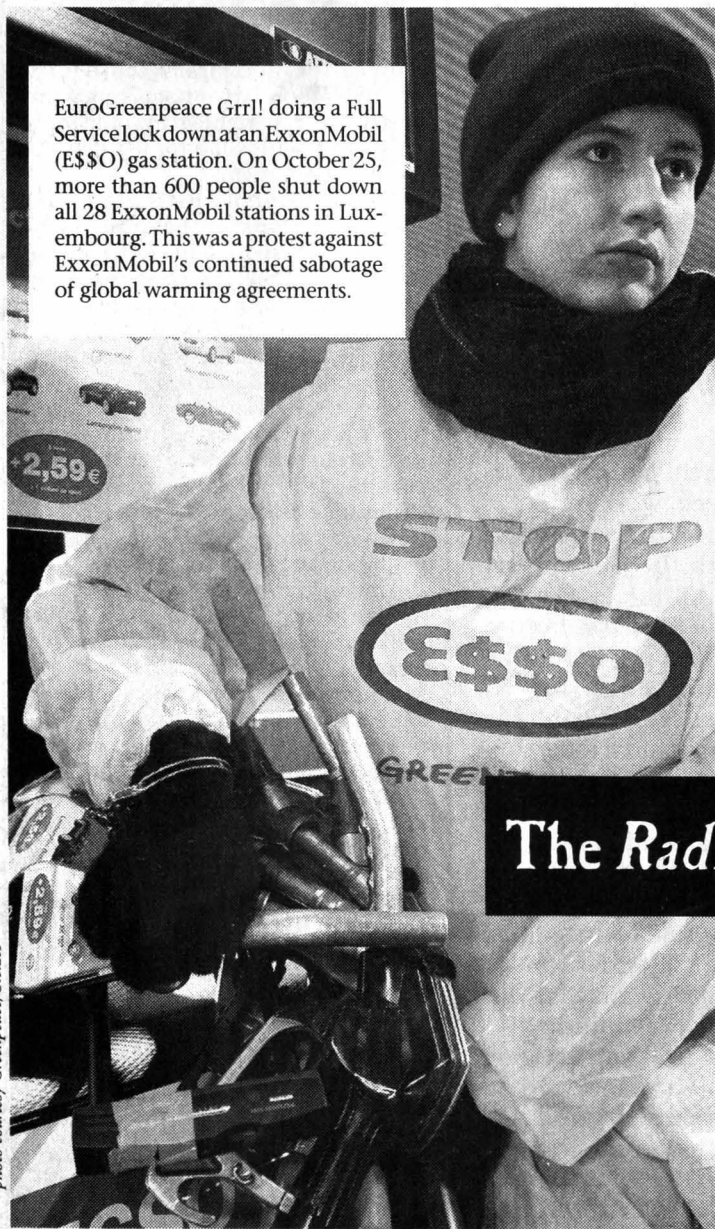


photo courtesy: Greenpeace/Gleizes

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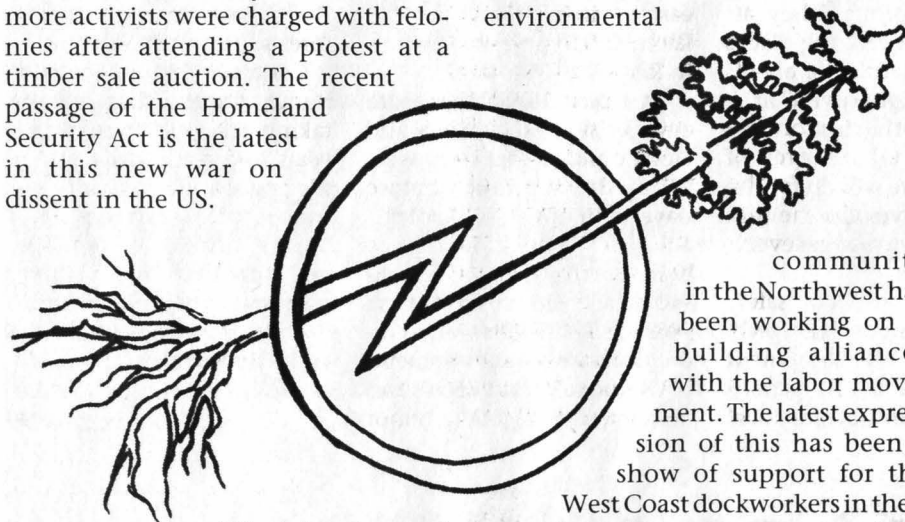
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PHOTO CREDITS Front Cover: Tristan Inside Cover: Eartha Melzer, Sharon Smith and Skygraph Back Cover: John Beske and James Bell



# Building Bridges...

This past year I've gone through a real learning curve about the nature of fear and paranoia. I've seen the energy in this country change since I came here from Canada last December. What seemed an abstract threat of repression a year ago became a very harsh reality this Summer. I witnessed one member of my community in Portland, Oregon, Tre Arrow, be accused of two Earth Liberation Front-style arson attacks based on flimsy evidence. Three more activists were charged with felonies after attending a protest at a timber sale auction. The recent passage of the Homeland Security Act is the latest in this new war on dissent in the US.



What has inspired me amidst all this is the courage and determination of the people in my life, who manage to carry on fighting even whilst the odds are being stacked against them. The Bush administration has been weakening environmental protections, while strengthening the police state and corporations under the World Trade Organization and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). If the administration has its way, it will usher in a new era of colonialism. We cannot let this happen!

This Summer, I realized how time is running out for the Earth. In the Northwest, the view is of isolated pockets of old-growth trees amongst clearcuts and tree plantations. This heart-breaking reality of destruction is being played out in bioregions throughout the world. We need to find ways to sustain energy and hope in the months and

years ahead and to hold strongly onto our visions for the liberation of the Earth and her peoples.

So, this is a time for new strategies and new tactics. We need to step outside our privileged bubbles and see how other communities are being affected by globalization and political repression. We need to learn from how these communities are fighting repression.

One of the issues the environmental

community in the Northwest has been working on is building alliances with the labor movement. The latest expression of this has been a show of support for the

West Coast dockworkers in their struggle against management and the Bush administration. The October solidarity actions throughout North America against the FTAA meeting in Quito, Ecuador, are another example of the activist community supporting indigenous and working class struggles. Making these connections, in order to build a larger network of resistance, is vital if we want to set up a solid framework for revolution.

In Cascadia, we are putting this into practice by building a wider base of support through outreach and alliance building. We have put out a call to action for a mass mobilization of people to come to the Northwest this Summer to use every tool in the box to stop forest destruction. We need every one of you so that we can make the timber barons accountable for their actions!

—LOKI

The *Earth First! Journal* is published bimonthly by Daily Planet Publishing, POB 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702. US subscriptions are \$25. Outside the US, surface delivery is \$40 and airmail is \$50. See form, page 69. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *EF! Journal*, POB 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702.

Upcoming deadlines: January 1 • March 1

**Earth First! Journal**  
*Brigid*

January 1, 2003  
Vol. 23, No. 2

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

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

Article submissions should be typed or clearly printed. Art or photographs are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via email. Send a SASE if you would like submissions returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it.

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

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

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# dear shit for brains: letters to the editors

Dear Editors,

I write this as I take in the news that another warrior has fallen to death from trees marked for death.

The early reports indicate that Naya was found, like Beth "Horehound" O'Brien earlier this year, without a harness on.



We work hard to keep ourselves and our comrades out of jail. We know the Earth needs us free of prison to work to protect life.

We have developed a concept, now widespread within

the movement, of "security culture." We understand that slacking on security issues doesn't only effect one person.

We call each other on our mistakes and work to make good security practice a movement-wide phenomena.

The death of a warrior doesn't only effect one person either. Safety decisions we make are just like security decisions: They affect comrades and the places we try to defend. We are almost never involved in a single action that is more important than all of the rest of the actions we will do for the rest of our lives. So the first priority is always to get everyone back safe.

Let's get serious about "safety culture." Decisions about safety protocols, safety equipment and drug use during actions (e.g., treesits) are not individual

decisions. Affinity groups must be clear about expectations, and individuals who ignore consensus should find other affinity groups for their work.

I began sitting in trees in '96, for up to weeks at a time. I worked, slept, shat and made love harnessed and clipped in every minute. It was the consensus of my affinity group to do so, and when my platform did a 180-degree flip one day early on in my sitting career, I laughed hanging underneath it, knowing I was safe.

I completely honor the work and decisions that Naya and Horehound made. They were within the culture of what we have, until now, found acceptable. Let's change the culture to reduce the level of risk individuals even consider as possible. Let us commit, as individuals and as a movement, to use the safety protocols and equipment available to honor

our own life and our comrades' lives as fully as we honor Earth.

Without compromise,

—TIM REAM

Dear SFB,

In response to the Mabon article, "Gear Up for Lawless Logging," I would like to suggest that active management would not suggest taking the strongest and healthiest trees and leaving the rest of the "cull" trees in our national forests, but vice versa.

Certainly there are money hungry loggers that practice taking the best, waiting 10 years and once again taking the best, but this is clearly not sustainable management. I believe sustainable management should be the focus here, not some extreme-scare tactic that the government is once again screwing us.

—DANIELLE

continued on page 40

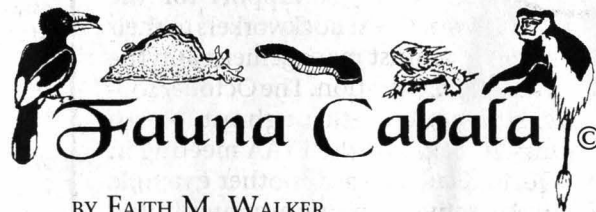
## Errata...

In the Samhain issue, the photo of the treesitter on the inside front cover was actually taken at the Aradia treesit in northern California, not at Freshwater. Aradia is just up the ridge from Gypsy Mountain, where David "Gypsy" Chain was killed by an enraged Maxxam/Pacific Lumber logger in September 1998.

On December 10, Pacific Lumber began logging Gypsy Mountain. Reports from the treesit are that Pacific Lumber is going for it this time. Help is desperately needed. If you want to jump in to save these last old-growth redwoods, contact North Coast EFi, (707) 825-6598.

...

Also, in the frontlines section, under the title "13 Women, 13 Trees," the *Journal* reported that Raven was still at the Freshwater treesit with Remedy, but in actuality it is Wren who just celebrated six months in the treetops.



BY FAITH M. WALKER

Splashing about in the ephemeral playas and cattle tanks of the American Southwest is a tiny sexual maverick. The freshwater clam shrimp, *Eulimnadia texana*, is one of only a handful of androdioecious animals and plants, meaning that it consists of males and hermaphrodites but no true females. Sex among these eight-millimeter-long shrimps can be the male-and-hermaphrodite variety, in which males madly paddle for the short fortnight of their lives, hanging onto their hermaphroditic honeys with hooked appendages. Or a

hermaphrodite can luxuriate in mating with itself.

Since they are lacking the males' amorous arms, copulation between hermaphrodites isn't an option. It isn't clear how a hermaphrodite decides whether to mate with a male or to self-fertilize, but it is certain that s/he controls sex: The male can't force copulation and often must sit back and watch the androgyne mate with itself.

Hermaphrodites, who live longer than males, mate

and produce eggs daily from sexual maturity until reproductive decline at two or three weeks.

Their eggs, buried at pond's bottom, will hatch after a period of desiccation, and shrimplings will be androgynous (like mama-and-papa) or unisexual (like papa) according to their inheritance of forms of a single gene.

This is, therefore, an example of a very rare mating system that is under simple genetic control.



# Homeland Security

BY JAMES JOHN BELL

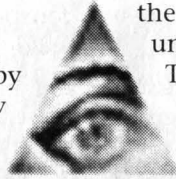
Within a month of the nation being attacked by terrorists, legislation that combated terrorism by suspending constitutional guarantees of free speech was championed by a popular leader. It was called the "Decree on the Protection of People and State," and it passed despite the objections of concerned legislators and civil libertarians. A new national agency was formed within a year that coordinated police and federal security. It consolidated unprecedented power under one leader. No, this is not President Bush's newly won Department of Homeland Security—it was Hitler's Office of Fatherland Security, the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* and *Schutzstaffel*, better known simply as the SS.

When a national emergency was provoked by a terrorist attack on the Reichstag building, Hitler used the ensuing public outcry to secure total power. Author Thom Hartmann writes, "And, perhaps most important, Hitler invited his supporters in industry into the halls of government to help build his new detention camps, his new military and his new empire, which was to herald 1,000 years of peace. Industry and government worked hand-in-glove, in a new type of pseudo-democracy first proposed by Mussolini and sustained by war."

## Big Brother's ThinkPol

The newly formed Department of Homeland Security consolidates nearly two dozen federal agencies into one cabinet-level department with 170,000 employees and a \$38 billion budget, making it the third largest after the Pentagon and the Department of Veterans Affairs. Republicans and Democrats championed the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (HR.5710), passing it in both the House of Representatives and Senate in mid-November. It was signed by Bush on November 25, and now requires only 2003 budget approval for it to become fully operational.

The 484-page bill is the largest reorganization of the US government in more than half a century. Reading the White House documents explaining it is like peeling back the layers of an onion: "As this information is assembled, it is crucial to compile, simultaneously, information about



the information so that homeland security officials understand what is available and where it can be found. This complements the effort to analyze the information with advanced 'data-mining' techniques to reveal patterns of criminal behavior and detain suspects before they act." The goal of the new department is to achieve what the US government terms "Total Information Awareness."

## A Great Eye, Lidless

*"Concealed within his fortress, the Lord of Mordor sees all... His gaze pierces clouds, shadow, Earth and flesh. You know of what I speak, Gandalf. A great eye, lidless.*

*The eye of Sauron..."*

Emblazoned within a circle, the words "*Scientia Est Potentia*"—knowledge is power—are inscribed underneath the familiar all-seeing-eye pyramid that dwarfs a round Earth, while bathing it in fiery light from its eyeball. No, this isn't some rendition of the lidless eye of Sauron from J.R.R.

Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*. It is the logo for the government's new Information Awareness Office (IAO). The IAO is part of the Defense Advanced Research

Projects Agency (DARPA), which is probably best known for creating the infrastructure that became the Internet.

The IAO's mission is to "imagine, develop, apply, integrate, demonstrate and transition information technologies that will counter asymmetric threats by achieving total information awareness useful for preemption, national security warning and national security decision making." In plain language, the IAO is what makes that \$38 billion eyeball all-seeing—"a virtual, centralized grand database."

Your subscription to *Clamor*, that Ed Abbey book you borrowed from the library, the class you audited on setting up computer firewalls, your 18-cent savings account, airfare to Tucson, food stamps, email, phone calls, website visits—these all can be monitored by the IAO under certain conditions as part of the new Department of Homeland Security.





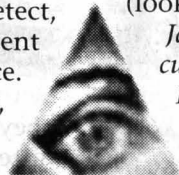
The IAO is headed by John Poindexter, the national security adviser under President Reagan, who was embroiled in scandal for secretly selling missiles to Iran and illegally supporting contras in Nicaragua. In 1990, a jury convicted Poindexter on five felony counts of misleading Congress and making false statements. Congress ultimately gave him immunity.

Poindexter will be responsible for spending millions of dollars to compile a dossier on just about every American and foreign visitor. His IAO will be one part of a scientific research labyrinth: "Under the President's proposal, the Department of Homeland Security will establish a laboratory—actually a network of laboratories—modeled on the National Nuclear Security Administration laboratories that provided expertise in nuclear weapon design throughout the Cold War." The IAO will utilize advanced technology to create information files about everything it can gather in its ultimate quest to search the past, monitor the present and predict the future.

### IAO: Present, Past, Future

This is not the first appearance of the IAO. It has been estimated that at one time, the ancient Library of Alexandria held more than half a million documents from Assyria, Greece, Persia, Egypt, India and many other nations. The librarian Hypatia was a master of all fields. She combined science, theology and mysticism into one body of work, whose purpose was the elucidation and understanding of all existence. Hypatia was instrumental in the development of the concept of IAO, the gnostic term for a formula that would explain all things. The IAO consisted of three words—a constantly mutable series of interactions between Iota, symbolizing the eternal present, Alpha, which represented the past creation of all things, and Omega, which was of course the end.

The 21st century's version of the IAO will detect, identify, classify and track potential anti-government targets through advanced technological surveillance. The lidless eye in the IAO's logo is always watching, listening and tracking the entire globe.



Two millennia ago, legend has it that Hypatia never achieved the IAO's master formula—she was killed and the Library of Alexandria was burned by Muslim conquerors. Could today's pyramid-adorned IAO be another attempt at this battle lost in the sands of the Middle East so long ago? It is the stuff of conspiracy—and there have been many, ever since the all-seeing-eye was printed on the dollar bill for the first time back in 1935. It's interesting to note that around this same time,

J.R.R. Tolkien began writing *The Lord of the Rings* and adorned Mordor with a similar all-seeing-eye.

So what should we make of this new behemoth of government snooping? Is it Hitler's SS resurrected?

Poindexter's spy network? Secret societies at work through the ages? A manifestation of the eye of Sauron? The CIA and FBI's wet dream? No.

In essence, the Bush administration has created a smokescreen to protect its past blunders and to cover future plans with unending levels of confusion and bureaucracy. One Pentagon insider recently said it best when he related a quote that has popped up on cubicle walls in Washington, DC:

*"We trained hard, but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form up into teams, we would be reorganized. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganizing; and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency and demoralization."*

—FROM *PETRONII ARBITRI SATYRICON*, AD 66, ATTRIBUTED TO GAIVS PETRONIUS, A ROMAN GENERAL WHO LATER COMMITTED SUICIDE

### Resources

- White House Office of Homeland Security, [www.whitehouse.gov/homeland](http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland)
- Homeland Security Act of 2002, [hsc.house.gov/legislation/hr5710.pdf](http://hsc.house.gov/legislation/hr5710.pdf)
- Information Awareness Office, [www.darpa.mil/iao](http://www.darpa.mil/iao) (looks like a spoof, but it's very real)

*James John Bell is the editor of LastWizards.com. He is currently authoring the foreword for a reprinting of John Brunner's classic industrial-apocalyptic science fiction novel, The Sheep Look Up.*

# More than Meets the Eye



# NAWLA

## The Heart of the Timber Industry Suffers an Attack

BY TIM REAM

*Setting:* November 8, NAWLA Conference, Wyndham-Anatole Hotel, Dallas, Texas.

*Inside:* As bad techno music blares, three 300-square-foot television screens rapidly repeat the image of two-by-fours being spit from a revolving circular saw while the letters "N-A-W-L-A" flash by. A couple thousand people, who generate huge profits from genocidal old-growth forest logging, sip drinks underneath the screens.

*Outside:* A loaded van and car pull up to a hotel door, and 16 people from Texas and Cascadia [Pacific Northwest] sprint in. A guard quickly radios for more security and for the Dallas police to form a cordon inside, across from the ballroom entrance.

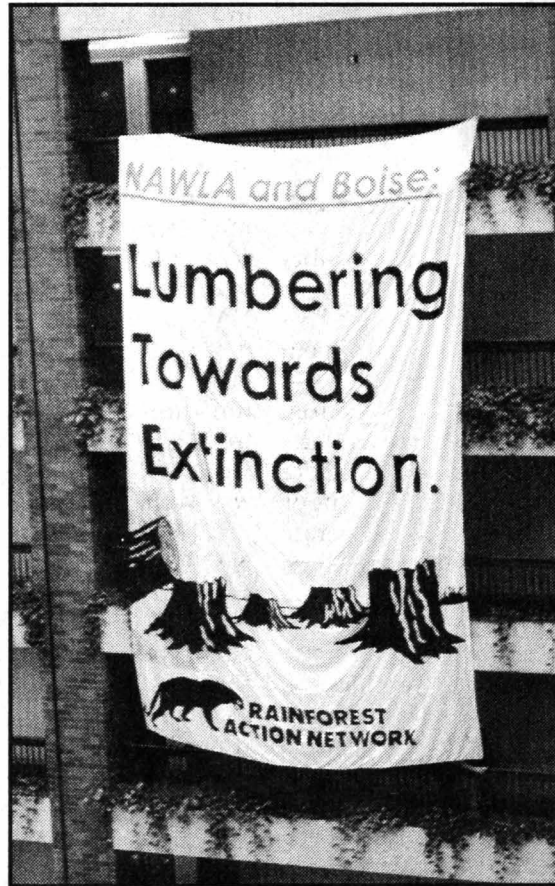
*Inside:* Boise, Roseburg Forest Products (RFP), North-Pacific Group (NORPAC) and Arauco are among those who sponsor, buy, sell and profit from the 650-member North American Wholesale Lumber Association (NAWLA).

These timber executives have just come off the trading floor, where they have crafted new multi-million dollar deals that will leave more indigenous cultures threatened and species extinct.

*Outside In:* At full speed, the sprinters hit the security line. Some get past and into the room of shocked cocktailers, some are tackled by security and held hard on the carpet.

*Inside:* Boise knows that universities, such as Notre Dame and the University of North Carolina, have recently canceled contracts for its office products. RFP knows people tresit, lock-down and fuck shit up in the forests it is cutting in Oregon. NORPAC admits that nearly half of its profits are drawn from endangered forests. Arauco knows full well that it traffics in blood timber from the continued genocide of indigenous cultures in Chile.

*Inside Out:* Puffs of sawdust shower down on timber barons, as two women who made it into the party shout at the disrupted red-faced men. One by one the forest defenders are jostled to the exit, but they refuse to leave



Unfurling the truth about NAWLA

Photo by Sharon Smith

the premises until all 16 are free to go together. Throughout, both executives and cops are forced to hear about their roles in ecocide and genocide. Three corporate executives whisper to a tackled forest defender as he's led out, "Nice job." A cop cries while hearing about the Mapuche of Chile. The 16 circle, give thanks and leave the hotel.

Bumps, sprains and a little blood were small prices to pay for the strong message that was sent by bodies flying into the security apparatus put in place to protect North America's real eco-terrorists. Most importantly, the suits were seriously tweaked by the intensity of power leveled against them. Bottomlines are now under real threat—that was the sentiment heard by clandestine activists who eavesdropped on café conversations among the timber barons.

Earlier in the day, a storm of actions included Buddha, banner and band. It began when a robed member of the band, Sisters of the Revolution, bowed

and gave offerings to sacred, stolen Buddhist objects that now serve as decoration at the Wyndham-Anatole Hotel.

The Rainforest Action Network dropped a banner in the atrium, which sported a silhouette of a clearcut, "Boise and NAWLA: Lumbering toward Extinction." Boise remains the largest public lands logging company behind the horror stories in forests around the planet.

Southern Oregon's Oxygen Collective led a revolutionary marching band through the swanky lobby with drums, whistles, flags, singing and dancing. More than 1,000 NAWLA members were transfixed while waiting for the RFP-sponsored luncheon. Some even mistook the band for a legitimate part of the festivities. That is, until they saw the "Allyn Ford is an Ecocidal Maniac" flag.

For more than \$10,000, Allyn Ford, Umpqua Bank's chairman and RFP's owner, got his corporate name as the sponsor of the meeting's opening meal. He also got 12 people handing out flyers, yelling and deploying two high-pitched, 120-decibel screamers. Still, this is but a token response to a man whose company is simultaneously logging three old-growth forest timber sales in Oregon.

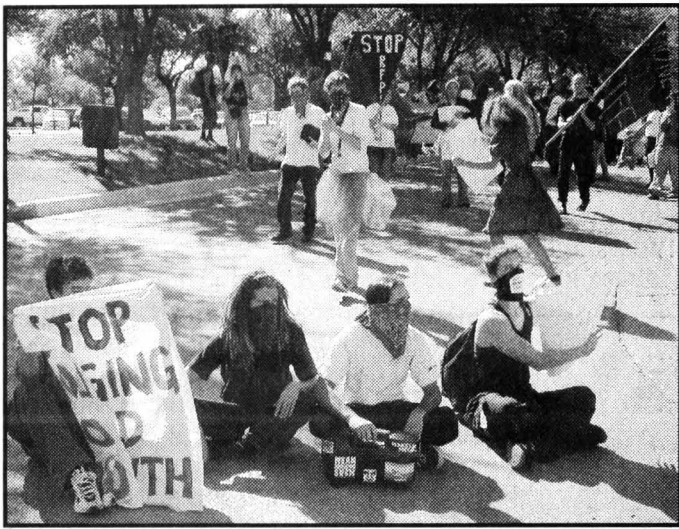


photo by Sharon Smith

NAWLA Welcoming Committee

Allyn Ford's active RFP sales include the Peak Timber Sale in the Rogue River National Forest, where a resurgence of southern Oregon direct action is in flower. This man is also buying mills in Montana and must be stopped!

Whenever they went outside, NAWLA members found bridges and billboards plastered with posters declaring, "NAWLA=Blood Timber" and "Arauco=Blood Timber." Arauco was attending this year's meeting to sell genocidal pine. It creates the market incentive to steal indigenous land in Chile and to destroy the ancient temperate rainforest there. Local mills can't work the big trees, so they are cut and burned to make way for California pine plantations.

In Dallas, on the second day of actions we were met with heavy police force. Most hotel entrances were blocked off. All of the cars entering were questioned. Despite this, a march of 50 protestors managed to shut down the main hotel entrance for more than an hour. Participants included the Boise dinosaur, Stumpy the stump and the NAWLA monster, an elaborate shopping cart with spiked wheels and teeth. Three locals were arrested and were

released by evening. It was an amazing two days of actions that surely left the timber barons' bellies in knots.

As if all this wasn't enough to ruin hundreds of corporate days, a major national lumber retailer, BMC West, had one of its warehouses stickered. When activists asked to meet with management, they called headquarters and subsequently shut down the warehouse for a couple of hours. Actions also happened at BMC West stores in Texas and Oregon. Witness yet another company learning the hard way that we will not back down in the face of such hideous oppression.

This campaign against NAWLA got started about a year ago when ForestEthics tried something difficult. Rather than going after the logging and milling companies that are directly destroying the forests, and rather than going after the retailers vulnerable to consumer demands, it began to target the middlemen. (Note: There are very few middlewomen in this good ol' boys club.)

NAWLA had flown under the movement radar since before there was a movement. This despite the fact that NAWLA proudly proclaims in its own written history that it was the behind-the-scenes force that opened public lands to logging more than 100 years ago. It was at the June junket in Colorado Springs that NAWLA first heard from the forest. The board of directors meeting was disrupted, and a banner was dropped from the hotel where they were meeting.

Of course, anyone can join the fun. We'll welcome NAWLA on May 5-7, 2003, at the Rancho Las Palmas Marriott Resort and Spa in Rancho Mirage, California. NAWLA is always holding smaller events around the country. It has member companies in most states. Every little bit of solidarity helps to drive home the message that the logging industry's profit comes from oppression, and it needs to end.

For more information, visit [www.lumber.org](http://www.lumber.org); [www.forestethics.org](http://www.forestethics.org).

*Tim Ream is currently on the road for the forests and is a regular contributor to the Journal.*

## Blood + Timber = Arauco

BY SITCHENSIS

One of the lesser-known companies targeted at the meetings of North American Wholesale Lumber Association was Arauco, Chile's top wood pulp exporter. Arauco is owned and controlled by Carter Holt Harvey, a subsidiary of the world's largest forest products company, International Paper.

Arauco owns more than one million acres of forest lands in Chile that were acquired at bargain basement prices during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship.

Besides making money on converting South America's temperate rainforests into pine tree farms, Arauco plays a significant role in the oppression of the Mapuche people. Traditionally hunter gatherers, the Mapuche have been forced from their ancestral homelands and their means of subsistence has been destroyed. Nearly all of Arauco's

holdings are on Mapuche lands. Much of the land was actually legally "granted" to the Mapuche during the Salvador Allende presidency and then retaken by the Pinochet government.

The nearly one million Mapuche are arguably the most impoverished social group in Chile and are regularly victims of racial discrimination and government repression. The Mapuche are painfully aware of the wrongs perpetrated against them by the colonialists and now by corporations like Arauco. Their livelihood and culture is intertwined with the life of the forest.

It's great to see people drawing attention toward Arauco in solidarity with the Mapuche and Chile's rainforests. Needless to say, a lot more help is needed.

For more information on the Mapuche, Arauco and International Paper, visit [www.mapuche-nation.org](http://www.mapuche-nation.org); [www.endgame.org/global-ip.html](http://www.endgame.org/global-ip.html).



# A RIOT OF COLOR and SPIRIT

## CONFRONTING THE FTAA IN QUITO

BY JUSTIN RUBEN

On October 31, thousands of people from around the world gathered in Quito, Ecuador, to protest the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) ministerial summit. Trade representatives from 34 countries hammered out the second draft of the agreement, which would "unite the economies of the Western Hemisphere into a single free trade area," resulting in tremendous human rights violations and ecological devastation. The Journal received the following eyewitness account from a US activist in Quito.



photo by Scott and Margaret

I don't know if I feel like crying because I am so moved by what I saw today, because my mucous membranes are shot to hell from too much tear gas or out of sheer exhaustion.

Tonight, I watched some of the most oppressed people in the world confront some of the most influential. I watched a group of poor farmers, indigenous people and workers speak, shout, sing truth to power. I think I watched the terrain of hemispheric politics shift before my eyes. I feel so inspired, and I feel so humbled.

When the day started, I was 13 miles south of Quito, with maybe 300 *indigenas*. We were one of two protest caravans that had crossed the country to spread the word about the protest against the FTAA summit. The other caravan reported that it had 80 people. "And this is how it ends," I thought. "Four months of work, promising reporters, funders and countless activists in North America that thousands of people would come to disrupt the FTAA ministerial meeting. And we were going to end up with 500 people rallying in a park." However, soon after we got down off the buses and began the seven-mile trek to Quito, the number of people seemed to mysteriously increase.

The procession was a riot of color, and people lined the streets to watch as it passed by. One shopkeeper explained to me that the indigenous people were like burros, dragging along the rest of the country—who also are opposed to the FTAA but who let the indigenous movement carry the torch for their opposition.

When we finally reached our destination, we rounded the corner and found up to 6,000 people waiting. As the two groups approached each other, people on each side were visibly stirred. Some began to run. At this point, I realized that after months of frantic organizing, the mobilization was a reality, that we had already won, that thousands of *campesinos*

and *indigenas* had come to Quito to reject US-style "free" trade. And I simply began to bawl.

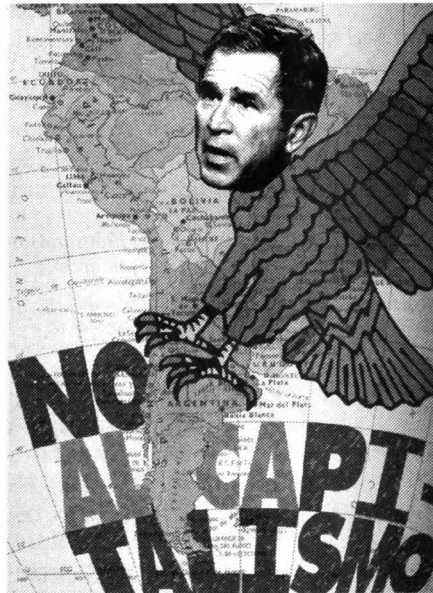
Our group continued toward the Marriott hotel, where trade ministers from North and South America were arriving to negotiate a treaty that would wipe out small farmers, hand corporations a sweeping set of tools to evade environmental, consumer and labor laws, as well as force the privatization of water, health care, education, culture and biodiversity.

As we headed north, we were joined by large groups of *campesinos*, students, trade unionists and international activists that had already been fighting battles with the police.

The march was led by a line of *campesino* and indigenous leaders (*dirigentes*) walking arm-in-arm, preceded by a shaman conducting rites to improve the success of our efforts. We were soon stopped by several hundred riot police. The *dirigentes* asked to

send a delegation of civil society groups into the summit to deliver a giant letter containing thousands of proposals and comments from *campesinos* who couldn't come to the protest. The request was soundly refused.

They deliberated and decided to head west toward the Volcan Pichincha. As we rounded the corner, we saw at least a thousand people ahead of us. More groups drifted in from the sides, and soon the street



artwork by Marcelo S. unguay, indigenia.org

No to the Area de Libre Comercio de las Américas (ALCA/FTAA). No to capitalism.

was packed for perhaps eight or 10 blocks, with more people out of sight. There must have been between eight and 15,000 people. There were giant puppets, a smattering of black-clad anarchists, labor leaders, a surprising number of international activists and lots of *campesinos*. From 75-year-old women to small children, everyone was visibly thrilled to be there.

The police began to volley tear gas both at and over the crowd—so that as people ran away, they ran into more gas. I walked until I couldn't see or breathe, then began to run, then someone grabbed my hand and led me away. The president of the National Judicial Workers Union was hit with three tear gas

continued on page 54

# BENEATH THE SILENCE, BENEATH THE SHOUTING... QUITO Says No FTAA

The following letter was written by a farmer who, like thousands of others, traveled across Ecuador to protest the recent ministerial summit of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Following fierce street protests, the author was among 45 people who went into the summit to speak with the trade representatives.

On October 31, after traveling 560 miles, over mountains, through cities and several rural communities, I remember that we entered Quito, with green pennants and rainbow flags (the symbol of the indigenous and *campesino*, or small farmer, movements). We carried a resplendent sun across which was written, "No to the FTAA! Another America is Possible!" We also brought a giant letter written by the Indians and *campesinos* of southern Ecuador that contained proposed alternatives to free trade. It measured more than 65 feet in length and was signed by thousands of people unable to come to Quito themselves.

We shouted; we sang; we ran. Not our lips, but our hearts chanted, "No queremos y no nos da la gana ser una colonia norteamericana, y si queremos y si nos da la gana ser America Latina, libre y soberana." (We don't want to be a North American colony, and we do want to be Latin America, sovereign and free). From the podium we spoke—the small farmers and indigenous people of the nation and the continent. We told the ministers: "We are in desperate shape. You couldn't possibly understand; you were born in golden cradles and have never suffered." We shouted at them, "With the FTAA will come more pain for our children and the children of our children."

To Bob Zoellick, the US trade representative, a US citizen yelled from his seat: "Never again can you claim that the people of Latin America are begging for free trade, because today the civil society of the hemisphere has unequivocally rejected the FTAA and the neoliberal economic model."

Accompanying him was another gringo who shouted, "I am a US citizen, and I am ashamed at what you are doing in my name—pushing the FTAA, which would create misery and poverty throughout Latin America and would also hurt many North Americans."

In front of us were many of the economic and foreign ministers of the hemisphere, including Zoellick. Because some of the ministers had refused to meet with civil society groups, there were also many empty seats. I didn't know which was more inert: the empty seats or the ministers. They

sat in silence, despite the cries of "No to the FTAA!" that filled the room.

What lay beneath that silence? Maybe the ministers thought about how to bring us to our knees, or perhaps how to silence those gringos who said no to the FTAA. Who knows, maybe they thought about how, by way of vengeance, to speed up the free market, Plan Colombia, Plan Dignidad, Plan Puebla Panama and the Andean Regional Initiative in order to enrich the largest multinational corporations. Maybe they even

thought about how to make laws that would condemn us as terrorists, although we have neither bombs nor guns.

What lay beneath the shouting? It was clear: We saw the hopes and dreams of our communities and villages; we saw the splendor and beauty of our fields, alpine meadows and mountains. With joy, we saw all of you, thousands, perhaps millions, who, without being here, were nonetheless with us. We rejoiced to know that the people of North America and the world are bound forever



photo by Tristram

On October 31, thousands of farmers and indigenous people protested the devastating human and environmental effects expected from the FTAA.

to the people of Ecuador and Latin America.

Finally, we want to tell you the following: They will try to sign the FTAA, to privatize our oil just as they will our mountains. But we the boas\* of Amazonia will continue to work magic. We the condors of the Andes will continue flying free until we are able to build a new country, a new America, a new democracy. Those boas and those condors are all of you—and they are all of us—and together we form the seeds of a new world.

The author is a member of the *Confederación Nacional del Seguro Campesino de Ecuador (CONFEUNASSC)*—a diverse network of indigenous and *campesino* organizations who share common roots inspired by their relations with the natural world.

CONFEUNASSC was formed in 1978 to provide villages with health clinics, popular education and social security in ways keeping with their traditional cultures and small-scale farming. CONFEUNASSC has taken part in countless mobilizations, occupations, strikes and uprisings, including the recent anti-FTAA protests in Quito. For more information, contact [ssc-cnc@campesinos-fmlgt.org.ec](mailto:ssc-cnc@campesinos-fmlgt.org.ec).

\*For many indigenous Amazonian cultures, boa constrictors have special powers and are considered potent symbols of strength.



# Refusing Plan Puebla Panama

## Blockades Spring Up Throughout the Americas

BY THE ACERCA/ASEJ COLLECTIVE

Sixty thousand people, with banners raised, voices lifted, rejecting the Plan Puebla Panama (PPP) and celebrating 510 years of resistance to the colonization of the Americas—that was what happened on October 12. Those 60,000 people gathered in small towns throughout the US and on dirt roads in Central American villages, as well as in the largest cities and in the middle of the largest highways. From Canada to Colombia, they protested in front of US embassies, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and World Bank offices, Spanish embassies, monuments to Christopher Columbus and the headquarters of corporations involved in the PPP.

Essentially a plan to transform much of southern Mexico and Central America into a network of transit corridors and maquiladora zones, the PPP literally paves the way for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) (see *EF!* September-October 2002). Rural and indigenous communities that would be directly affected by the PPP understand this only too well, and on October 12, they showed fierce opposition to both measures.

The Pan-American highway was shut down at dozens of points, in every country from the US to Panama. Close to the Mexican border, in Cologanango, Guatemala, 1,000 Maya people barricaded the highway with rocks and planks of wood embedded with nails as they listened to speeches by leaders of peasant groups opposed to the PPP. Protesters vowed that they would not allow the construction of hydroelectric dams on

the Usamacinta River. The river acts as the life of the indigenous people of the region and is threatened by the PPP.

Protesters in Guatemala also took over the international airport in Petén—where tourists come to visit the famous Tikal ruins. In addition, a raucous rally was



On October 12, 30,000 protestors closed roads and borders into El Salvador to protest the PPP and FTAA. These farmers are blocking a road with rocks and a sign: "Yes to agriculture; no to free trade agreements."

organized at the offices of Unión Fenosa, a Spanish corporation that is involved in the PPP and trying to privatize electricity in Nicaragua and Guatemala.

In Chiapas, Mexico, more than 50 peasant and civil groups organized 12 roadblocks on major interstate highways and roads connecting Mexico and Guatemala. In one location, 250 people held a blockade for 24 hours on the south frontier highway.

In another case, more than 1,000 people from the Association of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus (UCIZONI) blocked the Trans-Isthmus highway on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico, as well as the highway in Veracruz. They voiced their rejection of the PPP and FTAA plans, which exclude indigenous input and propose the pillaging of natural resources.

UCIZONI Coordinator Carlos Beas Torres said, "PPP means the construction of dams, highways and port expansions. In other words, things that advance the expansion of multinational corporations in the region. This means the immediate expulsion of our communities from our lands."

Salvadoran organizers stretched the "day of action" to an entire week, starting with blockades on key transit routes on October 12 and continuing each day until the weekend on a hopeful note: a seed-conservation fair organized in resistance to genetic engineering.

In Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua, indigenous people demonstrated outside the World Bank and IDB offices. The IDB is the institution funding much of the PPP

development schemes. In Managua, Nicaragua, demonstrators managed to shut down the IDB offices for the day.

A network of more than 30 organizations and 4,000 people blockaded the Honduran borders of Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua to protest various governmental institutions. In addition, Mexican and US activists collaborated to shut down both sides of the border in San Diego/Tijuana, El Paso/Ciudad Juárez and Nogales, Arizona/Sonora.

Two thousand people marched in Santiago, Chile, to support the ancestral and land rights of the Mapuche people. On the same day, a group of 200 Mapuche people reached the city of Concepción after marching 300 miles. They were protesting the construction of the Ralco dam megaproject, which will flood Mapuche lands. Similarly, indigenous activists

photo courtesy Ciudadas Hermanas

from Panama marched 200 miles from Costa Rica to Panama City to protest the ecological destruction caused by mining on their lands.

In more than 20 North American cities, community organizations led rallies and protests in solidarity. As part of a rally attended by 300 people, "George Bush" and "Christopher Columbus" crashed the Ithaca, New York, farmers' market, claiming they had come to conquer. Huge Zapatista dolls paraded through the streets of Louisville, Kentucky. In Washington, DC, Vernon Bellecourt, an American Indian Movement activist, splashed his own blood on the Columbus statue.

In spite of the stunning array of actions with clear political messages, the mainstream media missed the point. The Associated Press reported that the actions were "protesting Columbus Day and celebrating the

region's Indian heritage." Yet there was so much more.

Teodosio Angel of UCIZONI explained a few days before October 12: "We will block roads, ports and borders and will protest multinationals like Coca-Cola to demand that corporations and governments stop robbing our natural

Caceres noted, "This entire package of economic policies impacts certain sectors more strongly, especially women. The privatization of water, of health, of education, affects women—especially single women with several children. In a place where many households are nearly destitute, the impact would essentially be the utter denial of our basic rights—the right to water, to health, to education."

For more information on the resistance to the PPP, contact Action for Community and Ecology in the Regions of Central America, POB 57, Burlington, VT 05402; (802) 863-0571; info@asej.org; www.acerca.org.

ACERCA is a collective of activists and organizers who are working to protect the ecological and cultural integrity of Central America. ACERCA worked with dozens of organizations across the US and Canada to prepare for the day of action on October 12.

**We will block roads, ports and borders to demand that corporations stop robbing our natural resources and basic rights. For 510 years, governments and corporations have ignored us, and it continues today with the PPP.**

resources and basic rights. For 510 years, governments and corporations have ignored us, and it continues today with the PPP."

Bertha Caceres of COPINH (National Civic Council of Indigenous and Popular Communities of Honduras) reminded all of us of the human element of the October 12 actions. In an interview broadcast on Free Speech Radio,

## Decolonizing Denver

### 20 Arrested at Columbus Day Protests

BY HEATHER AJANI

This year's Transform Columbus Day events kicked off with a two-day series of workshops at Auraria College in downtown Denver, Colorado. The speakers and workshops focused on confronting racism, a theme that permeated the weekend as activists and anarchists from around the country gathered to stop the "official" Columbus Day parade.

The morning of October 12, began with a Four Directions March led by the American Indian Movement. Thousands of participants started from the north, east, south and west and converged in the middle of Denver, where different ceremonial dances and rituals were performed. Folks then headed across the street to the state capital, where people spoke about the injustices of celebrating Columbus Day.

Later that afternoon, the crowd split into sections and headed to locations throughout Denver to rally against several racist institutions, including the police department, banks, newspapers and the FBI. A cardboard plaque

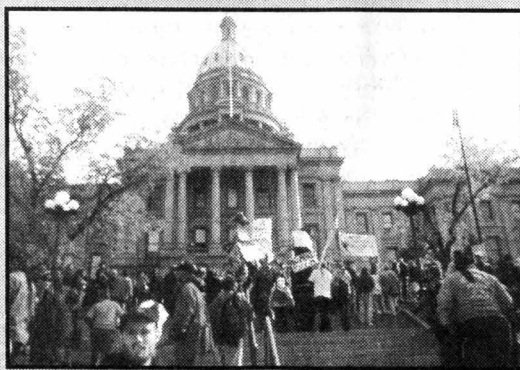
was left at each location, declaring the institution responsible for perpetuating racism and the genocide of indigenous peoples.

Different tactics were used to try to shut down the parade—barricades were taken down, jumped over and even moved but to no avail. However, a group of young women, ranging from 13-15 years old, did manage to stop the parade for five minutes by holding hands across the route and linking together.

The heavy police presence led to serious abuse by the Denver Police Department. Several people were detained against a wall, while their comrades gathered around and chanted: "Let them go!" Police officers tried to disperse the

onlookers; some even manhandled women, grabbing their breasts in an attempt to physically move them. A gun was pointed at one woman as the police officer told her to move away from a parade supporter who was verbally attacking her and shouting racial slurs.

In the end, more than 20 people were arrested throughout the day as they attempted to stop a celebration of colonization, genocide and exploitation.



The US celebration of Columbus Day started in Denver, Colorado, and activists vow to stop it there.

photo by Heather Ajani



# University of Minnesota Buys into Cultural Genocide on Mt. Graham

BY DWIGHT METZGER

On October 11, a circle of Apache, Ojibwe and Dakota spiritual leaders and their supporters ended the Mount Graham spiritual encampment at the University of Minnesota (U of M). The four-day ceremony and protest brought together the prayers and actions of hundreds of people. Their intent was to derail a decision by the U of M to buy a five percent share into the Mount Graham telescope project in southeastern Arizona. The project is desecrating a mountain (known as *Dzil Nchaa Si An*) sacred to Western Apaches and is destroying its old-growth habitat, home to 18 endemic species.

As refined as any of the myriad connections that wove together an envelope of hope, the words and songs during the closing circle marked a pas-

sage into the past and the future. It was a point in time that can be singled out for its example of perfect clarity.

"We will always be with you. We will always be with you. We will always be with you." Eight times these words were bellowed by Clyde Bellecourt, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, each time heard louder and resonating deeper. Participants exchanged prayers and plans to move forward together, demonstrating their commitment to the continued struggle for life and the land. Long Autumn shadows crossed our circle to mimic the contrast of a great light shining on a dark political day in Minneapolis. Our relations embraced the light with dignity, and a collective comfort eased the bringing down of the teepees and the sacred fire into the ground, to go on with things.

The vote by the U of M board of regents to buy into the desecration of Mount Graham came a day before the 510th anniversary of Columbus Day, but it did not come easily. During the past 10 months, Mount Graham had become a heated issue at the university. Opposition resolutions and letters—from Minnesota tribes, American Indian leaders, scholars and the university's own advisory committees—all uncompromisingly condemned U of M's plans to invest in the telescope project.

Demonstrations brought many of Minneapolis' progressive people together in solidarity with the traditional Apaches, including cultural activists, environmentalists, religious community leaders and students. Delegations of San Carlos and White Mountain Apaches stood together with their indigenous allies from the north. Their powerful rituals and manifestation of Earth-based spirituality spawned relationships and actions, which struck at the heart of this conflicted institution.

## Demanding to be Heard

A raucous rally in front of the regents' headquarters on October 10, was doubled in numbers when joined by 100 students from the Heart of the Earth Survival School, and it quickly took over the finance committee meeting on the telescope issue.

The ban on public comment was overturned when

Rita McDonald, from the Sisters of St. Joseph (celebrating her 80th birthday!), disrupted the meeting and demanded that the traditional Apaches be given a chance to speak.

A gavel was pounded to try to bring order, yet the power had shifted. The U of M's attempt to censor presentations from the traditional Apaches was ignored by the people, whose impassioned testimonies condemned a U of M plan to acculturate and bribe them.

Seemingly touched after listening to the Apaches, the committee chairman reversed his publicly stated position in favor of the telescopes and moved to vote against the plan. He was joined by another regent whose research of the project had left her with grave concerns about human rights violations. Two votes for the telescopes left the decision at a tie, thus a heated discussion followed.

Elected to serve as yes-men and women for the university administration, the individual regents were faced with the personal dilemma of whether to uphold their moral responsibilities or to cave in to the powerful research lobby and accept the U of M's plan to disregard Apache religious freedom.



On October 10, hundreds of people rallied in Minnesota to protest the U of M's plan to join the controversial telescope project on top of Mount Graham.

photo by Dwight Metzger

The deciding vote to move forward and invest in the telescope project came with a hollow media spin. It was suggested that the university was offering a concession by promoting Apache access to Mount Graham.

Regent Frank Berman voted that U of M should join the project, reinforcing the lack of integrity that university administrators had in dealing with the serious cultural implications of their research ambitions.

One regent went so far as to tell the traditional Apaches that they "will learn to like this," and their children will benefit from the development of Mount Graham for telescopes.

### You Will Learn to Like This

In 1992, the University of Arizona (U of A) commissioned a strategy from a public relations firm on how to deal with the Mount Graham controversy surrounding its telescope project. Although the report recommended abandoning the mountain, so as to not provoke an irreconcilable conflict with Native Americans, it went on to suggest a divide and conquer strategy to marginalize traditional Apaches who oppose the telescopes. The plan recommended offering bribes to the tribe in an effort to divide the elected tribal leaders from the traditional people. Both the San Carlos and White Mountain Tribal Councils oppose telescope development on Mount Graham.

In February 2002, the U of A resurrected its strategy in desperation after Apaches held a protest on the U of A campus, demanding that the university stop the desecration of Mount Graham and its disregard for Apache religious freedom. Despite the foundations of fraudulent biology, institutional racism and political bullying on which this project has been built, the U of A has refused to let anything stand in the way of its plans for a giant astrophysical complex on Mount Graham.

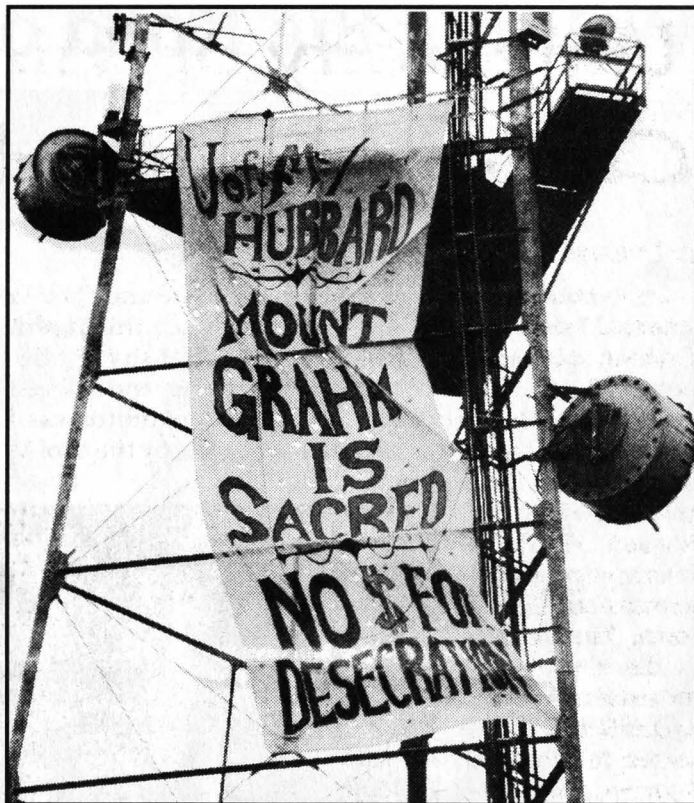


photo courtesy Mount Graham Coalition

Billionaire Stanley Hubbard found out the hard way that his five million dollar donation to the U of M astronomy program was going to be used to desecrate a sacred site.

Billionaire Stanley Hubbard found out the hard way that his five million dollar donation to the U of M astronomy program was going to be used to desecrate a sacred site. A late-night action on September 24, left a 60-foot banner hanging on his KSTP-TV transmission tower. A press conference the next morning turned into a spirited protest to expose Hubbard's disregard for Apache tribal opposition to the telescopes. When he declared that he was lied to by the U of M, the university quickly diffused the embarrassing situation by announcing its intent to join the project—with a public relations spin that it would try to help the Apache people.

### Generations of Resistance

The U of M's five percent partnership in the telescope project will do little to save the face of the U of A's Mount Graham fiasco. More than 20 research institutions have walked away from this astronomical pariah. The large binocular telescope was to have been completed on October 12, 1992. Ten years later, its monstrous shell sits on the mountain without mirrors and is years away from completion. Plagued with atmospheric turbulence and cloud cover, the viewing on Mount Graham is marginal at best.

Regardless of the opportunity that has been lost by both universities to take an ethical stand on the Mount Graham issue, the impact of the resistance campaign and coalition-building amongst those involved will be felt for generations. In our coming together, we start to break down barriers. It is a great gift to walk together long enough to know that our paths are connected.

For more information, visit [www.mountgraham.org](http://www.mountgraham.org).  
Dwight Metzger lives in Tucson, Arizona.



photo by Dwight Metzger

The ban on public comment about the U of M's telescope project was overturned when protesters disrupted the regents' meeting and demanded that the traditional Apaches be given a chance to speak.

In an attempt to appear concerned, the U of M has recommended cultural exchanges and advisory committees to "help" the Apache. That any of these vague offers (i.e. bribes) would ever happen, let alone address the needs of the Apache people, didn't seem to be of concern to the U of M.



# Walking the Road of Nuclear Resistance

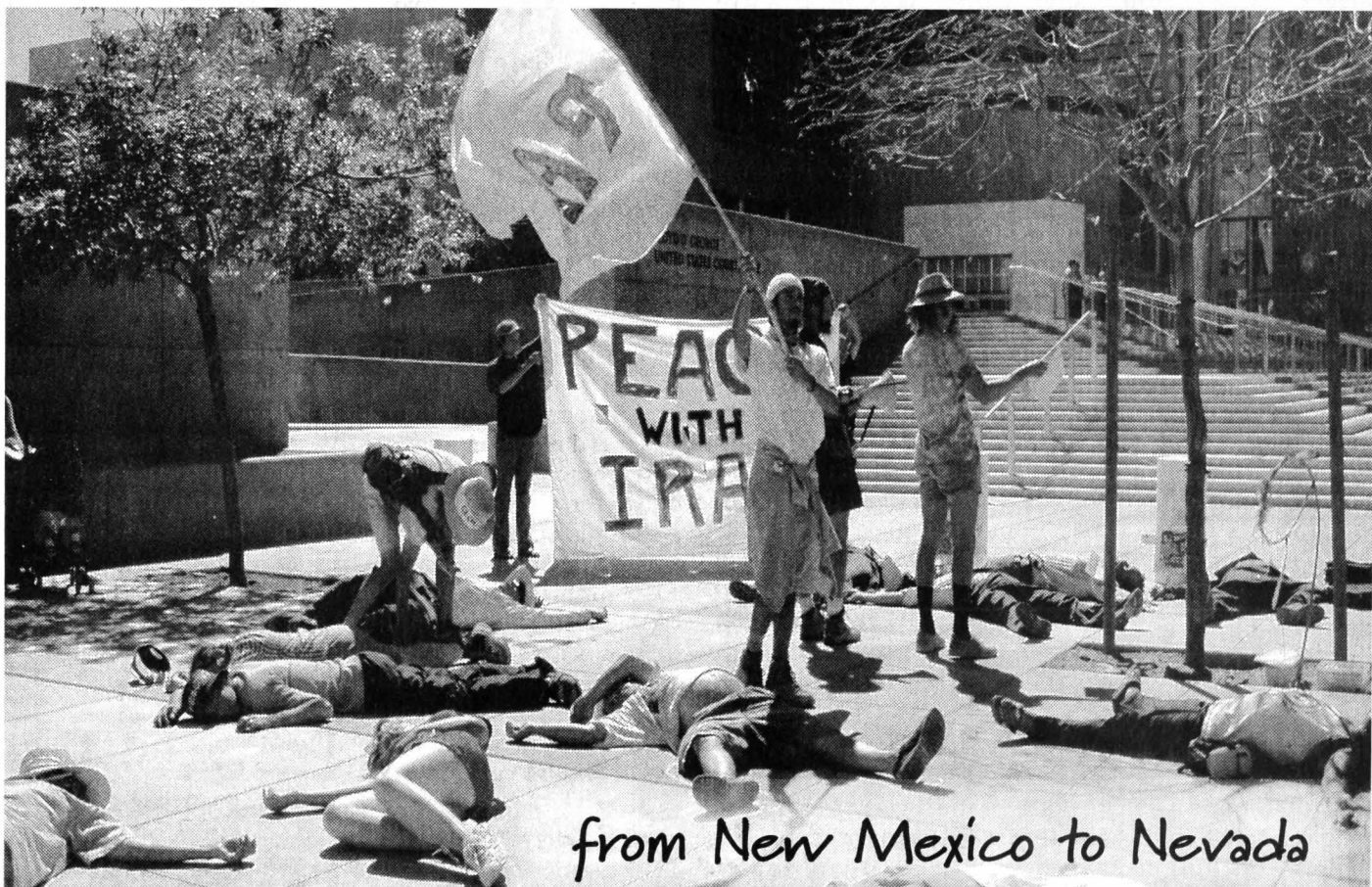


photo courtesy Shundahai Network

from New Mexico to Nevada

Family Spirit Walk protest at the Las Vegas federal building on October 7

BY OAK "TREE" WALKER

*Good morning, relatives.*

*I give thanks once again for this new day. I ask that the ancestors of this land be with us today and give us permission to pass through in a good way.*

*I pray for the healing of the abuse and neglect that this land has suffered. I pray for all the people who have been affected by the terrible nuclear cycle, for the uranium miners and their families, for the people living downwind. I pray for all those whose communities are dumped on and who are faced with sickness and death due to radiation and contamination. I pray for the natives of this land who are still strong despite centuries of genocide and colonization, for the soldiers whose lives are endangered every day and for the military people who created this nightmare. I ask that our prayers and actions today open their eyes and change their hearts in a good way. I pray for the healing of this land, and I have a song...*

With words of prayer like these, shared quietly around a sacred fire in the desert chill just before dawn, 30 activists from around the world began each day of our 800-mile Family Spirit Walk. Guided by natives of the land, through four states and the sovereign territory of nearly a dozen indigenous nations, our family of walkers sought to raise awareness about the perils of nuclear radiation. We sought to encourage the healing of the land and to put an end to the industrial and military practices that Native American activist Ward Churchill has called "radioactive colonialism."

Our walk, organized by the Las Vegas-based Shundahai Network, began on native land in New Mexico next to the Los Alamos National Laboratory, the scientific factory that produced the first atomic bomb. Taking up land indigenous to the Tewa people from the Santa Clara and San Ildefonso pueblos, the laboratory cuts the Tewa off from their traditional shrines, which are either fenced off or contaminated. The groundwater in the area has also been contaminated.

Today, the "war on terrorism" has been a boon for Los Alamos: The US military has asked the laboratory to design a new "bunker-busting" nuclear bomb, and roughly 1,000 new employees were hired in 2002. Yet justice for the Tewa nation has been denied. Los Alamos scientists refuse to admit the connection between their nuclear experimentation and the elevated rates of cancer and birth defects found among the neighboring Tewa.

After our trek was blessed by Tewa spiritual leaders and community activists, and we received the sacred staff that we would carry for the duration of our journey, we began to walk.

## The Nuclear Death Cycle

Since the start of the Manhattan Project in 1942, native communities in the Southwest have borne a disproportionate share of the social and ecological fallout from the deadly addiction to nuclear power and weapons in the US. From uranium mining and nuclear testing to the transport and storage of radioactive waste, the original inhabitants of the

Great Basin and Colorado Plateau have been negatively impacted by every stage of the nuclear cycle.

In the US, two-thirds of all known reserves of uranium lie underneath Native American reservations. The bulk of uranium mining has occurred around the Colorado Plateau, a vast swath of land stretching from Albuquerque in the east to Las Vegas in the west and encompassing the Grand Canyon. This area is home to the greatest concentration of indigenous populations remaining in North America. More than 1,000 abandoned uranium mines lie on the Navajo reservation, largely without any attempt to cover or restrain the toxic waste. Our route took us by much of this land.

At our roadside camp north of Tuba City, a Diné man described how, as a child, he played atop piles of leftover uranium tailings. Unfortunately, his story is not unique. It is indicative of a history of racist and criminal negligence that has exposed the Diné, and others, to extreme health risks. Enlisted to help the war effort during both World War II and the Cold War, Diné uranium miners lacked access to uncontaminated drinking water and labored without protection in air thick with dust that was, even by 1950 standards, 750 times more radioactive than accepted limits. By 1990, out of 3,500 individuals who mined uranium in New Mexico, 450 had died of cancer, more than 10 times the average rate in unexposed populations.

In 1979, the world's largest radioactive spill occurred on the Navajo reservation in Church Rock, New Mexico, contaminating Diné land and the Rio Puerco. Since then, the land has not been cleaned up, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs has chosen it as a site where Diné people are to be relocated from their ancestral homes.

### Walking Intimately

For some of the walkers, a high point of our journey was traveling through the backcountry on rugged, unpaved roads near Big Mountain in northern Arizona. Trudging through torrents of rain and ankle-deep mud, we hiked to the homes of traditional Diné who are resisting the attempts of Hopi and federal government officials to relocate them from their land to expand the Peabody coal mine.

The incredible courage, kindness and simplicity of these beautiful people touched our hearts. We were welcomed by Diné-speaking grandmothers who live alone on their land, hauling their own water and chopping their own firewood. If people from the cities of the Southwest could meet with the grandmothers and share their way of life for a day or two, as we did, would our society's allegiance to the vicious "civilization" that is draining the life from this land weaken?

As we walked, we gained an intimacy with the land that can never be attainable from within the manufactured glass and steel of a speeding car. We witnessed ecosystems change around us, from desert to forest and back to desert again. We waved to passersby in their vehicles and shared words of explanation and encouragement with curious travelers who stopped to see why we were snaking single-file along the local highway. We spoke with people in the communities we passed through. Always, we prayed to the ancestors of the land for safe passage along our way.

### The Spirit Walk Circle

Our walk was long and excruciating, but ultimately an invigorating and healing process of becoming a collective that moved forward together in a true spirit of solidarity and love. Through two months of cooking, eating, camping, playing music, talking, joking and—most of all—walking and praying together, our group of disparate walkers fused into a tightly knit community that came to function, more or less, as one single family.

As with any family, arguments broke out, nerves frayed and controversies erupted. Yet our basic commitment to each other, and to our common purpose, never wavered. Many of us came to believe that this was due to the conscious and focused way in which we integrated spiritual activity into our daily experience together. Collectively, through the sacred objects we carried and the sacred ceremonies we performed, we put spiritual intent into the physically and emotionally arduous direct action we were doing together.

And how did it feel to walk hundreds of miles? For Marieke, one of three on the walk from Belgium, the entire walk was enriching, because everything that happened "contained a lesson that I had to learn on my spiritual path or provided some confirmation for that path. Every walk feels healing to me because it seems that walking is the right rhythm for a human being, and the more I am aware of every step I take, the more I get reconnected to Mother Earth."

Marc, a walker from Gallup, New Mexico, who organized many of the practical details of the walk, echoed this sentiment: "The more we walk, the more we come into harmony

with the ways of our ancestors who *knew* how to honor and love the Earth as second-nature. Double rainbows, hummingbirds and other signs were regular gifts accompanying our

journey. As we approached our destination, the Nevada Test Site, with hundreds of people all standing up for life and against the nuclear tide, we were accompanied by the spirits of the creatures who have suffered from nuclear violence."

When we arrived at the anti-nuclear peace camp next to the Nevada Test Site, many walkers felt as if our journey together had not yet been completed. Further steps, literally, would have to be taken. An affinity group of walkers decided to prolong our action by walking to Mercury, the restricted-access military town inside the test site. From Los Alamos to Mercury, from one place that for decades has been the ground zero for acting out the brutal dreams of absolute power and destruction to another, our walk came full circle.

*I pray for the healing of this land, and I have a song:*

*I hear the voices of the Grandmothers calling me. I hear the voices of the Grandfathers calling me.*

*They say: "Wake up, wake up." They say: "Wake up, wake up. Listen, listen. Listen, listen:*

*May the rivers all run clear. May the mountains be unspoiled.*

*May the air be pure. May the trees stand tall.*

*May the Earth be loved by all... May the Earth be shared by all."*

*Oak "Tree" Walker is a forest defender and hobo revolutionary from northern California who journeyed with the Family Spirit Walk from Gallup, New Mexico, to the Nevada Test Site.*

*As we walked, we gained an intimacy with the land that can never be attainable from within a speeding car.*



# Reclaiming Mercury's Twilight Zone



photo courtesy Shundahat Network

No trespassing sign looking toward Mercury, Nevada

BY ANDREW FREEMAN

*There's something about being denied access to a town that is really frustrating. While I was at the peace camp, staring into the distance at the yellow lights of Mercury, Nevada, I decided I had to go there. I had other motivations too...*

At the Nevada Test Site Action for Nuclear Abolition gathering in October, some 60 miles north of Las Vegas, I learned a lot about the people who lived here and the challenges they face. The Western Shoshone people were robbed of this land (again), when the US government broke the Treaty of Ruby Valley. Land once promised to the Shoshone forever has since been ravaged from decades of nuclear testing. As a result of the fallout from these tests, the Shoshone suffer from abnormally high rates of cancer linked to the heavy amounts of radioactive material covering their land.

Today, the focus has turned to Yucca Mountain, some 30 miles north of the test site, where the Department of Energy wants to bury more than 70,000 tons of nuclear waste. The waste, transported from all corners of the country, would be buried under a mountain that is seismically active, only 80 miles from a major US city and a place held sacred by the Shoshone people.

When I walked with 11 brothers and sisters into Mercury, I did so knowing that Yucca Mountain and the

Nevada Test Site land belong to the Shoshone people, not to the US government.

The night before our walk, I'd been part of a demonstration at the border of the test site on the road into Mercury. Children led the march down to the "line," where guards waited on the other side for any people daring to trespass. After passionate speeches and inspirational music, a number of people crossed the line, where they were aggressively dragged off to a giant cage and detained. Many of the children were upset by this. "Why are the guards hurting them?," one asked.

I left the line that night in tears. "This is all so ridiculous," I thought. "Nuclear war, weapons and energy have got to stop! It's destroying the environment, forcefully displacing the rightful caretakers of the land, and the results of all this amount to nothing positive—only the most dangerous weapon ever known."

At three a.m., I awoke with the others. For more than an hour, we spoke about the mission. Many things were unclear, except for one—the spirit was there.

We walked out of the peace camp under cover of darkness. Heading south on the highway, we would occasionally duck down low when cars drove by, posing as sagebrush and yucca. We crossed the highway, snuck under some barbed wire and entered the Nevada Test Site. We slowly traversed the long, tilted plain, heading in the direction of Mercury.

As the sun rose, we looked behind us. Closing my eyes, I could imagine the sound of the drum as Corbin Harney, one of the many hospitable Shoshone hosts, began the morning sunrise ceremony. I was taken back to a dream I had the night before of a giant serpent emerging from a cave deep in the desert. With a strong shield surrounding it, the serpent cruised through the desert, gobbling up stashed nuclear weapons and other armory. The Army tried firing a nuclear missile at the serpent, but it simply absorbed the missile. After devouring every single nuclear weapon on Earth, the serpent self-destructed. People were left with a new, clean slate. Would we develop nuclear weapons again, or not? I wish we were presently faced with that question.

Many cars drove up the long road to Mercury. It was only a matter of time before the guards would come to arrest us.

We ambled along, crossing dry washes, maneuvering around yucca plants and other spiny desert flora. Sure enough, we walked right up to the edge of Mercury to the local exercise area equipped with a running track, driving range, pull-up bars and other equipment.

The buildings of Mercury are square and colorless. Few trees line the motionless streets. From what I understand, no one actually lives in Mercury, but there is a post office, library and cafeteria to accommodate workers who stay in town for a few days at a time. There seemed to be an excessive amount of vehicles in the town, considering we didn't see one person outside for the nearly 45 minutes we were roaming around. Occasionally, a car would pass us, but the unaware drivers didn't even notice us! It was really weird—we felt like we had an invisibility cloak on. It felt like a *Twilight Zone* episode.

Our first destination was a building that once served as a church when Mercury actually did have residents. Circling up and dancing, we prayed and sang together with an abundance of spirit and emotion. How foreign we must have looked on the streets of Mercury, awakening the spirit of the land and celebrating the spirit of the indigenous people. We danced around the building, singing loudly, cheering the beautiful morning. Then, we spent some time sending out our personal prayers.

Many of us left something of importance behind at the church. I left a copy of the book *The Hundredth Monkey* on a bench outside. For me, this was a reminder of when I found a copy of the same book on a bench at the central plaza in Arcata, California. This was a magical experience, as that book had a significant impact on my way of thinking. I hope it may have a similar impact on someone in Mercury.

When I walked into Mercury, I did so knowing that Yucca Mountain and the Nevada Test Site land belong to the Shoshone people, not to the US government.

From the church, we continued through town. We meandered to the "Cafeteria and Steakhouse" and went inside. One of our sisters was given a free cup of coffee by the startled workers. Without a doubt, the highlight of the cafeteria was a vending machine full of microwaveable items. The top of the machine had an image of a nuclear explosion, and the machine was aptly named "Nevada Test Site Nuke-ables."

While we were in the cafeteria, the guards arrived, and our jaunt through Mercury came to an end. This was when things became ridiculous. What happened to us was not unprecedented or extraordinary. It was just a waste of time and completely unnecessary.

The guards loaded us in a van, took us to the front gate and locked us up in the holding pens. Some of us resisted as they loaded us into another van for a trip to the Nye County jail 30 miles to the north in Beatty. It was a long ride with the guards chatting the entire way about eating alligator and taking scuba diving lessons in Las Vegas. I told one of them that I think nuclear bombs are terrible for humanity. She told me many things are much worse, like cigarette smoking.

The 11 of us were booked into jail on charges of trespassing on federal land. A few hours later, 10 more illegal Mercury "tourists" arrived, causing quite a scene inside the jailhouse.

We were all released in time to take part in the final action of the week, a lively demonstration at the entrance to the Nevada Test Site complete with puppet theater, hard-driving drums, dancers flying around, political poetry, heart-felt singing and more crossings of the line to say: *No more nukes!*

*Andrew Freeman made the trek to Nevada from his home in Arcata, California.*

## Arrested on Western Shoshone Land

More than 20 people, who were arrested in October for trespassing onto federal property during the Action for Nuclear Abolition peace camp in Mercury, Nevada, are refusing to enter a plea in court based on their belief that they were arrested on unceded Western Shoshone land. On December 5, the defendants' attorney filed motions that argued that the court lacked the jurisdiction to prosecute.

Since it began occupying Western Shoshone land in Nevada in the 1800s, the US government has not actually bought—or officially stolen—the land from the Western Shoshone people. In fact, the sole document signed by both parties on the matter of land rights was the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley, which simply negotiated that the Shoshone would cease war with

the US and that "white men" would be allowed to travel through, build and mine in Shoshone territory.

Judge Bill Sullivan of the Beatty Justice Court entered pleas of "not guilty" for those who refused to plead. Sullivan read portions from a similar case he handled in the 1980s, when thousands of people came to the annual peace demonstrations. Sullivan indicated that he did not intend to impose jail time on any of the defendants.

A hearing has been set for early January, at which time trial dates may be set. Originally there were 27 defendants, though several were dismissed by the district attorney. A total of 66 people were arrested during the October actions.

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



# The Affluent Meet the Effluent at

BY KLEE BENALLY

Clearcuts on steep slopes for new runs, lifts and lodges; snowmaking with reclaimed wastewater; a 10 million gallon reclaimed wastewater storage pond; bright lights for night skiing; a 14-mile pipeline.

These are only a few of the many developments that the Arizona Snowbowl ski resort is proposing for northern Arizona's San Francisco Peaks. Known to the Diné (Navajo) as *Dokoioisliid*, the mountains have been held sacred since time immemorial by more than 13 Native nations: the Navajo, Hopi, Zuni, Tewa, Hualapai, Havasupai, Yavapai-Apache, Yavapai-Prescott, Tonto Apache, White Mountain Apache, San Carlos Apache, San Juan Southern Paiute, Fort McDowell Mohave Apache and Acoma.

For my people, the Diné, *Dokoioisliid* represents one of four pillars of our universe, which are our traditional boundaries. We gather medicines that can only be found on this mountain. We have our sacred prayer



A view from the San Francisco Peaks

photo by Deborah Soltesz

bundles that physically connect us to the deities that exist there.

In the 1930s, at a time when racism was more overtly integrated with US policy and the indigenous peoples of North America had no representation, the US Forest Service (USFS) built a ski lodge and an access road on *Dokoioisliid*. Today, it leases 777 acres of public land to the Arizona Snowbowl, which includes 55 acres of runs, four ski

lifts and one lodge.

Although the USFS has begun the process of designating *Dokoioisliid* as a traditional cultural property, it continues to state that part of the USFS's mission is to promote opportunities for Winter recreation. Given this and the relationship of the USFS (lessor) to Snowbowl (lessee), Diné people are not expecting an unbiased decision on this proposal.

Our traditional leaders have testified that any desecration of this sacred mountain will harm the very fabric of our being. Yet following years of debate, legal action and a

## Recreation—the New Public Lands Industry

BY ROXANE GEORGE

Rising more than 5,000 feet above the surrounding plateau, the San Francisco Peaks are home to an exceptional biological community unique to Arizona. The Peaks are the highest point in the state and contain rare, high elevation montane forest types, famous aspen stands and Arizona's only true Alpine tundra. Pioneering natural scientist, C. Hart Merriam, chose the Peaks to evaluate the life-zone concept that has become a cornerstone of Southwestern ecological and biogeographical study. Four of the seven life zones Merriam identified in his landmark studies can be found here.

Yet to many, the Peaks are only a commodity to be used for economic gain. The owners of Arizona Snowbowl ski resort are currently doing everything in their power to promote this

view and to win support for artificial snowmaking and expanded development on this unique sky island ecosystem.

Arizona Snowbowl, aided and abetted by the US Forest Service, Flagstaff City Council and an ever-expanding tourist industry, has decided to build a giant pipeline to pump 180 million gallons a year of reclaimed water up a sacred mountain to make artificial snow.

Construction will involve a great deal of logging in spruce fir and aspen habitat, as well as an amazing amount of trenching, excavating, bulldozing, noise and light disturbance. Mexican spotted owls, northern goshawks,

black bears, mountain lions, a threatened groundsel and a huge list of other plants and animals make their homes in the mountains.

But what does any of this matter if we can, in the words of Snowbowl ski resort manager J.R. Murray, obtain a "consistent product and reduce lift lines" on the San Francisco Peaks?

Roxane George is the executive director

of the Flagstaff Activist Network (FAN). An amazing, yet also underfunded, grassroots environmental and social justice organization, FAN has vowed to "Save the Peaks"—again and again.



Aspen stands in the San Francisco Peaks

photo by Deborah Soltesz

# the Arizona Snowbowl

Supreme Court appeal, we still see our concerns being pushed aside in the name of progress and economic gain.

In 1983, Abbott Sekaquaptewa, former chairman of the Hopi Tribe, stated, "If the ski resort remains or is expanded, the basis of our existence as a society will become a mere fairy tale to our people. If our people no longer possess this way of life, which will inevitably occur with the continued presence of the ski resort, a direct and negative impact upon our religious

environmental impacts that these developments could have. However, there is no current mechanism the USFS can apply that would truly quantify the sacredness of this whole mountain, let alone one inch.

We have won before, and we will win again. In 2000, with the help of strong public support, grassroots activism and many prayers, we shut down the White Vulcan Mine that was extracting pumice from the north side of *Dokoioisliid*.

*For my people, the Diné, Dokoioisliid represents one of four pillars of our universe, which are our traditional boundaries. We gather medicines that can only be found on this mountain. We have our sacred prayer bundles that physically connect us to the deities that exist there.*

Snowbowl's proposal for development and snowmaking extends the context of oppression and historical intolerance against indigenous people. It is a message that says our religious and cultural concerns will continue to be outweighed by economic and recreational interests. It is a message that can be transformed by extending our love for the Earth into prayer, action and resistance.

The initial comment period for the Snowbowl proposal ended in November, but it's not too late to get involved and to get on the mailing list to receive a copy of the draft Environmental Impact Statement. We also need help, lawyers, money and let-

ters sent to the USFS, the media and activist lists.

The Snowbowl expansion proposal can be found online at [www.fs.fed.us/r3/coconino/nepa](http://www.fs.fed.us/r3/coconino/nepa). Comments can be sent to the Peaks Ranger District, Attn: Snowbowl Upgrade, 5075 N Highway 89, Flagstaff, AZ 86004. You can also contact Forest Supervisor Jim Golden at (928) 527-3600; [r3\\_coconino\\_snowbowlupgrade@fs.fed.us](mailto:r3_coconino_snowbowlupgrade@fs.fed.us).

For more information, contact the Flagstaff Activist Network, (928) 527-3620; [flagact@infomagic.net](mailto:flagact@infomagic.net); [www.flagstaffactivist.org](http://www.flagstaffactivist.org).

*Klee Benally is an enrolled member of the Diné Nation from the Bitterwater and Wandering People clans. He is the director of Indigenous Action Media.*

practices [will result]. The destruction of these practices will also destroy our present way of life and culture."

Arizona Snowbowl's proposed development also includes a 2,500-square-foot "Native American Cultural Center." This serves to show that the operators of the resort still do not understand how drastically *any* type of development on this sacred mountain impacts our culture.

Snowbowl also alleges that the reclaimed water to be used exceeds Environmental Protection Agency standards, but what of our spiritual and cultural standards?

Through the National Environmental Policy Act process, the USFS will quantify the potential economic and

## BARE BONES

### More Arson Charges

On October 19, Jacob Sherman and Tre Arrow were charged with the April 2001 arson of three cement trucks at Ross Island Sand and Gravel in Portland, Oregon. The fire, claimed by the Earth Liberation Front, caused approximately \$200,000 in damages.

Sherman and Arrow, along with Angie Cesario and Jeremy Rosenbloom, were also charged this Summer with the arson of three logging trucks belonging to Schoppert Logging of Estacada, Oregon, in June 2001. At the time, Schoppert Logging had been contracted to cut the Eagle Creek Timber Sale.

On December 3, Sherman accepted a plea bargain in relation to both arsons, and he pled guilty to two charges of interfering with interstate commerce.

Cesario and Rosenbloom have pled not guilty to all charges against them, and their trial is scheduled for February 24.

The FBI has been unable to locate Tre Arrow.

### Pepper Spray Gets its Day in Court

In October 1997, nine activists locked down in the office of former Representative Frank Riggs to protest the logging of old-growth redwoods. In response, Humboldt County Sheriff Dennis Lewis and his Chief Deputy Frank Riggs used Q-tips to swab pepper spray directly onto the inner eyelids of the protesters.

On November 4, the US Supreme Court announced that it would allow the EF! activists' lawsuit—which accuses the county of "excessive" use of pepper spray against nonviolent protesters—to go on to a jury trial.

One of the co-plaintiffs said: "We are very excited. I think Humboldt County law enforcement is quaking in their boots."



# Water First!

## Bursting Corporate Water's Bubble

BY HOLLY WREN SPAULDING

For the last two years, citizens in Mecosta County, Michigan, have waged a battle against Ice Mountain, a "spring" water bottling company owned by the world's largest food retailer, Nestlé, through its subsidiary, Perrier (see *EF!* February-March 2002).

Only three percent of the Earth's water is fresh, and 20 percent of it is in and around the Michigan Great Lakes region. It is not surprising then that Nestlé would persevere with its intention to pump, bottle and distribute Michigan's water, despite ever-growing opposition from the public.

In March, a group of students and community members formed the Sweetwater Alliance and began a massive outreach campaign to alert the public to this grand water theft. Within weeks, the alliance had staged a march and rally in front of the factory. Members of the nearby Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe and others spoke out against the impending water diversion. They addressed the damage that had already been done to local streams and wetlands by the construction of the bottling plant and water pipelines.

A big concern for many activists is a lawsuit that was filed by the Michigan Citizens for Water Conservation against Nestlé in August 2001, which has the potential to set an international precedent. Chapter 11 under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and certain "nondiscrimination" language under World Trade Organization (WTO) rules could create a situation whereby the people of Michigan have no control over who takes water, how much or by what means. If the people lose the lawsuit and Nestlé is able to continue its operations, the water loses out and so do we.

The Sweetwater Alliance now has four chapters working throughout the state to respond to this crisis.

In July, seven alliance members rode their bikes on a 300-mile "Tsunami Tour," which stopped in small towns throughout Michigan. Using radical cheers, songs, street theater and the good ol' fashioned soapbox, the group engaged people on the subject of "water as a commons" and how to defend it.

The tour finished at a "water wars basecamp" near the Nestlé factory. The following morning, seven members of a group calling itself Water First! locked down in front of the plant, shutting down its shipping and receiving departments for eight hours.

In the weeks that followed, 32 stores joined a statewide boycott of Ice Mountain and other Perrier products. Currently, the prime target of the boycott is the Meijer shopping chain. In Meijer stores throughout the state, activists have been conducting "no shops," where they "divert" all the Ice Mountain water from the shelves and relocate the bottles in a remote section of the store. "Consumer

warning" and "Our Water is Not for Sale" signs have been left on the empty shelves in place of the water.

When the Michigan Green Party endorsed the boycott at a state convention, it was issued a threatening letter from Nestlé lawyers. Other intimidating letters were sent to activists who have

been outspoken about Nestlé's shameful environmental record in Texas, Maine, Florida and Pennsylvania. However, the threat of Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation has not deterred the movement against Nestlé.

A protest in August was successful in shutting down the Ice Mountain plant for a full day. People blocked the roads into the plant with banners and a colorful web of yarn. Many locals had felt

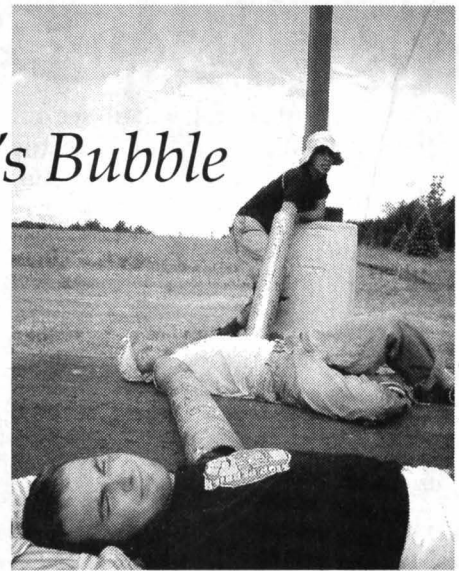


photo by Eartha Metzger

Activists blockaded a road to a Michigan water bottling plant, stopping shipments for the day.

uncomfortable in vocalizing their disdain for the Nestlé plant, but they came out and shared their overwhelming support for the actions that day.

As water warriors flood officials with concerns about the commodification of our commons, legislation is being proposed in the state Senate that would protect aquifers from "unreasonable use," as is the case in Mecosta County. Yet, we know that most laws are too weak, especially in the face of NAFTA and the WTO.

Three Sweetwater activists are traveling to South Africa during the early Winter to learn from the Anti-Privatization Forum. They will document the efforts of those fighting water wars in South African townships where 10,000 people are cut off from services every month as a result of rising fees from the privatization of water and other utilities.

At both the local and international levels, people need to confront water privatization. Major schemes are already being discussed—or are underway—to divert water from the Great Lakes bioregion to desert areas such as Las Vegas, Los Angeles and Arizona.

Sweetwater is a grassroots organization because it believes this is the only way to get things done. The goal is to be the street element in a struggle that will have to be waged in diverse ways, on many fronts, if water is to be successfully defended.

For more information, visit [www.waterissweet.org](http://www.waterissweet.org); [www.savemewater.org](http://www.savemewater.org).

Holly Wren Spaulding promotes the insurrection of water from where she lives on Michigan's Leelanau Peninsula.



photo by Eartha Metzger

Nestlé is stealing Michigan's water supply. The locals won't stand for it.

# Staples Victory!

Forest defenders had announced that November 13 was going to be an unlucky day for Staples, the office supply superstore. For the second year in a row, a national day of action was being planned to demand that Staples take steps to protect endangered forests.

This should hardly have come as a surprise, as it was just one more jab to be taken against Staples following a two-year campaign against this corporate behemoth.

Since November 2000, Staples found itself the target of more than 600 demonstrations, including lockdowns, street theater and nearly 25 banners hung from storefronts.

Activists not only wanted Staples to phase out all paper products made from old-growth fiber; they also pursued efforts to educate employees, customers and suppliers on the benefits of recycled paper, recycling, alternative fibers and the advantages of healthy forests.

Armed with the knowledge that more than 90 percent of the printing and writing paper made in the US comes from virgin tree fibers, the Paper Campaign, a coalition of dozens of grassroots organizations, was formed in 1999.

The Paper Campaign is using a market-based approach to actualize systemic change in the paper industry by steering companies out of endangered forests and toward recycled paper. The largest retail paper sellers are its first targets—office supply stores like Staples, Office Depot and Office Max.

In 1999, Staples opened, on average, a new store every 48 hours. As the largest and fastest-growing office supply store with more than \$11 billion in revenue and 1,300 stores, Staples was selected as a strategic starting point. The Paper Campaign decided that it was time the forests stopped paying the price for Staples' profits.

In November, while organizing the most recent national day of action,

the Paper Campaign learned that Staples had agreed to many of the demands to phase out its purchase of paper products from the world's last remaining old-growth forests.

Staples also consented to implement an average of 30 percent post-consumer recycled content across all its paper products; to report to the public annually about its progress toward reaching those goals; to aggressively promote recycled paper products; and to create an environmental affairs division.

The Paper Campaign believes these new policies, which are the result of more than a year of negotiations with Staples, will lead to fewer forests being clearcut to make disposable paper products. By raising the



photo courtesy Dogwood Alliance

*Victory! After two years of pressure, Staples agreed to phase out paper products made from old-growth forests. The Paper Campaign is now looking to other paper retailers to follow Staples' example.*

overall recycled content of its paper, Staples will be working to ensure that more of the paper it sells will come from recycling bins instead of the endangered forests that we depend on for biological diversity, clean air and water.

Meanwhile, industry projections indicate that the demand for paper is on the rise. Suddenly, Staples is in the position of setting the standard in the office supply industry, and the Paper Campaign is looking to other giant paper retailers to follow its example. In the past, when an industry leader has been forced to take a stand on an issue, other corporations have been known to follow with their tails between their legs.

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

## BARE BONES

### Hurwitz Escapes Justice

At the beginning of October, Charles Hurwitz, chief executive officer of Maxxam Corporation, was charged a mere \$206,000 in restitution for the 1998 collapse of United Saving Association of Texas. The fine is a tiny fraction of what Maxxam made through the junk bond and fraud scheme that cost taxpayers nearly two billion dollars in bailout funds.

Hurwitz and Maxxam have also been restricted from any activities with federally insured depository institutions.

The lawsuit against Maxxam was brought forward by the Federal Office for Thrift Supervision. Hurwitz spent more than \$30 million fighting the case. On November 13, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation dropped its pursuit of claims against Maxxam totaling \$250 million, but Maxxam is still seeking to collect \$43 million (plus damages) in claims against both agencies.

### Grazing violates Clean Water Act

A lawsuit aiming to protect polluted streams and springs throughout the 536,000-acre Carico Lake Allotment in Nevada, was brought against the Bureau of Land Management on October 22. The lawsuit was filed by Forest Guardians, the Western Watersheds Project and the Committee for the High Desert. The groups claim that the agency has violated the Clean Water Act by allowing cattle to pollute the waters of several tributaries of Nevada's Humboldt River.

The lawsuit aims to protect the area as well as to highlight the illegality of the water pollution caused by livestock grazing. Cattle grazing is a widespread threat to rivers and streams because the cows regularly amass in large numbers around rare and fragile water sources, stripping away vegetation and trampling banks.



# The Gourd and the Gun

## Resistance to "Progress" in the South Pacific

Throughout the South Pacific rim, wild nature and indigenous cultures are under attack. Loggers tear down the forests, mining corporations rip open chasms in the Earth, tribal societies are either exterminated or assimilated.

Against this death culture, rebellion grows. The continuing indigenous resistance in West Papua and Bougainville are just two examples.

### West Papua

West Papua, also known by the name the colonizers gave it, Irian Jaya, is located on the western half of the South Pacific island of New Guinea. It was most recently invaded in 1962 under General Suharto's military dictatorship and then ceded as a province to Indonesia following a rigged election in 1969.

This biologically diverse island has the second largest tract of tropical rainforest left in the world. There are steep alpine mountains, including one of the world's three tropical snow-capped mountains, as well as mangrove forests and coastal and alluvial plains. West Papua is home to tree kangaroos and many other animal and plant species unique to the island.

However, the effects of "free trade" and the Indonesian occupation continue to obliterate ecosystems and indigenous people who depend on the wilderness to survive. Today, the island is both scarred and maimed by logging roads and clearcuts, gaping strip-mines, razed mountains, hazardous waste dumps and rivers teeming with dead fish and mine tailings.

Two gold, copper and ore mines in the western highlands—the Mount Grasberg and Mount Ertsberg mines owned by the US-based Freeport McMoRan and the British-based Rio Tinto (previously RTZ)—are especially

notorious for their roles in ecocide and indigenous dispossession. The mining operations have already shaved more than 400 feet off the top of one sacred mountain. Two valleys have been filled with "waste" rock resulting from mining.

Tailings from ore mining—a slurry of finely ground sludge, including toxic

Native West Papuans—a diverse group of more than 240 autonomous peoples—have endured severe military repression and brutal "assimilation campaigns" implemented by the Indonesian government. Until Suharto's resignation in 1998, West Papuans were not allowed to practice their cultural traditions, and every

attempt to organize resistance was met with extreme violence by authorities. In the 44 years of colonial genocide, up to 200,000 indigenous people have been murdered by the government.

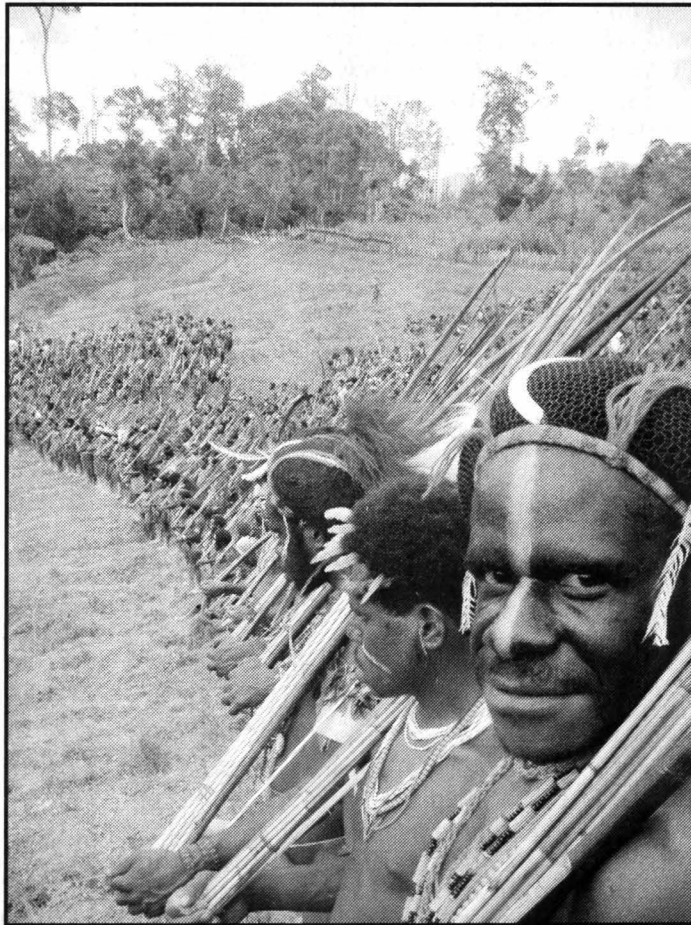
To resist colonization by the Indonesian military and multinational companies, some West Papuan indigenous people—like those in the *Organisai Papua Merdeka* (OPM, the Free Papua Movement)—have fought back since 1965 with armed resistance (mostly bows and arrows) and have taken hostages to publicize their struggle to defend themselves and the Earth.

### Bougainville

Bougainville is a smaller island located in the Solomon Islands archipelago, about 600 miles east of West Papua. After centuries of invasion and occupation by governments and corporations from the Netherlands,

Germany, England, Australia and Japan, indigenous Bougainvilleans successfully fought off copper and gold mines owned by a subsidiary of Rio Tinto.

The mines destroyed 220 hectares of rainforest and dumped more than one billion tons of waste into the Jaba River valley, turning the river system fluorescent blue. From 1975 through 1998, the Bougainville Revolutionary Army sabotaged mine equipment and fought



Pasukan warriors in West Papua

Photo courtesy Friends of Peoples Close to Nature

chemicals, precipitates and heavy metals—are dumped directly into the Ajkwa River system at a rate equivalent to one dumptruck load every five seconds. This has resulted in the sedimentation of the river, which causes the polluted water to flood the lowlands. The sediments, which contain large quantities of copper and mercury, suffocate and poison most freshwater and marine life—an essential food source for many island inhabitants.

tooth and nail—and shut down the mine! Now, they use the equipment left at the mine to produce hydroelectric power and bio-diesel from coconuts. In an inspiring example to us all, Bougainvilleans have ousted the colonizers and are working toward independence.

### Direct Action in the UK

In October, activists in the United Kingdom held solidarity actions to publicize the West Papuan and Bougainvillean struggles for Earth and human liberation.

On October 9, protesters stormed the Indonesian embassy in London and chained themselves to railings on a third floor balcony. They demanded the withdrawal of all troops from West Papua; that the West Papuan people be free to live on their land; and that the harassment and criminalization of human rights workers be stopped.

Outside the embassy, a group of protesters gathered with banners reading "Free West Papua" and "Victory to the OPM." The Indonesian flag was pulled down and replaced with a West Papuan flag. Four people were arrested and charged.

The next day, on Holy Island, North Wales, Anglesey Aluminums, an aluminum smelting plant partially owned by Rio Tinto was blockaded for six hours by 15 people protesting the company's involvement in both Bougainville and West Papua.

The entrance was blocked with a defunct minivan carrying two people locked down to oil barrels filled with cement. A scaffold tripod was erected to block the back entrance. Large vehicles were unable to enter or leave the plant for nearly four hours before arrests were made.

After targeting government and industry, West Papua solidarity protesters took direct action against a group of particularly insidious missionaries. The New Tribes Mission (NTM) has stated its intent to reach and preach to every tribe on the planet by 2025. "They build airstrips in jungles and have their own planes. First comes Christianity, and then come the corporations and military," one West Papua solidarity group said.

Some West Papuan indigenous people have declared missionaries as one of the largest threats to free peoples,

and they hold NTM responsible for cultural and ecological damage on par with mining and logging companies.

On October 12, the NTM headquarters in North Cotes, England, were visited by more than 40 activists wearing West Papuan masks. The protesters sabotaged computer hard drives and seized administrative documents. Chemicals were sprayed on NTM equipment. A timing device, planted



Takeover at the Indonesian Embassy

in a toilet, opened a valve on the cold water supply, flooding the building during the night.

In response to the NTM action, police raided two houses in Leeds, in November. Thirteen people were arrested on charges of conspiracy to commit burglary at the NTM headquarters. Computers and other personal property were seized as evidence.

On October 18, protesters confronted representatives from BP/Amoco at the Natural History Museum in London, where it was sponsoring a BBC "Wildlife Photographer of the Year" award. BP/Amoco partially owns and operates the Tangguh natural gas fields in West Papua. By 2006, BP plans to open two offshore gas platforms in the remaining mangroves of Bintuni Bay and build a gas processing plant in the rainforest.

For more information, visit [www.eco-action.org/ssp](http://www.eco-action.org/ssp); [www.westpapua.net](http://www.westpapua.net); [www.fpcn-global.org](http://www.fpcn-global.org).

## BARE BONES

### OXY Threatens U'wa Again

In October, the Association of Traditional U'wa Authorities reported that heavy equipment was being transported under military protection to the Gibraltar 1 drilling site in the Sirir oil block of northeastern Colombia.

In a victory for the U'wa and their international supporters, Occidental Petroleum (OXY) officially announced in May that it was abandoning the Sirir block (see *EF!* June-July 2002). However, it was reported in August that OXY, under the name of Colombia's state oil company, Ecopetrol, would take over test drilling at the Gibraltar site.

On October 21, the US Ambassador to Colombia, Anne Patterson, announced that four US special forces agents are in Colombia to train troops on guarding the OXY-run Caño Limon pipeline through the Arauca Province. The US Congress is considering assigning \$98 million for the training of the Colombian troops and its related costs.

### Pollution Kills Dolphins

Unless drastic changes happen, it is predicted that the bottlenose dolphin will go extinct within the next 10 years because of pollution in European seas.

A report put out by the Wildlife Trust in the United Kingdom last Summer documents the tremendous impact that humans are having on the world's oceans. The report blames this ecological devastation on the dumping of chemicals and rubbish, overfishing, pollution, dredging and drainage.

The study was carried out on British seas, but it reflects a global crisis as oceans the world over are being assaulted by similar problems.

photo courtesy Friends of Peoples Close to Nature



# Radical Dockworkers Locked Out

BY LOKI

On October 7, Earth First! and several other environmental groups, including the Bay Area Coalition for Headwaters, Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Rainforest Action Network, held a press conference in Oakland, California, to express solidarity with the West Coast dockworkers. The dockworkers, members of the International Longshoreman and Warehouse Union (ILWU), had been working without a contract since their previous one expired in July.

Negotiations discussed issues such as better healthcare, wages and safety provisions, as well as the introduction of new computer systems to track cargo.

These were all issues of contention between the ILWU and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), the company that operates the West Coast docks—but the main disagreement centered around the new technology being introduced. The ILWU wants the jobs created by these technological improvements to be union jobs, but the PMA hopes to contract out. Such a move would ultimately take control of the docks away from what is arguably one of the most militant unions in the US.

On September 27, PMA left the negotiations and locked out the dockworkers—stopping them from working. This action closed down all of the docks on the West Coast. The PMA alleged that it ended the negotiations because the dockworkers were engaged in a work slowdown. In fact, the opposite was true. The dockworkers were operating at an increased pace because many businesses feared a strike and were pushing high volumes of cargo through the docks. As a result of the increased work speed, five workers were killed on the docks during the Summer.

The PMA might have been using the alleged slowdown as an excuse to ensure the docks would be open through Christmas, the busiest time of the year. Come January, traffic through the docks is slow, and a strike would have had much less of an impact on business profits.

The Taft-Hartly Act, passed in 1948, is an anti-union law that forces both the employers and the union to return to the conditions of the expired contract for 80 days. The law

includes fines, contempt of court citations and even prison sentences for violations of the expired contract, all of which are generally used to penalize workers, not employers.

On October 10, the government invoked the Taft-Hartly Act, and the dockworkers returned to work—and to the negotiation table.

“I was one of the many people jailed after the WTO protests in Seattle. On the third day of our imprisonment, our legal team and the heads of the Labor Council met with the mayor and District Attorney Mark Sidran in the mayor’s office, in one last desperate attempt to strike a concession. Just in the nick of time, a cell phone rang. It was ILWU President Brian McWilliams. Rank-and-file unionists on the West Coast were poised to shut down the ports to demand our release. When the mayor heard this, his jaw dropped open, and he ordered the heartbroken Sidran to release all the activists that had been charged with misdemeanors.”

—DESERT RAT, EARTH FIRST!ER AND LABOR ACTIVIST

The situation on the docks is a mirror image of what is happening across the country as the Bush administration uses “national security” as an excuse to strip away the civil liberties of activists and to strengthen the power of corporations.

Just after the Taft-Hartly Act was imposed on the workers, activists locked out the bosses. In an action at the PMA headquarters in San Francisco, six activists were arrested after they locked the building and chained themselves to the locks.

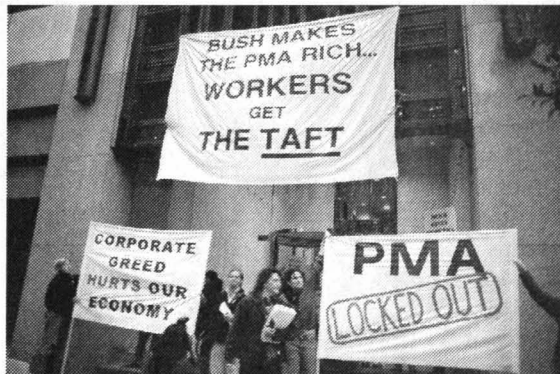
What is at stake here is more than simply contract negotiations.

The PMA is working with the government to break up the ILWU. If this happens, a new precedent will be set, strengthening the capitalist system.

It’s important that we show support for the ILWU and build alliances with the workers.

The ILWU has played an important role in the struggle against the capitalist economy and the forces of globalization, and it has a history of supporting radical activist movements. ILWU members have spoken out and taken action against the unjust imprisonments of Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal, the apartheid system in South Africa, as well as other dictatorships around the world.

During the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle, Washington, they conducted a work stoppage on November 30. The union threatened to repeat it several days later, if activists were not released within 24 hours of their arrest. After activist Carlo Giuliani was killed by the police in Genoa, Italy, during the G8 protests in July 2001, the



Lockout action turns the tables on the PMA.

photo courtesy BACH

dockworkers refused to cross picket lines set up in protest of the Italian ship, *Cielo de San Francisco*, waiting to be unloaded in Portland, Oregon, and then in Oakland, California.

The Bush administration would be happy without such a powerful union controlling West Coast trade. The government has discussed various "solutions" to end the conflict on the docks, including calling in the National Guard or having different contract deadlines in each port. This divide and conquer mentality would strip the union of its power because the management would then be able to pit the various ports against each other in an effort to determine which one would accept the lowest wages and worst working conditions.

The corporations putting pressure on the Bush administration to step in and end the dispute fall underneath the umbrella of the West Coast Waterfront Coalition (WCWC), a coalition that includes the PMA, the Gap, Wal-Mart, Home Depot and others with questionable human rights and environmental records.

Community activists in Portland have called for a boycott of these companies. They have been going to the stores and handing out leaflets to explain the dockworkers' struggle and the connection between the individual companies, WCWC and the PMA.

The ILWU and PMA are still in the negotiation process, and neither can take any decisive action until the 80-day period expires in early January. The union executives claim they have reached a partial agreement on a new contract, but it hasn't yet been agreed upon by the workers.

So the fight isn't over by a long shot. Whether the union goes on strike or is locked out, it will need as much support as possible from the activist community. Building alliances between environmental and labor groups will make the EF! movement stronger, and now is a perfect time to do it.

For more information, visit [www.ilwu.org](http://www.ilwu.org); [www.asje.org](http://www.asje.org).

*Loki is working to build strong environmental/labor alliances in Oregon.*

# BARE BONES

## Courts Rule in Favor of ALF Spokesperson

A search warrant obtained by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in July to raid the home of animal rights activist David Barbarash was quashed by the British Columbia Supreme Court on December 11.

The search warrant was issued in relation to a 1999 Animal Liberation Front action in Maine (see *EF!* September-October 2002). Among the seized items from Barbarash's residence were two computers, dozens of computer disks and approximately 100 video tapes on social justice issues.

A hearing to decide whether or not to transfer the seized property to US law enforcement will be held in January 2003. The Attorney General of Canada will argue that the property should still be sent to officials investigating the ALF action, despite the fact that the property was obtained illegally. Barbarash will argue for its immediate return.

## USFS Plan Illegal

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in November that the US Forest Service (USFS) must obtain a National Pollution Discharge Elimination System permit in order to continue aerial pesticide spraying in national forests. These permits are required by the Clean Water Act.

The Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project, Oregon Natural Resources Council and American Lands were among the environmental organizations that filed the lawsuit against the USFS. The groups challenged the USFS's claim that a permit was not required for aerial pesticides because an aircraft is not considered a point source of pollution under the agency's guidelines.

The courts sided with the environmental groups by stating that spraying from an airplane fitted with tanks and mechanical spraying devices meets the definition.



Seattle rally in support of dockworkers, August 28

photo courtesy: Washington Jobs with Justice



# McResistance Worldwide

## Global Day of Action Against McDonald's

McDonald's is possibly hated by more people than any other corporation on Earth. With 30,000 restaurants invading 121 countries, McDonald's symbolizes imperialist Western civilization, corporate globalization and triumphant capitalism—arrogant and contemptuous of those who oppose it.

This modern-day conqueror plunders every corner of the world, continuing to flood landfills with its factory-produced plastic and paper packaging. Its demand for endless fields of pesticide-doused monoculture crops (for ingredients, as well as for cattle feed) leads to the deforestation of previously wild lands, loss of biodiversity and soil depletion. McDonald's is the world's largest seller of beef, and the second largest user of chickens. McDonald's massive consumption of cattle also implicates it in the displacement of indigenous and small farmers throughout Latin America, as their homelands and self-sufficiency are usurped by ranching enterprises.

The multi-million dollar McDonald's empire has repeatedly infringed on US child labor laws. In addition, its low-wage, dead-end jobs prey primarily on the economic desperation of women, black, brown and young workers.

But as always, wherever there is injustice, resistance breeds like the cockroaches under the greasy sinks of fast-food restaurants. On October 16, the first-ever international mobilization of McDonald's workers took part in the annual global day of action against McDonald's.

The workers, united under the name McDonald's Workers Resistance (MWR), demanded that they, as well as people employed indirectly by McDonald's (such as those who make toys for "Happy Meals") be allowed to organize and circulate information at work without hindrance.

According to MWR, the actions were about more than just their working conditions—they were acting against environmental destruction in solidarity with those displaced from their land. MWR sees workers' freedom to organize as connected to the campaigns against McDonald's child-targeted advertising and the angry local communities who oppose the building of new McDonald's.

"People say to us—'If you don't like it, then just quit,' but we know too well that there are many jobs as bad or even worse than McDonald's. It's not just McDonald's or McJobs, it's the very idea of wage labor. If workers can take on McDonald's, it will be an inspiration. If a global movement

can stop the McMega-Machine, even for just one day, then it will inspire all those who desire social and ecological justice," says MWR.

On the October 16 day of the action, resistance by McWorkers took many forms, ranging from drinking on the job and stealing from the cash register to sabotaging machinery and property, work slowdowns, employee walkouts and organized strikes for better working conditions.

In Milan, Italy, activists and workers blockaded a McDonald's and had an impromptu party as they "roamed the streets, accompanied by music and tactically deployed" eggs. A Slovenian radio station celebrated by broadcasting anti-McDonald's programming all day.

In France, workers at six McDonald's restaurants, represented by the *Confederation Nationale Travail* union, went on strike. A strike and picket in Norfolk, England, celebrated the day. The McDonald's in Reading, England was

spray-painted with a message that said, "Closed due to strike." Workers in Moscow, Russia, had a brief work stoppage as well.

The Chicago Corps of the Paramilitary Front for the Liberation of McDonald's Workers blew up a toaster while working, smashed lighting and destroyed a freezer in Illinois. In Dallas, Texas, important equipment was hidden and food was defrosted. McDonald's coffers in Dublin, Ireland, paid for a staff drinking session. Workers in England disabled equipment and superglued the cash register locks. Toilets were filled with cement in Manchester, England.

Mass resignations in Toronto, Ontario and Glasgow, Scotland, left authoritarian managers helpless as employees flung their uniforms across the counter. Solidarity actions and pickets were held in Australia, New Zealand, Germany, Ireland, Sweden and Russia. In Mexico City, Mexico, 94 members of the Collective Front of Anarchist Vegetarians were arrested after an anti-McDonald's march. The demonstrators spray-painted slogans on a McDonald's restaurant, handed out leaflets promoting vegetarianism and briefly blocked traffic. They are accused of damaging property (a shade umbrella and windowpane) and carrying explosives (fireworks).

The global day of action against McDonald's was an unprecedented success. However, MWR reminds us that: "The global day of action is not in place of daily struggle—



it is to inspire it, to develop it. MWR emerged as a determined response to



photo courtesy MWR

Milan, Italy

the idiocy of our working lives. It's an angry rebellion against boredom, exploitation, poverty and discipline; it's a

rebellion against the idiocy of McDonald's and capitalism. Thousands take action against McDonald's every day we work; every incidence of theft or sabotage, every refusal of discipline is an action taken against McDonald's. Please support McDonald's workers the most important way—by making sure that struggle is part of everyday life

where you live and work!"

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

## No Peace for Greenpeace Canvassers

BY YAEL

Greenpeace expects governments to honor environmental laws and treaties, but it is choosing to ignore the union contracts it has signed. According to the Greenpeace Door Canvass Union (OPIEU Local 343), the Greenpeace Canada chapter in Toronto closed its door canvass on October 15, breaking its union contract and illegally firing unionized door canvassers.

The door canvass was closed more than a year before the contract expired, despite the fact that the canvass was exceeding all of the terms of the agreement. The Greenpeace management allegedly attempted to renegotiate the contract as early as July by threatening to close the program. Supposedly management offered new terms to prevent a shutdown, yet in protest, OPIEU Local 343 picketed, held banners and leafleted in front of the Greenpeace office in Toronto.

In the past, Greenpeace Canada has been criticized for expecting workers to work unpaid overtime to meet unfair quotas, where wages and job security are determined not by hours worked or seniority—but rather by funds raised per individual. Despite these work conditions, in its 14-year

history, the Toronto door canvass has signed up thousands of new members and raised millions of dollars for Greenpeace. Canvassers knock on doors in all weather conditions and have volunteered for hundreds of Greenpeace activities—often getting arrested at Greenpeace-related protests. One of the locked-out canvassers is still facing court charges stemming from a Greenpeace action.

Executive Director Peter Tabuns has stated that the door canvass was closed in an attempt to raise more money by shifting the focus to a phone canvass. He claims that all canvassers were offered jobs working on the phone canvass, which four of the 16 former door canvassers have accepted.

However, this does not explain why the only door canvass closed in Canada is the Toronto one, which happens to be the only one that was unionized.

This is not about being “cost effective”—this is about busting the union. The door canvassers bring in around \$900,000 a year for Greenpeace.

Job layoffs are not a new thing for Greenpeace. In 1996, it disassembled all 10 of its offices in the US and laid off 335 of its 400 staff members, most of whom were canvassers.

*Yael gave up canvassing to live in a tent in the desert.*

## BARE BONES

### Trout Protected by Court

US District Judge B. Lynn Winmill issued an injunction on November 14, which forbids rancher Verl Jones from diverting water out of Otter Creek in the Salmon River basin of central Idaho. Jones was using the water for his livestock operation near Challis, Idaho.

The diversion was causing harm to bull trout, a species protected under the Endangered Species Act (ESA).

Judge Winmill's decision is precedent setting and creates a wide range of implications for both farmers and ranchers. Never before have the courts halted a water diversion project to protect fish listed under the ESA.

The lawsuit was filed by the Western Watersheds Project (WWP) and the Committee for the High Desert. “The decision affirms that farmers and ranchers cannot violate the ESA,” WWP Executive Director Jon Marvel commented.

“If listed fish continue to be harmed, the irrigators either have to change their ways or risk losing use of their diversions.”

### Frog Protection Reversed

On November 9, a federal judge reversed the US Fish and Wildlife Service's plan to set aside more than four million acres of critical habitat for the threatened California red-legged frog.

Developers challenged the plan in court because of the restrictions on economic development it placed on parts of 28 counties in California.

Loss of habitat has caused the frog's population to decline rapidly. The Center for Biological Diversity estimates that there are only four places in the western US that have populations of more than 350 frogs. The red-legged frog was listed as an endangered species in 1996.



# The Next Environmental Movement

BY THE SMARTMEME PROJECT

Analysis is the most important tool in the social change toolbox. It is this work to find the points of intervention and leverage in the system that we are trying to transform, which suggests why, where and how to use the other tools.

We want to explore the thinking behind the strategy of taking direct action at the points of assumption (see *EF!* November-December 2002). Attacking assumptions can not only reframe the way our society confronts the ecological crisis, but it can also create the momentum needed for new, vibrant social movements to emerge. We hope this thinking can inform the question that many of us are currently asking: What is the next environmental movement going to look like?

## Beyond Single-Issue Environmentalism

Let's begin our analysis by asking ourselves two often unanswered questions. Why has the radical ecology movement

failed to capture the imagination of the public for more than the proverbial 15 minutes? Why in the US—the engine of consumption that drives the entire system of global destruction—isn't there more visible resistance to the suicidal direction of our consumer society?

One easy culprit is the environmental movement's failure to weave our

Through the internalization of oppressive cultural norms, the system we are fighting is not merely structural (e.g., biotech facilities, clearcut forests, open-pit mines)—it's also inside us. Our minds have been colonized by deeply pathological assumptions that intertwine to create the dominant culture's resistance to fundamental social change.

## Why has the radical ecology movement failed to capture the imagination of the public for more than the proverbial 15 minutes?

range of issues into a holistic analysis about the type of cultural transformation that is needed to address the ecological crisis. This failure means that we are competing with ourselves for people's limited amount of time and compassion, by forcing them to choose between issues. Unless our campaigns articulate a broader vision, they are just more background noise in an information-saturated culture.

## The Control Mythology

Maintaining control in a global system that creates such blatant injustice relies on the age-old tools of repression, brutality and terror. The naked control that is used to criminalize, contain and silence dissent among the have-nots is obvious.

Yet this brutality is just one side of the system of global control. In addition to the widespread use of the stick, the global system relies heavily on the selective use of the carrot.

For the majority of consumers in the US, the coercion that keeps them complicit with the system is not physical; it is largely ideological and based

# Frontlines

## Illegal Logging Continues in the Mattole

Maxxam/Pacific Lumber (PL) has continued to blatantly disregard an August 29 court order to cease logging. It has been harvesting one million board feet a day throughout Humboldt County, California, ever since.

PL moved into the Freshwater watershed on November 5, and began felling large trees as close as 30 yards to treesits. The next day, one woman, Abstract, lay down in the path of machinery. She was dragged away by law enforcement. Another protester, Tree, was arrested for allegedly interfering with a police officer.

On November 14, PL began to clearcut in the "demonstration forest"—a nesting area of the endangered marbled murrelet. After spending a few days in jail, Abstract and Tree were released and set up a treesit in the area.

At four a.m. on November 16, 13 protesters linked arms in front of the gates leading into the demonstration forest. Two timber workers, attempting to open the gates and clear the road, physically assaulted several of the activists, grabbing and throwing people to the ground.

When work trucks began rolling through the gate, activ-

ists stood in front of them. The drivers refused to stop and charged at the line of protesters with their trucks. An activist writing down license plate numbers, was attacked and wrestled to the ground.

The same day, police sent climbers to evict Tree and Abstract from their treesit. In a very dangerous operation, both activists—who were naked as a means of protest—were strapped into harnesses, lowered down and taken to jail.

Abstract, who employed the non-compliance technique of going limp, was dragged and kicked by police. Chunks of her hair were pulled out. She is being charged with assault.

As of December, there were 18 treesits in northern California.

## Guard Timber Sale

On November 8, forest activists gathered outside the Guard Timber Sale auction in Oregon, where a police line barricaded the Mount Hood Forest Service headquarters. One protester was arrested for "illegal dumping" as he unloaded props (reclaimed trash found at the Guard Timber Sale) for a guerrilla theater skit.

on mass acceptance of a common mythology. We all know the big lies: Corporate capitalism is the same as democracy; humanity is the centerpiece of creation and "nature" merely a resource; the US is the land of equal opportunity. These myths shape many people's sense of everyday reality and create a *control mythology*—the web of stories, symbols and ideas, which defines our sense of "normal" and limits our imagination of social change. This buys people's loyalty by normalizing an increasingly insane culture. It also gives them token privileges so they can ignore the plight of others.

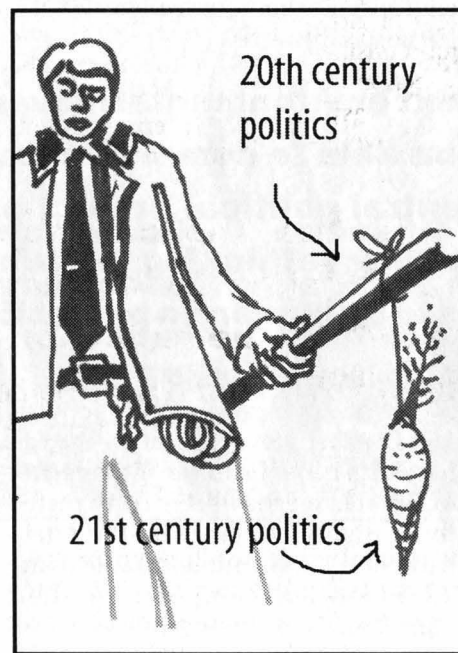
Elements of the control mythology have become so deeply imbedded in our lives that they now define our culture, as witnessed in the unquestioned, unrestrained "right" to consume. Increasingly in the corporatized world, a person's rights are defined by their purchasing power (e.g. access to health care, education, a nutritious diet, mental stimulation).

The incredible amount of resources and effort that corporations have to put into perpetuating consumer culture through advertising, propaganda, education and socialization is a glimmer of hope that the control mythology is a lot weaker than many activists think. There has never been a more urgent time to ask

ourselves: How can we catalyze a mass *psychic break*—the point where people realize that the system is not working and become radicalized?

### Articulating Values Crisis

One strategy for reaching a larger section of the population, and jarring them



out of their inertia, is to replace the focus on single issues with a focus on values. It is the language of values that can be our most powerful tool in building a holistic

analysis with the ability to subvert the control mythology.

*Values shift* is the recognition that we must change the pathological values that underlie the global crisis—alienation from nature, consumer narcissism, desire to dominate, fear of "otherness." However, we must be very careful how we frame this concept. Picture yourself knocking on the country's front door and announcing that you have come to shift peoples values. Slam!

A more effective way to capitalize on the power of people's existing values is to reveal the difference between what kind of world people want to live in and the corporate world that is rapidly expanding. Understanding and exploiting this *values crisis* can allow us to expose one of the most blatant revolutionary truths of the modern era: the fact that the corporate rule system is out of alignment with most people's basic values.

Social scientists have repeatedly found that people are more likely to believe something that reinforces their existing opinions and values than to accept information that challenges their beliefs. We need to position ourselves within people's existing values. This means laying claim to life-affirming values and showing people that corporate capitalism is no longer

*continued on next page*

The protesters performed the skit without props as the Guard Timber Sale was sold to Hampton Tree Farms behind closed doors.

### ALF Targets Huntingdon Life Sciences

Two actions, both targeting Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), have been claimed by ALF cells on opposite sides of the planet.

On November 5, in Auckland, New Zealand, the Animal Liberation Front paid a visit to the home of the executive director of Marsh & McLellan Insurance, J.W. Bitcheno. Marsh & McLellan provide liability insurance for HLS's animal experiments.

One of Bitcheno's vehicles was redecorated with paint stripper. The pavement outside his house was spray-painted with a warning to his neighbors, exposing his support of animal killers.

In Scarsdale, New York, on November 6, a house call was made to HLS financial advisor and tax lawyer, Mark Bibi. Bibi is also the director of Focused Healthcare Partners (FHP). FHP is a front group created by HLS, which takes money invested in FHP and re-routes it to HLS, thus giving the impression of increased HLS profits.

The ALF doused Bibi's house with red paint and spray-painted slogans denouncing his work for HLS. His

daughter's car was painted, and its windshield was smashed by a rock.

The two actions were dedicated to British animal rights activist, Barry Horne, on the one-year anniversary of his death.

### Suburban Treesit Tackles Sprawl

On November 2, a Los Angeles County resident ascended a 400-year-old oak tree that was in danger of being torn out to widen a road for new subdivisions in a Santa Clarita suburb. The treesitter, John Quigley, is an environmental educator who has also spent time in treesits in British Columbia, Canada.

The Santa Clara Organization for Planning and the Environment (SCOPE)—an organization comprised of "professionals and homemakers"—decided to recruit someone to do civil disobedience in order to highlight the issue of sprawl. According to SCOPE, they had to take more drastic measures since lawsuits making "a fuss about frogs and toads disappearing" haven't been able to hold the public's attention.

Quigley quickly became a local celebrity, receiving visits from hordes of media, police, construction workers, curious suburbanites and supporters who regularly hopped a fence to bring him food.



# The Next Environmental Movement continued

*continued from previous page*

grounded in the common sense values that it has hijacked.

Although many of our critics are so blinded by propaganda and ideology that they will always see us as naïve, unpatriotic or dangerous, there is already a critical mass of people recognizing that our society is facing severe problems. (See demographer Paul Rey's research into the "Cultural Creatives"). However, since the mass media still reflects the modern, technocratic, consumerist worldview, these people tend to feel isolated and do not recognize their true numbers.

The message is clear: The radical ecology movement needs to stop focusing on only the details and start getting the bigger picture of a holistic analysis out there. A simple dichotomy for articulating the crisis is the clash between a delusional value system that fetishizes money and a value system centered around the biological realities of life's diversity. We need to cast these opposing value systems as two very different paths for the future of our planet. The path shaped by life

values leads toward many choices—the decentralized self-organizing diversity of different cultures, political traditions and local economies. While the money values path leads to fewer choices and the homogeneity of global corporatization.

**The next environmental movement must be able to communicate that the central political project of our era is the rethinking of what it means to be human on planet Earth.**

## Escaping the Protest Ghetto

One of the biggest pitfalls activists face in effectively articulating the values crisis is the fact that the category of "protester" has been constructed to be highly marginal by the establishment. Unfortunately, radicals are all too often complicit in their marginalization by accepting this depiction of protesters as the fringe.

Activists frequently ghettoize themselves by self-identifying through protest and failing to conceive of themselves as building movements that can

actually change power relations. All too often, activists project their own sense of powerlessness by mistaking militancy for radicalism and mobilization for movement building.

Radicals shoot themselves in the foot when they try to validate their resistance with a visible defection from the practices and ideas of "mainstream" society. To be successful, radicals need to separate dissent from the self-righteous tone that many people associate with protest, dodge the defector labels and be more effective subverters by mobilizing people from within the logic of the dominant culture rather than trying to reach them as outsiders.

## Creating SmartMemes

We need new symbols of inclusive resistance and transformation. We need new *memes*—the basic units of cultural information—to convey the values crisis. Memes are viral by nature, moving easily through our modern world of information networks and media saturation. We need to be training ourselves to become "meme warriors" and to tell the story of values crisis in different ways for different audiences. We must get a better sense of who our audiences are and target our messages to fit into

# Frontlines

## French McDonald's Attacked by Arson

On November 7, a fire destroyed a McDonald's restaurant under construction in eastern France. It blew out the windows, collapsed the building's roof and shattered much of the restaurant's interior.

The McDonald's, a subject of heated controversy in the town of Voreppe, was due to open in December. It burned amidst a heated court battle launched by local residents who objected to the odors and the increased traffic expected from the restaurant. The day before the fire, residents won a temporary court order suspending construction.

## Protesters Sack Radioactive Waste Transport in Europe

In November, a three-day nuclear waste transfer from France to Germany was delayed by outraged citizens who physically blocked its route in protest.

In total, more than 10,000 people protesting the transfer faced off with 17,000 police and paramilitary special units.

On November 12, 400 pedestrians and 35 tractors driven by angry farmers blocked both sides of a train bridge near Dannenberg, Germany. Two protesters chained themselves to the railroad track near Freudenheim. Further down, 150 protesters had to be carried off the tracks by police.

On November 13, police carried 20 protesters off the tracks in a town 100 miles south of Hamburg, Germany. Thousands of people in Hitzacker gathered in opposition to the waste transport. Two more people chained themselves to the track near Leitstade.

More than 200 people were brought to a prison concentration area in Neu Tramm. Sixteen more were injured and became sick from the tear gas used during demonstrations in Hitzacker and Harlingen.

Just before the nuclear caravan arrived at its destination—a waste storage facility in Gorleben, Germany—1,200 people sat down and blocked its route, forcing a four-hour delay.

their existing experiences. Our revolution(s) will really start rolling as soon as the appeal of disobedience is so clear that it can easily replicate and spread far beyond the limiting definition of “protester” or “activist.”

Actions whose messages end as soon as the activists break camp cannot easily be sustained. We need to create moments that echo and linger in the mind, like the songs that get stuck in your head and the scenes from a film you can't forget. We need to think in terms of a sequence of events, not just a singular moment. Our actions must create ongoing *image events* that deliver smart Memes with the power to move the latent, but well-intentioned, bystanders to join us in our struggle.

Media theorist Sut Jhally states in his essay, “Advertising at the Edge of the Apocalypse,” that “the imperative task for those who want to stress a different set of values is to make the struggle for social change fun and sexy. By that I do not mean that we have to use images of sexuality, but that we have to find a way of thinking about the struggle against poverty, against homelessness, for healthcare and child-care, to protect the environment, in terms of pleasure and

fun and happiness.” This is articulating values crisis. We can attack the corporate myth that consumption provides satisfaction and reclaim real happiness, meaning and fun as the realm of social change.

Carrie McLaren, editor of the radical media critique zine *Stay Free!*, tells a

and the mental environment, McLaren and other like-minded activists created a map that highlighted examples of excessive corporate advertising around the city. These included lighted billboards that were so bright they lit up nearby apartments, corporate “graffiti,” police recruiting ads and other forms of signage that obliterated or otherwise polluted the visual landscape. They passed out the “Free City Maps” as a way of creating a political space to talk with ordinary people about the issues of corporate control, consumerism and creative resistance. Eventually, the city passed ordinances banning such excessive advertising.

Obviously, we don't have easy access to the means of production and distribution. This should not be a reason to give up. It should challenge us to be more creative. Imbuing social change with laughter and pleasure does not require massive media equipment and budgets. Radical cheerleading, street theater and Reclaim the Streets actions have successfully accessed these very means through spontaneity, artistic expression and humor. These are good starts, but we must find ways to take it much further.

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fascinating story of activists in New York City who took action against the control mythology. In 1998, Calvin Klein installed an enormous billboard that covered the entire side of a building in downtown Manhattan, covering all of the windows. In response to this obvious attack on public space

### **Nuclear Submarine “Open to Public”**

During a nuclear disarmament camp in England held by Trident Ploughshares in November, two activists entered a nuclear submarine called “Vanguard” as it was being repaired and refueled with radioactive material.

On November 15, the activists climbed the Devonport dockyard fence and walked 900 feet, passing by a tennis court, some houses and people as they went. They then cut a small hole in the fence surrounding the submarine with a pair of boltcutters. No police or guards were in sight, so they went on board the submarine.

After 20 minutes of wandering around inside the submarine, the two activists pressed three different alarm buttons. The first one didn't work, and no one responded to the second one, but the third alarm drew 20 workers who came up from below.

The staff offered the anti-nuclear activists tea and coffee and chatted with the activists until the police arrived to arrest them.

### **The Battle to Save the Gully**

On October 21, the battle to save “the Gully”—a five-acre site of bushland in urban Brisbane, Australia—came

to a head when Earth-moving equipment was brought in, followed by 100 protesters and 200 police.

The Gully is home to a diverse range of species, including eucalyptus, red cedar, the carpet python and rainforest dung beetle. The fight to save the area from being developed started in the '70s and has included local residents, environmental activists and labor unions.

Ten treesits were established throughout the week of actions organized by the Gully Action Group. One elderly treesitter was removed from a tree with a cherry picker and suffered wrist injuries from police mishandling.

Police allowed logging and bulldozing to begin with protesters still in the area. Some were arrested when they tried to get out of the way of machinery and crossed a police line.

On October 23, a local construction union called a work ban on the Gully site due to safety concerns and stopped work for the day.

The treesits continued for the rest of the week. Some people locked their feet into concrete blocks, and mini-gardens were planted where vegetation had been cleared.

On November 5, police forcibly removed the last of the activists. More than 40 people were arrested throughout the two weeks of actions defending the Gully.



# The Next Environmental Movement continued

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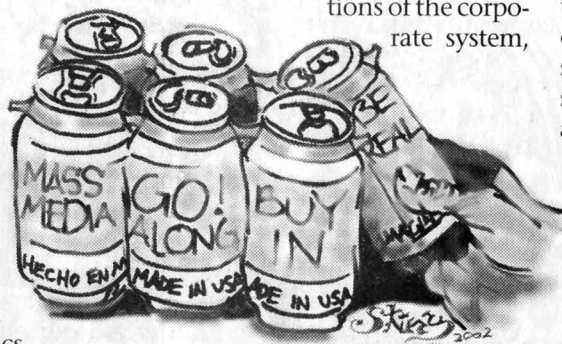
## Telling the Future

A new alternative vision of the future is perhaps the most desperate need in the present situation. It will most assuredly not come out of the sometimes airtight world of current environmental activism.

First, the environmental movement needs to do a good deal of listening to people presently outside the movement. We need to get a sense of what people actually want, what they long for, what they are willing to give up, what future they hope for and what future they fear. We know that ecology is a key ingredient in the future of pan-movement politics because the ecological collapse is the central and most visible contradiction in the global system. We know that the next environmental movement is not a protest movement. It's not a reactive, defensive, single-issue movement. The next environmental movement must be able to communicate that the central political project of our era is the rethinking of what it means to be human on planet Earth. Our battlefield will

expand beyond the logging roads, corporate offices and trade ministerials to directly confront the symbols, mythology and flawed assumptions of corporate consumer culture.

As we work to escape the oppressive cultural norms and misguided assumptions of the corporate system,



our actions must embody these new realities—the points of potential—that can help to catalyze mass defections from the pathological norms of today's culture.

A new environmental movement, if it is to catch on outside our current activist circles, must appeal to hopes as well as fears. It must answer the honest concerns of people who think of environmentalism as just another excuse for government manipulation of their lives. It must

come from the land and relate to the land, but it must also have something to say to the people who inhabit the land. It must provide new myths, ones that are more appealing than either the control mythology or the looming threat of a coming environmental collapse.

We are already winning. Life is stronger than greed. Hope is more powerful than fear. The values crisis is in full swing, and more people are turning their backs on the pathological values of the doomsday economy. A common sense revolution—a revolution in consciousness—is already underway. More and more people are recognizing that the collective future of life hangs in the balance.

Now it's up to us to weave our hopes, dreams and sense of struggle into a new movement that lives up to the challenge...

*The smartMeme project is an emerging network of thinkers, writers, organizers and life-affirming radicals who are learning to dream collectively of a different type of activism and a different type of culture. This article reflects the shared imagination of James John Bell, J. Cookson, Ilyse Hogue and Patrick Reinsborough and incorporates feedback from John Michael Greer. Please join us at the EF! Organizers' Conference in February or contact us at (415) 722-1846; patrickr@riseup.net; www.smartmeme.com.*

# Frontlines

## Peat Destroyers Sabotaged

On October 7, in Cumbria, England, peat-cutting equipment and vehicles at two peat mining sites were found sabotaged.

Three machines owned by William Sinclair Horticulture, Ltd. were damaged at Bolton Fell Moss. In addition, the protective plastic that covered the peat stacks was destroyed, and notices demanding an end to peat extraction were prominently displayed. At Solway Moss, as many as 15 pieces of equipment belonging to L&P Peat, Ltd. were destroyed.

Peatbogs—domes created by absorbent sphagnum moss formed in water-logged lowland areas—are unique and endangered ecosystems. Corporations mine and sell peat as an ingredient in horticulture and landscaping products.

L&P Peat has begun to use an extraction method that completely destroys the hydrology of the moors it mines. Both companies are currently expanding their peat mining operations at Bolton Fell and Solway, despite the fact that the sites may soon be designated as Special Areas of Conservation by the European Union.

## Climate Justice Summit Held

On October 28, more than 5,000 people marched to protest the United Nations (UN) Convention on Climate Change in New Delhi, India. The conference, which set out to provide a framework for limiting the gas emissions that contribute to global warming, was dominated by the US government, oil lobbyists and multinational corporations who refuse to commit to any formal agreement regarding climate change.

On October 26-27, activists held a counter-summit—the Indian Climate Justice Summit (ICJS)—to highlight the flaws of the UN conference. Workshops, rallies and a panel discussion covered issues of deforestation, corporate accountability, local struggles against the coal and oil industries, indigenous peoples' rights and alternative energy. Several thousand people participated in ICJS, and the majority were farmers, fishworkers and indigenous peoples. More than 20 countries were represented at the ICJS, including South Africa, Brazil and Thailand.

# Fighting To Win

## An Interview with Jeff Shantz from OCAP

BY PUCK

The Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) is one of the most inspiring direct action organizations I've encountered. Its strategy is simple, confrontational and astonishingly effective. OCAP's common sense vision is uncompromising and based on experience and action, rather than just theory. I thought it'd be interesting to interview Jeff Shantz, an organizer with OCAP, because Earth First! and OCAP have some ideals and tactics in common: a dedication to "no compromise" on any deals not made on our terms and taking direct action in order to stop injustice. There are also significant differences in strategy and organizing that the EF! movement could gain insight from.

EF! distances itself from many potential allies who would be supportive of the sort of world we are working toward, but don't relate to the broader ecological struggle when it is framed solely as a "wilderness" movement. This doesn't mean EF! should abandon the wild or aim for anything less than the complete re-wilding of the Earth and humanity. Indeed, it's vital that we create more ecologically sound, self-governing and egalitarian living strategies that can offer people realistic alternatives to the current system of coercion, exploitation and alienation from the natural world.

EF!ers need to organize more with those who already feel rage and frustration with ecocide and other related injustices like patriarchy and white supremacy, which keep people divided and hold the existing power structure in place.

In talking with Jeff, he explores ideas and organizing strategies for building more effective and inclusive "no compromise" movements where participants aren't *doing* activism but rather, *living* revolution in everyday life—and "fighting to win."

*EF!J: How did OCAP start organizing?*

JS: From the beginning, the group was dedicated to militant direct action rather than consultation and compromise. OCAP has never been primarily an advocacy group acting on

behalf of others. Our actions are determined by the real needs of our members, and we take a course of action in which we do whatever it takes to meet those needs. OCAP is a poor peoples' movement and we organize among the diverse members of the working class, rather than trying to reach out to small business people or middle-class liberals. We do not organize as a broad but meaningless coalition.

*EF!J: What are the short and long-term goals of OCAP?*

JS: OCAP is an explicitly anti-capitalist organization, so our long-term goal is the end of capitalism and the development of a society based upon mutual support and self-determination along with the end of exploitation and oppression. Our short-term goals are to take care of each other and to defend ourselves against bosses, landlords, cops and the various other parasites that try to drain the life out of us.

*EF!J: What role does legal reform play in building revolutionary movements?*

JS: We tend to agree with anarchist community organizer and former Black Panther Party political prisoner, Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, that reforms are part of our survival, pending revolution. It's tough to fight for a long-term revolution when you're

losing your home or can't feed your kids. We're not going after reform for reform's sake, but we'll take whatever we can get to make our lives a little better and to give us the strength and momentum to keep fighting. Even small victories give people a sense that we can actually win. It also gives us a taste for larger victories.

In some European social movements, there is talk about pushing forward reforms that the state won't be able to make—thus making evident the limitations of government reform.

*EF!J: What should be the role of protest and disruption in challenging and stopping the destruction and repression of corporations and governments?*

JS: OCAP tends not to do protests just for the sake of doing protests. We learned a long time ago that marches and rallies, which are held to simply register our dissent or to shame governments that have no shame, are almost completely useless. Protest rituals that rely on moral arguments tend to confine struggles to the terrain of what the state and bosses

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photo courtesy OCAP



photo courtesy OCAP

*Kicking the ass of the ruling class since 1990*



# Fighting to Win

continued

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find permissible, and thus they are ineffective for making real gains on our terms and in ways that meet our needs. We know that we have no interests or values in common with the economic and political powerholders, so we don't try to "reach them" on any level—except maybe with the back of our hands.

Instead, we go at them directly where it hurts: in their bank accounts. OCAP does whatever it takes to make it impossible for the exploiters to implement and carry out their agenda. Part of that strategy means acting in ways that raise the costs of doing business. It also means refusing to acknowledge their "right" to make the decisions that fundamentally affect all of us. We neither recognize nor respect government or corporate authority, and we see it plainly for what it is: an impediment to our self-determination and an attempt to monopolize social power in their hands.

*EF!J: How is direct action used by OCAP? What do you feel is the importance of direct action in addressing injustice?*

JS: We are a do-it-ourself organization, so we don't rely on representatives or experts to do things for us. If people are facing an eviction, we go directly to their home to make the eviction impossible for the landlord and sheriff. If someone is being denied back pay, we take a picket right to the boss and disrupt business until the money is forthcoming. For people

We know that we have no interests or values in common with the economic and political powerholders, so we don't try to "reach them" on any level—except maybe with the back of our hands.



photo courtesy: OCAP

*No Borders; No Nations; Stop Deportations*

who are excluded from channels of power and don't want to deal with such rotten channels anyway, direct action—taking responsibility for the decisions that affect our own lives—is the most effective means of building collective power.

At the same time, we recognize that one of the areas we need to do more work on is in building dual power institutions that can meet our needs in the here-and-now, without having to rely on the state. These dual power institutions would offer real alternatives to the state. In the past, labor unions provided the basis for such dual power, in medical clinics, Summer camps, hostels, underground railroads and schools for workers. OCAP's recent squatting campaign, notably the Pope Squat, is part of our effort to build more permanent dual power institutions where we provide for our necessities—in this case, shelter—without waiting for the state to act.

*EF!J: OCAP has said that, "As long as movements remain trapped in methods of limited protest, governments and*

## Creating Revolution in Everyday Life

BY JEFF SHANTZ

Since 1990, the Toronto-based Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) has been defending and empowering poor and homeless people to fight back against the system that crushes them.

OCAP works to defend people on a day-to-day basis. Its "direct action casework" consists of utilizing an innovative combination of direct actions, legal strategies and mass mobilizations in order to win immediate gains for individual people, while

contributing to building the relationships necessary for maintaining long-term struggles. OCAP has opened squats, won back pay from employers, blocked deportations and evictions, physically and legally defended homeless and poor people against the courts, fought riot police in the streets and confronted numerous other injustices.

During the Active Resistance anarchist gathering in 1998, OCAP helped to organize the "Hands Off Street Youth" march. Participants demanded that police and Toronto city officials immediately end their harassment of

squeegeers (people who clean car windows for money). That Summer, OCAP began fighting panhandling and squeegeeing tickets in court, and it has won every case thus far.

In 1999, OCAP organized a several-hundred-strong occupation of Allan Gardens, a park where cops were routinely harassing homeless people. The space was established as a communal "Safe Park," and for three days, it was a beacon of mutual aid in practice. People lived together, fed, helped and cared for each other.

corporations will continue to escalate their attacks" on poor people, people of color and the Earth. What would real resistance look like to OCAP?

JS: As a small organization of poor people, OCAP can only do so much. As one of our members once said, we're like the pesky mosquito that won't go away. But in order for capitalism to be fundamentally challenged, the slumbering elephant of organized labor has to stir. Just to give one example: Autoworkers in Windsor and Detroit could cause millions of dollars in damage to their bosses by disrupting production in the factories or blocking transportation of products across the Ambassador Bridge (the key link in the North American Free Trade Agreement superhighway) for only a few hours. Until we're in a situation where the rank-and-file can throw off both their own union and corporate bosses, real resistance is still only on the horizon.

EF!J: How does OCAP do outreach and education?

JS: Outreach is done first and foremost through our work. Poor people know about us because we come through. We get real results, and the word spreads far and fast.

As far as education, we've done a number of workshops on direct action casework for community groups and unions. We also have a regular publication, *They Call It Struggle for a Reason*, that offers a mix of news and theory. In addition, OCAP hosts two shows on local community radio stations.

Direct actions are also about education, especially self-education. When we do an action, we learn that despite this system's best efforts to beat us down, we can actually enjoy some victories. Institutions that appear mysterious or impenetrable often come undone when confronted by a delegation of 10-20 people who are sure of their purpose. Direct

Direct action teaches us that we can shake those in power and build a movement that fundamentally challenges the existing arrangement.

action teaches us that we can shake those in power and build a movement that fundamentally challenges the existing arrangement.

EF!J: Do you feel that OCAP's militant direct action stance (advocating self-defense rather than nonviolence) has overall attracted or alienated potential supporters?

JS: As one of our members said, "We are loved and hated in all the appropriate places." We never try to win the approval of liberals, moralists or would-be benefactors, such as the trade union leadership. If their support is forthcoming, that's fine. However, we recognize how fickle it can be, and we don't plan around it.

After our "eviction" of the former Provincial Finance Minister in June 2001, several labor leaders, in a despicable act of class betrayal, met with the Labor Minister and

agreed to cut funding to OCAP. After OCAP set up a squat in an abandoned building for housing this past Summer, the Canadian AutoWorkers—our largest single source of funds—renewed their ties with us. And so it goes. We keep doing what we have to do.

For more information, contact OCAP, 517 College St, Ste 234, Toronto, Ontario M6G 4A2, Canada; (416) 925-6939; ocap@tao.ca; www.ocap.tao.ca.

Jeff Shantz is a member of OCAP and a founding member of the Workers' Solidarity Network, a group that organizes to support rank-and-file workers in their struggles. He co-hosts the OCAP Review, a community radio show in North Toronto. Judi Bari is one of his great inspirations.



photo courtesy OCAP

The Pope Squat

Puck works toward a day when money and national borders will be as meaningless to humans as they are to eagles and mountain lions.

In June 2000, OCAP, along with a delegation of homeless and poor people, marched and demanded to address Ontario's provincial legislature. The march ended with a full-scale police riot. Despite full-speed baton charges by mounted riot police, it took more than an hour for the cops to clear people from the grounds. Demonstrators put up so much resistance that many cops contemplated leaving the police force.

In early September 2001, OCAP and its allies went directly to Toronto's Pearson International Airport to demand an end to threats of deportation against three families.

Leaflets were given to passengers, and a visit was paid to Canada's deportation office. All three deportations were eventually canceled.

In October 2001, OCAP helped to organize a march where more than 2,000 people took over the streets in Toronto's financial district. The snake-like march, which was part of a larger campaign of economic disruption intending to force the provincial government out of office, caused the government's business backers to lose hundreds of thousands of dollars in revenue.

The situation concerning the lack of affordable housing has reached a crisis

level in cities throughout Canada. In Toronto, more than 2,000 tenants are evicted each month. In order to illustrate the humiliation and disruption of eviction, OCAP "evicted" the Provincial Financial Minister of Ontario from his office, tossing his furniture into the street.

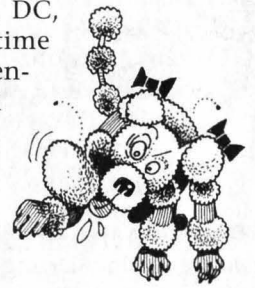
OCAP and its supporters also organized a squat timed to coincide with the Pope's visit to Ontario in August. They occupied an abandoned building, the Pope Squat, for four months before the police forced them out.

In 2003, OCAP intends to organize coast to coast housing takeovers.

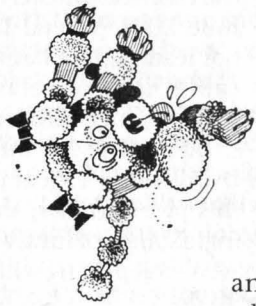


A mama wolf sacrificing her food so that her pups may survive to Susan Moloney for her 52-day hunger strike outside the California State Capitol building. She lost 22 pounds. Starting her fast on October 7, Moloney's intention was to put pressure on Governor Gray Davis to keep a 1998 campaign promise that "all old-growth trees are spared from the lumberjack's axe." She formally requested a meeting with Davis, who was conve-

People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, DC, in October. This was the second time that the international environmental justice community has gotten together to organize against environmental racism; the first environmental justice summit was



# Wolves and Poodles



niently "unavailable." Davis still claims that all old-growth forests have been saved, despite the fact that nearly seven million acres remain unprotected. However, Moloney's fast and the support she received persuaded the state Senate to hold a hearing on ancient trees next year.

A wolf who faithfully returns every year to the same location to the folks at the annual School of Americas protest in Fort Benning, Georgia. This year's action was the second largest to date, drawing 11,000 people. Ninety-six demonstrators were arrested for entering the base, commonly referred to as the School of the Assassins. The SOA, operated by the US Army, trains Latin American soldiers in combat and counter-insurgency tactics. SOA graduates have committed human rights violations and propped up corrupt, US-sponsored dictatorships throughout Latin America.

A wolf pack patrolling its territory to the townspeople of Mount Washington, Massachusetts, who were instrumental in saving 1,000 acres of old-growth hemlocks and dwarf-pitch pines discovered on Mount Everett, as well as a panoply of rare plants. Three years ago, plans were in the works to build powerlines and install a telecommunications facility in this unique area. In response, local activist Eleanor Tillinghast began collecting donations from the town's 92 residents to fund \$40,000 in scientific studies by plant and tree specialists. The scientists discovered that it is the largest intact old-growth forest in the state. Now, as a result of the surveys, the powerlines will not be installed and the forest is protected.

A wolf pack circling its prey to the environmental justice activists who attended the Second National

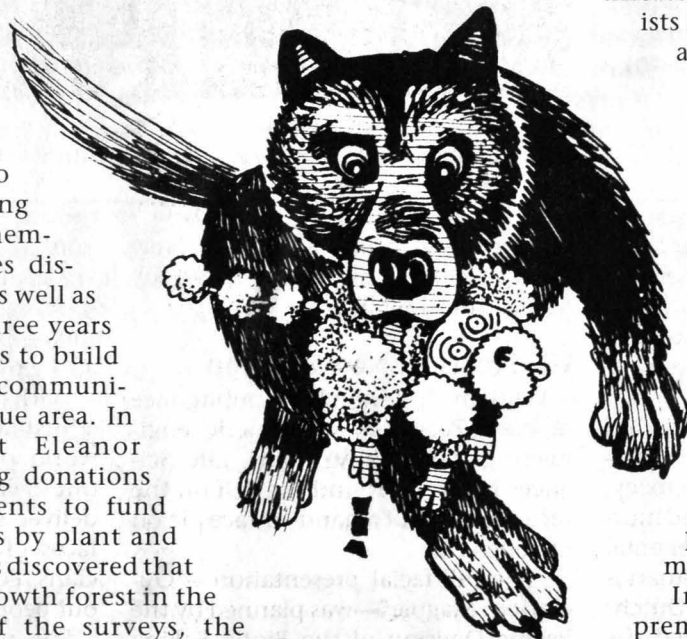
held in 1991. A wolf hybrid slowly recovering from a case of suburbanitis to the McCoy and Hiller families of Boulder, Colorado, for not turning in a kitty-killing cougar. Greg McCoy attempted to retrieve little Oreo, his daughter's cat, from the jaws of the cougar. He was set straight by a "fist with four nails in it" across the cheek.

The big cat ran off with its meal, but it reappeared the next day in the backyard of McCoy's neighbors, the Hillers. Nine-year-old Emily Hiller was eating toast with peanut butter when she glanced out the kitchen window to see the cougar devouring a deer carcass. Rather than freak-out and call wildlife control officials, the families chose to enjoy this rare gift. Even McCoy, minus a kitty and bleeding from the head, said, "We choose to live in their backyard, so we have got to put up with them."

A poodle licking George Bush's ass to the Sierra Club's Executive Board of Directors for trying to silence its Glen Canyon chapter for speaking out against the war on Iraq. In December, Carl Pope, the executive poodle,

threatened to remove the Utah activists from its regional ruling board and disband the group. A Sierra Club spokesman explained the hierarchy of the organization: "There is only one Sierra Club, and when the group comes up with a position, that is going to be the position the members have to honor."

A poodle whose brain is attached to a detonator to the Army's 73rd Engineer Company at Fort Lewis, Washington, who used 250 pounds of explosives to fell more than 100 Douglas fir trees. In November, under the premise of ecological management, explosives were strapped to the trunk of each tree and blown up. The purpose was to make firing, sightlines and mobility paths for the infantrymen's training area.



# Bananarchy In Action

## The Biotic Baking Brigade Strikes Again!

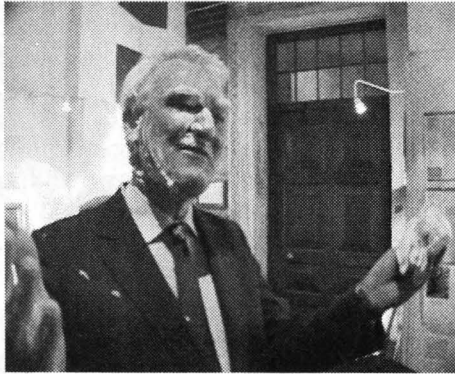
### Banana Creme in Boston

During a book signing at the Boston Public Library on October 4, the Biotic Baking Brigade's Agent Boston Creme delivered a banana-cream flavored review directly to the author Thomas Friedman. Friedman is a well-known newspaper columnist who is notorious

for promoting free market globalization and US supremacy. Twice a week, his essays appear in the *New York Times*, extolling the US government's leadership, magnanimity and generosity. Somehow, he always neglects to mention that US foreign policy supports oppressive, dictatorial

regimes. Or that the implementation of his beloved free market economic theories causes bitter poverty, environmental destruction and strong anti-American sentiment all over the world.

Although Agent Boston Creme was apprehended, he managed to emerge uncharged with any crime.



Payback time for Sir Mark Moody Stuart

photo courtesy UK Independentia

HSBC Holdings, a giant banking and holding company that played a key role in laundering money to the late Nigerian military dictator, General Sani Abacha. HSBC Holdings was caught laundering money again in September, this time in Spain.

Two commandantes from the Greenwash Guerrillas welcomed Stuart with a generous helping of creme pie and a full tub of "greenwash."

"In light of the unethical activities of the companies [he is involved with], it looked

Research in its transgenic servicing of the controversial Waikato dairy herd; pushing for dismissal of public and scientific concerns; milking public hopes for medical wonder-drugs; and for general attempts to turn bull into cream for human consumption. Now that the tables are turned, the GE industry cannot wipe its face clean anymore."

The pie was ordered especially to fit the particular requirements of the target. Ingredients included: cow byproducts, GE plant-derived oil and starches, spices, emulsifiers and preservatives.

Rolleston is just one of several apologists from the GE industry who has been targeted by the international pastry uprising for crimes against truth, language, democracy and nature.

The BBBPD has recently established a network of locally owned organic bakeries throughout New Zealand. It has links to 48 divisions internationally and has successfully inserted recipes into more than 1,500 recipe books in eight different languages.

It is better to pie on your feet  
than to live on your knees  
—the Biotic Baking Brigade

### Greenwash Pie in Picadilly

On October 9, Sir Mark Moody Stuart, who recently facilitated the complete sell-out of the World Summit for Sustainable Development to big business interests, arrived at a panel discussion at the St. James Church in Picadilly, England, to find dessert there waiting for him.

Stuart's resume drips with blood from South African apartheid and its continuing legacy of white supremacy, plundering the environment and murdering nine Nigerian environmental and political activists in 1995. Stuart is the former chairman of Royal Dutch/Shell, and he recently ascended the throne of the world's largest diamond mining empire: Anglo American. Stuart's credentials also include serving as the director of Accenture and

like Stuart's veneer of greenwash was wearing a bit thin. We thought it'd be a good idea to give him a quick touch up," one of the guerrillas explained. They dispatched their gifts and fled into the night, chuckling heartily.

### GE Treats in New Zealand

William Rolleston, the public face of New Zealand's pro-genetic engineering (GE) lobby group, Life Sciences Network, found himself on the receiving end of a hand-to-face pie on October 14.

The full-facial presentation—"Operation: Magpie"—was planned by the Pacific Division of the Biotic Baking Brigade (BBBPD).

Special Agent Puha, who delivered the pie, said: "He was pied for a number of offenses, including support of Ag

### Speaking Pie to Power

The worldwide pastry resistance is on the rise. Diverse in philosophy and targets, diffuse in geography and structure, the clandestine bakers' movement is comprised of freedom-loving people with a sense of aplomb and gastronomics.

With unwavering aim and a vision of a just and ecologically sustainable world, pie-slinging agents with the Biotic Baking Brigade will continue to deliver sweet bits of justice into the faces of corporate executives, politicians, economists and those who sell out people and the planet.

For more information, contact Friends of the BBB, POB 40130, San Francisco, CA 94140; [bbb@asis.com](mailto:bbb@asis.com); [www.asis.com/~agit-prop/bbb](http://www.asis.com/~agit-prop/bbb); [www.dessertstorm.org](http://www.dessertstorm.org).



# Armed with Visions

*Clear as cut Glass and Just as Dangerous*

It's Never too Late to Do Nothing  
(thanks to Allen Ginsberg for the inspiration)

It's never too late to do nothing  
It's never too late to not shop  
It's never too late not to buy one damned thing  
It's never too late to let the cash registers stop

It's never too late to let the fields go back to seed  
It's never too late to not breed  
It's never too late to not get in the car and not drive  
It's never too late to just survive

You know, it's never too late to let the machines go to rust  
It's never too late to let the pipes just naturally bust  
It's never too late to end our consumption  
It's never too late to have a good economic depression

It's never too late to let the economy go completely broke  
It's never too late to let industrial growth go up in smoke  
It's never too late to let the infrastructure collapse  
It's never too late to root for the apocalypse

No, it's never too late to do nothing  
It's never too late to not do one destructive thing  
It's never too late to let entropy rise  
It's never too late to let industrial dominance die

It's never too late to do nothing  
It's never too late to let syphilization just rot  
It's never too late to let the biosphere grow back over us  
After all, it's the only one we've got

No, it's never too late to do nothing  
It's never too late to do nothing

—Dwight Worker



Truly Blessed

Glorious golden sun  
pokes and prods at my eyelids  
whispering to awake  
another majestic day  
Below milk white mist  
tinged with the reflection  
tenderly touches the yawning forest  
Nature's morning breath breeze  
sweet as honey  
to my tantalized senses  
Varying shades of green  
raise their arms to embrace this magical beauty  
I climb to the top of my perch  
reaching in to the heavens  
raising my hands in absolute adoration  
to the spiritual wonderment of Creation

—Julia Butterfly Hill

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*Send Poems to: Warrior Poets Society, POB 14501, Berkeley, CA 94712-5501*



The Wright Stuff

Love it or leave it the Rednecks say & I'm all roots  
 & getting redder here at Cloud Acre looking south to Lone Cone.  
 Willow buds thick in the highway barrow ditch.  
 Late spring Asparagus & bottle blue Iris.

Each night listening for the arpeggio whistle of  
 Wilson Snipe wings as they do the loop-to-loop  
 Keeping us Mosquito free amid  
 The irrigated wetlands of Maverick Draw.

In my own kept fields a volunteer orchard of summer  
 Sour Cherry & 27 fall varieties of heirloom seed Potatoes  
 Desiree. Ozette. Rose Finn Apple. Winters it's Sirius  
 Snapping at Orion's heel on a rip across the milky night sky.

What better place to call Home  
 Than this high desert cloud mesa wrong turn  
 Rippling of the continental plates before they slap down  
 Fanning toward the Coast?

Let others take the Plains. The Great Basin. The indolent  
 Urban grids where most our species thrives.  
 Give me raw rock. Mountains. Impossible cliffs.  
 Cedar Piñon. Sage & the silvery blue Juniper.

Give me vistas free of rooflines.  
 Whole counties without stoplights.  
 Give me sun in the window.  
 Water in the pond.

What works for the Wolf  
 Works for me. Food in the winter.  
 Range to roam in & miles & miles of  
 The more than human always wild.

—Art Goodtimes

Aisles Where the Dead Sleep

You call them roads  
 I call them  
 Aisles where the dead sleep,  
 You call it independent freedom  
 I call it a casualty.  
 Oil and concrete  
 Pack quite a punch  
 Will quench the food chain.

Fur matted into blood bone absence  
 The green roadsides are emptying,  
 Aisles where the dead sleep  
 Take us from driveway to driveway.

—Jenny McBride





# dear shit for brains:

continued from page 3

Dear SFB,

Greetings! I have been dwelling in an ancient redwood named "Everlasting Life" on the northwest coast in Humboldt County, California for six months without touching the ground.

There was a 13-13-13 action recently: 13 womyn in 13 trees for 13 days in honor of the 13 moons of a year. Treesits popped up overnight in the Freshwater grove—where Remedy and I sit. So many beautiful sisters and brothers (ground support, outreach, etc.) participated that continue to do so in the struggle against Maxxam/Pacific Lumber's unsustainable logging practices and 17-year massacre of the ecosystem, as well as the subsequent trauma and displacement of all species of life

from humyns (both community members and loggers) to wild animals to plant life.

Although we have lots of people willing and able to act in whatever way they can, the forest is still in need. Any kind of help is immensely appreciated: donations of organic vegetarian food, water, climbing gear, treesit building materials, tarps, warm clothing, blankets, love, the actual treesitting itself and/or volunteering to do ground support.

Maxxam/Pacific Lumber continues to ignore a "stay" order issued by Judge Golden of Humboldt County court, but all hope is not lost. When the law does not work, we go above and beyond... literally! And that is why we sit in trees!

For more info., call (707) 826-6598 or (707) 443-3663.

Action is the antidote to despair! In solidarity and love,

—WREN

Dear SFB,

I am a fellow wanderer that is not necessarily lost.

I read and reread your article in *Earth First!* on direct

me—I too applied them to our internal worlds and how we are daily fighting outside colonization and we are assimilating and we are accepting new ideas as we would accept immigrants...

A long time ago I read a book: *The Parable of the Tribes*

by Albert Schmoekler.

Incredible. Also about colonization—about what a tribe can do when an outside tribe is invading... It might supplement your current ideas on this stuff.

If there is anyway I can help with what you do or get involved, please let me know—I have been sharing your article with my friends and colleagues who insist on direct action and organizing and stuff, but they have a very narrow view of what it is to really change ideas... The book on the tipping point is one I need to read ASAP.

Thanks for your work—thanks for being a collective. Thanks for such a refreshing article.

Cheers!

—TANUJA JAGERNAUTH

TANUJA-DEVI@LYCOS.COM

Dear Shift Yur Braids,

With all due respect to Patrick Reinsborough and the other writers of "Direct Action at the Points of Assumption," there's nothing new there. All those things are going on in the movement and more. The piece sounds like an exercise in elite activist psycho babble. Yackety yak. They even point to the points where much of the noted action is happening. If they think there needs to be more (don't we all?), why don't they just say it and get back to work. That piece sounds like feeding time at the academy! Maybe if Reinsborough spent

more time answering his mail and less time jawing about what everybody already knows (except newcomers, of course), we might get more done around this scary ass society. I guess movement "leaders" need their ink regardless, right?

—ACORN

Dear SFB,

Nice synchronicity, if it wasn't intentional, between the Samhain cover and the article by Bell, Cookson, Hogue and Reinsborough inside. In pre-industrial Western traditions, the pentagram symbolizes the five elements of natural magic and alchemy, and those same five elements can be used as a cognitive tool to understand the article's five points of direct action.

The point of destruction would be Earth: the hard, on-the-ground realities of the global devastation set in motion by industrial society. The point of consumption is Water: the receptive and passive element, deeply linked to the emotions. The point of decision is Fire: the power of the will. The point of assumption is Air: the element of intellect and image. The point of possibility, finally, is Spirit: the undefined and undifferentiated, from which all other factors emerge.

The old magical lore has it that one important pattern of flow runs from Spirit to Air, to Fire, to Water and finally to Earth.

No accident that a lot of the most effective environmental campaigns have followed this course, first creating a vision of possibility, then using it to shape assumptions that affect decisions and finally changing habits of consumption and ecological damage with the momentum already gained. No accident, equally, that mainstream environmental groups have been able to do so little; they have yet to offer a vision of possibility noticeably different from the industrial culture they

overgrow the government.



artwork by Breakfast and Jessica Gully

action at the various points. I feel like I have been doused with some kind of really cold beverage. Thanks.

I am a former pre-epidemiology student—my focus used to be on public health and the media and education. Now I work in Chicago at the YWCA doing sexual violence prevention education and various political things. But epidemiology appealed to me in that it was the study of diseases, their distribution and their prevention. It is a field that still grasps me. I so appreciate the application of epidemiology to activism and social change in general.

Also, I love the application of decolonization to changing thought. I started reading Frantz Fanon several months ago, and his ideas on decolonization really got to

# Letters to the editors

claim to oppose and end up co-opted by the mythology of progress that drives the whole wretched system.

The other relationships that flow around the magical pentagram can also be worked out in the article's terms, but I won't belabor that here. More to the point, this may show one way in which magical lore from the pre-industrial West, and from other traditional and indigenous societies as well, can be used as mental monkeywrenches in the present crisis of the Earth. As Bell, Cookson, Hogue and Reinsborough point out, there's no way to change the system except by changing the thinking that makes the system inevitable. The old lore can help us do that.

—JOHN MICHAEL GREER

Dear Shit for Brains,

Sprung's article, "Wildfire Fights the Class War" (see *EF!J* September-October 2002), was, in spots, more enthusiastic than true. "Little sympathy was roused in the mainstream when wild areas were developed for the enjoyment of 34 million, mostly white, urban escapees and rural recluses," Sprung wrote, adding, "So far, three billion dollars have been spent this year to save expensive homes..."

I live in Oregon's Cascade Range. I make about \$4,000 a year cleaning houses for old folks out here fighting death. My neighbors are loggers and retired enlisted—ignorant poor white trash and very lucky cannon fodder. The poverty here is Appalachian. Blue tarps over the roof to keep out the rain. Crumbling plasterboard mobile homes. A majority of this town of 175 is on food stamps. And for the fewer and fewer kids here, graduating from high school means joining the military because not only do you come out not knowing a damn thing, but because there is nothing else to do.

Almost all of rural Oregon is like this. And almost everyone in rural Oregon was scared shitless by last Summer's wildfires. Sprung, would you want your house to burn down? Even a shitty shack? Should we all live in cities with cameras on every street corner and noise and violence and fear and traffic and air that can kill you? Because that's the reality. Some folks prefer not having to look mean all day. Some folks feel sick in cities. Some do not even feel right unless they can grow their own food supply. And a few (even the pot-growing, republican, atheist homeschoolers down my street) suspect urban-suburban life is just highly-organized knuckling under. The idea that the firefighters are out here, lackeys saving mansions—it's just not true.

—KAT CATTAIL

Dear SFB,

The *Earth First! Journal* makes some hefty assumptions about its readers. Please print more about Deep Ecology and less about prisoners, Huntingdon Life Sciences and other animal rights activities, and the anti-globalization movement.

What gets me to pick up the *Journal* is that it's allegedly about the Earth.

Some of the arenas the *EF!J* strays into are turn-offs. I'm not an anarchist, I don't oppose globalization and I'm not anti-capitalism. I love the Earth, period. That's all you can assume about me. The *Journal* occasionally bears resemblance to one of those lefty pseudo-radical rags for middle class white kids who

eat out of dumpsters just to show their people back in the suburbs that they can. It's that tendency within the *EF!J*, and in the movement, that sometimes has me reach for *Wild Earth* instead of the *EF!J*.

The publication quality of the *Journal* is excellent. I would, however, like to see the *Journal* contain more info for newcomers and acknowledgment that in different parts of the country "no compromise" activism looks different than in other parts. And please, just stick to the Earth.

Sincerely,

—AYELET HINES

Dear SFB,

Please cancel my subscription to *Earth First! Journal*. After reading a few issues, I find the *Journal* to be more about social issues and not as much about environmental issues. I'm probably a throwback, but I have little interest in reading two whole pages of people griping that their articles were edited and then having the editors essentially grovel for exercising normal editing

Hello Earth First!ers,

I've always been an Earth First! sympathizer, an armchair Earth First!er. Leave nature alone, I always say, nature knows best how to manage itself; nature even made us, after all (perhaps not a moment to be proud of in the history of evolution).

I always tell people that we humans are not at all qualified for the job of being the stewards of evolution or Earth management. Look what we've done! Appoint the far and away most major predator that ever lived to manage *life*? Insanity is everywhere. We may even be the harbingers of the destruction of all vertebrates, as you suggest in your website, which I only read just now.

Speaking of your website, it is so powerful that I was moved to tears reading it. The way you worded things was just so right. I've never had a good way of telling people why to preserve the natural nature everywhere, even removing the human impact from nature that's currently being suffocated. But

you were able to speak to that in an inspirational way. I'm going to print your pages out and try to get everyone I know to read them. I noticed that the pages I read were dated 1998 or so. No matter. The points you make get truer every day. The whole issue of human impact

is beyond all proportion. And there is no other issue of any importance by comparison.

I wish all of you big-hearted folks a long life and an influential one. I know there's been a recent human death in the northern woods, while

*continued on next page*



procedures, all because of the ethnicity of the writer. What the heck does any of that have to do with wilderness? There's some good stuff in there, but a lot that really doesn't interest me. Thanks.

Hayduke Lives!,

—RICHARD TRUMP



# dear shit for brains:

*continued from previous page*  
protesting the lumbering. Whoever he was, he's a hero. His protest stood for millions of people, like me, who weren't there. It's activists like him and you who bring about the treasured social changes that we all need and look forward to. You who struggle uncompromisingly and speak for Life on Earth are among the very few protecting it. Without you, what chance does it have? The rest of us either support your efforts or sacrifice the lives of our grandchildren—and those of most animals—on the altar of "success." (It used to be called "progress." By any other name, it smells the same.)

Please accept my check for one first-class subscription to the *Journal*. At least it will sit here in this church for many people to look over.

In process,

—FLORENCE WINDFALL

THE FELLOWSHIP OF HUMANITY

Dear EF,

A common question is: Where will all our struggles end up? The tendency is to answer with a utopian picture. There are a number of theories as to how we will function in the future. Stop over-consumption so we can restore some of the natural order.

*So the Earth and all living things may flourish for their own sake once again.*

It only confuses people to paint too rosy a picture. It makes people think the movement is dishonest in its goals. It also causes people to think we can build a movement without being committed to hard work and sacrifice *now*. The movement needs hard work

and so will the future. We need to expect and accept less. That means giving up money, time and labor. Some people understand this and make great sacrifice. Others pay lip service.

Who will set the terms of how we will struggle against the power? An example of the enemy setting the terms: 1,500 people marched peacefully down the sidewalk and rallied in a park. One young anarchist jumped into the road and called on people to take the streets. No one followed. Peacekeepers and even a few demonstrators heckled her. They didn't even give support when the police converged on her. The problem here is that many of these people believe that change will come from pressuring the system. This thinking of pressure and obedience is very dangerous. Instead, how about: By any means necessary, get rid of the system. We need more things like critical mass. National forms of mass disobedience. And more serious tactics.

whole system of capitalism that must be brought down. Replacing it with community. Not being sucked into situations that help them stay in power, because they give up few concessions. It is our responsibility to undermine everything that helps the system keep going.

We have to show people there is a better way. Doing sustainable living projects and teaching by example. I've seen some amazing permaculture spreading house to house—by working people, who didn't have much money and got lots of their food supply from doing it.

—FRED DAVIS

Dear SFB,

President Bush has made it clear to everyone that he intends to execute a unilateral war against Iraq on fabricated evidence of "weapons of mass destruction." This has nothing to do with Saddam Hussein or terrorism. It is a war for Iraq's oil fields.

Any war in the Middle East will cause horrific environmental devastation. In the last (very brief) war in 1991, the US managed to blow out and burn oil wells and terminals that spilled millions of gallons of crude oil onto land and sea and sent plumes of toxic fumes half way

around the world. Southern Iraq was turned into a radioactive wasteland—where hundreds of thousands of Iraqi people still live—contaminating it forever with tons of depleted uranium dust from US armor-piercing bullets and shells. President Bush has made it clear that this war will be a

"fight to the finish" to topple Saddam Hussein and put a dictator into power who is friendly to the US. Thus it's likely to be an intense, sustained war, with far more environmental and infrastructural destruction.

We must stop this war against Iraq... but how?

Here's how: We can disrupt the infrastructure that supports the war, without physically harming anyone.

1. We must make the Army, Navy and Air Force bases unusable. 2. We must shut down the industries that make the weapons of war. 3. We must shut down the industries that feed the war machine with fuel and food.

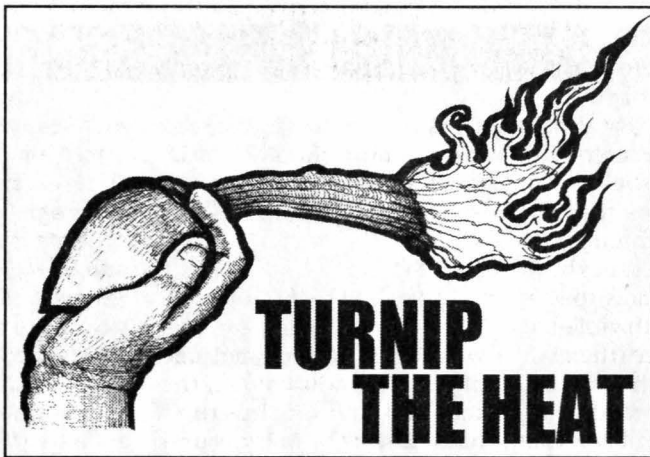
Cut their power and communication lines. Cut their microwave and radar tower lines. Remove the rails to their freight yards. Weld their gates shut (thermite). Weld their freight cars to the rails (thermite). Shut their water, gas and oil lines and break off the handles. Stop their sewer lines. Add honey and sugar to fuel and food trucks destined for military bases. Zap their computers and disks, if you can get access to them. Fill their email servers with billions of blocks of spam (from public computers, not your own!). Take out their web servers with web test load tools (from public computers, not your own!). Hack and crack their websites. Post peace messages (from public computers, not your own!).

Start Now!

Do your research on public computers. Leave no traces. Watch for cameras. In actions, wear dust masks, rubber gloves and throwaway clothing. Burn them. Leave no traces. Watch for cameras.

Watch out! They are armed and dangerous! They have night scopes that can see you clearly at night! They have Internet-snooping tools listening all the time!

—THE MIDNIGHT MECHANIC



A major problem—and it is strong inside the movement—are issues of racism, sexism and homophobia. We must begin to talk seriously about what to do to change our thinking and the thinking of others.

Whenever possible, we should be clear that it is the

# letters to the editors

To Whom It May Concern:

I am writing to you to ask your organization to take up the cause of the Snowy Plover in Humboldt County, California.

Clam Beach, Moonstone Beach, Centerville Beach and many others are nesting grounds for the Snowy Plover. Vehicles are still allowed on the beaches. They are prohibited from the dry sand and dunes, but no one pays attention to that. The off-roaders plow right through the dunes and smash the Snowy Plover nests, killing the babies.

Our local government, in their infinite wisdom, has posted informational signs for the public, advising them to stay off the dunes to protect the Snowy Plover. These signs have frequently been run over and used for firewood. The beaches are full of "partiers" on the weekends when *drunk* off-roaders plow through the dunes and the bird nests.

The beaches need to be blocked off from all vehicle traffic. Until they are, the Snowy Plover will never recover in our area.

Thank you for your attention to this sad situation.

Sincerely,

—MARA RIGGE

PS: Just a side-note for you: I used to be a cop.

When I was a cop, I was secretly rooting for the treesitters and the nonviolent protesters at the logging mills. (I don't think I was the only one.)

Cops are not Earth First's enemy, trust me. It is the establishment and the "good ol' boys" who are still running the government. Cops just have to enforce the old, crusty laws.

But thanks to civil disobedience and to people who are willing to go to jail for a noble cause, things are changing for the better.

Dear SFB,

At a recent protest of an inhumane circus I found myself in an extended state of reflection. Among the mostly positive responses by the multitudes passing by were also the standard "Get a life" and "Get a job" rants. I have heard many people say these things to me before, despite being a teacher of first through third grades, but this time I decided to remain open to the attitudes of some of the mainstream culture. Normally, I would engage a defense mechanism such as denouncing the hecklers as ignorant rednecks.

What is it that makes some people so opposed to the efforts of Earth activists? Why is it they can be so angry about other's views, as well as the so-called democratic process? As I reflect, I don't think the answers are as obvious as I once assumed. Maybe mainstream America really does have a right to be angry—it's just a matter of who or what should that anger be addressed toward.

The common rhetoric after 9-11-01 claims that the country has been brought together. It seems at times however, that America is split as to how to deal with violence. Do we fight or flee (the male responses)? Earth activism could be conceived as being unpatriotic. It's probable that every time Bob sees any form of protest or disruption, that he views it as anti-American despite the actual message being sent.

It's time for Americans to paint the red stripes green. It's also time for activists to recognize the change taking place. The activists in the world are no longer

perimeter players. We are teachers, lawyers, doctors, politicians, etc. The movement for green will only get stronger with our diversity. Work for Mother Earth is not a choice anymore, it is a "job" and a "life" that is required of us all.

The *Earth First! Journal* is great. Keep up the outstanding work. Also, who cares if there

upon and inject with venom.

Lunchtime came and the floating sphere was forgotten as my driver and I went to the patient dining room for a single slice of pizza and a cup of coffee.

At one o'clock, we returned to our previous sunny spot in the courtyard, where I again observed the white shining orb circling about on eddies of the December breeze. I snagged it out of the air with my right hand, which caused it to break in two.

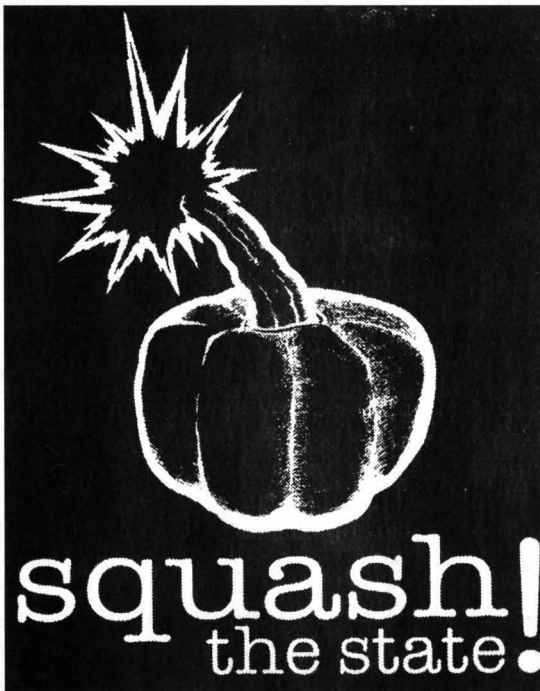
Examination revealed it to be a milkweed seed in its wind carrying cottony fluff. I stood up and blew the two pieces of the fluff as high into the air as my breath would allow. My driver and I then watched as the two airborne pieces of the milkweed fluff slowly gained speed and altitude as they headed directly into the 20-foot-high block wall surrounding the courtyard.

Just before smacking into the wall, an updraft of warm air caught the first segment of fluff bearing the little black seed, propelling it through the coils of razor wire atop the high block wall and ferried it to the outside where it might find fertile soil and a chance to generate a new life.

The second section of cotton-like fluff circled away from the wall and climbed toward the sun, clearing the opposite wall and headed for whatever lies beyond the confines of the state hospital.

Oh, to be just like that fluff enshrouded seed and to fly away too!

—NORMAN HUBBS



artwork by Breakfast and Str

are some editing mistakes, the content should be the focus anyway.

—JACOB BAILEY

Dear SFB,

Today, as I soaked up mid-Winter sunshine on the warmer, wind-sheltered side of the main courtyard at the state hospital for the criminally insane, a fuzzy round ball the size of a walnut and with a tiny black dot in the middle swirled around my wheelchair before settling to the ground.

My friend Dennis, who pushes my wheelchair and is my driver, was afraid of the fluffy white orb, believing it to be a parachute spider looking for a victim to light



# Wild Bioregionalists Converge in Kansas



BY HOLLY WREN SPAULDING

In early October, the eighth Continental Bioregional Congress (CBC) gathered on the Flint Hills of Kansas, site of the North America's largest, native tall-grass prairie.

The bioregionalist movement is made up of a wonderful, but in many cases graying, array of people who are deeply committed to paying attention to what the industrialized world is doing. Bioregionalists are visionaries, cultural creatives, radical ecologists and folks certain of the need to forego anthropocentric monoculture. Instead, bioregionalists strive for a way of being and acting in the world that embraces all species and the Earth by joining ecology and sociology through geography.

Having been invited to the gathering by Stephanie Mills, a long-time writer and shaker from the now 20-year-old movement, I went to the heartland to learn more. Stephanie uses words like "Moloch" to describe what we must resist and replace with alternatives that are more imaginative, biologically diverse and self-reliant. She speaks of the movement's goal of devolving from the construct of nation states and moving toward bioregions based on land forms, natural systems, biota, watersheds, coastlines, elevations and common relations with all species.

In the words of Peter Berg, one of the movement's foremost thinkers, bioregions are "a decentralized, self-determined mode of social organization; a culture predicated

upon biological entities and acting in respectful accord; and a society that honors and abets the spiritual development of its members."

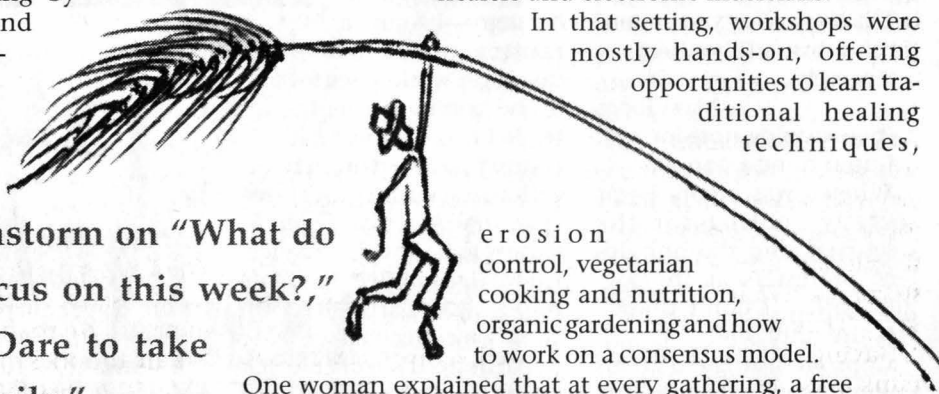
Many bioregionalists are anxious for the lucidity of the movement to infect the discourse of the rest of society. I have spent my time since the CBC asking the question: How do we cross-pollinate, mentor and broaden the impact of all the good things that we have learned over the course of the organized bioregional project?

## Action vs. Talk

Mainly from the US, but with a sturdy contingent from Mexico and others from Costa Rica and Canada, we came together to share stories, tactics, concerns, hopes. From dawn until the moon had fully risen, I had conversations of the sort that change your life. But some of us squirmed, wondering to each other if we should be organizing ourselves to do more actual "skill sharing." I, for one, would have jumped at the opportunity to build a straw bale structure or living machine.

The CBC equivalent in Mexico is the *Consejo de Visiones Guardianes de la Tierra*. Known as Vision Councils, seven have taken place since the movement went south in the mid-1990s. An April *consejo* in Chiapas drew 1,500 people from around Latin America, including urban punks, indigenous Mayans and Aztecs, permaculturists, hippies, healers and electronic musicians.

In that setting, workshops were mostly hands-on, offering opportunities to learn traditional healing techniques,



During a brainstorm on "What do we want to focus on this week?,"

Helen says: "Dare to take direct action daily."

erosion control, vegetarian cooking and nutrition, organic gardening and how to work on a consensus model.

One woman explained that at every gathering, a free clinic staffed by local and movement healers is offered. Once the word is out, it is not uncommon for families of 11 to come over the hills at midnight, looking to be healed.

It was evident that these people are motivated to take control of their lives, address needs and see the connection between themselves and the ecosystems in which they live.

Meanwhile, at the CBC, our bodies betrayed an uneasy inertia: We were too often seated, talky. Though the camp was peopled with inventors, workers and bountiful ideas

based on grounded experience, many of us, especially "the youth" as we were called, agitated for a more street-level approach to addressing the crisis.

Despite being surrounded by many smart older people with long histories of involvement in the movement, I found myself asking, "Where are the elders?" For me, this term connotes someone who understands the value of being in relationships with younger generations. It is dependent on listening and being open to the possibility that a Black Bloc-er, street punk or anarchist may have worthy critiques and vision as well.

The would-be elders in our midst cannot abdicate responsibility in these hard times. I have less and less tolerance for healthy, robust people who have "done their time in the trenches" and are taking it easy, figuring we'll keep up the fight without them. I believe this is a cultural phenomena based on class and white skin privilege, which supports the misguided notion that there is an "option" to check out, when, clearly, this is no time for backing down.

This is not to say that incredible things aren't being undertaken, probably by everyone in the group. I was especially interested in the eco-village movement throughout the hemisphere, as well as other projects aimed at local autonomy and sustainable living in urban and rural settings around the country. Still, we need to guard against marginalization, to talk across differences and to regularly challenge our respective comfort zones.

## Asking Questions

Helen, a middle-aged woman from the US, lives in her adopted bioregion of Mexico City where she works with the *Juventud Antiautoritaria Revolucionaria* (JAR, Anti-Authoritarian and Revolutionary Youth). During a brainstorm on "What do we want to focus on this week?," she says: "Dare to take direct action daily."

Having spoken to this need as well, Chiwy, a Mexican punk asks me, "What do you mean by direct action? Do you mean, like breaking windows?" The patches on his jacket say, "Freedom lives when the state dies." Another one: "*Resistencia Existe*." He is gentle, wants to know what I think. I have to work on my words and definitions, especially in this venue where everything said in councils or workshops is being translated into English and Spanish. Chiwy and I make do with a clumsy Spanglish. It is hard, but the important thing is that we are asking each other questions.

He lives in Mexico City, population 25 million. Averaged out, each resident produces nearly three pounds of garbage per day. He is working on an urban recycling program to compost organic waste. He and others from JAR believe in acting immediately to solve problems. For them, punk is not a fashion, it is a constant struggle for freedom and self-determination that is realized when they reclaim urban spaces, diversify their survival skills and work with others to create the world they wish to live in, despite tough odds.

## Living the Struggle

At breakfast one morning, Alice Kidd, a bioregional activist and wise woman from British Columbia, Canada, sits down beside me. We are talking about fear, risks, friends who have done time and the cost of living a life of struggle. "It's a war, there will be casualties," she says, somewhat matter of factly. For some reason, I am soothed. It is another case of letting down some degree of resistance and seeing the situation for what it is: There is work to be done, and I have to do it.

## Taking a Stand

The morning before I leave Kansas, it is announced that the US Congress has given Bush the power to wage war on Iraq. One of the week's impressive translators and facilitators, Bea Briggs, kneels with her laptop in the middle of our outdoor circle to read an anti-war poem by Robert Bly. Line by line

it is translated into Spanish by Fabio: "Every day we steal from ourselves/ knowledge gained over 2,000 years." Some of us lean toward new and old friends, cry, bow our heads.

The following morning, Fabio brings me a small piece of lined paper, with news that he has not been able to sleep. On it, he has written a declaration against war which says in part, "We wish for the US to have a 'real democracy'... We are the ones that get killed first, the simple citizens." As a Mexican, he wants the CBC, as a more legitimate congress of the people, to make a statement against the war. He is trembling with concern, tiredness, love.

We are getting ready to go home. Stephanie rises and takes out a kazoo to play a few notes: "The time is ripe and so are we," she proclaims to all who have made it to the morning circle, and as ever, this is true.

Holly Wren Spaulding works with Sweetwater Alliance in the upper Great Lakes bioregion. She also teaches poetry to kids and does independent media work.

**For some reason, I am soothed. It is another case of letting down some degree of resistance and seeing the situation for what it is: There is work to be done, and I have to do it.**





# Death on the

BY DOUG ISRAEL

After more than 100 million years of existence, leatherback sea turtles are currently facing their greatest challenge. In recent years, these amazing creatures have been hooked, killed and driven to the brink of extinction by the longline fishing fleets that comb the oceans in search of swordfish and tuna.

As the globalization of industrial fishing threatens both sea turtles and other marine species, it is also beginning to unravel the complex web of life that took millions of years to evolve.

"Industrial fishing fleets have become weapons of mass destruction," implores Todd Steiner, director of the Sea Turtle Restoration Project (STRP). "In order to supply a growing global demand for swordfish and tuna, the commercial fishing industry, and the retailers that supply its products, are rapidly wiping out the endangered leatherback from the world's oceans."

## Globalizing the Oceans

The presence of huge industrial fishing boats ravaging our oceans has greatly expanded. This expansion has caused a

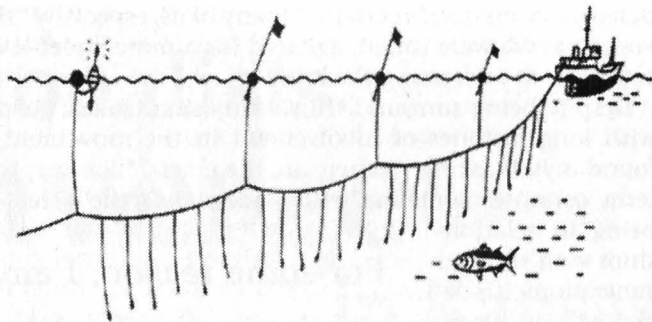


Scientists display the largest sea turtle ever recorded.

decline in fish stocks, a decrease in global food security and an increase in the number of marine species that are being caught and killed by fishing lines and nets. This "bykill" of non-targeted marine species is being driven by consumers in the US, Japan and Europe who demand fresh swordfish and sashimi, among other unsustainably caught seafood.

Once an abundant species, the population of Pacific leatherback sea turtles has dropped dramatically during the last 20 years. According to scientific data presented by Dr. James Spotilla at the Pacific Leatherback Survival Conference held in Monterey, California in April 2002, there were an estimated 91,000 nesting females swimming in the Pacific Ocean in the 1980s. Now, there are less than 4,000. At Mexiquillo, historically one of Mexico's most important beaches for nesting, only four leatherbacks returned to nest this year—down from the thousands that came only 15 years ago.

"The dramatic decrease in the number of nesting females returning signals a severe crash in the population of



# High Seas

leatherbacks and warrants immediate action if we are to save the leatherback from what appears to be imminent extinction," warns Steiner.

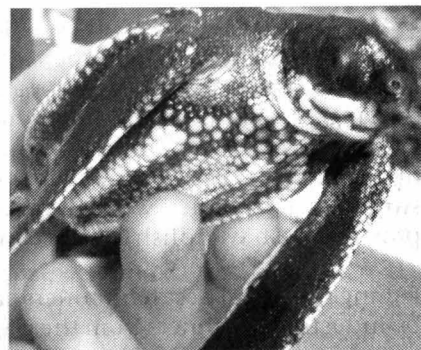
Saving these majestic turtles is not going to be easy. While the type of fishing we are talking about—industrial longlining—happens out of sight and out of mind, it is still problematic. And while efforts to protect endangered sea turtles have been met with some success, the liberalization of free trade has caused headaches for turtles and activists. This was brought to the world's attention in November 1999, when protesters banded together in turtle costumes to protest the World Trade Organization's impact on laws intended to protect sea turtles from the nets of shrimp boats. The battle to require "turtle excluder devices" on shrimp boats is still being fought, and it may reach the US Supreme Court in the near future.

The indiscriminate practices that are catching and killing endangered turtles, dolphins and other marine species have become more commonplace in the industrial fishing industry as governments are increasingly subsidizing larger, more destructive boats over traditional subsistence-based fishers. The larger and more high-tech fleets can not only out compete the smaller boats for government resources, they also destroy traditional fishing grounds and are wiping out local fish stocks.

## Weapons of Mass Destruction

The industrial longline industry sets more than five million baited hooks per day (nearly two billion annually). The lines that are used in longlining are more than 30 miles in length and have 2,000 hooks on each line. With this type of heavy artillery, it is no wonder that sea turtles, sharks, marlins and dolphins are being hooked and tangled. These "landmines of the sea" cause the death of more than 40,000 marine mammals annually and countless cases of injury and shock to species that are protected in the US and internationally.

Steiner has been working to protect sea turtles for more than 15 years. One



Leatherback hatchling

of his first battles to save sea turtles was motivated by a 1989 visit to a Mexican slaughterhouse in the town of Mazunte, Oaxaca, which killed an estimated 50,000-75,000 olive ridley sea turtles per year. These turtles were mainly being used to provide hides for belts, handbags and shoes for the Japanese market.

By selling beers and soda to the staff at the Earth Island Institute, his former employer, Steiner raised funds to start the STRP and began a full-scale battle against the slaughterhouse. STRP organized protests at consulates and embassies, ran full-page ads in the *New York Times*, solicited thousands of protest letters to the president of Mexico and proved that Mexico was in violation of international wildlife treaties. With this constant pressure, STRP forced the slaughterhouse to close.

While the slaughter he witnessed in Mexico was shocking, the decline in the population of leatherback sea turtles has been equally as alarming. "The rate at which the leatherback population has plummeted is nothing short of catastrophic," argues Steiner. "If we are to bring them back from the very brink of extinction, we will need to stand up against industrial longline fishing interests."

Longlining for swordfish is recognized as the most detrimental practice to the leatherback sea turtle. These longliners often fish directly in migration pathways at a relatively shallow depth that makes the turtles susceptible to being hooked or tangled. The fleets often fish throughout the night with glow-sticks attached to their lines, consequently attracting sea turtles to the bait.

Longlining for tuna can be hazardous as well, but incidental bycatch is not as high because the fleets fish during the day. The lines are set deep enough that they don't interfere with sea turtles as frequently.

"If there were only one longline fishing boat out there, or even 100, it wouldn't be a problem. The problem is that there are literally thousands of longliners and that spells disaster," says Steiner. Current estimates peg the number of longline fishing vessels in the Pacific Ocean at close to 18,000.

## Unsustainable and Dangerous to Your Health

Swordfish has traditionally been a high-priced luxury food for seafood lovers in the US, Europe and Japan. However, this is changing with the expansion of the longline industry.

Previously, swordfish were hunted with harpoons, a highly selective method that targeted individual, mature swordfish. Harpooners were community-based fishers who provided fresh swordfish to local consumers able to pay the price associated with such a selective and sustainable fishing practice. These harpooners have now been replaced by industrial longliners from the US, Taiwan, Japan, Spain and an assortment of other countries. Not only has the

price of swordfish dropped, so has the size of the swordfish caught. Where the catch size on the typical harpoon boat was more than 200 pounds, longliners are now landing swordfish with an average weight of 95 pounds, and two out of three swordfish caught are juveniles. So while longliners are able to catch more swordfish with less effort than harpooners, the practice is less sustainable and has wreaked havoc on marine life.

In addition to this, swordfish and tuna have been found to contain high levels of methylmercury and thus present a clear danger to public health. The US Food and Drug Administration advises pregnant women, women of child-bearing age and children to not consume any swordfish, shark, mackerel or tilefish because these species have elevated levels of mercury, which can cause irreversible neurological disorders and other develop-

mental complications. For these reasons, it is imperative that consumers are made aware of the risks of swordfish consumption, as well as the impacts that longline fishing has on endangered sea turtles.

## Activists Needed

"Sea turtles are literally dying for our swordfish," proclaims Read Vanderbilt, STRP's marine species campaigner. "Retailers of seafood have a responsibility to offer choices that are sustainably harvested and do no harm to endangered species." In an effort to en-

sure the survival of leatherbacks and protect public health, STRP is calling on Red Lobster and Safeway, as well as other retailers that sell swordfish, to immediately pull the fish from their menus and seafood counters.

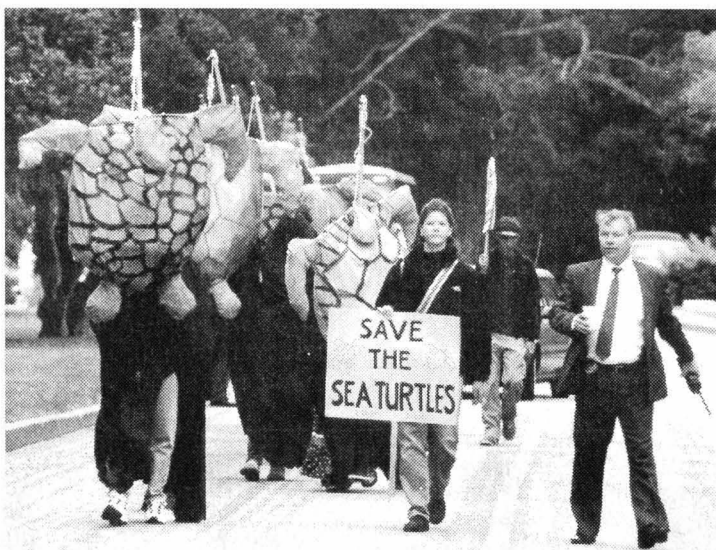
These businesses have been alerted to the impacts of longline fishing on endangered leatherbacks, in addition to the health concerns for women and children. Yet they have refused to comply with requests to halt the sale of swordfish.

In response, STRP is urging activists to demand that Red Lobster pull swordfish from its menus. Protests and demonstrations to confront individual restaurants and the Darden Corporation (which owns Red Lobster) are being planned. Your help is needed.

Currently, Red Lobster has 667 restaurants throughout the US. If it can be convinced to stop selling swordfish, then the impacts would be felt throughout the marketplace. Email your comments to Chief Executive Officer Joe R. Lee at [redlobster@redlobster.com](mailto:redlobster@redlobster.com). To find the location of the Red Lobster nearest you, visit [www.redlobster.com](http://www.redlobster.com).

For more information on how to help raise the stakes or to organize a local protest to save the leatherbacks, contact STRP, POB 400, Forest Knolls, CA 94933; (415) 488-0370; [doug@seaturtles.org](mailto:doug@seaturtles.org); [www.seaturtles.org](http://www.seaturtles.org).

*Doug Israel is an activist, writer and marine species campaigner with the Sea Turtle Restoration Project.*



STRP activists at the "Ocean Conference" in Monterey, California in April

photo courtesy Sea Turtle Restoration Project



# The Serí Coast: Where the Desert Meets the Sea

BY AGAVE

The fantastic nature of the desert: so dry, yet life flourishes. Here, there is a baring of the geological nature of the Earth. Her bones of stone and sand exposed to the endless sky, in a destined union. In most other places of the world, you only see the skin—a covering of deep green over her skeletal structure. Here, the Earth's colors—tan, brick, red-black basalt—are dusted with a mere veil of plant life. The greens sprinkled over the bare essence of this desert land vary in tone from the silvery blue of brittlebush to the glossy lushness of creosote. Lifeforms here are so varied—but alike in their tenacity for survival within a harsh land.

The sun beats down mercilessly for 300 days in the year, and rainfall measures approximately six inches annually. And the sea—for the life here that dreams of water—is a glimmering oasis. Refreshing to the skin, it is unable to ease a parched throat.

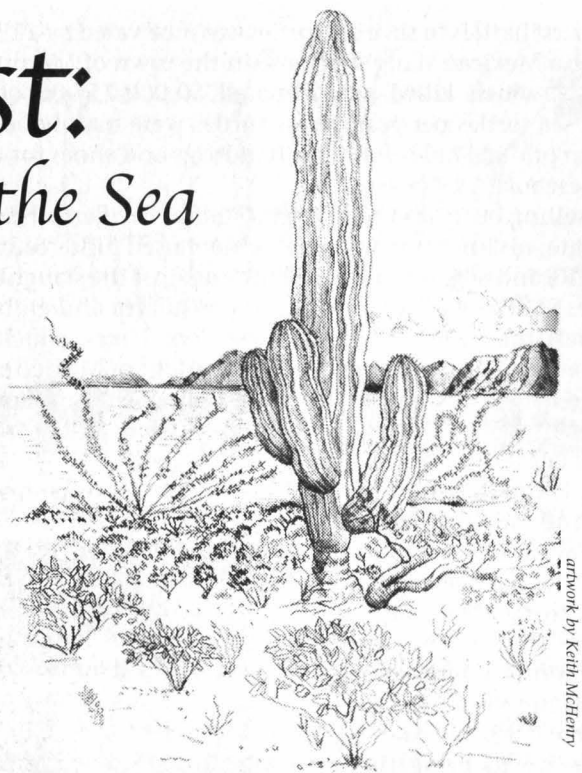
One morning, as we set out by kayak, the sun was shaded by a wisp of sea cloud, and the sea lay as smooth as glass. Really, as smooth as glass. Sheltered in the channel between the mainland and Isla Tiburón, schools of sardines flicker and twitch just beneath the surface of the water, changing direction in mysterious unison, hundreds of individuals coordinated in motion. Every once in a while the entire school breaches the surface, scores of silver flashes over the deep blue water. Are they escaping a predator in the depths: a shark, a squid? Or is their leap infused by some other fishy spirit that is incomprehensible to me?

Back on the safe, solid sanctuary of the beach, the late afternoon light is nostalgic. Dusk falls. The sea is silent. The land is silent. The waves lap where they meet, phosphorescence speckling the shallow water over the sand.

The night belongs to the beach. Isla Tiburón looms like a shadow across the channel, a dark mass that's tangible. I am standing in the dark, we are speaking with low voices. Maria Cristina is telling me about the Serí people who were taken off to Baja when they were children—a government relocation program. She clutches her hands together as she tells me how they live on the other side of the gulf and don't even know a part of their own tribe. This hurts her because it hurts them.

Her posture is erect, as all Serí spines seem to be. She wears dark, conservative clothing in the tradition of her people. She tells me how the Spaniards came, took people on their ships and cut off the men's hands. "This island cost us much blood," she says. I can't begin to understand what this means.

I ask her what she thinks about developing the pristine coast. "It would be nice," she says, almost off-handedly. This surprises me. "But we would never see any of the money." Well, that decides it, spoken with hundreds of years of experience.



The baby is now two, and he totters around eating sand. When he cries an elder sibling is there to scoop him up. The entire family visits us whenever we camp on the beach, Maria Cristina with her three daughters, her sister Teresa Carmen, Carmen's husband, Eduardo, and their baby, Eduadito. Once Teresa Carmen got stung by a scorpion, right there on the beach. Her leg swelled up, but she just made sucking sounds with her mouth and laughed, sitting down until the swelling abated. The coast here contains the highest population density of scorpions in the world.

The Seris and Mexicans must think we are exceptionally wealthy to come here and do nothing but relax. We bring clothing, tools and other items for trade. They offer us necklaces made of desert seeds, snake vertebrae and shark bones; tightly woven baskets of limberbush, dyed with native plants; and statues carved of ironwood and polished to a deep luster. Ironwood, a beautiful desert tree with grey-green leaves and purple blossoms, can live up to 800 years and is actually denser than water. The wooden dolphin figure for which I have just traded five handkerchiefs would actually sink in the ocean.

In the sea, real dolphins carve the water's surface. They tease, tempting us to join them. Another day on the kayak, my partner and I push out to the estuary. Too far to paddle the whole way, we portage across a narrow spit from the beach, crunching over beach grasses and salty succulents in seemingly endless variety. Mangrove thickets line the edges of the estuary, holes form in the sand from bubbles, bespeaking more life under the surface. If the estuary had one word, it would be life. Kingfishers, osprey, herons, sharks, dolphins, fish, sea stars, crabs and shellfish.

It is another desert day. The sun beats down, waves lap against the shore. This time we hike up into a range of low mountains, in the opposite direction from the sea. In a dry

wash, I come across two pairs of deer antlers in the crotch of a cardón cactus. They are smooth, aged by the sun. Further on we encounter an entire deer skeleton, antlers in tact. I wonder how many humans have ever seen this.

On the ridge protrudes a house, the only one for miles. Shiny glass, we can't see any activity there. We've heard different stories: a Mexican rancher, *narcotráfico*, better stay away so you don't get shot. We stay away. From this elevation you can see the land sloping down to the ocean. The water glimmers for miles and miles. There's just one road in sight. A bee hums in the quiet.

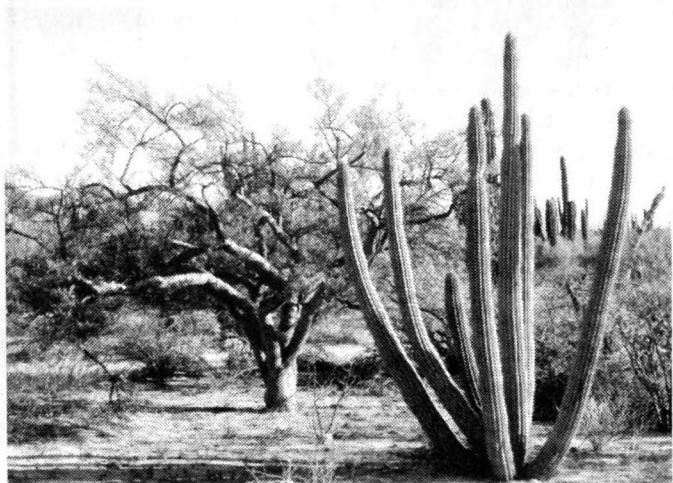
The next day on our week-long campout, the group of gringos with whom I came drives out beyond the estuary. At the end is a hill with a cross on top. Seems that every hill in Sonora has a cross on top of it—Christians have always tried to conquer everything. We park at a seasonal fishing village, the last place on the mainland to reach by car. The sand spit extends long and thin into the sea. On one side the mud flats stretch for miles. It only seems flat: when the tide comes, some areas go deep underwater, others remain shallow. I get sick of squelching through the mud and move toward a high point in the middle. What I see on the other side is amazing.

It is a different ocean—the waves larger, the water choppy, the grains of sand big and flecked with shell. Isla Tiburón ends here, the wind is driving across the open ocean toward me. Toward the end of the spit, small dunes separate each side. The hill is volcanic and taller than it seems. Cardón and pithaya cactus grace its slopes.

My friend and I are walking around the base of the hill, when we come across a whale skeleton. Vertebrae as tall as me, a pelvis I could crawl through. For some reason I am thinking about sanity and suddenly I am glad there is someone else here with me. The red-black basalt rocks contrast with the sun-whitened bones, opposites are complimentary.

We continue our circumnavigation, then I decide to strike out on my own. Of course, I head up the hill. To conquer it? I'm a little bit afraid. What will the cross on top do to me? I approach apprehensively, urinate on the ground. Then I take in the view; it is an afterthought, but striking. From this height, the ocean is pure turquoise. I finally feel at peace. I think this has got to be one of the most amazing places in the world.

*Agave makes her home in the Sonoran desert.*



*Elephant tree and organ pipe cactus*

photo by Sonja A. Diehn

## Konkaak—The People

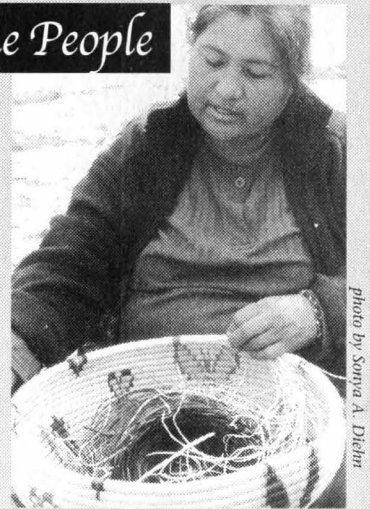
Seri is a name given by Spanish conquerors to the Konkaak, "The People." The ancestral homeland of the Seri is Isla Tiburón (Shark Island), a massive island just off the western coast of Sonora, Mexico. Tiburón is rich in wildlife and there are several large freshwater springs on the island.

The Seri were a semi-nomadic people until the middle of the 20th century. In small, elegantly constructed reed boats they traveled south down the coast as far as Guaymas and even across the Gulf of California to the Baja peninsula. In the early 1960s, the Seri were forced by the Mexican government to move from Tiburón to the mainland, where there is little access to freshwater. The Mexican government declared Tiburón a wildlife sanctuary, off-limits to everyone except the Seri and their "guests." The Mexican military is stationed on the island to watch for violators. In conjunction with the *Escalera Náutica* project, there are many developers hungry to build a bridge from the island to the mainland to increase resort speculation.

Today, the Seri mainly live in two remote villages—Punta Chueca and El Desemboque—along the Northwest coast of the Sea of Cortez. There are approximately 800 residents total. They live in crushing poverty, making a meager living from fishing, basket weaving, woodcarving and other crafts. Seri baskets are some of the finest in the world.

While many of the traditional ways have been displaced by American, Mexican and Christian traditions, the Seri still live close to the Earth and follow the cycles of nature. They know all of the resources the desert has to offer and how to make use of them, even the poisonous insects and animals. A great many Seri, even the very elderly, sleep outside directly on the ground with only a thin blanket for covering. They also have a vast knowledge of herbal healing, which they protect. The Seri are also sailors of exceptional skill. They possess an uncanny ability to predict the movement of the currents, tides and winds and how to use them to their advantage.

Yet the dangers of the sea and the harshness of this desert homeland are not the ultimate test of the Seri's survival. Although they were relocated, it was only at the end of a long period of resistance. Even today, the Seri refuse to leave their villages to venture into towns and cities to seek employment. In fact, most Seri only speak their native language and sometimes a little Spanish. From persecution to poverty, the Seri are, above all, survivors.



*Seri showing basket technique*

photo by Sonja A. Diehn





**escalera náutica**  
**WAK\*ALA**  
SUPERCENTRO DE ECOCIDIO

# Stairway from Heaven to Hell

## Developers Descend into the Gulf of California

BY SONYA A. DIEHN

The Sonoran desert is awe-inspiring and incredibly unique. Heavily altered in most areas by development, agriculture and cattle grazing, it stretches across 120,000 square miles. The Sonoran desert embodies southwestern Arizona, southeastern California, the northwestern portion of the Mexican state of Sonora and the upper half of the Baja peninsula.

Sparingly populated, northern Mexico holds two-thirds of the largest and wildest portions of this unique ecosystem. Ranging from the arid desert of the central gulf coast and lower Colorado River valley to archipelago estuaries and mangrove swamps, the Sonoran region is home to more than 800 animal species and as many as 3,500 species of plants.

The Sonoran desert boasts 40 percent of Mexico's conservation areas, including the Upper Gulf of California and Colorado River Delta Biosphere Reserve, the Pinacate and Gran Desierto de Altar Biosphere Reserve, Angel de la Guarda Island, Scammon's Lagoon and the Vizcaino Biosphere Reserve. Along with the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge and Organ Pipe National Monument, both in Arizona, these areas form the second largest protected drylands matrix in North America.

Combined with the marine ecosystem, the region holds an incredible amount of biological diversity. Threatened and endangered marine species such as the vaquita (an endemic porpoise and the smallest of all cetaceans), totoaba (the largest croaker fish in the world), sea turtle and grey whale make their homes here, as do such terrestrial species as the Sonoran pronghorn antelope, bighorn sheep, flat-tailed horned lizards and desert tortoise. The Sonoran desert is also home to 17 indigenous groups, many of whom inhabit their homelands with cultural traditions still intact.

### Stairway to Hell

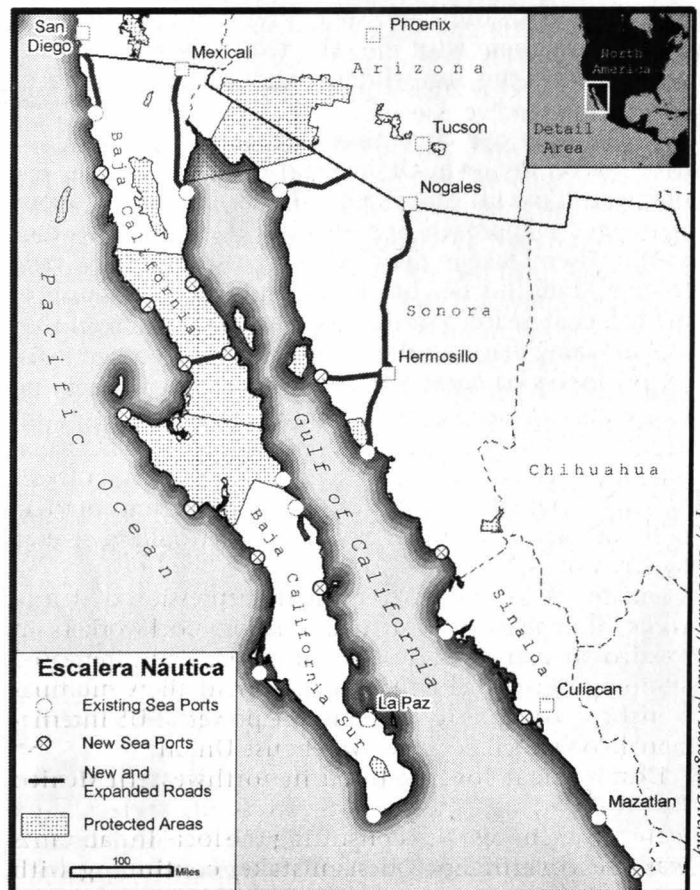
Areas currently protected within the region are facing the *Escalera Náutica*, or Nautical Stairway project, which some Mexican activists have called the greatest ecocide in history. On February 20, 2002, federal and local governments—with the support of foreign investors—signed an accord to collaborate on this mega-development scheme.

The plan calls for the construction of 10 new commercial ports and the modernization of 12 others using 222 million Mexican taxpayer dollars. Within a 12-year timeframe, the plan aims to develop a string of marinas up and down the Pacific and gulf coasts of Baja and the gulf coast of Sonora, so that wealthy tourists in luxury boats will never have to travel more than 120 miles to the next stop thus, a "nautical stairway."

The *Escalera Náutica* also calls for four expanded access routes between these ports and the US border, 20 new airports, 34 new golf courses, dozens of new hotels and at least 6,500 new condominiums and villas. At least eight of the new hotels would be built inside the boundaries of natural protected areas. The construction of an 80-mile land bridge (or "dry canal," a superhighway for cars and trains) across the middle of the Baja peninsula is also planned, from Santa Rosalillita on the Pacific side (north of Scammon's Lagoon, a breeding ground for endangered grey whales) to Bahía de los Angeles on the gulf side (which shelters a fragile cross-gulf island archipelago).

The ostensible goal of this project is to develop luxury tourism in the area. However, its deeper purpose—like its sister development scheme, the Plan Puebla Panama (PPP)—is to create the infrastructure for industrialization. It would allow for greater land and resource privatization and would shift the area's economy from rural subsistence to foreign speculation.

From habitat destruction and increased pollution to the introduction of invasive species and toxic chemicals, the environmental impacts would be devastating. Imagine an



map by Curt Bradley, Center for Biological Diversity

arid terrestrial and fertile marine zone trammled by more than five million tourists. Droning boats would disturb the migration of sea mammals. Toxic spillage of petroleum on the land and sea is a certainty.

Like the PPP, the *Escalera Náutica* represents nothing less than a continuation of the "authoritarian insertion of Mexico in[to] the globalization process," stated Gilberto Lopez y Rivas, a representative of the leftist Democratic Revolution Party.

## Backward Steps

The *Escalera Náutica* also threatens to tear apart the social and cultural fabric of the region by turning the rural population into a labor force for tourists. Indigenous and protected lands would be transformed into waste dumps and playgrounds, while the increased presence of the police and army would contribute to the militarization of the region.

The plan would increase the gross domestic product of the states of Baja, Sonora and Sinaloa—but only while concentrating wealth into the hands of foreign speculators.

Like Mexican President Vicente Fox's related proposal to allow foreign firms to build power plants in Baja, the *Escalera Náutica* would turn Mexico into a colony of natural resources for the US. It represents an infusion of multinational corporations into the region and a massive push for the dismemberment of natural resources, which, ironically, are pitched as attractive assets of the plan. In a twist, several interpretive natural "theme parks" are proposed on the Baja gulf side, graphically displaying the commodification of the natural world in the *Escalera Náutica*.

As if this were not enough, the *Escalera Náutica* is also tied to the Free Trade Area of the Americas, by building up the transportation infrastructure. It would amount to a race to the bottom for labor and environmental standards that travels the entire length of the Western Hemisphere. Docks on the coasts of Baja and Sonora will certainly see the importation of cheap manufactured components from South America and Southeast Asia, which will be transported along new highways to assembly plants in southern Mexico or near the US/Mexico border. Shipments of toxic or hazardous materials refused in the US would be sent to Mexican docks.

Due to the Mexican government's repression of democratic, independently organized labor, dockworkers in Mexico are conveniently not unionized. Thus, increased shipping capacity close to the US would allow multinational corporations to undercut the powerful US International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union.

Despite great poverty, locals in northwestern Mexico have refused bribes for improved systems of electricity, water and schools. Not consulting the local inhabitants was the government's first mistake; continuing with

the plan, against the wishes of many people, is its second. Adan Hernandez, a biology student in San Carlos, speaks for many when he says, "People here don't want to give up their lives as fishermen to become waiters and janitors."

While construction of the marina for the land bridge on the Pacific side of Baja has already begun, more than one billion dollars of foreign investments are required for the entire development. The ongoing economic recession in the US has spelled good news for slowing this development process—perhaps even long enough for a people's intervention.

In the Summer of 2001, government attempts to expropriate land to build an international airport were met with militant resistance in Atenco, a rural town adjacent to Mexico City (see article page 53). Under Mexican law, the government has the right to expropriate *ejidos*, small,

communally owned farms. But Atenco farmers claimed a legal challenge to the government's proposed rate of compensation for their land. They were able to use national laws to discredit the government, which led, in part, to the government's capitulation on the airport project.

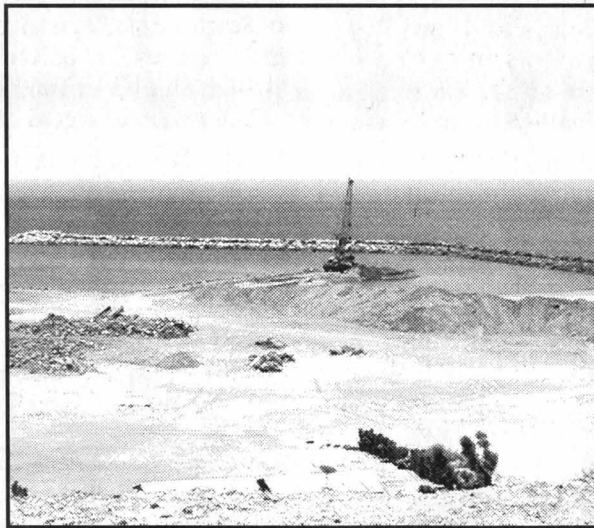
A mounting public discontent with the forced insertion of northwestern Mexico and the Baja peninsula into the global economy may stop this project yet. Environmental, indigenous and community groups in southern California, Baja, southern Arizona and

northwestern Mexico are beginning to organize resistance. Pro Peninsula is researching the project and has begun community organizing in Baja. US environmental groups, such as Wild Coast in Imperial Beach, California, are beginning to pressure the Mexican government to alter or abandon the idea.

On the Gulf of California, just south of the US/Mexico border, residents of Puerto Peñasco recently blockaded a shipment of nuclear components destined for Arizona. A group from Hermosillo, Mexico, issued demands for basic environmental and economic evaluations of *Escalera Náutica*. Meanwhile militant indigenous tribes in Mexico are becoming increasingly wary of threats to their lands. The tide continues to rise against this "ecocidio náutico," and the waves have begun to lap at the doors of the decision-makers.

For additional information, visit [www.propeninsula.org](http://www.propeninsula.org); [laescaleranautica.com](http://laescaleranautica.com).

*Sonya Angelica Diehn is a native Tucsonan who seeks to abolish all forms of oppression. She came of age as an activist at the WTO protests in Seattle during November 1999. Sonya continues to reside in Tucson where she works for the Center for Biological Diversity. She is also active on issues of media, globalization, the environment and sustainability in the Sonoran bioregion.*



Marina under construction at Santa Rosalillita

photo courtesy Pro Peninsula



BY HANTA

On October 28, the Center for Biological Diversity (CBD) won a temporary restraining order stopping a government and university research project linked to the deaths of beaked whales in the Gulf of California.

The Gulf of California stretches south from the Colorado River delta to the tip of the Baja peninsula, where it joins the Pacific Ocean. Teeming with a myriad of sea life, it was likely formed by the separation of the North American plate and the Pacific plate by plate tectonic movement.

Geographers from Columbia University and the Georgia Institute of Technology received a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant for nearly two million dollars to study the huge rift in the gulf floor. The research involved firing 220-decibel airgun blasts into the seabed and re-

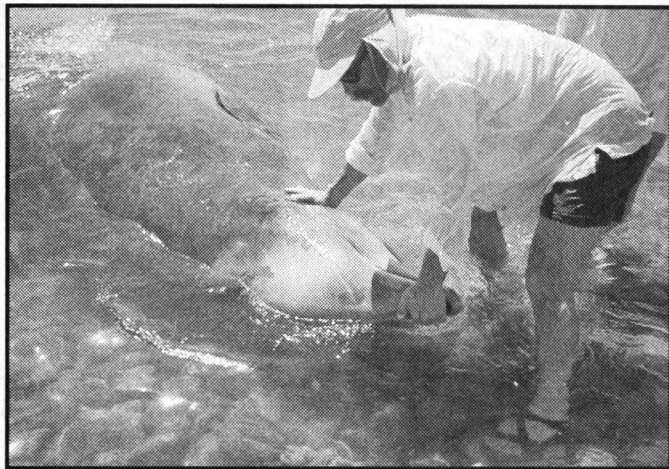


photo courtesy NOAA

Marine biologist examining dying beaked whale

## Whale Killers Beached by Environmentalists

Recording the acoustic signals that bounced back. Their goal was to create a map of the ocean floor, but the project also had deadly consequences.

On September 25, scientists from the National Marine Fisheries Service found two Cuvier beaked whales dead near the research area. They believe that the whales were killed by the ear-shattering noise from the airguns. It is likely that more whales were killed, but no surveys have been conducted.

The geographers had obtained permission from the Mexican government to conduct their study in Mexican

waters, but they failed to undergo an environmental review of the project or to obtain permits required by US law. The judge found they were likely violating the National Environmental Policy Act and the Marine Mammal Protection Act and thus ordered the immediate suspension of the airgun use.

According to the CBD, the temporary restraining order not only protects one of the largest beaked whale populations in the world, it will also help to establish that US environmental laws apply to US-funded projects that are killing wildlife in other countries.

Beaked whales are deep-diving, toothed whales, ranging in length from 15 to 40 feet. With their long, narrow snouts, they resemble big, slow-moving dolphins. Sightings of beaked whales are rare, and little is known about them due to their preference for deep, ocean-bottom habitat.

In the Bahamas, dozens of beaked whales have been killed by similar sound blasts into the ocean by the US Navy (see *EFJ* September-October 2002). When the whales were examined, it was discovered that the Navy's sonar tests had burst blood vessels and destroyed delicate tissue in the whales' inner ears and brains.

Despite this knowledge, NSF refused to stop its own deadly research project in the gulf, claiming that there was no "credible evidence" linking the acoustic cannons to the two whale deaths. With no other option to save the whales, the CBD went to court to win the restraining order.

"We're delighted that the judge ordered to halt this dangerous and illegal project," said Brendan Cummings, an attorney with the CBD. "We had hoped that such a renowned scientific institution as the NSF would exercise some concern over the environmental effects of its actions. Unfortunately, it has displayed the same disregard of environmental laws that we have come to expect from the Bush administration."

For more information, as well as updates on the upcoming court proceedings regarding the NSF's whale-killing project, visit [www.biologicaldiveristy.org](http://www.biologicaldiveristy.org).

*Hanta, when not strapped to a computer, likes to ride her bike.*

### *The Whales of Laguna San Ignacio*

Starting in 1995, the Laguna San Ignacio, in Baja, California, was the site of a major battle pitting environmentalists, fisherman and nearby residents against the Mitsubishi Corporation and the Mexican government. Mitsubishi's intention was to convert the lagoon into the world's largest salt plant, despite the fact that it is the last undisturbed breeding place of the Pacific grey whale. Laguna San Ignacio is also listed as a World Heritage site, a Mexican "biosphere reserve" and a wildlife sanctuary.

The Coalition to Save Laguna San Ignacio—comprised of 50 advocacy groups in Mexico and the US—waged a seven-year campaign to stop the salt plant. The Mexican government, which owned a 51 percent share of the project, was adamantly in support of Mitsubishi's plan. However, on March 2, 2002, in response to massive public pressure, the project was canceled.

Now the grey whales of Laguna San Ignacio are once again being threatened. The Mexican government intends to build a port for the *Escalera Náutica* development project at the Punta Abreojos site, which will impact the whale's breeding habitat.

# The Land is Not for Sale!

Today, at the beginning of the third millennium and in direct opposition to neoliberal homogenization, a large number of diverse social, political, environmental, economic and cultural activities still persevere. Native people continue to defend their right to determine their own means of livelihood, communal spaces and lifestyles, which are frequently in clear contrast to today's prevailing values. Their resistance fuels a permanent social war—at times covert, at times apparent—which plays on the imagination.

Thousands of *campesinos* (farmers) armed with machetes and wooden sticks, many of them on horseback, fought against the police in Mexico City on November 14, 2001. After they were diverted through secondary streets, the *campesinos* were ambushed by several cordons of police officers in full riot gear. Even though the police fired tear gas and beat the *campesinos* with truncheons, the determined protesters managed to break the police lines after a short, violent battle and were able to continue their march.

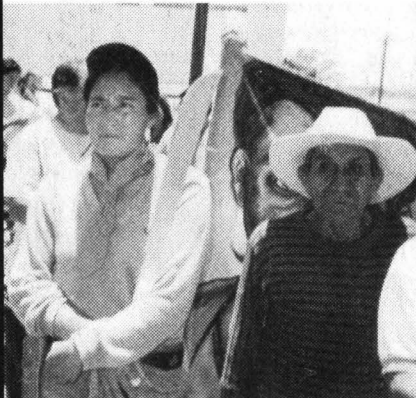
The *campesinos* had traveled 19 miles from Atenco, a rural village east of Mexico City, to protest the expropriation of their lands by the government in order to build a new airport for Mexico City.

On October 22, 2001, President Vicente Fox, offering a ridiculously low compensation, decreed the expropriation of the village's communal land for corporate interests. Atenco, deprived of its main economic resources, was doomed to disappear. Not willing to sit idly by, its inhabitants fearlessly organized periodic protest caravans to Mexico City. They would invade the city center waving their machetes—"Not weapons, but work tools," the *campesinos* explained, as they pounded their machetes rhythmically against the asphalt of the urban jungle.

Mainstream newspapers and television stations, which strongly supported the airport project, accused the *campesinos* of being lunatics opposing progress, or at the very least



***¡En Atenco vamos  
a ponerle un alto a  
los opresores!***



***In Atenco, we will  
eliminate the  
oppressors!***



dangerous subversives. Nonetheless, the movement increasingly attracted popular support.

By July, the villagers were becoming restless. On July 11, Atenco broke out into a virtual rebellion. A variety of spontaneous direct actions were undertaken. The protesters burned police cars, occupied a highway for four days and took 19 hostages, including the municipal assistant attorney general. The actions were in response to arrests during a protest caravan, which had resulted in brutal police tactics, five people hospitalized and the death of a demonstrator. The hostages were used as a negotiation tool in the release of 15 comrades who were arrested at the protest.

Even though negotiations were successful for the *campesinos*, and those who were arrested were eventually freed, tensions remained high. Many more caravans to Mexico City and Atenco were held after the July protests, increasing the pressure on Fox to stop building the airport.

The government was ultimately forced to back down. On August 6, Fox announced that the construction of the airport would be stopped and the expropriation decree revoked.

The Atenco struggle is just one example of a community-based movement that has been able to stop a project that would have served the interests of a few wealthy business people. Fox's neoliberal administration has actually created a plethora of such projects, including the infamous Plan Pueblo Panama, a plan to privatize the energy industry and provide support for the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

In the aftermath of these protests, Atenco's inhabitants are now considering the possibility of breaking with the state and establishing an autonomous municipality similar to the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico.

Machetes *can* have the upper hand over the financial manipulations of the elite. *¡Ya basta!*

photos by Juan Dolon, from the San Salvador-Atenco Summer uprising



# A RIOT OF COLOR continued...

*continued from page 8*

canisters and taken to the hospital. Several young kids passed out and almost asphyxiated. One woman fell on her baby, and the baby was injured.

The attack was a reminder that "free" trade can only proceed with brutal repression, which is now so commonplace at trade summits that it hardly elicits comment.

At six p.m., the *dirigentes* decided to try once more to deliver their giant letter—this time at the Swiss Hotel, where the trade ministers were meeting with assorted corporate CEOs and trade lobbyists. In a strategic attempt to boost legitimacy and deter disruptive protests, the government had made offers to allow a couple of civil society representatives to address the ministers. On these terms, the indigenous and *campesino* groups had refused. Tonight, 2,000 people marched up to the police barricades and demanded that a much larger delegation be allowed to deliver the letter. Clearly hoping to avoid the kind of confrontations that have occurred in past uprisings here, the government allowed 45 people from across the hemisphere to meet with the ministers.

Hearing this was going on, I ran to the hotel, easily passing through several police lines because I had press credentials for the summit. I followed the shouting until I reached an auditorium where perhaps 20 trade ministers sat uncomfortably on stage while 45 *campesinos* chanted that they had no desire to be a US colony. It was a scene that was, I think, unprecedented in the history of trade negotiations.

Soon the civil society presentations began. A line of people fanned out in front of the ministers holding signs that said, "*Sí a la vida, No al ALCA*" (Yes to life, No to the FTAA). Behind the podium stood an indigenous representative holding a beautifully painted Inca sun that had North America and South America in the center with the words: "*Sí Una Integración Solidaria Con Respeto a la Soberanía de los Naciones.*" (Yes to an integration based on solidarity, with respect for the sovereignty of nations.)

The first speakers were representatives of an international meeting of parliament and Congress members from across the hemisphere. They condemned the FTAA process and called for an alternative agreement, one that respects the needs and particular situations of the people from each country.

Several representatives of a "civil society" forum that was organized by a number of relatively pro-neoliberal organizations with close ties to the government came next. Their



*Climbing to the top of the Earth in the center of the world—protesting the FTAA in Quito, Ecuador, October 31*

proposals were generally tepid, but they were for the most part drowned out by the crowd.

Finally, the social movement representatives spoke. Leonidas Iza, the president of CONAIE (the Ecuadorian indigenous federation), stated the social movement's clear rejection of the FTAA and neoliberalism. "We don't have food to feed our children. Our markets are flooded with cheap imports. Imported milk is dumped in Ecuador for half of what it costs to produce, and multinationals sell it back to us for more than we can afford. We have no way to live, and the FTAA will only make it worse. When we complain, the US government calls us terrorists. We are not threatening anything, but we are hungry and tired. Things have to change." In the wake of widening protests throughout Latin America, the message was not lost on anyone.

Then a woman from Nicaragua read a statement that synthesized the results of dozens of workshops and forums held during the week. She spoke of the privatization, poverty and social exclusion the FTAA would bring, particularly for women. "We have not come here to dialogue," she told the ministers, "because your governments have been closed to any type of real dialogue, to listening and taking into account the feelings of civil society. We have come here to demand the suspension of the FTAA negotiations and the final surrender of decisions affecting the destinies of our countries to the people of each sovereign nation."

The meeting ended, and the moderator hurriedly announced that the ministers were leaving and could we please sit down so that they could leave. "No!" screamed the civil society folks in unison, and they pushed out the door, leaving the ministers sitting on the stage.

At that moment, I felt something shift. I realized that the FTAA had, in a few short weeks, gone from something whose praises its proponents sang, to something they needed to defend. Like the World Trade Organization before it, the FTAA has become a treaty that has to be sold to a people that do not want it. This is how it feels here.

If I am right, the hemispheric resistance to free trade and the FTAA has taken a huge step forward—even if this is but one day in a long struggle where many more battles will be fought.

*Justin Ruben is a global justice organizer who spent the Summer and Fall in Quito, Ecuador, working with small farmers on the campaign against the FTAA.*



*photo by Scott and Margaret*

# Thousands Turn Out for International Anti-FTAA Solidarity Actions



photo by Respire

*A symbolic burning of the poverty that many families live in while multinational corporations export money out of Ecuador.*

As thousands of people marched in the streets of Quito, Ecuador, to protest the pro-corporate, anti-environment, anti-human rights agenda of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) ministerial summit, thousands more participated in solidarity actions in cities around the world.

On October 28, 13 activists in San Francisco, California, occupied the international headquarters of Bechtel Corporation, while scores of supporters rallied outside. Bechtel was targeted because of its strong support for the FTAA, which would allow Bechtel to continue its role in the privatization of the world's drinking water supply.

An example of its under-handed business practices: Bechtel bought up the public water company in Cochabamba, Bolivia, and then raised the rates more than 300 percent—threatening the water supply of more than 500,000 people. In response, on February 4, 2000, more than 1,000 police were called out to crush demonstrations against Bechtel. Two days of rioting followed, leaving hundreds injured and one dead. Bechtel terminated its contract two months later, and local workers retook control of their water supply.

According to an Independent Media Center report, the activists in San Francisco believe that the Cochabamba water takeover by the local workers provides an alternative model

to the FTAA—of cooperatively run public utilities—that should be followed from Santiago to San Francisco.

Back in Ecuador, numerous actions took place in the week leading up to the FTAA summit. On October 30, 100 women, united behind the banner *Mujeres Contra el ALCA* (Women Against the FTAA), blocked access to a McDonald's near the US embassy in Quito, where they stripped off layers of Western clothes and burned them in protest. Their symbolic action denounced McDonald's as an example of the effects the FTAA will have, including an increase in poverty and a deterioration in health. The action ended in a clash between the women and McDonald's employees, who sprayed the women with fire extinguishers.

On October 31, 400 people gathered in Portland, Oregon, to condemn the unjust economic policies of the FTAA and in solidarity with protesters in Ecuador. Starting off with a hoe-down dance, speeches and songs, the group marched with colorful costumes and puppets to the World Trade Center. There, a radical street party and more dancing to the music of the Infernal Noise Brigade and a samba band ended the protest.

In São Paulo, Brazil, two groups of protesters—organized by unions, political parties and autonomous anti-authoritarian groups—joined forces for a 5,000-person demonstration on October 31. Carrying banners and puppets protesting Brazil's involvement in FTAA negotiations, the demonstrators marched

down Paulista Avenue, where many multinational corporations and bank headquarters are located.

While the union organizers stopped to protest in front of the Central Bank of Brazil, the anti-authoritarian groups continued marching downtown to Patriarca Square—where 700 plates of vegetarian food were distributed. The next day, they continued the protest by occupying the downtown area with a critical mass bike ride and street party.

Also on October 31, more than 10,000 protesters took over the downtown streets of Montreal, Canada, including the stock exchange and sections of the financial district.

As part of a hemisphere-wide student strike, the festive protest was organized with a clear "No to the FTAA" message, as well as an attempt to link education issues to the broader effects of imperialism and capitalism. The huge turn-out was striking evidence of the continued resistance to the FTAA that first manifested itself 18 months ago in the streets of Quebec City.



photo by CSU

*Montreal, Canada: 10,000 people took to the streets of the financial district to protest the FTAA.*



# THE BIGGEST WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION: ACTIONS TARGET SUVs AND CAR CULTURE

BY BRADFORD VANLUHEIS

Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs), and the omnipresent car culture that they represent, have recently been dealt a number of blows from around the world. These actions bring attention to the many ills that stem from an increasing dependence on automobiles and the fuel necessitated for their operation.

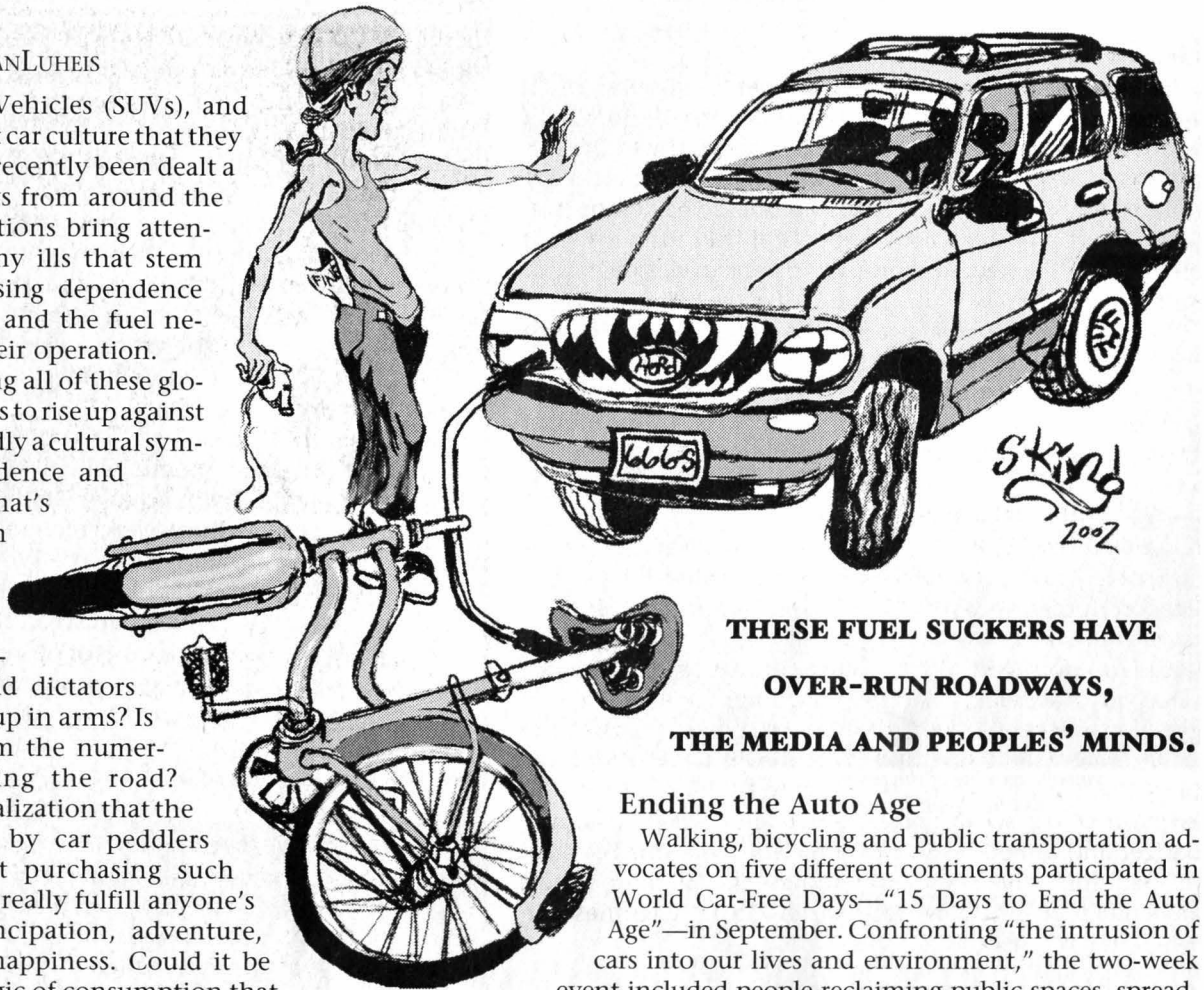
What is causing all of these global rabble-rousers to rise up against the car, supposedly a cultural symbol of independence and freedom? And what's the problem with oil, anyway? Is it the increased dependence on war and oppressive Third World dictators that has people up in arms? Is it pollution from the numerous autos hitting the road? Maybe it's the realization that the promises made by car peddlers are empty, that purchasing such machines won't really fulfill anyone's desire for emancipation, adventure, stimulation or happiness. Could it be the backward logic of consumption that duped us into exchanging numerous hours of labor for the funds to buy and fuel that mobile object of our manufactured desire?

Unfortunately, the bleak reality is that our current society is dependent on oil and automobiles to transport food and other commodities to the cities we inhabit. Is this really how we want to live? All of these considerations are fueling a rethinking of oil dependency and inspiring actions with a diverse set of tactics to resist and replace car culture.

A number of enraged activists have recently employed direct action tactics to make people aware of the issues surrounding the car culture while—car by car—weakening the culture's expansion.

## Cars Kill; Kill Cars

Forty SUVs in Richmond, Virginia, have been damaged since July 2002. Though no one has claimed responsibility, graffiti and notes left behind at the sites suggest that these actions have been the handiwork of the Earth Liberation Front. The SUVs were defaced with glass-etching cream, and the tires were slashed.



**THESE FUEL SUCKERS HAVE  
OVER-RUN ROADWAYS,  
THE MEDIA AND PEOPLES' MINDS.**

## Ending the Auto Age

Walking, bicycling and public transportation advocates on five different continents participated in World Car-Free Days—"15 Days to End the Auto Age"—in September. Confronting "the intrusion of cars into our lives and environment," the two-week event included people reclaiming public spaces, spreading information on the deathly nature of cars and rejoicing at the prospect of a world with fewer automobiles. The annual event—originated by Car Busters in 2000—begins each year on September 22, the anniversary of the first automobile fatality. This year, World Car-Free Days culminated on the 10-year anniversary of the first critical mass bike ride with loads of rambunctious rides happening around the world.

In Luxembourg, on October 25, more than 600 people shut down every one of the country's 28 ExxonMobil gas stations. The actions were part of a Greenpeace campaign, exposing ExxonMobil's use of lobbying and public relations campaigns to sabotage international global warming agreements.

## What Would Jesus Drive?

That is the question being raised by Christian activists who cite moral objections to cars that contribute to the demise of the Earth with their ridiculously low gas mileage. The Evangelical Environmental Network is launching television ads encouraging Christians to buy the most fuel-efficient vehicle that will suit their needs.

In November, representatives of the National Religious Partnership for the Environment went so far as to meet with

top executives at General Motors and Ford to discuss their concerns. Prior to the meeting, the group sent an open letter to US automakers signed by more than 30 religious leaders. "Choices about what cars to build raise fundamental moral issues," the letter said. "Automobile manufacturing now requires thinking about values, not just vehicles."

### The Show's Over

In Birmingham, England, on October 23, more than 70 activists confronted car manufacturers, on the opening day of the International Motor Show, about the industry's irresponsible promotion of car culture. The celebration of the automobile industry's future was joined by demonstrators, who highlighted a few aspects of that future, which often go overlooked: flooding, hurricanes and other severe weather conditions characteristic of global warming.

The demonstrators, decked out in raingear marked with tire tracks, displayed a model globe with tire marks across it bearing the words, "What was that bump?" The demonstration fittingly occurred on the same day as the start of another round of international climate talks in India.

### Bicycle vs. Automobile

On October 26, acting alone and displaying the power each of us has to get others to think, a bicyclist in Portland, Oregon, forced six SUVs to pull over in midday traffic by laying her bike in the middle of the road. Fusing creativity with consciousness, the bicyclist confronted the drivers: "Do you know why I stopped you? I am going to have to give you a ticket for contributing to the destruction of the environment and the health of the inhabitants of the planet and also for being an addict to Middle Eastern oil." Five out of the six drivers accepted the "ticket." Defying danger and armed only with a whistle, the lone bicyclist pushed the drivers to contemplate the adverse effects associated with driving their gas-guzzling machines—all while having fun!

### SUV Subvertising

An anti-SUV advertising campaign, which points out the lesser-known side effects of increased fuel consumption, is getting underway in Beverly Hills, California. One of the ads will link our country's dependence on oil to the perpetuation of terrorist activity, the punchline being: "The biggest weapon of mass destruction is parked in your driveway." The ad makers admit that reaching the minds of the area's residents will be difficult, considering the immense popularity of SUVs right now.

### No Future for Cars

These actions seem all too appropriate as the burning of fossil fuels proves to be directly responsible for the current global warming crisis. According to the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, unless action is taken, there will be an increase in heat waves and floods; glaciers and polar ice caps will continue to melt; sea levels will continue to rise; more plant and animal species will become extinct; outbreaks of diseases will increase; and millions of people will be forced to flee their homes.

*Bradford VanLuheis is the CEO of the Higgens Corporation, which specializes in theft reduction.*

# Earth First!



Yule 1995  
December 22

THE RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNAL

Vol. XVI, No. II  
\$3.50

## BLAST FROM THE PAST



photo by Nick Cobbing

*Get out your sledgehammer, it's time to party.*

## BECAUSE CARS CAN'T DANCE

*The following excerpt was taken from an article that originally appeared in the December-January 1995 Earth First! Journal.*

An old car drove up the street to one of the busiest intersections in London: High Street Camden. It entered the five-way intersection at a slow pace, to be smashed into by another car in similar condition coming the other way. Both drivers, obviously upset, got out and started to abuse each other, much to the annoyance of other drivers who were blockaded by the altercation. The two drivers got so irate that they both removed sledgehammers from their boots and proceeded to smash each others' cars, much to the disbelief of the drivers now in a traffic jam.

But this was only the beginning, as this altercation was a theatrical move to block the road and to signify to hundreds of people—who then poured into the street from the tube station—that the street was reclaimed and the party could now begin. All cars entering the intersection became gridlocked. Shoppers and market goers joined the street party, which lasted five hours. The smashed cars became the focus for all to vent their car anger on. The police directed traffic—what else could they do?

Anti-motorway actions that have been occurring in Britain over the last few years have taken a new form. And the media is lapping it up with headlines such as, "Car rage is the new focus of rebellion—and it's challenging the very way we live. Urban and rural guerrilla groups are trying to undermine car culture and defy a government committed more to words than deeds to changing it." And, "Car sickness or just sick of the car? As cities get clogged, radical protests attract unlikely supporters."

*Back issues of the Earth First! Journal are available for five dollars each. Please inquire for bulk discount prices. Or order our near complete 22-year set for \$500.*



# It Was About More than Just a Road

## Demythologizing Highway 55

BY MARSHALL LOUGH

*"Upon looking into a troubled stream, the reflection is not only larger but more distorted."*

—FROM *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS* BY JOHNATHAN SWIFT

*Our Way or the Highway*, by Mary Losure, University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Mary Losure's new book, *Our Way or the Highway*, recently hit the shelves of bookstores in the Twin Cities. Losure is a veteran reporter working for Minnesota Public Radio who was repeatedly called to report on the struggle against the rerouting of Highway 55 in 1998. Perceived as an ally to the cause to protect the sacred sites, parkland and homes slated for demolition, she was always there to report on the flashpoints during the 15-month story of resistance.

As a result of this intimate contact, Losure has woven an intriguing, yet problematic, story surrounding many of the personalities that dotted the map of that unique stretch of urban greenspace in south Minneapolis along the Mississippi River bluffs.

Losure's quotes are accurate, and many of the book's chapters cover important themes that arose during the resistance. However, it is safe to say that Losure was trained to see with the eyes of a contemporary journalist. *Our Way or the Highway* focuses on the "main news events" surrounding the occupation rather than the heart of the struggle: the daily and mundane process of keeping the longest urban land occupation in US history alive.

I find the characterizations of myself and many of my family in this struggle to be not only demeaning at times but also a transparent attempt to provide a "selling point" for the book. At the end of the preface, Losure opines, "Often they seemed to lack any clear strategy. But the better I came to know them, the more respect I had for what they were trying to do." Ironically, this "respect" often comes packaged with generalizations and over-simplifications of one of the more complex struggles that any of us had ever experienced.

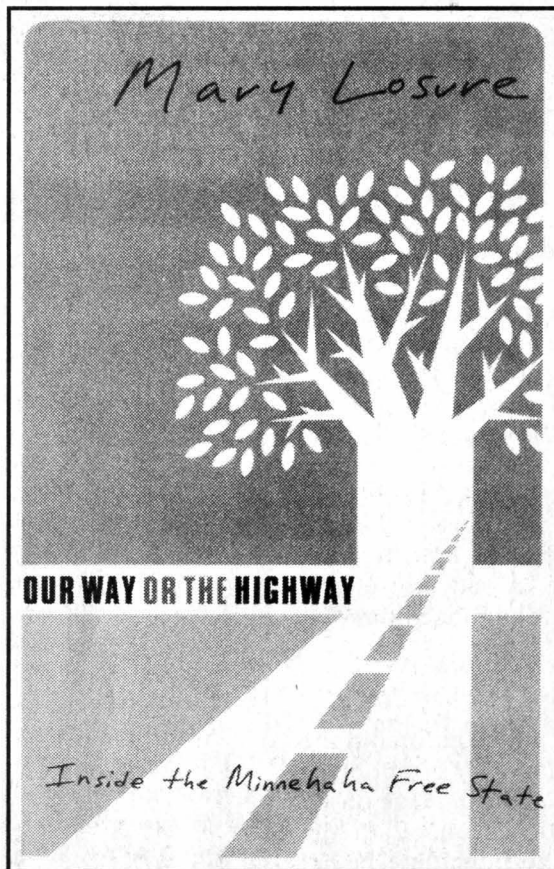
We were never really that sexy, or stupid, or stereotyped or even as homogenous as we are portrayed in Losure's book. We were never really split into two camps as Losure suggests: Earth First! on the one hand and the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota Community and the American Indian Movement (AIM) on the other.

That is not to say that there were not divisions. Yet, Losure was inaccurate in how she chose to portray many of the obstacles that lay in the way of our building bridges between the many different factions involved. Many of us, while participating in Earth First! actions and other radical ecological events, never considered ourselves Earth First!ers. And there were disagreements within the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota Community about how to be involved.

Losure often portrays us as a "cheap, run-down carnival," as Don Davis, Minnesota commissioner of "public safety," described the encampment. "On sunny weekends, dreadlocked, nose-ringed, young Earth First!ers in black T-shirts, cargo pants rolled up to the knee and heavy hiking boots strolled on the lawns with gray-haired 1960s activists." Oftentimes, our realities and opinions were given less credibility than the "authority figures" that are quoted in the book, including the police officers who repeatedly brutalized us in spite of our nonviolent stance.

While Losure gives lip service to our insistence that "they [we] didn't like labels anyway," she proceeds to focus on several flamboyant personalities. This is due largely to the fact that she is trapped by the perception of a journalist, but more importantly, because many of the people who were core to the occupation during its entire life, refused to interview with Losure at all.

Several key people who were involved in the set up of the encampment on August 10, 1998, get no mention in the book. Others, whose involvement was predominantly only for the first four months of the occupation, dominate the presentation of "who we were." Losure takes the most controversial personalities and spotlights them, because to her they were the most interesting. Or perhaps in her mind, they were our "secret (white male) leaders."



We strived to build consensus around every issue. On some days in the encampment, we would have up to 12 meetings. We attended the weekly Stop the Reroute Coalition meetings and worked hard at several key and controversial moments to keep the ever fragile network together. We worked to build and foster relationships, and we never rested.

At any point, any one of us could have left the encampment, and it would have continued. It was never about individuals or single issues. To some it was about public policies, to some it was about car culture, their parkland, their family home, sacred land and still to others the sacredness of all life.

The houses were the first line of defense. This was a conscious strategy. We truly were amazed that the state of Minnesota did not act to remove us sooner. Unlike many occupations on state forest land or out in the wilds, we were in an urban area. Hundreds of people stayed at the camp and came to corn feeds, pow wows, pipe ceremonies and open stages.

We dug in, built the occupation and made the state of Minnesota pay a high political price when it came in on December 20, 1998, with 802 state troopers. The sacred oaks and treesits were our next line of defense. This was also a conscious strategy. For a period of time we were costing the state of Minnesota up to \$50,000 dollars a day in security costs. We attempted to create a dynamic strategy that included prayer, legislative lobbying, demonstrating and direct action.

We were willing to pay a high price, willing to put our lives on the line and to take state repression because many of us believe in a world where racist and colonial societal attitudes no longer rule. We were fallible, arrogant and at times, painfully human.

We did not only gain Losure's respect but also the respect of many of our closest neighbors. Even some of the park police officers expressed this sentiment and commented on how our 24-hour-a-day security patrols made their work easier. The night of the raid we received numerous "tips" from law enforcement.

That is not to say that we did not alienate people, including neighbors and coalition partners, but to focus solely on this aspect, as Losure did, is misleading.

Across the street from the encampment lived a man who really disliked us. He made this very clear every day. His daughter, however, would come to the sacred fire at night and talk with us about how she supported what we were doing. Her mother was Native American and her father was a Vietnam veteran, so the family was divided. The whole

city was divided around this struggle. Losure did not interview our supporters in the neighborhood. Perhaps that would have painted a complex picture, a complex world where we moved beyond our story line.

Another complexity that Losure overlooked was that in spite of our efforts to build the world that we want to live in, we did have serious problems with hierarchies developing—especially around "security culture" and the replication of oppressive relationships that occur within mainstream society, including race, gender, class and sexual orientation privileges. We were striving, and are still striving, to become new people, forced to create a new language, all the while under constant pressure from state security forces.

The book does contain an important history of the

Mendota Mdewakanton community and the testimony of elders from many First Nations who spoke out about the sacredness of the trees, land and water. Losure asks some important questions that illustrate that she did in fact come to respect, if not understand, the struggle: "How do we make decisions that shape the future of our cities? What binds us into communities? What, in the 21st century, do we hold sacred?"

*Our Way or the Highway*, is worth reading. But read it with this in mind: Movements are about collective action, hundreds of unthanked, nameless hands and hearts that shape the space in which transformation takes place. That space is what is important.

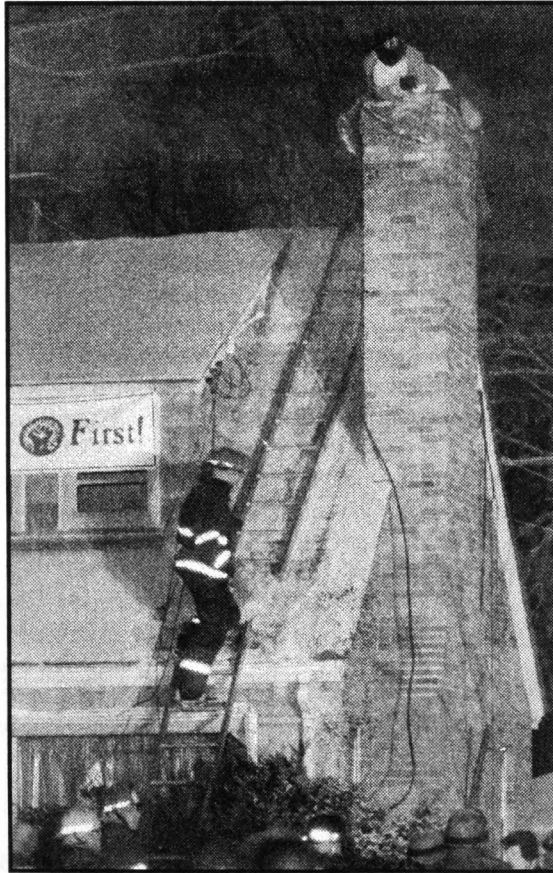
Most of the world's history has never been told, it is kept by oral historians or is lost in the oceans or composted into soil. It is about how we inter-relate. There is no objective history. We all tell the story from our perspective. In that light, my review is written from my perspective, and in that way is limited to my honest assessment.

To her credit, Losure did attempt to contact many of the people reluctant to speak with her, myself included, to try and set up more in-depth interviews. She accepted some criticism of her rough draft and changed some aspects, especially around gender dynamics.

In one of her correspondences she wrote, "People are not interested in reading about a nameless, faceless movement." The truth is that the vast majority of humanity is engulfed in just such a movement for our very survival, and some of us are striving to be allies in our mutual liberation.

As Losure concludes, "I finally began to realize what they had known all along: It was about more than just a road."

*Marshall Lough is a 30-something freedom fighter from Planet Earth.*



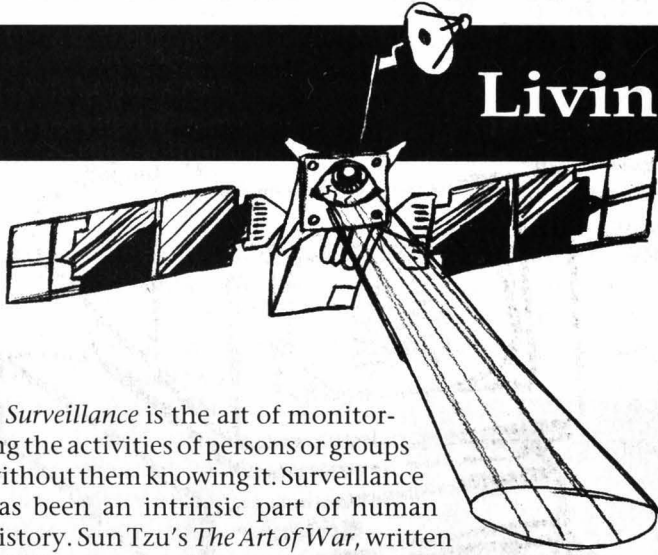
An activist, dressed as Santa Claus, huddles on the chimney during the December 1998 police raid.

photo courtesy Stan Tribune/Minneapolis-St. Paul



# CREATING A CULTURE OF SECURITY

## Living Under Surveillance



*Surveillance* is the art of monitoring the activities of persons or groups without them knowing it. Surveillance has been an intrinsic part of human history. Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*, written 2,500 years ago, discusses how spies should be used against a person's enemies. But modern electronic and computer technology have given surveillance a whole new means of operation. No longer must it be practiced by agents; it can be automated using computers.

*Counter-surveillance* is the practice of avoiding or making surveillance difficult. Before computer networks, counter-surveillance involved physically avoiding agents and communicating secretly. Now counter-surveillance involves everything from knowing how to keep your purchases private to learning how to prevent the tracking of your movements by mobile phones and Closed Circuit TV.

Levels of state surveillance have increased, and by using computers, the government is now able to draw together many different information sources to create profiles of persons or groups.

Many large corporations now use various forms of "passive" surveillance. This is primarily a means of watching the activities of staff or for marketing, security and advertising purposes. Some large corporations also actively use various forms of surveillance to monitor activists and campaign groups who may impact their operations.

As the scope of surveillance increases, it is important that activists manage their exposure to different types of surveillance. This will limit the damage that the government and opposing groups can do to their work.

### Personal Counter-Surveillance

Protecting information is the first stage of counter-surveillance. As humans, we are creatures of habit. If we exhibit very predictable habits, this makes keeping track of our activities easier.

The best way to begin avoiding surveillance is to think about breaking the regular patterns in your life—making it

harder for someone to practice routine surveillance. It also masks the times when you may undertake activities that are out of the ordinary.

Breaking regular patterns does not mean going to bed at different times, or working different hours everyday. Instead it requires that any activities you wish to avoid being the subject of surveillance are integrated into the other events in your life—but not to the extent that they become predictable. If you change the route you take to work or shop on a random basis, you make it more difficult to monitor your movements. If you build irregular appointments into activities that might involve surveillance, it creates a background "noise" in the pattern of your activities that masks any changes in your habits.

While working to keep your personal activities safe from unwanted surveillance, the main issue you will have to deal with is how to network with people when you need to discuss sensitive issues.

Counter-surveillance must be seen as a balancing of opposing objectives. It requires an effort to protect information and activities that are sensitive, while giving less emphasis to those activities that can be open to all. The important rule with counter-surveillance is proportionality.

You should not, for example, seek to avoid surveillance for issues that are not sensitive. This, of course, assumes that sensitive work only constitutes a minor part of your activities. When the sensitive parts of your work comprise a large part of your everyday workload, it is more difficult

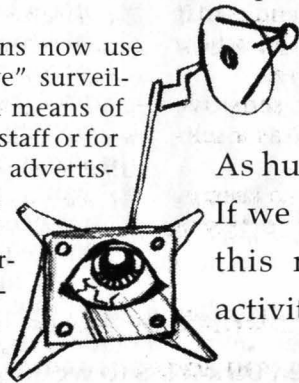
to hide those activities within the patterns of your everyday life.

If you are very good at restricting all information about yourself and your activities, monitoring you becomes difficult. However, you are also likely to

become more isolated, suspicious and secretive in the process, which may isolate you from the public you are trying to engage.

With a little forethought, despite living under surveillance, the work you wish to protect should be able to slip by un-noticed.

*This article was excerpted from a briefing written by Paul Mobbs for the Association for Progressive Communications. There are many reasons to develop security-consciousness in the activist community. The information provided here is an attempt to begin to satisfy the questions activists ask about computer security and overall security culture. For more information, visit [security.tao.ca](http://security.tao.ca).*



As humans, we are creatures of habit.

If we exhibit very predictable habits, this makes keeping track of our activities easier.

# Implementing Counter-Surveillance as Part of Your Work

## Travel

• If traveling on sensitive business, try to use public transport. Using private cars will provide a traceable identity.

• If you are traveling to a sensitive meeting, take a different route going there and coming back. If possible, do not use the same bus or station when going to or leaving the location you are traveling to. This lessens the likelihood that your destination will be identified.

• To counter the Closed Circuit TV (CCTV) systems in public places, move with the crowd. Don't rush, don't cut corners and don't look around for CCTV cameras. Alter your physical appearance so you blend in.

• If you can include other events or appointments as part of your journey, that will help provide an alternate motive for traveling to that area of a town or city.

• Facial recognition systems work primarily on the configuration of facial features. To work, they need to get a good view of your face. Looking at a slight angle toward the ground and wearing a hat with a brim helps to fool the system.

• Always assume that public transport vehicles have CCTV installed—traveling during peak hours will help to mask your presence.

• Darkness aids anonymity, but it is not a foolproof solution to the latest CCTV cameras, which see in the dark.

## Mobile Phones

• If in doubt, turn it off.

• If traveling to a sensitive location in an urban area, do not use a cell phone within two or three miles of the location. In rural areas, do not use it within 10 or 15 miles of your final destination. This will prevent the creation of a trail that associates you with that location on that day.

• If the location you are going to is nowhere near a route you regularly travel, turn off your phone before you start your journey there.



• If you desperately need to mask your location, let someone else carry your phone around for the day.

## Payments

• If you are traveling to a sensitive location, don't pay for anything by credit/debit card or take money from a cash machine.

## Communications

• If you need to make a sensitive phone call that must not be directly associated with you, do so from a public phone booth. Be aware that the person at the other end of the call may have their calls monitored.

• If using public phones, try to use them in random locations rather than those that are closest to you or are on your regular transit routes.

• If you wish to send something sensitive through the mail, wear gloves to prevent creating fingerprints when producing and packing the item. Do not lick the envelope or stamps, and mail it from a different location than where you normally send your letters.

• If you need to send a sensitive fax, use a copy shop that has a self-service desk.

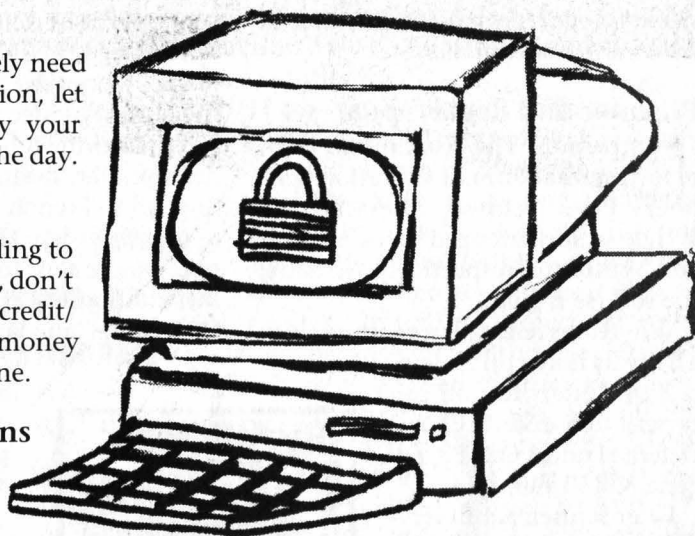
• If you desperately need to keep in communication, use cash to buy a

Maintain a number of alternate personas on the Internet that give you access to web mail and other services.

pay-as-you-go mobile phone. Only use it for a day or two while you are engaged in sensitive work.

## Online

• Maintain a number of alternate personas on the Internet that give you access to web mail and other services.



• If you need to use the Internet, use a cybercafe; try not to use the same one more than once. Make sure that you do not access your own Internet services from the cybercafe—use an alternate persona.

## Meetings

• When organizing a private meeting, try to agree to meet in a different location nearby. Then direct people to the correct meeting place as they arrive. This lessens the likelihood of the actual location being under surveillance.

• Do not make a phone call from a meeting, or from a public phone nearby, to a number that can be identified with you.

• Ask people going to a private meeting to turn off mobile phones before traveling to the meeting place.

• Alternate meeting spaces as much as possible. If you meet in a public place, pick somewhere with a high level of background noise to prevent your conversations from being overheard.

• If you must pay for something while in the area, use cash.

• Many public spaces are monitored by CCTV. Bars, cafés and restaurants tend not to have their CCTV systems linked to a central control room and are usually focused on the cash register.



# Prisoners in the Struggle

*Due to an unusually large number of arrests and prisoner updates this issue, the rest of our regular list of prisoner support contacts can be found online at [www.earthfirstjournal.org](http://www.earthfirstjournal.org).*

## Prisoner and Legal Updates

•Correction: The *Journal* had been reporting that animal liberation prisoners Peter Schnell and Matthew Whyte were sentenced to 14 months and 24 months, respectively. Actually, the reverse is true.

Whyte was released from prison into a halfway house on December 18. Letters to him can be sent to the Santa Cruz 2 Defense Fund, POB 583, Eugene, OR 97440, USA.

Peter Schnell is still serving his 24-month sentence. Send letters to Peter Schnell, #99476-111, FCI Otisville, POB 1000, Otisville, NY 10963, USA.

•Craig "Critter" Marshall was recently interrogated by members of the Portland Joint Terrorism Task Force, who threatened him with more prison time. They are trying to exploit personal disputes within the movement to their advantage. He has also injured

his wrist and a toe. Send letters of support to Craig Marshall, #13797662, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914, USA.

•Randall Mark was sentenced to 60 days in jail on October 31, for resisting arrest at a road blockade last April. He was part of an effort to protect wild bison from being captured and killed by the Montana Department of Livestock. As of December, Mark, who is trying to keep a vegan diet, has been on a hunger strike for more than 35 days.

•Jaggi Singh, a community organizer who has been involved in numerous anti-globalization protests, has been targeted by intelligence police in Canada for several years. Singh is legally forbidden to use a megaphone anywhere in Canada or to be a "leader." Now Singh, known for his nonviolent actions, faces possible prison time for

"inciting a riot," "participation in a riot," "illegal assembly" and "mischief." Singh is calling for support and solidarity as he defends himself at four upcoming trials. He's looking for witnesses who observed his conduct at the protests, video evidence that could prove his innocence, money for legal defense, translators who can help with English to French translation, as well as moral support. Donations and support can be sent to Jaggi Singh, 6301, Rue de Bordeaux, Montreal, Quebec H2G 3R9, Canada; [jaggi@tao.ca](mailto:jaggi@tao.ca).



To find out more about the many other activists facing trial in Quebec City, visit [www.quebeclegal.org](http://www.quebeclegal.org).

•On October 6, three Dominican nuns in Colorado disarmed nuclear missile transport equipment in an action called "Sacred Earth and Space Plowshares II." Two years ago, the nuns engaged in a similar disarmament at another air force base. They each face up to 30 years in prison. Send separate letters to Carol Gil-

bert, Jackie Hudson and Ardeth Platte, Clear Creek County Jail, POB 518, Georgetown, CO 80444, USA.

•Nathan Brasfield has been remanded for felony theft of a telecommunications service. The charge is related to the on-going international campaign against Huntingdon Life Sciences. Send letters to Nathan Brasfield, #202044100, King County Regional Justice Center Detention Facility, 620 West James St, Kent, WA 98032, USA.

•Benjamin Persky has been charged with second degree felony criminal mischief. He was arrested in New York City in April at a protest against Huntingdon Life Sciences where windows of Marsh Insurance executives' homes were smashed. He has been imprisoned since July and faces up to a six-year sentence. For an update, visit [www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk](http://www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk). Letters of support can be sent to

[lettersforbenjamin@hotmail.com](mailto:lettersforbenjamin@hotmail.com). If you want a reply, please include a mailing address.

•Lawrence Pascal, an environmental and indigenous sovereignty activist, has been imprisoned since July for blocking logging trucks. Send letters to Lawrence Pascal, POB 820, Kamloops, British Columbia V2C 5M9, Canada.

•Tewahnee "Tee" Sahme and David "Looks Away" Scamera are Native American prisoners who struggle for Native rights behind prison walls. They were recently transferred back to the prison where, two years ago, both participated in a riot aimed at winning better conditions for prisoners. Now they face retaliation from those same guards. For more information and to support them, contact Break the Chains, POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440, USA; [breakthechains02@yahoo.com](mailto:breakthechains02@yahoo.com); [www.breakthechains.net](http://www.breakthechains.net).

•José Bove will be sent back to prison for 14 months for twice destroying genetically modified crops.

## Ecodefense

•Dr. Yurl Bandazhevsky, Ul. Kalvarijskaya 36, POB 35K, Minsk 220600, Belarus. Serving eight years for telling the world that the nuclear radiation around Chernobyl is worse than what the government had reported.

•Marco Camenish, Hornlistrasse 55, 8330 Pfaffikon, Switzerland. Extradited to Switzerland to serve 10 years for destroying nuclear facility powerlines in the 1970s and '80s.

•Iñaki Garcia Koch, Carcel de Pamplona, C/San Roque, Apdo. 250, 31080—Iruñez—Pamplona, Navarra, Spain. Serving five years for sabotaging a dam construction site.

•Jeffrey "Free" Luers, #13797671, OSP, 2605 State St, Salem, OR 97310, USA. Serving 22 years and eight months for arson at a car dealership.

•Grigory Pasko, Russian Federation 690100, g. Vladivostok, ul. Ivanovskaya 2, kv 24. Russian eco-journalist serving four years for exposing the Russian Navy's dumping of nuclear waste.

•Helen Woodson, #03231-045, FMC Carswell, POB 27137, Fort Worth, TX 76127, USA. Serving 27 years for disarming a Minuteman II missile silo with a jackhammer, mailing warning letters to officials with bullets inside, robbing a bank and burning the money.

# Methods of Control: Components of the Prison Environment

BY PETER GELDERLOOS

Essentially, convicted of a thought crime—crossing onto an otherwise open military base while opposing the School of the Americas—I went to jail on July 12. Refusing to self-surrender, five of us went straight into custody after the trial. I spent a month and a half in Georgia county jails. After 20 days in maximum security at the US Penitentiary Atlanta, and after a lovely flight on Con Air, I came to a federal prison camp in western Maryland, where I will finish my six-month sentence.

There is less need to describe the methods of control used in jails and penitentiaries, which include obvious things like walls, razor wire, television and sedatives. How prisoners are controlled in prison camps, which are minimum security and therefore easy to escape from, is more interesting. These methods of control are also used on society at large, and what is the citizen of a powerful state but a super-minimum security inmate? After all, imprisonment corresponds with trust. People on the outside are there because they can be trusted to obey orders, just as minimum security inmates can be trusted to not escape and to otherwise submit to the conditions of their imprisonment.

All prisoners (including those on the outside) may think and say whatever we want. The only restrictions are on what we do. The minute speech becomes an action—something with consequences; from educating a person to exposing the hypocrisy of an authority—it may be suppressed in the name of protecting the security of an institution. An increased security level may result. For example, exposing a hypocrisy is not punished on the outside because, when treated properly, it contributes to the pervasive and debilitating atmosphere of cynicism. On the inside, it may be punished because it challenges the authority's power, which includes a right to defy truth and common sense. But inside or out, any speech that translates to mass action may be termed "inciting a riot."

By doing, we become dangerous, so it is our actions that the authorities must control. Short of physically confining us, they can only do this by inducing us to obey voluntarily.

The primary tool for obedience is the constant threat of punishment, which is made more effective by giving

prisoners privileges. At prison camp, we have a number of privileges reminiscent of those enjoyed on the outside: phone, commissary, freedom of movement (within set boundaries). All of this can be easily taken away. For more serious infractions, we could wind up "behind the fence," in a higher security facility.

When I came here, I was surprised to notice that the rules were vague, unknown or contradictory. This lack of clarity is a novel way to enforce conformity; everyone wants to play it safe, so they gravitate toward the center like a flock of sheep. No one pushes the boundaries because they don't know where the safe ground ends. Inmates can find no protection in the rules because the authorities are the only ones allowed to interpret them. Accordingly, playing by the book will get you in trouble almost as fast as playing against it. The only safety is in doing what you think is expected of you before they ask you to do it.

Because this particular prison camp is in the mountains, another component of obedience here is the sterilization of nature. After being locked up for two months in four different cells, I was ecstatic to arrive in a place that had so much grass and then crushed to learn that I was not allowed to walk on it at all. The mountains to the west whispered subversively in my blood: wander, escape, run off to live the life of a bandit or guerrilla. But the threat of punishment, five years for crossing a line, forced the mountains to become scenery and further alienated me.

The most venomous lesson of prison camp has been that it teaches us to unconsciously accept imprisonment even under an open sky. Upon release, the "corrected" individual continues his habit of submission and continues to see freedom as an alienable set of privileges.

Meanwhile, a person who lives freely, who makes her own decisions at the direction of her conscience, will be chafed by arbitrary constraints outside just as much as inside of prison.

*Peter Gelderloos served six months for crossing onto the School of the Americas base. He was among the 29 protesters who served three to six-month prison sentences for participating in the peaceful demonstration in November 2001.*

**The most venomous lesson of prison camp has been that it teaches us to unconsciously accept imprisonment even under an open sky.**





# Restoration Ruse on Anacapa Island

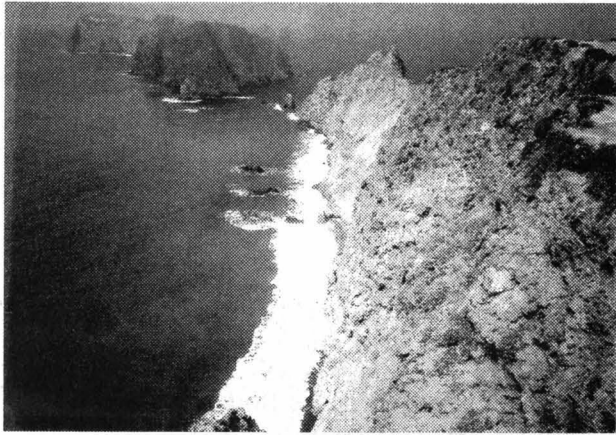


photo by David Muench

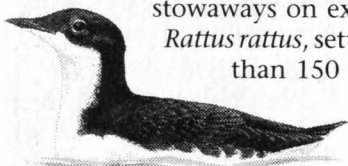
The islets of Anacapa

BY SPRIG

After stopping extractive industries on wildlands, many advocates hope that we can restore these habitats. Yet in areas that are already protected, like national parks, we think our work is done because these ecosystems are supposed to be preserved intact. It is heartbreaking to find out that this is not the case.

A devastating restoration scam is underway on Anacapa Island, part of Channel Islands National Park, off the coast of Santa Barbara, California. What is disturbing is that a nonprofit restoration group called Island Conservation and Ecology Group (ICEG), headquartered at the University of California-Santa Cruz, is the perpetrator.

As is the case for most islands, human exploration brought consequences—one was in the form of invasive stowaways on explorers' boats. The black rat, *Rattus rattus*, settled the islets of Anacapa more than 150 years ago. The National Park Service (NPS) and ICEG based their restoration plans on the premise that this non-native species is a primary predator of the Xantus' murrelet, a threatened sea bird that nests in rocky crevices on Anacapa.



Xantus' Murrelet

Yet evidence from a study on Anacapa could not show that the black rat preys on the eggs, chicks or adult murrelets. In fact, a recent survey showed that the murrelet population was increasing. Supporting further criticism of the ICEG project is a study of the Xantus' murrelet on nearby Santa Barbara Island, which showed that the birds are in decline there, even though the island is free of the black rat.

Still, even if you ignore these facts and consider the black rat a threat, would any true wildlife advocate come to the conclusion that ICEG and the NPS did?

In 1997, ICEG proposed to aerially drop thousands of grain pellets laced with the poison brodifacoum. Brodifacoum is toxic to wildlife, is not registered for wilderness use and has a half-life in the soil for 157 days. Despite legal challenges from the Channel Islands Animal Protection Association (CHIAPA) and the Fund for Animals, the project was approved. Three poison drops have occurred, the first one in December 2001. The last poison drop on November 23, was

secretly planned, witnessed only by sport fishermen who were pelted by poison pellets while in their boats offshore.

After the December 2001 bombing, surveys by the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) and the NPS showed that not only did the poison kill the black rat, but also many of the native bird species. This should have come as no surprise to ICEG's "restoration biologists" who have published on their website a February 24, 1999, study entitled "Brodifacoum Poisoning of Avian Scavengers During Rat Control on a Seabird Colony." According to the study, "There is a very real risk to some avian predators and scavengers from both primary and secondary exposure to brodifacoum when used to remove rats from seabird colonies in the Pacific Northwest environment."

It also follows that birds that have a seed-based diet would also be attracted to the poison-laced grain.

The USFWS gave a Special Purpose Permit to the NPS that allows for the killing of migratory birds, which are supposedly protected under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (MBTA). The Fund for Animals has noted that the MBTA summary report after the December 2001 bombing estimated that "763 protected birds in 27 different species may have been affected by the poisoning." These species include white-crowned sparrows, golden-crowned sparrows, western meadowlarks, American kestrels and burrowing owls.

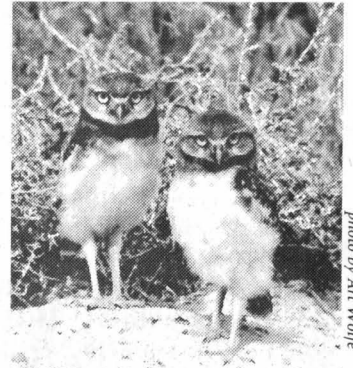


photo by Art Wolfe

Vulnerable burrowing owls

Another highly impacted species was the rare Anacapa deer mouse, endemic only to the Anacapa Islands. The project allowed for this "incidental take" by capturing a sample population of deer mice to be released when the island is safe.

The last two island poisonings were performed in spite of the fact that CHIAPA and the Fund for Animals had filed a petition for an emergency listing of the Anacapa deer mouse as an endangered species. In reality, impact surveys cannot possibly include the birds that died at sea or the long-term effects of the poisoning on this closed ecosystem. Nor can surveys account for the impact on sea mammals and fish from the recent dumping of poison into the Pacific Ocean, let alone from the toxic run-off after a heavy storm.

Scarlet Newton, an animal advocate from CHIAPA, notes that this is just one of many cases of short-sighted restoration on Pacific coast islands. In a recent Freedom of Information Act request, CHIAPA received a copy of correspondence between ICEG and the NPS stating that the two million dollar Anacapa Island project was "precedent setting," and that it would open up the market for future "restoration" projects. If the poisoning of native species were not proof enough, this further demonstrates that ICEG and the NPS are motivated more by profit margins than restoration ethics.

For more information, contact CHIAPA, (805) 882-2008; info@chiapa.org.

## Got the Winter blahs?

Come on down to the 2003 Organizers' Conference and Winter Rendezvous near warm and wild Santa Cruz, California, from February 14-17.

There will be exciting discussions centered around movement building and strategy, as well as time set aside for skills sharing. Yet the focus of this year's conference will be "Safety and Effectiveness." With the recent, tragic deaths of two treesitters, Horehound and Naya, the importance of proper training will be stressed. Instructors will be on site to review training techniques and nonviolence tactics. The intention is that we will be more effective if we are fluent in how to carry out safe actions.

It is no secret that the organizing committee, Santa Cruz EF!, has been dealt heavy blows this year, including Naya's death and the devastation at Ramsey Gulch. Despite this, and because of this, we welcome the opportunity to invite folks from different regions and struggles around the world to our home to discuss many of the important issues facing our movement in these troubled times.

## Our Camp

Home to some of the oldest, grandest and tallest trees, a land of deserts and the Pacific Ocean coast, California is remarkable in its diversity. We will be camping at Arroyo Seco, just east of the Ventana Wilderness. There are trails for hiking, and the brave can swim or raft in the Arroyo Seco River. The daytime temperatures may get into the 70s with overnight lows down to slightly below freezing.

# Earth First!



## Organizers' Conference 2003 February 14-17 Santa Cruz, California

We will be in a US Forest Service campground, so water and toilet facilities will be available. The group campsite can hold 50 people (with a 10 car limit), and there will be additional campsites with 10 people per site (three cars maximum), a short walk away.

## Grub, Fire and Fun

We will try to set up a community kitchen but be prepared to cook your own food in the event that doesn't work out. You should also be prepared to keep your food safe from local critters, including the occasional black bear.

The Warrior Poets Society's annual "Night to Howl" will be on February 16. Poets, singers, musicians, rabble-rousers and ranters are invited to share their work. Please bring dry firewood so we can have warm

nights around the campfire.

Don't bring weapons, drugs, unruly pets or bad attitudes. There will be rangers driving around the camp area, so behave yourself or keep well out of sight.

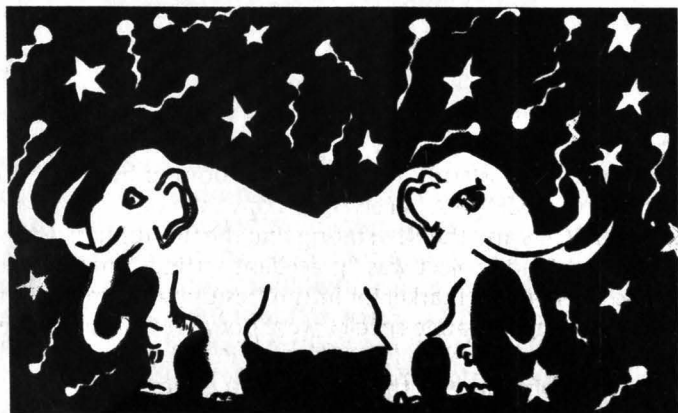
## Directions

From San Francisco: Take Highway 101 south to Arroyo Seco Road, just south of Soledad. Go southwest until you come to the Arroyo Seco campground in the Los Padres National Forest. Look for the group camp.

From southern California: Take Highway 101 north to Greenfield, then take G16 west to the Arroyo Seco campground.

For more information, contact EF! OC 2003, POB 344, Santa Cruz, CA 95061; (831) 425-3205; [cruzef@cruzio.com](mailto:cruzef@cruzio.com).

## ENVIRONMENTAL NEWS OF THE WEIRD



Artwork by Transmission

## Back from the Dead

To fill an order from an Ice Age-themed wildlife park in Siberia, Japanese scientists are digging around in the legs and testicles of a mammoth who was buried in an avalanche 30,000 years ago.

The scientists intend to clone mammoths—who have been extinct for 10,000 years—either by reproducing leg cells or by using a technique that involves impregnating an Indian elephant with cloned mammoth sperm and then repeating the procedure with its offspring. If this intergenerational inbreeding continues for 50 years, a creature that is 88 percent mammoth could result.

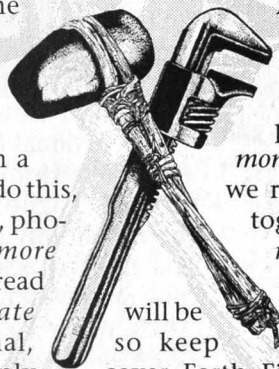
Meanwhile, the planners of the wildlife park are already populating the site with other species from the Ice Age such as wild horses and musk ox.



# an n o u n c e

## Earth First!'s Action Update A New Earth First! Project

Apparently we have far too much free time and not enough good ol' common sense, because we have decided to produce an Earth Firstly newsletter, an "action update," to compliment the in-depth analysis of the and (some-volunteered campaign news, updates (and newsletter on a



In order to do this, mit(!) articles, pho-ports, and more want to "spread Action Update costs minimal, plan to not only cover Earth First! actions, but all actions in defense of the Earth and its inhabitants. While some coverage will be from around the world, there already is an *EF! Action Update*, which covers Europe. You can contact them at *EF! Action Update*, POB 487, Norwich NR2 3AL, England; [mail@actionupdate.org.uk](mailto:mail@actionupdate.org.uk).

While the *EF! Journal's* coverage of radical actions in defense of the Earth is in-depth and campaign oriented, the *Action Update's* coverage would be brief and event oriented. With a monthly newsletter, we will be able to have timely announcements and post-action reports. The world is changing rapidly, the war against the planet is in full swing, and everyday there are people defending the Earth and its inhabitants who could stand a little more coverage, help and movement-building information that a monthly action update can provide.

Hopefully, working with the *EF! Journal*, we can inspire hordes of new actions and activists! Either way, we need to hear feedback from you. Does the movement need another paper? Can we support it? Can you help, and how?

We plan to run our first issue as the blankwall in the February-March issue of the *EF! Journal*. For more information and to send submissions, contact *EF!'s Action Update*, POB 10384, Eugene, OR 97440; [efau@mckenzieprinters.org](mailto:efau@mckenzieprinters.org).

*Earth First! Journal*. A motivated (what) skilled few of us have to collate action reports, cam-announcements, eco-prisoner possibly hot gossip) into a small monthly basis.

we require your help. You will sub-tographs, artwork, news, action re-news about actions (at least if you the word" you will). *Earth First!'s* small in order to keep mailing your submissions short. We

will be so keep

cover Earth First! actions, but all actions in defense of the Earth and its inhabitants. While some coverage will be from around the world, there already is an *EF! Action Update*, which covers Europe. You can contact them at *EF! Action Update*, POB 487, Norwich NR2 3AL, England; [mail@actionupdate.org.uk](mailto:mail@actionupdate.org.uk).

## Help Bring Cascadia Alive!

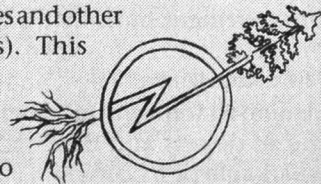
Starting May 26 Siskiyou Bioregion

Plans are afoot in Cascadia to create the largest mobilization of people the US Forest Service (USFS) has ever seen. If the Bush administration has its way, the only thing standing between the forest defenders and the clearcuts this Summer is going to be direct action.

So come to the Northwest to save what is left of our national forests and to send a loud, clear message to the government that its new laws of repression will not silence dissent.

Cascadia Summer will kick off with the Northwest Regional Rendezvous in the Siskiyou mountains of southern Oregon! The Siskiyou region is known for its amazing botanical diversity, lovely and huge forest fires, budding Wise Use movement and legions of USFS minions who want to log every last tree. What a great place for a congregation of EF!ers.

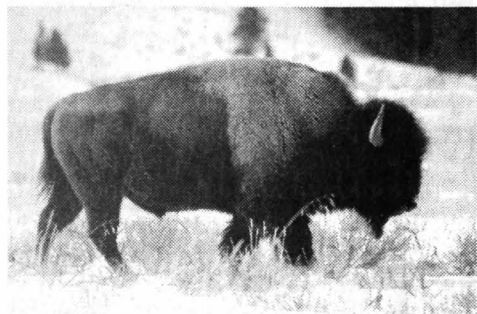
Join us Memorial Day weekend for education, action and fun as we get ready to face some of the biggest post-fire salvage logging Oregon has witnessed (as well as a few replacement volume sales and other sundry projects). This ain't no urban center; we need folksto come, get excited and stay to help us fight.



We invite activists from around the Northwest and beyond to keep your calendar free and your eyes peeled to upcoming issues of the *Journal* for more information.

For ongoing information, background and materials on the upcoming Cascadia Summer Roadshow, contact [cascadia\\_summer\\_subscribe@lists.riseup.net](mailto:cascadia_summer_subscribe@lists.riseup.net).

## The Buffalo Need You This Winter!



Each Winter, Montana's Department of Livestock (DOL) terrorizes the last wild, free-roaming buffalo as they leave Yellowstone National Park in search of food. On October 2, the DOL sent three buffalo to slaughter, marking the earliest buffalo kill in five years. Last year, a total of 202 buffalo were killed.

Buffalo Field Campaign is in desperate need of volunteers to join us on the frontlines to help save these wild buffalo. Come to Montana, stay in a warm cabin and eat great food while protecting these majestic creatures from immediate slaughter. For more information, contact the Buffalo Field Campaign, POB 957, West Yellowstone, MT 59758; (406) 646-0070; [www.wildrockies.org/buffalo](http://www.wildrockies.org/buffalo).

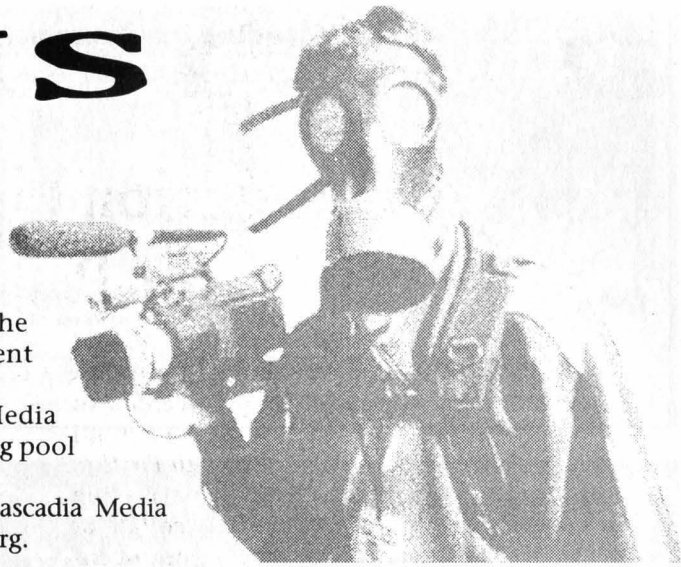
# ments

## LEARN WHAT IT TAKES TO GET THE SHOT

The *Guerrilla Video Primer* is a fascinating and informative look into the world of radical video journalism. This film offers an extensive overview of the skills, techniques and tactics needed to effectively document any event in the streets as an independent videographer.

This fast-paced, one-hour tutorial is the Cascadia Media Collective's attempt to "better train and expand the growing pool of guerrilla journalists."

The *Guerrilla Video Primer* is available for \$18 from the Cascadia Media Collective, POB 703, Eugene, OR 97440; [www.cascadiamedia.org](http://www.cascadiamedia.org).



## Meeting of People Against Civilization

April 26-May 1 · Barcelona, Spain

Civilization as we know it oppresses humanity and destroys the Earth—and it must be stopped.

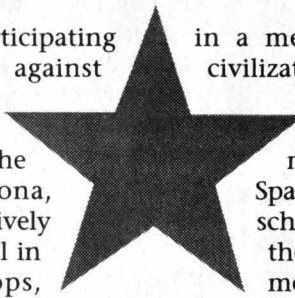
Are you interested in participating the axis of the struggle against relationships that are than what happens at the

Then come to Barcelona, Against Civilization, tentatively The meeting agenda is still in for activities, workshops,

For more information, contact Llabor d'anarquia, C/Mestres Casals i Martorell 18, E-08003, Barcelona, Spain; [llavorda@anarchie.net](mailto:llavorda@anarchie.net).

in a meeting of people around civilization? A meeting that prioritizes how to get organized and creates a space for lasting, that go farther meeting itself?

Spain, for the Meeting of People scheduled for April 26-May 1. the works, so send proposals menus, etc. Don't delay!



## Resources for Radicals

For those active in movements for social change, *Resources for Radicals* provides a smorgasbord of resources with topics ranging from the criminalization of dissent to community gardening. Information coming from the environmental and social justice movements is abundant in the updated fourth edition of this annotated bibliography. To order a copy, send \$15 (\$12 for Canadian orders) to Toronto Action for Social Change, POB 73620, 509 St Clair Ave West, Toronto, Ontario M6C 1C0, Canada; (416) 651-5800; [tasc@web.ca](mailto:tasc@web.ca).



## New Native Wildlife Video

Cold Mountain, Cold Rivers and the Buffalo Field Campaign have released a new compilation featuring eight videos that document the science, controversy and direct action campaigns surrounding the last remaining buffalo, grizzlies and wolves in the US.

For a copy of the *Native Wildlife* compilation video, send a donation of \$15-\$35 sliding scale to Cold Mountain, Cold Rivers, POB 7941, Missoula, MT 59807; (406) 728-0867; [cmcr@wildrockies.org](mailto:cmcr@wildrockies.org).

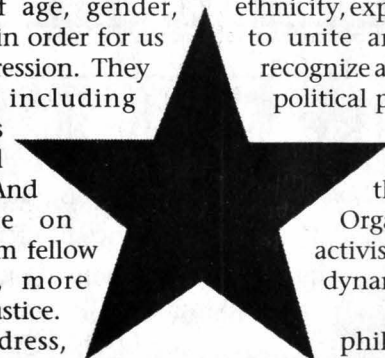
## National Conference on Organized Resistance

January 24-26 · Washington, DC

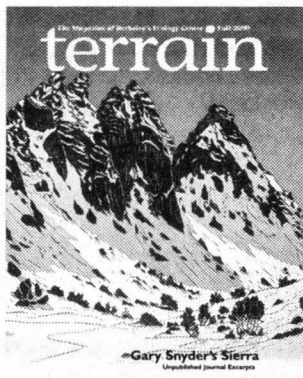
The coordinators of this year's National Conference on Organized Resistance believe that all of our movements for social change must embrace real diversity—including diversity of age, gender, ethnicity, experience, mindset, background and specialty—in order for us to unite and successfully resist multiple forms of oppression. They recognize and respect a diversity of movement tactics, including political protest through art and culture; through religious and secular rituals; and through acts of civil disobedience and militant nonviolence. And they invite you to the National Conference on Organized Resistance to exchange ideas, learn from fellow activists, build relationships and create stronger, more dynamic and more radical movements for social justice.

Workshops will address philosophical questions in our movements, allow for a constructive critique of our actions, explore the inner workings of social change and share skills for better organizing.

For more information, contact the National Conference on Organized Resistance, Kay Spiritual Life Center, Attn: CASJ, 4400 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20016; (202) 885-3333 x.1; [info@organizedresistance.org](mailto:info@organizedresistance.org); [www.organizedresistance.org](http://www.organizedresistance.org).







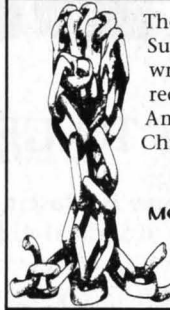
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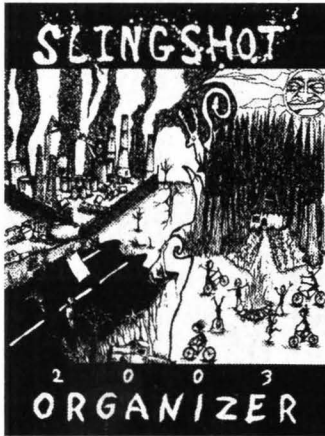


The Newsletter of the Northwest Prisoners' Support Network: This issue includes writings by women in Oregon's prisons, recent statements by the anarchist and American Indian prisoners' group Children of the River, and more.



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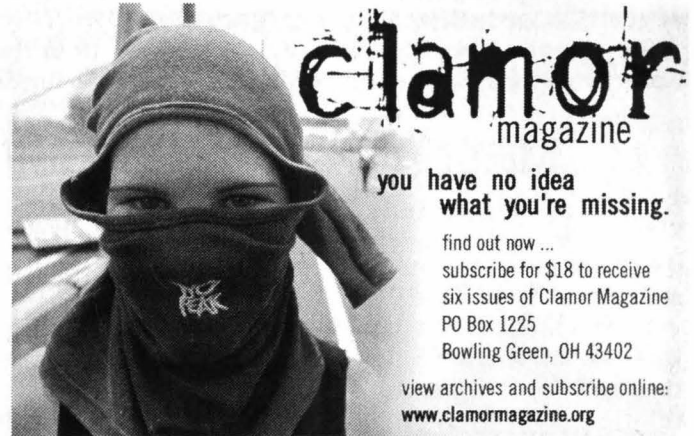


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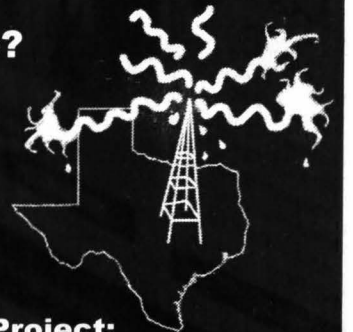
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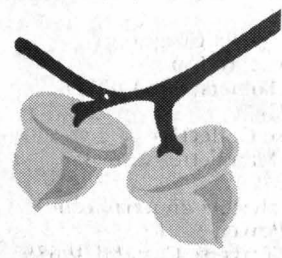
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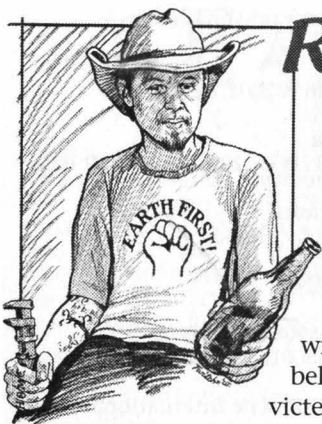
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# Rekindling the Campfire: Dialogues with Our Elders



BY GNOME WOLF SPIRALS

Well, here it is, a new dialogue with another Earth First! elder: our beloved Peg Millett—renowned, convicted, celebrity sabotress of Arizona 5 fame. This interview was her big chance to talk about the rest, and the best, of what she offers our movement—with no mention of powerlines, FBI agents or bald-headed co-defendants. Peg's gifts to us are as a singer, storyteller and spiritual activist of the highest caliber. Listening to Peg is (almost) enough to restore my faith in the human spirit—at least those of us who deserve to exist. Besides, Peg's been known to say sweet things about me, too.

*EF!J: Who were the EF! movement's spiritual pioneers when you first came to a rendezvous in '85?*

PM: I couldn't see any spiritual pioneers in EF!. I saw people who revered the natural world who I could identify with. The woo-woo was the reverence and acknowledgment that the Earth and all the creatures were sacred. There was no defined sense of spirit, but there was an intrinsic value that everything had.

*EF!J: How has spirituality in EF! evolved over the years?*

PM: Now it seems more intellectual or political. I did not think of myself as at all political when I first got involved. I came to EF! to find like-minded people who felt or wanted to be connected to the natural world. People who were doing things to draw attention to Her demise, to the disrespect and the disregard being displayed toward the Earth. Today, there seems to be more awareness of a larger politic—it seems much more human-oriented. It seems much more urban than it ever was before.

There does seem to be more acceptance of magic and woo—although there still is a reluctance or shyness about it.

When I was at the last rendezvous, the throbbing energy being evoked through the rituals at the rally was much different from my experiences or attempts to connect spiritually with the Earth. It was much wilder, less focused—maybe it was because most of the people involved were before their Saturn return, I don't know. There was an edge of defiance in the sex magic and in the drumming. It felt like a reaction to what we deal with every day in the culture, instead of proactive energy.

*EF!J: Is there a tradition to your own sense of spirit?*

PM: I would call myself a mystic, which means I can span all religions and connect with all religions. The closest tradition would be Wiccan and/or Native American, the Good Red Road.

*EF!J: Does the phrase "Rednecks for Woo-woo" apply to you?*

PM: Certainly. Most definitely. I grew up in the West—I grew up identifying myself as a redneck. I was also a Catholic. Catholics are into woo-woo. The good pagan ones are, anyway. We have St. Francis of Assisi, after all.

*EF!J: How have you combined spirit and activism? Many would feel the two are exclusive.*

PM: I cannot do one without the other. All of my activism is infused with my spiritual path, and my spiritual path is infused with my activism.

*EF!J: In '95, I went to your workshop on support for jailed activists, and you talked about your experiences with the Arizona 5 bust. Your sense of spirit struck me at that workshop because you never blamed circumstance but talked about yourself and how the events were intertwined. How do you define psychic cause and effect and how we shape our destinies?*

PM: I'm willing to take responsibility for my part in everything I'm in. If I made it easy for the FBI, then I did.



Peg Millett, Katie Lee and Bill Oliver at Lee's Ferry, early Summer 2002

They're predators, that's what they do. Would I be angry at a rattlesnake if I stepped on it, and it bit me? It's better not to take a victim stance, because you can be more powerful that way. Taking responsibility for my own actions—i.e., not blaming anything or anyone—puts me in a position of power. If I blame someone, I give them the power.

*EF!J: How do you see (or hear) singing as a psychic or magical art?*

PM: Singing—sound—is vibration. It can be harmonious or discordant. It benefits the person who does it, and it benefits the person who hears it, if it is harmonious. If it's discordant, it may still be beneficial, but it has a different function. Harmonies are waves that vibrate or resonate with the highest self inside each person. Also, at times I don't want to be just uplifting—I want people to be jangled into new consciousness or awareness.

Not only does sound vibrate within us, it vibrates in the planet, too. She hears it and responds as well. If we would just listen, we could learn from Her, from the creatures.

*Gnome Wolf Spirals is a poet, deep ecologist and anarcho-misanthrope of leprechaun descent. He lives seven street crossings from the nearest lesbian coffee shop.*

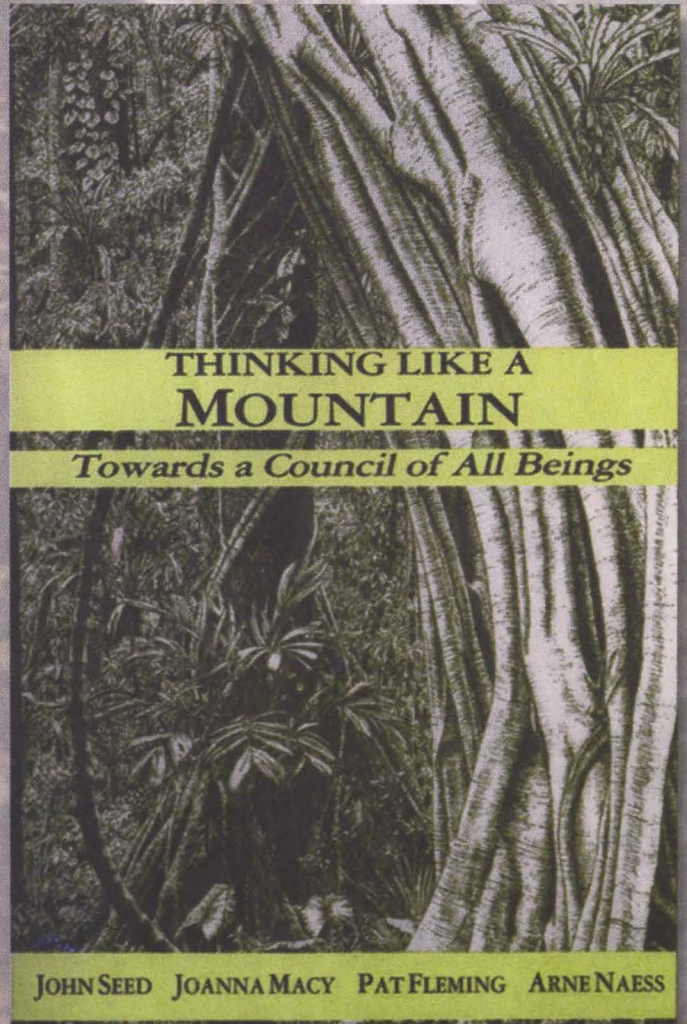
"One swims in the sea of sound she commands." —KATE MILLETT



**When one thinks like a  
mountain, one thinks also  
like the black bear,  
so that honey dribbles  
down your fur as you  
catch the bus to work.**

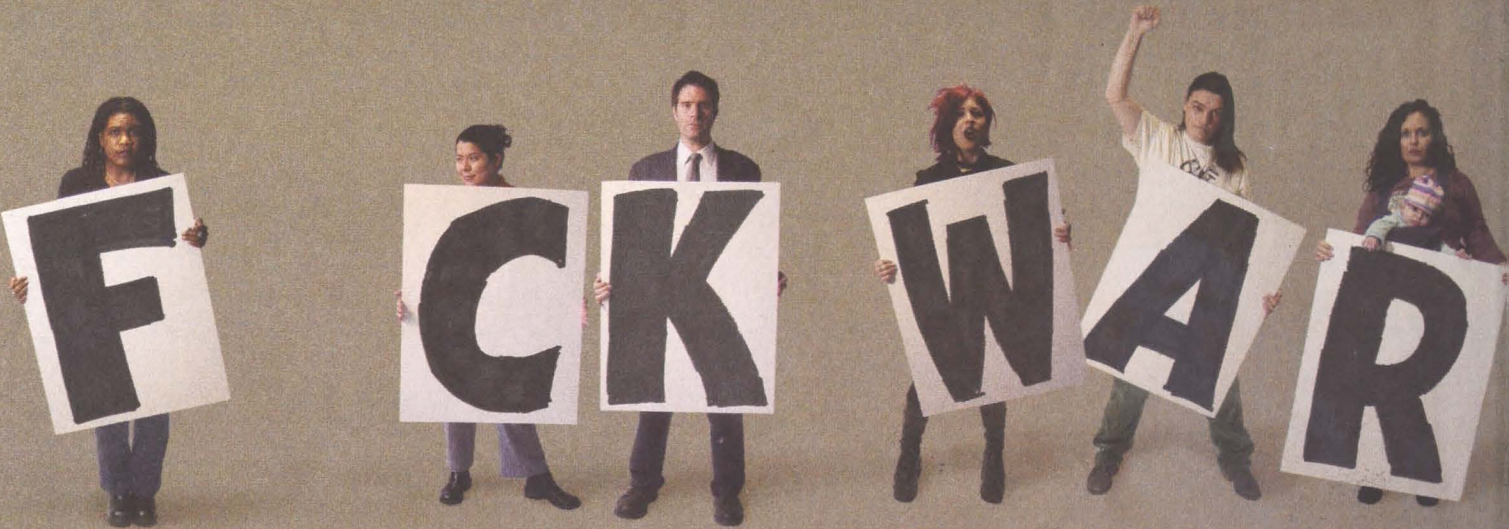
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