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The Radical Environmental Journal

Lugnasadh July-August 2003



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# Innards

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# Staying Alive in a World of Lies

I lost three friends this past year. Each time I learned of another friend's passing, I thought about how much I take for

granted. I hold onto the memories of the past and the special gifts that my friends shared in the time we spent together. My friends' deaths have led me to contemplate my own mortal-

ity, and how it's a miracle that any of us are still alive in this human-mutated world of asphalt and lies.

As much as I grieve my loss, I realize that it is nothing compared to the extinction of entire species, which is what the planet is facing today. It's nothing comThose who feel discouraged by destructive corporate and governmental forces can find hope in this issue's stories of the many people who dust themselves off and go on to

fight another day.

pared to entire native cultures being displaced in the name of "progress." It's nothing compared to the daily assaults on animals in laboratories or to the killing of 500-year-old trees.

This issue of the *Journal* is indicative of the ongoing onslaught against everything wild—from the weakening of critical habitat laws to the devastating effects of coal plants and the military's use of animals. The *Journal* cuts no corners and makes no bones about bringing light to the latest battles waged against Mother Earth.

Those who feel discouraged by destructive corporate and governmental forces can find hope in this issue's

stories of the many people who dust themselves off and go on to fight another day.

"Pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living," Mother Jones once said. I believe this quote encompasses more than just humans. It's also about dead trees. It's about the animals that die after drink-

> ing water polluted by the nearest factory. It's about depleted aquifers. The spirit lives on in those of us who still roam this planet. And so should the desire to do whateverit takes to put the Earth first.

We are the few, the lucky, the liv-

ing. We are the ones left to save what's left. I hear a lot of debate about tactics, and I still believe that each person must discover the best tactic for themselves. Listen to the still, strong voice within, and you will know what you must do. We have a place for a variety of skills in this movement, so there's no excuse not to get out there. What can you do today that will still be a benefit to the Earth when you're dead and gone? Make it count.

-YAEL

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

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.

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## The Strength in Vulnerability

"When I'm sufficiently upset about something, I'm going to put my body out there to try and stop it," explains Dot Fisher-Smith.

Since the protests against the Vietnam War in the 1960s, Dot has resisted injustice and engaged in civil disobedience. She has risked physical injury and imprisonment in order to oppose nuclear weapons and defend forests. Today, at the age of 75, Dot is as strong and committed to stopping the destruction of the Earth as ever.

"Beginnings" is the name given to a 440-year-old Douglas fir tree that was cut down in Oregon this Spring. In May, a dozen activists traveled to the Mr. Wilson Timber Sale in the Bureau of Land Management's Medford district. They found what remained of Beginnings and cut a cross-section of the stump. It took 10 people all the strength they could muster to roll the six-foot, 500-pound slice through the unvarded clearcut.

Forest defenders are now touring the communities of Cascadia with the massive piece of Beginnings. The centuries-old tree speaks for itself. It is a striking illustration of how the US government and logging companies are managing the last wild areas on public lands.

There can be strength in vulnerability. At first glance, both Dot and Beginnings appear to be naked and exposed. Powerless. However, Dot's expression and body language tell otherwise. She is resolved. She is strong. Likewise, Beginnings has become a symbol of hope where there was once only despair.

There is strength in being flesh, blood and bone, grounded on the Earth. Our opponents have the power of their greed and machinery. They need bulldozers, dynamite, concrete and dams to control the Earth. They need laws, prisons, guns and tanks to keep people from rising up. We have ourselves, each other and the power of the Earth. And we have the ability to fight back, creatively and effectively, driven by our love and rage.

Since May, groups and individuals, as part of Cascadia Summer, have been busy using direct action, outreach and legal work to keep old-growth forests from being logged. Here are some of the early highlights:

•On May 22, forest defenders from the Klamath Salmon Action Group of northern California and the Ashland, Oregon-based Mazama Forest Defenders erected three treesits in the Glassups Timber Sale. The timber sale is located on the Salmon River within the Klamath National Forest in

northern California. The treesits aimed to stop Columbia Helicopters from logging

## **CASCADIA SUMMER BEGINS**

and clearcutting the area. After a few days, federal agents closed the road leading to the treesits and detained supporters to starve out the treesitters. After two weeks, the three treesitters voluntarily came down and were arrested.

•On May 28, BMC West, one of the largest retail lumber chains, was the subject of protests in eight cities. Activists demanded that the company stop purchasing wood from the US, Chile and Canada. BMC's suppliers include Roseburg Forest Products, Freres Lumber and Weyerhauser.

Timber Sale in the Willamette National Forest near Eugene, Oregon, a newly formed women's group is working to protect the forests while confronting sexual oppression within the environmental movement. Since March, two treesits have been established at Straw Devil, where logging is expected to begin in July.

For more information or to get involved in Cascadia Summer, contact Cascadia Forest Alliance, (503) 241-4979; cascadiasummer@riseup.net; www.cascadiasummer.org.

There is strength in being flesh, blood and bone, grounded on the Earth

•The Cascadia Forest Alliance, based in Portland, Oregon, set up a new treesit in the Mt. Hood National Forest at the end of May. The Solo Timber Sale, which encompasses 157 acres of old-growth forest, was scheduled to be cut by Freres Lumber beginning June 1. However, that morning it was discovered that a trench had been dug through a logging road leading into the sale. The road was also blocked in several places by large piles of logs and brush. Activists speculate that the work

may have been done by a giant mole or a freak windstorm.

•At the Straw Devil



### Dear S#%! for Brains: Letters to the Editors

address, stating that there is a direct action campaign being mounted against him that will not require a nonvio-

lence training. Let me be clear. I am not a pacifist. I am an avid proponent of property destruction, and I even think that violence is sometimes necessary. But printing a home address in a widelypublished periodical just doesn't seem right. Are vou prepared to accept responsibility for any action based on the printing of this address? I love trees just as much as the rest of them, but I don't want to see anybody physically hurt if it is avoidable. It seems that Climber Eric has already had his home and insurance company visited. What would be the purpose of further, potentially violent, encounters with him? How would it help save the forest?

Next, the Journal prints an article stating that a snitch is "no longer entitled to basic expectations of safety," and that it is therefore "righteous to hurt them, burn down their house, or do similar naughty things to them." That "it would be within the range of ethical behavior to break a snitch's knees with a baseball bat." I don't think it is ever righteous to hurt anybody or break anybody's kneecaps, and call me naive, but I still believe that everybody is entitled to basic expectations of safety. I agree that snitching is a problem, but don't think the threat of violence is the best way to solve it. Remember. the State is much more effective at that than we are.

I just think it's important to keep an eye on our longterm goals, on helping save animals and forests, instead of focusing on our own egos. I see a lot of muscle-flexing and ego in Earth First!, and I don't like it.

-MOUNTAIN GOAT

#### Dear Shit for Brains,

I'd like to make a few comments on the article "Snitches get Stitches?" (see EF!J May-June 2003). First and foremost, there should be no question mark at the end of the title, stitches are the least they deserve. Anyone who works with a snitch (once a snitch always a snitch) gets what they deserve if they are that stupidthis is not a fucking game. Let's get a fucking clue here, people. You could end up in prison for the rest of your lives because some dumb punk can't hold his mud.

On the other hand, we can't allow the movement to be torn apart by false accusations started by morons or infiltrators, so it's good that people waited for proof before denouncing Sherman as a snitch. However, now that people know for sure, if anyone ever accepted him back into radical circles knowingly and introduced him to me, then I'd have to sock them in the mouth right after I got done handling Sherman. Same goes for Justin Samuel.

Some may think that's uncalled for, and that's cool with me because I don't want jackasses who would/could jeopardize my security anywhere within my circle of friends. If a "post-snitch" (as if there could be such a thing) really gives a fuck about the Earth, they will continue doing actions on their own without movement support.

Mahonia thinks "the first step a snitch needs to take is to be fully accountable for what they have done." I feel their first step should be out in front of a bus.

For Wildness,

-CRITTER

Dear SFB,

Greetings from the Oregon State Pen. I really enjoyed the articles on security and snitches in the Beltane issue. I have a few things I'd like to add, speaking from both good and bad experience.

Before anyone gets involved in extreme direct action, they must first come to terms with the possible consequences. This is a must if someone wants to be 100 percent effective in their actions and remain true in prison should they have the misfortune of being caught.

The reality of the situation is that once that match is lit, you will forever be wanted by the cops. Should you be caught, you may be in prison for many years, and you may lose everything you had on the "outs." I don't say this to dissuade anyone. On the contrary, accepting these things will lend you more courage. It takes far more strength to ride out a prison sentence than it does to act. If you build that strength inside you, vou will be more effective in action. And should you be caught, you will stand as courageous a warrior in front of the court as you did in the dark hours of the night.

I cannot stress enough how important it is to accept these possible consequences. I can tell you, sitting in that jail cell in the beginning, I found great strength in the fact that this was a sacrifice I willingly and knowingly made, and in a sense, it took the threat of prison away from them.

Perhaps someday I will be able to openly speak of my experiences. However, until then, please consider the following: whenever possible, work alone. If you must work with others, keep the number as small as possible. Follow your instincts. If something doesn't feel right, it probably isn't. Don't let others convince you otherwise or second guess

#### Dear EF!,

I was glad to read the encouraging article and artwork in your May-June 2003 issue. Graffiti is one of the last forms of free speech that everyone can afford and access.

Solidarity!

—Маѕико

#### Hey Compañeras,

For years I have chuckled at Utah Phillips' adage: "The Earth is not dying, it's being killed. And the people doing the killing have names and phone numbers." So it was with a beaming smile and lustful delight that I opened the latest copy of the Journal to see a photo of a corporate criminal (Climber Eric) complete with his home phone number and address. Can you please make this a regular feature in your magazine? Maybe each issue display 5-100 corporate criminals with their photos, list of their crimes, where they live and their phone numbers? I'm sure we can all make creative use of this valuable information.

Thanks,

-PIPPI THE RAT

Editors' note: The Journal has run a "Most Wanted Ecoterrorists" column in the past and would be happy to again. Please contact us with ideas and information you'd like to see in the Journal, including the names and addresses of any corporate criminals. We'll print it.

#### Dear SFB,

I have some concerns with the content of the *Earth First! Journal*. In the last issue, you printed a person's home yourself. It is better to walk away from a sketchy action in order to do another than it is to get caught. (Trust me on this one.) Prior to the action. make sure all incriminating articles have been disposed of in an untraceable location.

Finally, there is no excuse ever to rat on another to save your own ass. If you do, then you never accepted the serious nature of your actions, and you are a weak-hearted punk who should have never been engaged in them in the first place. You must be prepared to walk the path of darkness alone. That is what it means to be a warrior. If I'd opened my mouth, I'd be out in three more years. Instead, I kept it shut and pulled 22.

Now, I'm counting on the actions of others. Save our planet, people. Bring freedom, justice and equality to all. And if you have time, get me and all the other political prisoners/prisoners of war out of prison. The first shot has already been fired, my friends. Unless we have more warriors out there fighting, we are going to lose this war. It is that simple. Strength and courage to you all.

Onward to victory,

-FREE

#### Dear SFB.

I have a problem out of your March-April 2003 issue on statements made by "Free."

Free, I've known who you are even before you got busted, and I have respected most of what you say until now!

You talk of picking up the gun and making a call for violence. Well, you have some nerve. I can't believe you'd want to send people into a deadly battle. I need to ask you: How many people have you shot? Or how many people have you watched die before your eyes or in your arms? If you have had this experience, you wouldn't be talking this shit, homeboy.

You talked of gangs and horror stories. Well, I was one of those guys at one point in my life. I am from Los Angeles. And I tell vou what, I've seen many people die. In fact, I'm the last one living in my family. It hurts real bad to watch people you love die. Then you

talk of people whining about pepper spray and rubber bullets. Well let me tell va, lead bullets hurt even worse. I should know. I've been shot eight times and stabbed 11 times. Living the life of a gun is a horrible life to live, and still to this day. I wake up in a bad nightmare. The life

of a gun will haunt you all your fucking life.

It's obvious people are devastated by pepper spray or rubber bullets. It's not whining, people have their own limits.

Sure the government is fucking shit up, but picking

up the gun

is not the answer. They kill four, we kill five. Guns were meant to kill, and they create more violence than they are worth. Look what happened on 9-11. They killed a couple thousand of us, our government went over there and killed 10,000 of them, and it's still

Please limit "Dear SFB" submissions to 300 words. Like this one ... Dear Earth Second after my Nikes, Raise your subrates and lose your customers. What part of that didn't you understand? Enjoy the mall! + Wal-mart,

-ANONYMOUS

going on. Guns escalate problems, they don't solve them. If you think life is bad now, just wait until you raise arms. Your problems will become tenfold.

It's not fun getting shot at, or shot. In fact, it is scary as hell, and it's a life I wouldn't wish on anyone. I guess that's why or part of why I fight a different fight today. The killing must stop, but picking up a gun will only add to the killing. Please, evervone out there that loves life, please-I beg you-do not go on Free's advice.

I don't mean to put you down, but your call is unacceptable, and I still respect the things you have done, but not your call to violence. If you know me, you'd know I know what I'm talking about. Your bad day can cost someone their life-because you know people look

up to you.

If anyone out there needs to know more, or why picking up the gun will be worse, please contact me. But please, a gun is not the answer.

Sincerely,

-RODNEY WADE, #38056 I.M.S.I., A1-31-A POB 51, BOISE, ID 83707

> Dear Brains, Last Summer, I joined the elite, hapless corps of Earth warriors who have suffered legal action for defending Ma Nature. Our peace was shattered when a wealthy redneck sued my hubby and me for stopping him from diverting a spring on our prop-

erty to a new cow pasture.

We are cautiously optimistic about the outcome, but it's along, long, costly battle. And considering what passes for justice these days, we're also quite apprehensive. So I'm wondering, do any Journal readers know of a support group for enviros forced to endure such ordeals?

We searched in vain for a group or individual who would help save a rare, ungrazed, old-growth riparian area in the eastern Sierras. Most of the threatened land is in a California Fish and Game wildlife refuge, but the state is unwilling to defend its own water rights because there are no fish in the stream. We're having to scrape up thousands of dollars for a lawyer, in a backwater where money's hard to come by.

In other words, we're on our own here and badly in need of advice and/or encouragement! A nightmare like this endangers one's sanity, happiness and in our case, our dream of saving land for wildlife. If there isn't a support network for sued Earth defenders, there should be. Anyone who has ever suffered a similar fate and can share some words of wisdom is implored to email me.

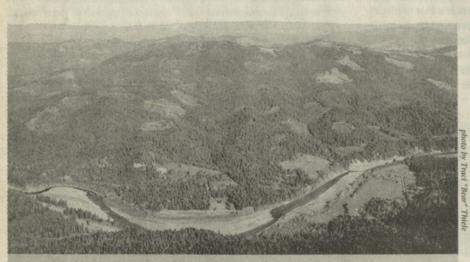
-LESLIE LYON DESERTNYMPH999@YAHOO.COM

## Victory in the Headwaters Forest Court Rules Against Pacific Lumber Permits

#### BY YAEL

On May 19, environmentalists celebrated a stunning victory over Maxxam/Pacific Lumber (PL) when lawyers from the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC) and the Sierra Club prevailed in a complex lawsuit that challenged the tenets of the Headwaters Forest deal. Humboldt County Superior Judge John Golden indicated that he would strike down PL's Sustained Yield Plan, Incidental Take Permits and permits to alter streambeds.

Golden ruled that the California Department of Forestry (CDF) and the California Department of Fish and Game failed to follow the law in granting these permits to PL. He further determined that the state of California failed to consider evidence or conduct an environmental review consistent with the California Environmental Quality Act. Golden's decision will become final after a hearing on June 30.



The following permits have allowed PL to mow down the residual habitat of the critically endangered marbled murrelet and have given the company the green light to engage in an unsustainable rate of logging.

The Sustained Yield Plan (SYP) issued by the California Department of Forestry (CDF). The SYP regulates how many board feet of timber PL can log each year and is projected for 120 years. The court found that at the time of the permit's approval, no SYP document was actually in existence.

The Incidental Take Permits issued by the California Department of Fish and Game (CDFG). One permit authorized PL to destroy nesting habitat used by the endangered marbled murrelet, a small sea bird, and to kill or harm up to 340 individuals. CDFG also permitted the harming of other protected species and provided assurances that no additional protection would be required for species that were not listed as threatened or endangered at the time.

The **Streambed Alteration Permit** (Sec 1603) issued by CDFG. This permit allows PL to build roads across creeks and rivers, as well as to conduct activity in and near watercourses.

The Headwaters Forest deal, finalized on March 1, 1999, was a multi-part agreement. State and federal agencies paid PL \$380 million dollars and in return, the public got title to 7,500 acres. This included the 3,000-acre Headwaters grove, in addition to a 3,500-acre buffer. At the time, Headwaters was the largest unprotected old-growth redwood forest in the world, with trees that reached 2,000 years old. PL received permits to log its remaining 211,000 acres. It was these permits that the court recently rejected.

"Under these permits, PL logged more than 30,000 acres, including more than 600 acres of old-growth forest," said Cynthia Elkins, programs director for EPIC. "Not in our lifetime can we restore those 1,500-year-old redwoods."

EPIC and the Sierra Club filed their lawsuit in April 1999, challenging the legality and soundness of the Headwaters deal. A parallel lawsuit was filed at the same time by the United Steelworkers of America, representing locked-out

> workers from Kaiser Aluminum—a subsidiary of Maxxam. The union's lawsuit challenged the Sustained Yield Plan on the grounds that PL's logging plans weren't sustainable for the local economy, jobs or watersheds. Although these lawsuits were filed four years ago, they were not heard until March. The union also expects a favorable hearing.

> "We believe that both jobs and a sustainable environment can be achieved in Humboldt County but not if regulators bend over backward to let PL strip every tree off of the hillsides," said Dave Foster of the United Steelworkers of America. "This decision proves that labor and environmental coalitions can hold corporations accountable."

This win vindicates the many people who have opposed PL's logging of endangered species habitat and fragile watersheds. Opposition has ranged from sitting in trees to bringing testimony to agencies, occupying offices and a myriad of other forest defense tactics. The victory also gives support to Humboldt County district attorney Paul Gallegos' current lawsuit against PL, charging fraud in its negotiations of the Headwaters deal.

For more information, contact EPIC, POB 397, Garberville, CA 95542; (707) 923-2931; www.wildcalifornia.org.

Yael enjoys making weird concoctions in the kitchen and harvesting rainwater.

## **Eric Schatz and Pacific Lumber** *vs.* EF!, the People and the Forest

Throughout April and May, Pacific Lumber (PL) climber Eric Schatz continued his violent removal of treesitters from the Freshwater Creek area in northern California (see *EF*!J May-June 2003). One incident involved the near death of a protester who was hung over the edge of his treesit platform and restrained by one of Schatz's climbers. The climber stood on the treesitter's shoulders while Schatz hogtied him.

In late May, female forest defenders attempted to serve Schatz, who has a history of domestic violence, with a

subpoena in a sexual harassment lawsuit. The women allege that Schatz is guilty of sexual harassment during the Freshwater treesit evictions. When they arrived at Schatz's home with court papers in hand, Schatz blockaded the women in his driveway, physically threatened them and called the police. One activist was arrested when she refused to provide her name to Humboldt County Sheriff's deputies.

In response to the evictions of Freshwater treesitters and the continuing public opposition to old-growth logging, PL's parent company, Maxxam, hired a public relations firm to orchestrate a smear campaign complete with newspaper, television and radio ads. The ads, which began running on April 7, target forest activists and treesitters, in particular Rod Coronado.

PL has accused Humboldt County forest defenders of "ecoterrorism," referring to their nonviolent actions as "not your average milk and cookies activism to save mother nature." It attributes Coronado's presence in Humboldt County to the protests targeting Eric Schatz Tree Service.

Coronado responded to the ads by stating that in more than 15 years of Earth First! opposition to PL's logging practices, it has been PL contractors and employees, such as Schatz, who have engaged in physical attacks and intimidation.

"This kind of attack on free speech should send chills to those who believe in our constitutional rights. Corporations like PL would love

nothing more than to silence outspoken critics who historically serve a vital role in effecting positive social and environmental change in our society," said Coronado.

In May, more than 60 doctors, lawyers, city council members, clergy and local residents signed a letter calling on PL President Robert Manne and Maxxam CEO Charles Hurwitz to "stop producing media material claiming that civil disobedience is an act of terrorism."

The letter continued, "You should realize that instead of becoming divided, we are being drawn together in our concern over your effort to split our community apart."

Meanwhile, much of PL's logging in the Freshwater watershed has been completed. Only six of the original 22

treesits remain, standing alone in a virtual clearcut. Less than five percent of the original Freshwater forest remains.

In total, more than 75 arrests were made during the evictions of treesitters this Spring. PL has filed harassment lawsuits against upward of 40 of those forest defenders, seeking damages for interference with its logging operations.

Despite the fall of Freshwater, forest defenders are calling for a renewed campaign against PL and Maxxam. There are still treesits on Gypsy Mountain and approved timber sales



Sometime during the second week of June in the Mattole Forest, Pacific Lumber (PL) loggers cut down the 400-year-old Douglas fir tree known as "Gaia." One of the oldest survivors in Unit #5 of the Rattler 9 Timber Harvest Plan, Gaia was spared from PL's chainsaws by the gallant efforts of treesitters last Fall.

On June 14, the felled tree was discovered atop the former basecamp. The Gaia treesit was part of a larger campaign of resistance to defend the old-growth mixed fir, madrone and oak groves on PL lands in the Mattole.

> in the Mattole watershed that require defense. Until PL's permits allowing the killing of endangered species can be rescinded, activists are needed to protect old-growth forests on PL property. PL is notorious for disobeying court orders that are supposed to prevent it from logging, and direct action is more necessary now than ever before.

> In addition to the Earth First! actions in the forest, the Houston, Texas-based organization Children of Earth is calling on activists from around the country to organize local campaigns against the distributors of PL products. To find a list of PL distributors in your area, visit www.palco.com.

> For more information, contact North Coast EF!, (707) 825-6598, or Children of Earth, FightMaxxam@aol.com.

# Collateral Damage

### Endangered Species Face Fall-Out from Bush's War on the Earth

The Endangered Species Act (ESA) of 1973, passed in order to protect and recover endangered species and the ecosystems they depend on, has since been weakened through loopholes, provisional legislation and a lack of funding. Logging, recreational vehicle use, military operations, pollution, livestock grazing, urban sprawl and other forms of human encroachment have taken a heavy toll on wildlife during the last 30 years. The Bush administration has only accelerated this trend through its collaboration with Earth-destroying corporations. Meanwhile, plant and animal species are paying the price as they rapidly dwindle toward extinction.

#### Bush is a Bad Guy

President Bush has listed only 20 species under the ESA since coming into office—the second slowest listing record in the history of the ESA.

All of Bush's listings have been in response to environmental lawsuits and petitions. Bush is the only president since the ESA was enacted to not list any species by his own initiative.

When forced by the courts to render decisions on the protection of imperiled species, the Bush administration routinely stalls the process, declaring that the species are "warranted-but-precluded" for listing. This means that the species are eligible to be listed as endangered, but their designation is allegedly precluded by the US Fish and Wildlife Service's (FWS) expeditious progress in listing higher priority species.

The species on the precluded list receive no legal protection and often remain on this list for an average of 17 years. The corporations and special-interest groups that Bush caters to benefit greatly from the use of the warranted-butprecluded loophole.

#### **Political Games**

One such victim of Bush's policies is the Yosemite toad, which lives in high elevation lakes and meadows in California's Sierra Nevada mountain range. Once a common sight, the toad has been eliminated from more than half of its historical range. The Yosemite toad is threatened in large part by Mexican spotted owl

pesticides drifting in from California's Central Valley agricultural region.

In December, the FWS decided to delay protection for the Yosemite toad by placing it on the warranted-but-precluded list, claiming that the agency lacked enough money to protect the toad under the ESA.

#### **Extinction is Insignificant**

Bush is the only president to have declared that extinction is inconsequential. The administration is the first to use a loophole in the ESA to deny endangered or threatened status to imperiled species because they are "not significant."

The burbot is a freshwater cod that once ranged throughout the rivers of North America and Europe. In Idaho, burbot are now endemic solely to the Kootenai River where a genetically and behaviorally distinct population remains. The completion of the Libby Dam on the Kootenai River in 1972 created many challenges for the burbot. The dam increased the water flows, disrupted spawning, raised water temperatures and changed the nutrient supply, thus causing the once abundant Idaho burbot fisheries to collapse. Today, there are less than 300 Kootenai burbot left.

In 2000, conservationists requested an emergency ESA listing to begin the process of forcing the operators of the dam to change the flows. However, in March, the Bush administration declined the listing and declared that the burbot isn't significant enough to save from extinction.

#### **Recovering Species as Enemy Combatants**

A variety of species also face the threat of being delisted from crucial protections. The Peirson's milkvetch is a silvery, short-lived perennial plant with small purple flowers. In the US, the plant is known to live only on California's Algodones dunes, where it is trampled by large, annual off-road vehicle (ORV) gatherings.

In February, ORV interests filed a lawsuit against the FWS, forcing it to make a decision on a 2001 petition to remove the Peirson's milkvetch from the endangered species list and reopen the dunes to thousands of ORVs. The land had been protected following a settlement reached by a coalition of

environmental groups and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) in 2000.

Playing into the hands of this special-interest group, the BLM announced on May 24, that it would reopen 49,310 acres of Algodones dunes to ORVs, leaving only 25,800 acres as a congressionally protected wilderness. This reduced area represents just 15 percent of the dunes not enough to ensure the survival of the Peirson's milkvetch and the many threatened species dependent on the dunes habitat.

#### **Fighting Back**

The Bush administration is intentionally undermining the ESA in order to win the favor of corporations restricted by endangered species and critical habitat designations. In turn, the Bush administration is using stalling tactics and loopholes in the ESA to avoid addressing the underlying problems, such as pollution and habitat destruction, that contribute to extinction—thus endangering human and non-human animals alike. From its perspective, the loss of an intrinsically valuable species is simply collateral damage in the greedy game of domination.

The Center for Biological Diversity is fighting back and winning. Using litigation and conservation biology to protect species from extinction, it has won ESA protection for 280 species and the designation of more than 38 million acres of critical habitat.

For more information, contact the Center for Biological Diversity, (520) 623-5252; center@biologicaldiversity.org; www.biologicaldiversity.org.

Salmon is currently enjoying her critical habitat designation in Tucson, Arizona.

## **Bush Undermines Critical Habitat**

Critical habitat designation is one of three essential legs on which the Endangered Species Act (ESA) stands, along with the development of recovery plans and the listing of threatened and endangered species.

Because habitat loss is the leading cause of extinction, the Department of the Interior (DOI) is required to map and protect areas necessary for the recovery of each endangered species as critical habitat.

On May 28, the Bush administration announced that it is implementing policies that will undermine critical habitat protections. These include refusing to comply with court orders, expanding loopholes in the ESA and issuing legal disclaimers that would encourage industries to file lawsuits to strike down critical habitat designations.

Meanwhile, reports submitted to Congress by the US Fish and Wildlife

Service (FWS) and the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) show that species with critical habitat protections are more than twice as likely to recover.

Even though the DOI claims that environmentalists have broken the ESA with a flood of litigation over critical habitat designation, only 406 out of the 1,262 species listed as endangered or threatened have critical habitat assigned. The Bush administration has grudgingly issued, under court order, 32 critical habitat designations.

The DOI complains that its funds to designate critical habitat have been exhausted by lawsuits and that it will be forced to shift money from other endangered species programs. Yet when Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton submitted the 2003 budget request to Congress last year, she predicted it would be insufficient to keep up with the workload. Congress was not stingy: It granted her budget request in full and invited the DOI to come back for more



In defiance of court orders, the Bush administration has refused to protect endangered species such as the lynx and the spotted owl.

money. Rather than immediately submit a supplemental budget request, the Bush administration announced that the DOI can't protect endangered species because it doesn't have enough money.

According to the DOI, critical habitat designation is redundant to the other protections afforded by the ESA. The Bush administration has suggested that it will substitute recovery plans for critical habitat, yet the FWS's and NMFS's own data indicates that the combination of a recovery plan and critical habitat is the most effective way to restore endangered species.

In April, the DOI announced that it will not comply with 24 court orders to protect the habitat of 37 endangered species. Protection of 21 million acres in all western states, the North Woods, New England, New York and the Southeast will be indefinitely delayed.

"The court orders to be delayed read like an industry wish list," said Kieran Suckling, executive director of the Center for Biological Diversity. "Christmas has come early for the timber, mining and development lobby." Of the 18 critical habitats most likely to curb destructive industry practices, only five are on the to-be-completed list.

In response to lawsuits by its industry supporters, the Bush administration has also voluntarily revoked 27 Clinton-era critical habitat designations totaling more than 16 million acres.

"The ESA couldn't be clearer: Except in the rarest of circumstances, every listed species must have its habitat protected through critical habitat designation," said Andrew Wetzler, senior attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council. "If the Bush administration tries to get around this clear legal requirement, the environmental community is more than ready to use the courts to stop them."

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# Will the Wolf Survive?

#### BY MEL YOUNGBLOOD

On April 1, the gray wolf's status was downlisted to threatened in Montana, in preparation to remove it from the endangered species list. Unfortunately for the wolf, this was no April Fool's joke.

Wolf management issues directly affect me. Currently, 13 known wolf packs live within a 100-mile radius of my northwest Montana cabin. And that's not counting fugitive packs that biologists haven't radio-collared and documented. That sounds like a lot of wolves, especially considering

that two decades ago there were none in this area. In reality, it's a bare-bones population. The situation where I live is unique in that Canadian wolves crept into this area on their own in the 1980s. Whether naturally or artificially reintroduced, the wolf is making a comeback against all odds due to its adaptability and high reproduction rate.

The question since the wolf first reappeared in the shoot-shoveland-shut-up West isn't whether the West is big enough for wolves but whether people can be big enough to accept them. Federal officials feel the number of wolves that could be sustained by the available habitat and prey base is higher than the number of wolves that would be socially acceptable. They claim minimum recovery goals have been met, with an estimated 660 wolves in about 80 packs.

Within the Northern Rockies Recovery Area (NRA), which includes Montana, Idaho and Wyoming, 43 of those packs have at least one

documented breeding pair. The US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) has determined that 15 breeding pairs per state constitutes a genetically viable population. However, no formal study of viability has been done to support this figure.

In the US, the wolf currently exists in less than two percent of its native territory. The Endangered Species Act (ESA) states that a species must regain a "significant" part of its native territory to be considered recovered. Effective habitat linkages are therefore an essential factor in species recovery.

In order for the wolf to be removed from the endangered species list, each state must have a federally approved management plan in place. Because the NRA wolf populations would be delisted as a single entity, the three individual state plans will be evaluated together, most likely toward the end of the year.

In the Spring, the Montana Fish, Wildlife and Parks Department hosted sessions to gather public comment on management alternatives. At the meeting I attended, it became clear that biologists are moving away from research and monitoring toward administrating the wolf as if it were an economic resource. Officials cited regional economic figures and emphasized that if wolves were delisted, the animals' presence would actually be favorable for hunting outfitters and ecotourism. Others claimed that delisting wolves would decrease the economic impacts of wolf depredation on livestock.

Living with wolves means accepting that people must give up some freedom in order to have a more complete

and balanced ecosystem. When

I go into the woods in the Win-

ter and happen upon wolf tracks

in the snow—impossibly huge.

unmistakable for anything else-

I am filled with a sense of the

wildness around me. Wolves re-

THE WOLF is the SADDAM HUSSEIN of the ANIMAL WORLD we don't Want Saddam Montaina !!!

mind us of the best that is human and teach us about the power of nature. I am not trying to romanticize this alpha predator. A predator who is capable of eating 20 pounds of meat and traveling 150 miles in a day; who can pass through the woods like a gray ghost; or with one chomp of its sharp carnasial teeth can tear through a moose's thick Winter hide. The more I study them, the more I realize that there is something undefinable about wolves that historically has caused them to be both the most venerated and reviled of animals. Despite all the research that has been done about wolves, more is needed, as well as greater public awareness of the uncer-An anti-wolf sign from Montana tainties of wolf management.

Idaho and Montana's plans call for maintaining the wolf populations at 15 packs or more, emphasizing non-lethal control of problem wolves. They would also reclassify the wolf as big game or furbearer and implement a hunting season. Wyoming's plan involves no target number of wolves and supports their wholesale elimination outside of national parks and designated wilderness areas. This will be done by giving Wyoming wolves dual classification: "trophy animal" within federal lands and "predator" in the remaining two-thirds of the state.

Wyoming's history is replete with accounts of wolf genocide. Between 1897 and 1907, bounties were paid on 20,819 wolves. Under Wyoming's proposed management plan, people would be allowed to kill an unlimited number of animals in areas where wolves are classified as predators. If a wolf steps outside of Grand Teton National Park or any of the other protected areas, it will be dead meat. To make matters worse, Wyoming wants to change the definition of a wolf pack from the FWS's universally accepted "five or more individuals bearing two young by December 31 of each year" to "five or more individuals," period.

Not long ago, the US Forest Service attempted to redefine "old-growth" forests in Montana in order to grant logging companies access to timber previously off-limits. It comes as no surprise that similar tactics are in the works for the beleaguered wolf.

With all the animosity against wolves, now is not the time for delisting. In Montana alone, 19 wolves have already been killed in 2003, representing more than 10 percent of

the state's entire wolf population.

When I talked to a FWS biologist about what these changes to

## The

#### BY YAEL

From prehistoric times until the turn of the 20th century, the Mexican gray wolf (*Canis lupus baileyi*) was common throughout

western Texas, southern New Mexico, southern Arizona and northern Mexico.

Beginning in 1914, Congress appropriated hundreds of thousands of dollars to hire federal hunters to kill every wolf and other major predator in the Southwest. On behalf of the livestock industry, the US government completely exterminated Mexican gray wolves from the US by the mid-1920s.

In 1993, conservationists settled a lawsuit with the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), which resulted in a decision to reintroduce the offspring of the last wolves captured alive in the 1970s from Mexico into the Blue River region of Arizona.

The recovery area for these wolves currently encompasses land in the Gila wolf management would mean, he shrugged and said that he didn't know. To him, wolf management is a "big laboratory experiment." In such an experiment, wolves can only come out on the short end of the stick.

Both Montana and Idaho's plans have been tentatively approved by the FWS, pending further review. Wyoming's plan has yet to be approved. According to Montana Fish, Wildlife and Parks officer Tom Palmer, federal officials have deemed Wyoming's plan problematic, which could hold up the species' delisting.

State officials worry about where the money is coming from for wolf management. Environmentalists worry

> about what will happen to the wolf if ESA protection is removed. Ranchers and hunters

worry about the effect on livestock and big game if wolves aren't delisted. The controversial delisting process will undoubtedly result in litigation.

Litigation can be a powerful weapon. In a 2002 lawsuit filed by the Western Watersheds Project and the Idaho Conservation League against the Sawtooth National Forest and the FWS, the courts ruled in favor of giving preference to wildlife before livestock within the Sawtooth National Recreation Area (SNRA). The court issued an injunction against the FWS, which prohibits lethal control of wolves that depredate on livestock within the SNRA.

But litigation can take time the wolf doesn't have. Direct action and activism are needed to turn the tide if the gray wolf is to survive.

Mel Youngblood is a journalist who lives in a remote cabin in the North Fork Valley of northwest Montana. She writes about environmental issues.

# Mexican Gray Wolf

and Apache National Forests but excludes adjacent public, tribal and private lands. Wolves who stray outside of the designated recovery zone are cap-

tured. No other wolf recovery programs in the US have this provision.

In addition, livestock owners in the Southwest are not required to dispose of dead horses or cattle, causing wolves to become habituated to scavenging on livestock. The wolf recovery programs in Wyoming, Idaho and Montana forbid the baiting of wolves with carcasses.

The Conservation Breeding Specialists Group released a three-year scientific review of the Mexican Gray Wolf Reintroduction Program. In order for the program to succeed, it recommended that ranchers dispose of livestock carcasses and that wolves be allowed to wander outside of the recovery area. The group warned that failure to heed its recommendations would likely cause the Mexican gray wolf population to decline in numbers.

When the report was released in 2001, there were 27 radio-collared wolves. Today, there are just 19. Due to the economic interests of ranchers, FWS has not implemented the scientist's recommendations. On May 27, a wolf pair was broken up when the male was captured in a leghold trap and the female was shot dead after she killed a calf and injured two others. She had not killed or injured livestock until after having scavenged on cattle carcasses.

The Arizona Department of Game and Fish is currently beginning a fiveyear review of the Mexican Gray Wolf Reintroduction Program, due out next summer. The question remains: Why is a five-year review being conducted when virtually no action was taken on the recommendations from the previous one?

For updates on the Mexican gray wolf, visit www.biologicaldiversity.org.

Yael dreams of the day when all people and animals are territorially aware, alert, intuitive and free.

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"If food is a weapon, then genetic engineering is a weapon of mass destruction."

-MISSOURI RESISTANCE AGAINST GENETIC ENGINEERING

COME TO THE

### What is the World Agricultural Forum?

Its motto is "peace and security through agriculture." In its literature, the World Agricultural Forum (WAF) repeatedly identifies itself as global, neutral and inclusive.

Yet it is none of these things.

Its board of directors is made up almost entirely of white male executives from the US. The 17-member board includes five individuals who are current or former Monsanto executives and one who is married to Monsanto's director of public relations. The WAF provides its corporate members a forum where they can influence agricultural and trade ministers from around the world.

The WAF agenda promotes the privatization of water, global acceptance of genetically modified organisms, patenting of life forms and elimination of barriers to trade—including environmental protections and the subsidies designed to aid small farmers.

This year's WAF gathering, "Working Together to Create the Future and Disable the Barriers," was held from May 18-20 in St. Louis, Missouri.

With the focus of September's World Trade Organization meeting in Cancun, Mexico, being primarily on agriculture, attacking the WAF has perhaps never been more timely.

### Police Crackdown in St. Louis

#### BY KAYE

On May 16, St. Louis police arrested 29 people in four separate locations in a coordinated strategy to silence planned protests of the World Agricultural Forum (WAF) meeting that weekend.

St. Louis' finest stopped and harassed numerous individuals. They impounded three cars and dozens of bicycles. They raided homes and offices, where they stole people's personal belongings, slashed bicycle tires and destroyed offices and bedrooms. They peed and shit on people's things.

Eight members of the Flying Rutabaga Bicycle Circus—a circus troupe dedicated to educating people about food, genetic engineering and sustainable living—were arrested for

riding without a bicycle license. Since no such law exists, the charge was later changed to "obstructing the flow of traffic."

The arrests and ensuing confiscation of circus props delayed the Flying Rutabaga's "Caravan across the Cornbelt," en route to Washington, DC, to protest the Biotechnology Industry Organization.

In another incident, the police raided a home, known

as the Bolozone, while the occupants were eating breakfast. Although it was a legal residence, police condemned the building, arrested everyone and trashed the place.

The police also raided the Community Arts and Media Project (CAMP), a community center that houses the offices of the Gateway Green Alliance, the *Confluence* newspaper and the St. Louis Independent Media Center. The confiscated items included a 10-foot-tall puppet depicting a St. Louis police officer.

Elsewhere, a vehicle was pulled over, and the driver was arrested for suspected possession of a controlled substance: vitamin C capsules.

In the succeeding days, marked and undercover police cars with canine units parked outside buildings, while helicopters hovered overhead. Despite these pre-emptive attacks by the police, a completely peaceful 400-person rally was held on Sunday outside of the ritzy Hyatt Regency hotel where the WAF was held. Hundreds of riot police lurked in the shadows, yet there were no further arrests.

In the weeks preceding the arrests, St. Louis police warned the public that "anarchists from Seattle" would converge on the city. Ostensibly in preparation for violent protests, they purchased new riot gear and crowd control weapons.

According to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, WAF's private security firm, Allied Intelligence, coordinated a training that instructed St. Louis police to look for men with tattoos and out-of-state license plates occupying abandoned buildings. Police officers from Seattle, Washington, also attended the

"We, as artists, have ideas as weapons, which are more powerful than any of the whips, torches, Molotov cocktails, rocks and slingshots that police claimed we were preparing for the World Agricultural Forum."

-FLYING RUTABAGA BICYCLE CIRCUS

training and showed video footage of windows being smashed during the 1999 WTO protests.

In its ploy to make corporate domination seem reasonable, the WAF is desperately trying to portray the opposition to globalization as violent and extremist.

Call St. Louis Police Department Chief Joe Mokwa at (314) 444-5624. Ask him to return the stolen belongings, drop all of the charges and make a public apology.

For more information, visit stlouis.indymedia.org.

Kaye grew up in a shopping mall in east central Illinois. Today, her efforts to support local, autonomous food systems take her to both sides of the Mississippi.

### A Global Citizen's Declaration for Biosafety and Food Security

The following excerpt is taken from the global declaration ratified during Biodevastation 7. Held in St. Louis, Missouri, from May 16-18, Biodevastation 7 was a counter-conference to the World Agricultural Forum. For more information, visit www.biodev.org.

Seven years after the first commercial introduction of genetically engineered (GE) foods, most people around the world still firmly reject this technology. Only four countries are growing nearly all of the world's genetically engineered crops, and only four basic GE crops (corn, soy, cotton and canola) are being grown commercially on a large scale. More than 35 countries around the world, including the European Union, have taken steps to restrict the growing and importation of GE crops. Promises that genetic engineering will feed the world, reduce chemical use and benefit farmers have proven false. Countries in the global South that have experimented with GE crops have found them to be a dismal failure. Now is the time to assess this technology's real consequences on our health and the environment.

continued on next page

## Lessons from Biodevastation 7 Fight Repression with Organization

#### BY HEATHER AJANI

As I rode with friends from Albuquerque, New Mexico, to St. Louis, Missouri, I looked forward to participating in the Biodevastation 7 conference and protesting against the World Agricultural Forum (WAF).

Unfortunately, police repression, disorganization and distrust marred my experience.

When I first arrived at the community college where the conference was to be held, I expected to be able to find information about the protests being planned and the location of the convergence space. However, a wave of paranoia had set in amongst the organizers following the police raids and arrests of activists.

When it was suggested that conference participants organize jail solidarity for those arrested, there was some apprehension. It became evident that the police had already done what they set out to do—disrupting the conference and our resistance to the WAF—as a small number of the conference attendees went downtown to hold a vigil at the St. Louis jail.

As the weekend continued, everything was dictated by a spirit of fear: fear of police presence, skepticism in one another and a fleeting sense of community.

On Saturday evening, I took part in a spokescouncil meeting where affinity groups met to work out logistics for the next day's action against the WAF. Some local organizers wanted to call off the march, but many of us who had traveled from far away



did not want to let the police silence our voices. After much deliberating, we agreed to march downtown even if we were limited to the sidewalk.

However, the next afternoon, confusion reigned about who should lead the march and the route we would take.

Although many people stayed on the sidewalk, others took to the streets as police rode alongside the crowd in their cruisers. Very few people showed solidarity with those in the street, and local organizers were quick to refer to us as rabblerousers. I took this with a grain of salt as two older community farmers marched in the street and shouted at the cops.

I left St. Louis thinking about Biodevastation 7 very critically. I wondered what could have been done better. I wondered if the small numbers, lack of good planning and access to information was indicative of the movement as a whole. And I wondered if, as a movement, we were doomed in terms of mass actions and future organizing.

At future events, I think that having better communication, tighter organization and clearer goals could thwart some of the confusion, distrust and poor attendance I saw

in St. Louis.

Criticisms aside, I also saw my experience as a valuable learning tool in regard to organization—a term we should take more seriously. We need to organize more effectively as we prepare to take back our lives, rather than fall victim to fear.

Heather Ajani is a community organizer in Phoenix, Arizona. She is a member of the Anarchist People of Color list, Bring the Ruckus and Copwatch.

### A Global Citizen's Declaration for Biosafety and Food Security

continued from previous page The biotechnology industry would compel us to overlook GE's hazards: the development of new allergens, the spread of antibiotic resistance, the contamination of neighboring crops, as well as the threat of unforeseen ecological disruptions. The industry wants us to ignore how it terrorizes farmers with lawsuits, threats and surveillance and how farmers in the global South are dependent on chemical fertilizers.

We declare our support for the right of European countries to continue to refuse these hazardous products. We also encourage people in the US, where more than 75 percent of the world's GE crops are grown, to join others around the world in rejecting this technology. Further, during the Biodevastation 7 gathering, we have seen the police in Monsanto's hometown subject protesters to an unprecedented level of harassment. This affirms what we have known for a long time: The biotechnology industry can only have its way in a climate of suppressed public debate, political corruption and intimidation.

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## Newmont: Creating Destruction with Every Ounce

"More than 85 percent of gold mined today will end up as jewelry tomorrow. Gold mining is not an essential industry. It is not sustainable, nor is it just. Yet the cumulative impacts of gold mining on ecosystems worldwide are at least as damaging as that of industrial forestry and agri-business."

#### -PROJECT UNDERGROUND

Newmont in Indonesia

Newmont is notorious for using indigenous lands and fishing

areas as toxic waste dumping

grounds. In Sumbawa, Indone-

sia, during the course of five years,

Newmont dumped nearly three

million tons of tailings from its

Minahasa Raya Mine into Buyat Bay. Sumbawa residents have re-

ported alarming rates of illness

that they believe are the effects

of consuming the bay's arsenic-

#### BY SARAH BELLUM

Outside of Newmont Mining Corporation's annual general meeting (AGM) on May 7, in Denver, Colorado, 10-foot-tall puppets depicted Newmont's use of violence, intimidation and toxic abuse around the world. Residents of communities affected by the corporation's international operations joined environmental activists to denounce Newmont's growing trail of destruction.

Newmont is the world's largest

gold mining company, with mines spread across five continents. It produced nearly eight million ounces of gold in 2002 alone.

During the AGM, Diana Ruiz, mining campaign coordinator for Project Underground, chastised Newmont for "creating destruction with every ounce of gold produced." Project Underground focuses on the human rights and environmental impacts of mining, as well as oil and gas drilling.

Perhaps most shocking to shareholders present was an addendum to the company's annual report, which addressed the social and environmental impacts of Newmont's operations. Prepared by Project Underground, the supplement warned that the company must start taking the concerns of the affected communities seriously.

#### Newmont in Peru

In Cajamarca, Peru, people are still waiting for justice three years after a truck from the Newmont-operated Yanacocha Mine left 330 pounds of mercury spilled in its wake. Manuel Mantilla Aguilar stated the true price of gold in a letter read at Newmont's AGM: "I am worried about the health of my children and my wife. They constantly go to the health clinic with kidney and head pains, dizziness and nasal hemorrhaging, unable to find relief."

Newmont intends to expand the Yanacocha mine to include Cerro Quilish, a mountain whose rivers provide the primary water source for Cajamarca. Massive protests in recent years—drawing as many as 15,000 residents have called for the absolute preservation of Cerro Quilish. According to resident E. Javier Guzman Bazan, "If our complaints are ignored, desperation will lead us to take radical measures."



laden fish. According to Project Underground, Newmont has pressured the Indonesian government to relax its environmental laws so that Newmont's

ment to relax its environmental laws so that Newmont's mining operations may continue to expand in the region.

#### Newmont in Nevada

Newmont's disregard for the environment is also known in the US at its Nevada sites, where its mining operations leak cyanide, fluoride, ammonia, arsenic and other heavy metals into the surface and groundwater of the Western Shoshone people.

Newmont impeded an investigation by the Nevada Division of Environmental Protection at its Lone Tree Mine near Battle Mountain this Spring. The investigation was initiated when two former Lone Tree employees filed a complaint and denounced Newmont's environmental misconduct.

While pursuing a 1,400-acre expansion, the company failed to address cleanup costs at its Gold Quarry Mine north of Carlin, Nevada. In 2002, environmental groups filed a lawsuit demanding that the Bureau of Land Management require Newmont to protect water resources and ensure that taxpayers are not left with cleanup expenses.

It is time to hold Newmont accountable for the environmental and social impacts of its operations. Until it cleans up its act, Newmont should expect to continue warding off attacks by environmental groups. Contact Wayne Murdy, chairman and CEO, Newmont Mining Corporation, 1700 Lincoln St, Denver, CO 80203.

For more information, contact Project Underground, (510) 271-8081; project\_underground@moles.org; www.moles.org.

Sarah Bellum is a close friend of Captain Compost, a true intellectual.

# **Challenging** Corporate

#### BY RYAN SIMMONS

Spring is the time of year when many companies hold their annual general meetings (AGM), which are required by law for all publicly listed companies. During these meetings, representatives report on the company's financial success while directors answer questions regarding its business activities. Often, decisions are made by shareholders who have little or no connection to the land on which the company operates nor to the people affected by its practices. This year, as in years past, affected groups held numerous corporations accountable at AGMs around the world.

#### London: BP

Activists with London Rising Tide greeted BP at its AGM on April 26, with a Carnival Against Oil Wars and Climate Chaos. The noisy, defiant and colorful band of several hundred protesters handed out fake annual reports to BP shareholders—some of whom mistook the spoof for the real thing.

Prior to the carnival, London Rising Tide traveled throughout England on a "Deconstructing BP" tour. The tour featured speakers from the Colombia Solidarity Campaign and displayed photographs of the proposed route for the controversial Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline through Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey.

#### Los Angeles: Occidental Petroleum

At the AGM of Los Angeles-based Occidental Petroleum on April 25, Luis Alberto Galvis, a Colombian survivor of the 1998 Santo Domingo massacre, confronted Occidental CEO Ray Irani and the board of directors about the company's role in the slaughter. Occidental, along with its security contractor Airscan, Inc., provided vital information to the Colombian military, in addition to ground and air support. The bombing raid, which killed 17 innocent civilians, was supposedly targeting rebels.

Coinciding with the AGM, a lawsuit was filed against Occidental and Airscan for their involvement in the massacre.

#### **Toronto: Barrick Gold**

On May 7, Barrick Gold, the world's second largest gold producer, held its AGM at its headquarters in Toronto, Canada. Activists attending the meeting rejected Barrick's plan to mine a 1,073acre area at Lake Cowal, located in New South Wales, Australia.

Neville Williams, a Wiradjuri elder, has pursued legal action against Barrick to stop the project. According to Williams, Lake Cowal is a sacred region for aboriginal people and is often called "the heartland of the Wiradjuri Nation."

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Lake Cowal is also home to many endangered species that would be further threatened by potential wastewater spills of cyanide, arsenic and other toxins if the mine is allowed.

Currently, Barrick Gold is carrying out extensive "advanced feasibility" exploration drilling at Lake Cowal.

#### Uzbekistan: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Members of Ecodefense attended the AGM of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (ERBD) in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, Russia, on May 4 and 5. They urged ERBD to stop funding Russia's largest oil company, Lukoil.

Activists drew attention to Lukoil's controversial D-6 project, a plan to drill for oil near the coast of the Baltic Sea. An offshore oil deposit was discovered in the area in 1983 and drilling tests eventually led to a 70-ton oil spill that polluted 12 miles of coastline. The project was canceled in 1987 due to strong public protests.

In May 2000, ERBD gave Lukoil a \$150 million loan that allowed the company to pick up from where it left off on the D-6 project. Lukoil has refused to offer full access to information on its development of the project.

#### London: Anglo-American

Anglo-American held its AGM on April 25, where it was confronted by Desmond D'sa, the chairperson of the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance in South Africa. D'sa and supporters attended the AGM to address concerns over pollution caused by Mondi Paper, a subsidiary of Anglo-American and one of Durban's biggest polluters.

"In a democratic South Africa, environmental injustices perpetuated by Anglo-American must be severely dealt with," said D'sa.

Residents are especially concerned about Mondi's plan to build an incinerator to burn coal ash and other production waste. Mondi also intends to discontinue use of its

> less-polluting gas-fired boiler to generate electricity, opting instead for the increased use of its two coal-fired boilers.

#### London: Royal Dutch/Shell

While in London, South African community leader D'sa also dropped in on Royal Dutch/Shell's AGM, where activists from around the world gathered to protest its destructive policies. D'sa brought with him the messages of his South Durban community, who suffer from living in the shadow of a Shell oil refinery.

According to D'sa, "As residents who live on the fence line of the Shell refinery, we are suffering from high levels of asthma, leukemia and cancer."

# **Conventions Worldwide**

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Oronto Douglas, an environmental lawyer, also traveled from South Africa to attend the meeting. Douglas called for an end to the extreme level of pollution that Shell has left in its wake in Nigeria. The pollution has sparked workers and locals to occupy and shut down oil refineries and plants.

Both African campaigners argue that Shell is guilty of environmental racism. They want to know why the same environmental rules that Shell operates under in Denmark do not apply to its plants in Africa. Shell has not responded.

#### Idaho: Boise Cascade Corporation

Fifty anti-logging activists protested outside of Boise Cascade Corporation's AGM in April, sig-

nificantly outnumbering its shareholders. The protesters demanded that Boise stop old-growth logging, and they plan to influence its timber practices by convincing customers to buy from other suppliers. Boise clients include Blockbuster, Borders Books, Brown University and the University of Illinois.

"Until Boise stops buying old-growth wood from the world's endangered forests, it is a liability for customers to be in business with Boise," warned Martin Stephan of Rainforest Action Network.

The campaign against Boise has proven itself effective: The company reported a \$27.5 million loss for the first quarter of 2003 and a pessimistic forecast for the second.

#### Houston: Maxxam

On May 21, Courtney Clarke attended the AGM for the Houston-based Maxxam corporation and read a letter on behalf of Earth First! organizer and Maxxam stockholder Darryl Cherney. Maxxam CEO Charles Hurwitz, board members, legal staff and other shareholders were in attendance to hear the letter read aloud.

Cherney's letter focused on Pacific Lumber's continued logging of old-growth redwoods and the forceful removal of nonviolent treesitters in northern California. Pacific Lumber, a Maxxam subsidiary, is notorious for its unsustainable logging practices and abusive behavior toward people protecting forests.

Imploring Maxxam's decision-makers to do some soulsearching, Cherney suggested that they decide what's more important: life or profit.

#### London: Rio Tinto

On April 17, activists from the Sulawesi community of Poboya in Indonesia sent a message to the board of directors and shareholders of Rio Tinto, an Australia-based mining company. On the day of Rio Tinto's AGM, 500 Poboya residents, community groups and students marched to the provincial government headquarters in Indonesia to oppose mining on protected forest lands.

Rio Tinto's subsidiary, PT Citra Palu Mineral, is accused of illegally drilling to survey for gold in a park with conservation status and threatening other protected forests in the area. The Poboya activists unfurled a giant banner that proclaimed: "Reject Rio Tinto."

"If the governor allows PT Citra Palu Mineral's mining plans, we're ready for war," declared Poboya resident Zamruddin. "We'll put a boycott on the use of

the spring in our village, which for so long has been a water source for the City of Palu."

Outside Rio Tinto's AGM in London, protesters in solidarity with the Poboya community exposed the mining company's numerous human rights violations and environmental atrocities.

#### Onward

A look at the AGMs of powerful corporations paints a pretty clear picture of the current economic and decisionmaking crisis on the planet. We see that the private institutions that shape the world are essentially fascist in their internal structures. The owners of these corporations ruin lives and ecosystems—all to make a profit.

No amount of patriotic sloganeering or freedom-loving flag waving can cover up this bleak reality: Privately owned, undemocratic institutions are dictating the direction that our world is headed.

As the struggle continues and more resistance and solutions surface, we face the challenge of shifting attention away from our differences—be they ideological, tactical or preferential—toward focusing on the myriad ways in which we're all striving for the same creative, stimulating, sustainable world of the future.

As the intricacies of the capitalist system are picked apart, scrutinized and resisted the world over, the time has come to couple resistance with a vision for what practices and values we would like to see implemented as a replacement. Shifting focus to the autonomous power of the people and successful tactics of the past, as well as experimenting with new strategies for the future, puts the ball in our court. It elevates us above the level of mere reactionaries, taking us a step closer to realizing our potential.

Ryan Simmons left his sports equipment in Tucson, Arizona, where it will dry-rot in the blazing sun.

# **Advanced Biological** Weapons Systems

#### BY PUCK

Slavery. Prison camps. Strip mines. Clearcuts. "Sport" hunting. Rape. Wars. The brutality humans are capable of can be truly overwhelming. US foreign policy is full of such examples. The images of Iraqi newborns deformed by exposure to depleted uranium, Palestinians crushed by US-made tanks and immigrants dying along the US/ Mexican border are never far from my mind when I see the star-spangled banner of red, white and blue. The recent and ongoing manipulation of other species by military powers is one more stark illustration of humanity's ability to commit acts of unthinkable cruelty, cowardice and arrogance in the name of patriotism.

During the most recent US war, in addition to the ranks of lowincome youth and people of color, the military sent pigeons, chickens, dogs, dolphins, beluga whales and sea lions to participate in the imperial conquest of Iraq and its oil fields.

The chickens and pigeons were

stuffed into cages that sat on top of military Humvees. Their function was to "test" the air for chemical weaponsnever mind that the military has spent dumbfounding amounts of taxpayer money on state-of-the-art chemical detection equipment.

Just how well did the gas detection program work? Without the help of any chemical weapons, 41 out of the 43 chickens deployed to the region died within a week of arrival—probably from the stress of the trip.

Dogs are some of the military's more accepted indentured servants. Certainly, their species is not new to military exploitation. During World War II, the US Army used "tankdogs" laden with explosives to blow up German tanks. According to officials, the 1,400 dogs who were recently sent to Iraq were only used to detect mines and to rescue dead and wounded personnel.

One of the more bizarre examples of animals used by the military was when the US launched Project X-Ray in World

War II. The plan was to attack Japan with bats carrying tiny satchels bearing incendiary devices. However, it backfired when, on a practice run, the bats attacked the wrong target and set fire to a military airfield in New Mexico.

The use of dolphins and other cetaceans for military purposes is more controversial. The Marine Mammal Program has always been shrouded in secrecy. In the decade after the program began in 1960, cetaceans became an obsessive curiosity for military experimenters from the US Navy and the Soviet Union. The Navy studied the underwater sonar capabilities of dolphins and beluga whales to learn how to design better radars. Throughout the decades since, military vivisectors have butchered thousands of dolphins during "invasive laboratory research."

The Navy also trained dolphins, beluga whales, orcas and sea lions to retrieve lost objects underwater (including dropped nuclear warheads), deliver equipment to divers, guard boats and submarines and conduct un-

derwater surveillance with cameras strapped to their

mouths. A combination of rewards, incarceration, physical abuse and starvation was utilized by the Navy to teach these animals such tricks.

Many dolphin specialists and trainers balk at the notion of using dolphins to kill. The altruism of these animals and their cooperative nature toward humans and each other has been recorded for centuries.

Between 1965 and 1975, several dolphin trainers resigned after the Navy sent five dolphins to Vietnam, ostensibly to perform non-lethal activities. However, Dr. Michael Greenwood, a former military cetacean trainer and neurophysiologist, claims that during the Vietnam War, dolphins were taught to kill enemy swimmers by using hypodermic syringes to inject them with pressurized carbon dioxide. This would cause the humans to literally explode. It is speculated that the deaths of 40 Vietcong divers and two US servicemen were the



result of this top-secret program. It is now well-documented that the Soviet Union's dolphin program—which developed in parallel to the one in the US and ended in the 1990s due to lack of funds—included such "killer dolphins." Greenwood also said that the Navy trained orcas to deliver explosives, including nuclear warheads, to enemy shores. The US government has denied these allegations. with neck harnesses that pressed small electrodes into their skin. Supposedly, the harnesses transmitted electronic signals that allowed human monitors to track and control them. An explosive charge was planted on the underside of the dolphins' necks that could be detonated if their captors lost control over them.

In February 1998, 22 dolphin carcasses washed up

along the coast of France. Sixteen of the 22 were reported to have a fist-sized hole on the underside of the neck. In

Gulf during the Iraq war. According to the Navy, both dolphins and sea lions-who are deployed by land, sea or air-are taught to attach a restraining device to the legs of enemy swimmers. "The clamp is connected to a rope and signal buoy that humans with guns would then reel up, presumably pulling up a human on the other end," an ABC News story reported. A BBC article left more room for the imagination when it reported that sea lions, who can swim as fast as 25 miles per hour, "can even pursue a suspect onto dry land."

During the 1980s, former military dolphin trainers announced that Navy dolphins were capable of planting mines 100 times faster than humans. In 1985, Ken Woodal, a former US Navy SEAL, said that he had worked with three dolphins in Vietnam and that they were "quite effective in attaching light mines to enemy wharves and piers." The Navy continues to deny allegations that any cetaceans have ever been used to plant mines or bombs.

In 1987, during the Iran-Iraq War, the US sent five dolphins to

the Persian Gulf to protect Navy ships and locate mines in the harbor. At the time, it was reported that Iranian patrol boats machine-gunned every dolphin they saw, fearing the rumors that "American animals" were laying mines and spying with cameras.

Official government documents released in 1990 admitted that 13 dolphins had died in Navy custody between 1987 and 1990. More than half had suffered from starvation or stomach disorders. Testimony from a former military animal trainer, Rick Trout, exposed the military's use of starvation and physical violence as a routine part of training animals. "My second day on the job, I saw a sea lion kicked in the head for refusing to eat," he revealed. "I also saw a dolphin punched in the face."

The military has forced these gentle mammals into acting as war machines by using electronic stimulation to manipulate the animals' brains. During the 1990s, there were many stories of how the Navy was fitting dolphins

### The Plight of Animals in the Military

a London Observer article, accident investigator Leo Sheridan noted that the strange neck wounds were "consistent with a small detonation."

In March, an Atlantic bottlenosed dolphin named Tacoma "went AWOL" while being used by US Marines to locate mines in the Umm Qasr port of Iraq. Unfortunately, Tacoma had been fitted with an acoustic monitor on his fin and was located in less than three days. The military also ties the snouts of dolphins shut with a strip of velcro when the animals are let into the open sea. The military calls this an "anti-foraging device" and claims that its function is not to control the dolphins but rather to safeguard them from ingesting harmful objects. Unable to eat, runaway dolphins are likely to return to their captors.

Like Tacoma, who was captured from his home in the

Gulf of Mexico, all of the marine mammals used by the military were either stolen from their natural habitats or born into captivity. When wild dolphins are captured for human use, they are chased down by motor boats until they are exhausted. The young are then stolen from their mothers and sent to chlorinated aquariums or military bases to live a life contrary to their instincts.

Naturally, it is important for us to oppose the military's practice of using animals in war and apply public pressure to end this perversion and disgrace. However, we shouldn't stop there. The military's exploitation and disregard for living beings should come as no surprise. Ultimately, no human, animal, tree or rock will be safe from missiles or corporations until the US empire and war machine is dismantled.

After working as an editor at the EF! Journal for almost a year, Puck is running away to become a bandit.



# ENTERING Vandenberg Air Force Base

#### BY QUICKSILVER

In March, I took an unauthorized backpacking trip across a land of harsh beauty, a land defined by war. I want to relate an intense interaction with this land.

Vandenberg Air Force Base (VAFB) is the nation's foremost control center for space-based warfare. Located in

southern California, it is also a key command point for satellite surveillance, targeting, navigation and guidance of bombs and missiles.

All intercontinental ballistic missiles test-fired over the Pacific Ocean come from VAFB. It is home to Titan, Atlas and Taurus rockets, as well as Patriot, Minuteman and Peacekeeper silos. Four out of the six new ground-based interceptors for the proposed Star Wars defense system will also be located here.

VAFB's mountaintops bristle with antennae and giant receiver dishes. Its coasts are lined with towering rocket-launch gantries. Its website proudly states that the domination of space, "the ultimate high ground," will enable the US to rule every battlespace.

The 98,000-acre chunk of wild land claimed by VAFB is also Chumash territory. The only people who know the inner reaches of the base, besides tribal members who procure special passes to hunt and pray, are those who have trespassed to engage in backcountry actions during the past 20 years.

Their goal has been to disrupt VAFB's ability to carry out its operations by the very presence of intruders in high-security zones. One of the most notable successes came in 2001, when activists from Vandenberg Action Coalition by land and Greenpeace by sea delayed an antiballistic missile test launch for six days.

Shortly before the official bombardment of Iraq began on March 19, VAFB announced that it would use lethal force against trespassers if deemed it necessary to protect its equipment and personnel in times of war. A few days later, several affinity groups defied the warning and infiltrated the 55-mile perimeter.

"Underneath the military installations," a Chumash coyote warned, "are miles of bitter, unwelcoming Earth. Don't assume it wants you there." The coyote was the twolegged kind, and I'm grateful for his unexpected advice on



crossing this forbidding border. After all, when you're thinking like a coyote, the landscape changes before your eyes as you assess it strategically for sightlines, ridgelines, hiding places and escape routes. You are alert to who's upwind and who's uphill, weighing the advantages of good cover versus ease of passage, seeing versus being seen.

I understand now why the base is penetrable. It doesn't need to protect the land, because the land protects it. Surrounded by miles of wilderness, only the actual installations are under extreme guard. The terrain itself is a formidable deterrence against intrusion by all but the most determined of wingnuts.

And again the coyote was right. As one of my companions observed, "It's as if the land itself is resisting the base. As if, over time, the very Earth becomes suffused with the violence that grips it." Everything seems prickly, from the live oaks to the brambles to the solid walls of stark thorn. Poison oak is ubiquitous. There are those bushes we named the skeleton

trees, quick to grab and trip with bone-white arms. There are hard tussocks, sudden ditches, steep hills. Yet there are oases too. Bushes of sage bless you with their aroma when you crash into them in the dark.

Even if the land knew we opposed its enslavers, that didn't mean it would soften our way.

We hiked through the night. When we could hike no further, we stopped to nap in the chill soil beneath a tree. In the morning, we hiked some more, hid to rest, gobbled trail mix and continued on. Later we crouched on a hillside, waiting for the cover of dusk. "If we're going to be here for a couple of hours," I suggested, "we should find a place with some cover in case of helicopters." As if to corroborate, a hawk dive-bombed our heads.

As the sun went down, we got ready to move. We were nearing the center of the base, where fences surround concrete bunkers and floodlights stain the sky, destroying our night vision and throwing shadows out behind us. As we crept below a powerline that sparkled with voltage, a siren wailed to life. We freaked: Had we tripped a movement sensor of some kind? But it wasn't an alarm; it was a massive jet engine gearing up. The wailing spiraled higher as we crouched in the bushes. Two military aircraft took off. A third landed.

When things quieted down, we inched forward again. Two men with dogs, apparently coming in our direction, created another brief panic. However, we soon realized that they were a safe distance away and had nothing to do with us.

After a hasty meeting, sprawled on our bellies amidst scrawny shrubs in the baleful glare, we decided to leave our spoor of banners and messages on an illuminated chain-link fence directly facing the concrete fortress. Once they were in place, we booked it out of there as fast as we could.

Relief grew as we got further from the lights. Even if VAFB had nightproaching the machinery this time around. Still, to get where we did and do what we accomplished was not easy. The implication could not have been lost on base personnel: If we had indeed been terrorists, rather than nonviolent dissenters, they would have been in deep trouble.

Our audacity earned significant media attention for our message: While battlespace dominance may be orchestrated at VAFB, true security has nothing to do with technological advantage or overwhelming force. We also demonstrated that we were willing to face risks in our opposition to imperialism. If we are serious about creating change, we cannot afford to shun risks.

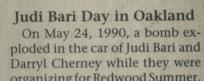
Our task is not complete. After the conquest of Iraq, the US empire will move on to its next victim, perhaps Syria, Iran, North Korea, Colombia or the Philippines. Meanwhile, in Iraq, as in Afghanistan, the symbiosis of the US government with corporate capital, the oil industry and the military industrial complex will thrive. The seizure and commodification of the dwindling stocks of oil and water-the keys to global power-will intensify. The militarization of space will escalate. The use of indigenous lands for uranium mining and processing, toxic waste disposal, missile testing, drills and pipelines will continue. We're going to have to enter this place again.

From her Santa Cruz headquarters, Quicksilver is trying hard to figure it all out.

It's as if the land itself is resisting the base. As if, over time, the very Earth becomes suffused with the violence that grips it.

vision goggles and infrared sensors, the dark felt like a cloak and the guiding stars like old friends.

As we crossed back over the line, our emotions were complex. Even while exhilarated by the adrenaline of escape, I could not avoid a sense of futility. "Stop the war machine," we had urged. Yet, we hadn't even slowed it down. Not being suicidal, we had held back from ap-



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Darryl Cherney while they were organizing for Redwood Summer. The city of Oakland, California, falsely accused the duo of transporting the bomb and pronounced them terrorists.

In what has been hailed as a remarkable turnaround, on the 13th anniversary of the bombing, the Oakland City Council celebrated its first annual "Judi Bari Day." A gathering at the site of the bombing marked the occasion.

The city council encouraged schools, civic institutions and citizens to memorialize Bari and her work in advancing the causes of forest protection, eco-feminism and labor organizing through art, festivals, school assignments and other creative means.

#### **Bicyclists Win Big**

During the 2000 Democratic National Convention, Los Angeles police arrested 71 critical mass riders. The bicyclists were riding to encourage alternative means of transportation and a bikefriendly culture.

When they arrived at the jail, 23 of the female cyclists were subjected to visual body cavity searches—on more than one occasion. California law states that it is illegal to strip-search those charged with misdemeanors.

All but two of the bicyclists brought a lawsuit against the county and claimed emotional distress over their extended stay in jail and the strip searches. One of the women described the visual examination by a "crew of belligerent uniformed officers" as "horrific and humiliating."

In late March, the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors agreed to a \$2.75 million settlement for the riders—\$70,000 each for the women and \$5,000 for each of the 48 men.

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Vieques Activists Oust US Military

At midnight on May 1, thousands of Puerto Ricans celebrated the US Navy's withdrawal from the island of Vieques and the success of the resistance movement that helped oust it. More than 1,000 activists had been arrested since 2000 for protesting the military's occupation and use of the island as a bombing range. Now, even amidst the cheer of fireworks, music and cut razorwire fences, Vieques residents are preparing for their next step in the struggle for liberation from the US: reclaiming their land.

Administrative jurisdiction of the 15,000 acres on the eastern end of Vieques was handed over from the Navy to the Department of the Interior on May 1. As mandated by the 2001 Spence Act, the US Fish and Wildlife Service will administer the land as a wildlife refuge. This designation requires the least amount of clean-up and does not adequately address the contamination left by the military.

Radioactive depleted uranium and a long list of heavy metals from military equipment and explosives used during the six decades of bombing and shelling on the island have created an ecological disaster. The highly contaminated beach areas, lagoons and coastal waters within the bombing zone, as well as the large amount of unexploded ordnance, will demand a long process of clean-up and restoration. Ultimately, this will only happen if the land is returned to the people of Vieques.

Many people in Vieques oppose the transfer of their land, appropriated and bombed, from the Navy to the Department of the Interior. During public hearings with representatives of federal and Puerto Rican government agencies in April, community spokespeople demanded the return of every inch of Vieques land to its people. Members of organizations such as the Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques (CRDV) confirmed their commitment to use civil disobedience again, if necessary, to push for environmental clean-up and the transfer of lands to the Puerto Rican government.

#### The People United

These are not empty threats. The successful campaign to stop the bombing is testimony to the power of a people united. Throughout the archipelago of Puerto Rico and the world, people from diverse political, religious and class backgrounds participated in a multiplicity of actions during the past four years. These actions forced an end to the bombing that had been ongoing since the 1940s.

Military control over two-thirds of the island, a depressed economy and the grave health effects attributed to environmental contamination were the basic issues denounced during the many years of struggle. But the death of David Sanes Rodriguez on April 19, 1999, shook the collective consciousness of all Puerto Ricans. Rodriguez, a civilian security guard working for the Navy, was killed when a fighter jet accidentally dropped two 500-pound bombs. This was not the first death caused by the Navy on Vieques, but Rodriguez's death was the last straw.

In the months following, a series of civil disobedience camps were established within the bombing range. Thousands of people from around the world participated in the campaign by acting as "human shields" to block the Navy's military maneuvers. The growing resentment against the military's presence forced the US government to announce that only dummy bombs would be used and that exercises would be phased out within five years.

On May 4, 2000, more than 200 people were arrested in the protest camps, and the Navy began bombing



"Not one more Viequense life should be lost:" This cross was delivered to one of the bombing ranges.

again. As the second phase of the civil disobedience campaign began, 54 people were arrested when they entered the restricted area. Other groups entered the bombing range in June and again in October. These actions, which included the former mayor of Vieques and a deacon of the Catholic Church, initiated a series of high-risk civil disobedience transgressions into the bombing zone.

"Our people risked their freedom and their lives because we decided that we would no longer tolerate military abuse or the violation of our right continued training and expansion of its operations elsewhere should not be viewed as a defeat. Rather, it is all the more reason to continue to oppose the US military industrial complex.

A January memorandum on the Cessation of Training at the Vieques Naval Training Range, sent by the Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Vern Clark to the Secretary of the Navy, stated: "Physical security at Vieques is becoming ever more difficult and costly to maintain, given the civil unrest that accompanies the Navy's presence on the island. We have been

This small, Caribbean community—together with the rest of the Puerto Rican nation—without firing. a single shot, using peaceful, nonviolent civil disobedience, lots of prayer, music and commitment, stopped the most powerful military force in the history of humanity.

to live in peace," said Nilda Medina, coordinator of the peace and justice camp that blocked the bombing range's main entrance from December 1999 until May 2000.

Between 2000 and 2003, more than 1,000 people were arrested. Hundreds lobbied in Washington, DC, while 100,000 marched in San Juan. The governor of Puerto Rico and non-governmental groups from Vieques sued the Navy, and Viequenses traveled worldwide to generate international support for peace on this small tropical island.

#### Victory!

Finally, in February, Secretary of the Navy Hansford T. Johnson officially certified the closing of the bombing range, stating that alternative sites had been identified. The potential areas include Florida's already-existing East Coast facilities, such as Pinecastle Bombing Range in Ocala National Forest, and bombing ranges in North Carolina, Georgia and Virginia.

According to Dr. Deborah Santana, CRDV's advisor on military, environmental and land issues, the military's successful in completing our training on the island only because of extremely aggressive and costly multi-agency security actions. The level of protests, attempted incursions and isolated successful incursions generally remains high when battle group training occurs on the island."

On this victory, CRDV representative Robert Rabin reflected: "The people of Vieques have won a very difficult battle against great odds. This small, Caribbean community together with the rest of the Puerto Rican nation—without firing a single shot, using peaceful, nonviolent civil disobedience, lots of prayer, music and commitment, stopped the most powerful military force in the history of humanity. Vieques is a ray of hope in a world that is dominated by violence."

For more information, contact CRCV, POB 1424, Vieques, Puerto Rico 00765; (787) 741-0716; bieke@prorescatevieques.org; www.prorescatevieques.org.

Thanks to Deborah Santana and Robert Rabin for their contributions to this article.

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#### **Toxic Spraying in Idaho**

An Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) program is seeking to kill invasive Mormon crickets by spraying highly toxic Malathion and other insecticides on 20 million acres of public land in southern Idaho. The APHIS proposal recommends using broad-spectrum insecticides that would kill nearly all insects, including many native pollinators, in the targeted area.

Environmentalists are particularly concerned about the impact this blanketed spraying would have on fish and aquatic invertebrates. The insecticides would be sprayed directly above intermittent waterways and adjacent to rivers and canals.

In May, the Idaho Conservation League, Xerces Society, Western Watersheds Project and the Committee for the High Desert requested the US district court to intervene. They contend that the program violates laws that aim to protect human health, water quality and the environment.

#### An End to Cod Fishing

On April 24, the Canadian government banned cod fishing off of the Atlantic provinces and Quebec. Fisheries Minister Robert Thibault noted that cod remain in sharp decline even after a decade of reduced harvests and that Canada now needs to concentrate on conserving the codfish population.

Off the coast of Newfoundland, cod once swam in such abundance that historical records describe scooping the fish from the sea in baskets, and the area became known as the codfish capital of the world. Yet since the early 1990s, Canada's cod fishing industry has plummeted, especially near Newfoundland.

Scientists claim that cod populations have diminished as a result of overfishing, particularly by factory trawlers.

# Albany Activists Derail Asphalt Plant

#### BY DAVID HARRISON

In May, neighbors and environmental activists forced the City of Albany, New York, to rescind approval of an asphalt plant slated for a low-income, minority neighborhood in the city's South End.

On May 7, 50 South End residents protested outside of a Department of Environmental Conservation

(DEC) hearing concerning the proposed plant. The plant would have been located just a few hundred yards from a public housing community, an elementary school, a retirement center for elderly nuns and a center for the disabled.

Wearing dust masks, pounding on drums and carrying signs that read "Stop the Plant," residents voiced a variety of concerns during the protest and the official public hearing that followed.

Certainly, the greatest concern was over air quality. According to public documents, the plant would have emitted 13 pounds of sulfuric acid, 60 pounds of carbon monoxide and 13 pounds of particulate matter per hour. These emissions are known to cause acid rain, ozone depletion and global warming. They would have also contributed to increased cancer rates and exacerbated the already epidemic rates of asthma in the neighborhood.

Many protesters voiced their opinion that while developers use asphalt to pave shopping mall parking lots and suburban driveways, residents of the South End are the ones left to suffer the burdens of the asphalt plant. They felt strongly that this proposal was a case of environmental racism and classism—the intentional placement of polluting industries in poor or minority communities.

One speaker said he refused to be poisoned for suburban convenience and prosperity. "To hell with their malls and driveways," he said. "We can't even get a grocery store where we live." Fin ally, protesters denounced

> both the DEC and the City of Albany for the

secretive nature of the asphalt plant proposal. While the plant was in the works for upward of two years, most residents had only heard of it a few days or a few hours before the hearing.

By the end of the three-hour hearing, the 40 speakers had unanimously denounced the project. Many of them demanded that the DEC and the City of Albany rescind their declarations that the plant would have no health or environmental impacts and conduct a full investigation before a court judge. This would require the developers to file a complete Environmental Impact Statement on the project.

On May 14, 30 people attended a press conference on the steps of City Hall. Speakers once again hammered home the severe health effects that the plant would have on local residents. The event was kicked off with reading a letter from Nell Stokes-Holmes, who lives just 100 feet from the proposed site. In poetic and passionate language, Holmes' described her Old South Pearl Street neighborhood as a place full of lifelong neighbors and children at play, as well a community constantly besieged by air pollution and illnesses caused by the existing industries at the Port of Albany.

At the conclusion of the press conference, plant opponents presented Albany Mayor Jerry Jennings with 600 petition signatures that called for the city planning board to rescind its approval of the plant. As the mayor accepted the petitions, he cited a commitment to environmental issues and stated, "My staff and I will make a recommendation to the planning board to rescind approval of the asphalt plant."

The next morning, this recommendation was confirmed when the planning board rescinded both the site plan approval and its previous judgment that the plant would not have any adverse effects on the environment.

Some people were disappointed that the city chose to focus on technicali-



In the early morning of May 9, an office trailer at the Port of Albany was set on fire. The trailer was being used by Tri-City Aggegate, the company planning to build a new asphalt plant in Albany's South End neighborhood.

According to an Albany Police Department spokesperson, somebody threw a Molotov cocktail at the trailer and started the fire. No one was hurt, but the trailer was extensively damaged.

At a contentious public meeting the week before, many residents voiced opposition to the new plant proposal. After the meeting, a principal of Tri-City Aggregate went to his car to find that his tires had been slashed and the hood of his car was damaged.

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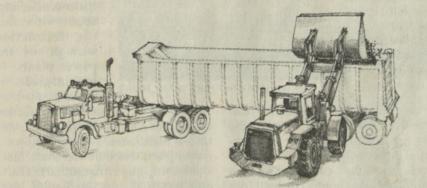
FIRE DANGE

ties in rejecting the plant, instead of the more substantive and enduring issues of environmental racism, air quality and zoning. However, the decision still marks a major victory for neighborhood asphalt opponents and environmental activists.

Albany County legislator Lucille

McKnight, who was instrumental in bringing the asphalt plant proposal to light, concluded, "We've got it stopped for now. But we have to keep our eyes on it."

David Harrison is a teacher at the Albany Free School and an editor of The Journal for Living.



## New Coal-Fired Plant Proposed in Four Corners

In April, Houston-based Steag Power announced its plans to build a 1,500megawatt coal-fired plant in the Four Corners area, most likely on the Navajo Reservation in northwestern New Mexico. The electricity generated would supply the markets in Phoenix, Arizona, Las Vegas, Nevada, and southern California.

The coal-powered plant is intended to be the primary supplier for the Navajo Transmission Project, a proposed 470-mile, \$600 million transmission line. Electricity would be shipped from a substation near Shiprock, New Mexico, across the Navajo Reservation to the Marketplace substation south of Las Vegas.

This proposed line would be developed by the Diné Power Authority and its partner, Virginia-based Trans-Elect, Inc. Trans-Elect has more than one billion dollars in assets and 14,000 miles of transmission lines throughout the US and Canada.

Steag Power is an independent power company that produces more than 10,000 megawatts of electricity worldwide. Once the contracts are established, Steag estimates that construction of the plant and the transmission line would take approximately five years to complete.

Coal mining has caused water depletion and pollution, and it has uprooted Navajo and Hopi families that live in the Big Mountain and Black Mesa areas. "We strongly oppose the Navajo Transmission Project and any new fossil fuel power plants on or near our peoples' traditional land base," said Enei Begaye, a member of Black Mesa Water Coalition. "The burning of coal and gas emits many toxic chemicals that harm our land, water, animals, our people and our future. We cannot allow our lands to be the battery that is powering an unsustainable, colonial energy system."

Native American environmental and economic justice groups, including the Black Mesa Water Coalition, call for a transition to clean, renewable energy sources and sustainable economic development practices that reflect the Navajo and Hopi peoples' traditional beliefs of respect for each other and the Earth.

"As indigenous peoples, we cannot allow federal energy policies that promote further fossil fuel dependence," noted Begaye. "We cannot allow our people to be the exploited labor force for these industries. We cannot compromise the future of our children and grandchildren."

For more information, contact Black Mesa Water Coalition, POB 895, Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039; (928) 226-0310; blackmesawatercoalition@yahoo.com; www.blackmesawatercoalition.org.

BARE BONES

#### **Pollution as Trespass**

DuPont maintains that its operations in Victoria, Texas, have not had any impact on its neighbors. However, in May, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a 2002 jury verdict against the corporation for allowing air pollution to damage surrounding property.

The ruling is the first in Texas to determine that monetary awards can be granted to individuals whose land is "trespassed" upon by air pollution.

The plant's neighbors, H.E. and Diana · Stevenson and Sharon Harper, argued in the initial March 2002 civil trial that DuPont released "toxic and hazardous substances in the air," which affected their health, the health of their animals and the value of their properties.

Even though the jury agreed with the Stevensons and Harper, the decision also found that there was no negligence on DuPont's behalf, nor was there malice in the harm inflicted on its neighbors.

#### Congress to Fuel Logging

More than 100 conservation groups oppose the "Healthy Forests Restoration Act of 2003" because it would fail to protect communities from wildfires, limit citizen participation in forest management, undermine environmental laws and authorize \$125 million in taxpayer subsidies to log public land.

However, on May 20, the US House of Representatives approved the legislation, which was introduced by Colorado Representative Scott McInnis.

Some environmentalists believe that the McInnis bill would be similar to the 1995 Salvage Rider. The US Forest Service would be able to conduct large-scale logging projects without consideration of environmental impacts, and it would eliminate the right of citizens to appeal.

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The Angel of Death

#### BY MATTHEW CONE

New Mexico claims to be the "Land of Enchantment," but anyone who has ever been to Farmington

knows differently. Motorists driving into town are greeted by a brown layer of smog and a road sign proclaiming that they have just entered a "public power community." But first time visitors may be better off listening to some of the locals, who more accurately describe Farmington as a "national sacrifice area."

Two of the largest coal-fired power plants in the world are on the outskirts of town, and they've helped put the Four Corners area on the map. Together, the notorious power plants create a thick, deadly cloud of pollution that has been seen by astronauts on the moon.

In March 2002, I decided to take a trip out to one of the plants to survey



had mixed feelings about witnessing the destruction wrought by the power plants. In seventh grade, my entire science class

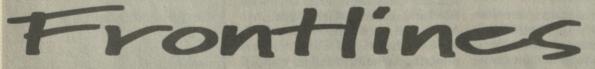
Truth be told, I

The PNM coal-fired power plant in New Mexico

the damage firsthand. The San Juan Generating Station had been in the news for violating multiple Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations, and I had caught wind of a lawsuit that was about to be filed by a local rancher, R.J. Hunt.

At issue was an arroyo no larger than an irrigation ditch. Hunt claims that the Public Service Company of New Mexico (PNM) was dumping waste from the generating station into Shumway Arroyo. He first realized something was wrong when hundreds of his sheep started dying for no apparent reason. He could see it with his own eyes: There was literally black liquid running down the arroyo from where his sheep drank. was bussed out to the San Juan Generating Station for a field trip that turned into a nightmare. We were shown a power plant that billowed thick, black smoke, strip mines that gutted the Earth and pits that contained solid black waste. It was then that I decided something was terribly wrong with the coalfired power industry.

Against my better judgment, I went back to that wasteland. When I arrived at Hunt's outfit in Waterflow, New Mexico, he was inspecting his new shotguns. "Do you shoot, Matt?" I told him I didn't, but he tossed a gun into my hands anyway. We talked about guns for a while, then went on a tour of his meat and mutton shop.



#### **Ecuadorians Evict Oil Company**

On May 14, indigenous leaders from Ecuador and Peru delivered an eviction notice to Burlington Resources at its headquarters in Houston, Texas.

Burlington, one of the world's largest oil and gas exploration companies, has been attempting to exploit oil in the Amazon rainforest against the will of the people.

Past oil activities in the region have proven disastrous, resulting in contamination, poverty and deforestation. Burlington has partnered with other multinational corporations in an attempt to "divide and conquer" the Shuar, Achuar, Zápara and Kichwa indigenous nations—who number more than 100,000 people. Indigenous opposition has prevented oil development for seven years.

Burlington was forced to suspend the terms of its contract with the Ecuadorian government after indigenous communities utilized a variety of tactics, ranging from blockading airports to litigation before international tribunals. However, the concern that Burlington Resources may illegally move forward without the consent of the indigenous nations still stands.

#### **Protesters Rage Against the G8**

In early June, leaders from the Group of Eight (G8), the seven richest industrial nations plus Russia, met in Evian, France, to discuss world economic and military policies.

A 30-mile security perimeter stopped protests from happening in the city. However, more than 50,000 people took part in protests in the neighboring cities of Lausanne and Geneva, Switzerland, as well as in Annemasse, France.

Beginning on May 31, protesters demonstrated fierce opposition to the G8, including its failure to eliminate Third World poverty and the spread of AIDS. Also targeting the US/British occupation of Iraq, the protesters' methods ranged from marches, fireside vigils and banner drops to blocking traffic and property destruction.

In one instance, 4,000 people rallied at the World Trade Organization (WTO) headquarters in Geneva, tearing down its sign and painting "Smash the WTO" on its walls. From there, people broke windows at the International Trade Center. Police fired tear gas but were unable to disperse the crowd. "As soon as that good for nothing lawyer shows up, we'll be off!" he said. The lawyer, David Pottenger, was already half an hour late. Finally Pottenger's beat up, 20-year-old Chevy Suburban pulled into the gravel lot, and he emerged from a cloud of dust.

Born and raised in Waterflow, Hunt is a small business owner. His meat shop, R.J. Hunt Sweetmeats, does a booming business among Navajos and honkies alike. Like most of his clientele, Hunt lived in the San Juan basin before the power plants were built. His ranch and house sit next to an arroyo, which we could see from the car. "That thing never had water in it until they built that damn power plant," said Hunt. "They told us that it was just water, and we believed them. We didn't know any better. Our drinking wells were right next to that arroyo, and we just kept drinking out of them until people started to get sick." According to local, state and federal laws, PNM is not allowed to make any liquid discharge.

The menacing power plant loomed ahead, but Hunt pulled off onto a dirt road before we got there. I could clearly see water flowing from PNM's side of the fence into the arroyo. Pottenger jumped onto the bank and started shouting: "It rained a couple of days ago, but it didn't rain this much! This is what PNM calls zero discharge." More disturbing than the amount of water was its color. It wasn't at all clear like the water in the San Juan River—it was brown. The banks

of the arroyo were caked with a soft gunk that was as black as coal. "What is this stuff?," I asked as I took pictures.

"Who knows," responded Hunt. "They're dumping something in here, that's for sure."

Actually, Hunt did know what it was. Pottenger had hired a hydrologist several months ago, and the results were in. The independent testing revealed

that the sludge in the arroyo is saturated with 44 times the EPA's maximum contaminant level of chromium. Other metals that exceeded the EPA standard were arsenic, 68 times; cadmium, 72 times; barium, 97 times; lead, 560 times; manganese, 3,330 times; iron, 27,000 times. This sludge flows down the arroyo and into the San Juan River. The sludge could actually make it as far as Lake Powell, Arizona.

We got back in the truck and retraced our path. Pottenger interrupted the si-



R.J. Hunt poses with one of his sheep, which was "mummified" from drinking toxic runoff from the PNM power plant.

lence. "See that hazy cloud coming out of generator three? That's fly ash. We've told the EPA, and it won't do anything. The people that work around that are going to be in sorry shape. Their lungs will literally disintegrate if they breathe that junk in."

Suddenly, Hunt stopped the truck and got out. "Look at this!," he said. "They replace these signs every

year!" He ripped one of the steel warning signs off of PNM's chain-link fence and tore it in half with his bare hands. "Have you ever seen anything like this?," he asked me. "What kind of junk does PNM put in the air that makes signs disintegrate?" He threw *continued on next page* 

One thousand German police were added to the ranks of Swiss and French police forces, who responded to the protests with extreme violence. Numerous people were seriously injured as police used water cannons and fired excessive amounts of rubber bullets, tear gas and concussion grenades into crowds.

#### **Activists Expose Death Profiteering**

On April 14, activists blockaded the entrance to ChevronTexaco's headquarters in San Ramon, California, to expose its profiteering off the suffering of people and the environment.

Demonstrators parked an old station wagon outside of the building and slashed all four tires. They then formed a human chain with their arms linked through the car with PVC pipe, blocking ChevronTexaco's main entrance.

Activists highlighted Chevron's policies of destruction, using the context of the anti-war and globalization movements to show solidarity with people affected locally.

Much of the crude oil that Chevron will attain as a result of the war on Iraq will be processed in the city of Richmond, California. The Chevron refinery is considered the city's biggest polluter, and it is located in a minority neighborhood where people have been fighting the company's toxic negligence.

#### International Day of Action Against US-Russian Plutonium Deal

Twenty Russian activists from the group Ecodefense were arrested on May 27, near the Ministry of Atomic Power in Moscow. Activists in the US and Russia protested using plutonium (MOX) fuels in civilian nuclear reactors. After hanging a banner saying, "Stop Plutonium," in central Moscow, Ecodefense demanded that the G8 not fund this dangerous use of weapons-grade plutonium.

In the US, the Nuclear Information and Resource Service and the World Information Service on Energy rallied at the US Department of Energy headquarters in Washington, DC. A mock nuclear casket was paraded with large puppets bearing the message: "MOX Makes Getting to Yucky Yucca Mountain Yuckier!"

There were also protests in Siberia, near the town of Seversk, where a nuclear accident caused contamination in 1993. As part of a joint US-Russian plan, a new plutonium facility would be built in Siberia in the near future.

The protests came on the eve of the G8 Summit where the issue was scheduled for discussion. Environmentalists prefer the immobilization of current plutonium stocks as a much cheaper and safer option than using MOX in civilian power plants.

# The Angel of Death continued

#### continued from previous page

the pieces of the sign on the ground in disgust and climbed back into the truck.

The spoiler has come, I thought with disgust as I sat in the passenger seat and stared at the giant power plant. I understand that the Southwest used to pride itself on its clean air and water, but that's all gone now. Much of the fragile beauty of the desert has been destroyed once and for all, obliterated by the massive draglines and incinerated with the coal that has been stripped from the land.

I was born too late, I thought bitterly, as I was overcome with anger and despair. I will never get to breathe clean air. I will never get to stand on a mountain and look out for hundreds of miles. I will never get to see the San Juan basin without strip mines and coal-fired power plants. The Southwest was stolen from us by the developers, the politicians and the power companies. In return, we have water that is unfit to drink and air that is unfit to breathe. We've had our rivers dammed, our public lands stripped bare and our cities filled with toxic gas. Our alleged leaders say that it's all in the name of



PNM discharges liquid down the Shumway Arroyo in violation of state and federal laws.

progress. Some progress, I thought to myself as I gazed at the brown cloud stretching across the horizon as far as my eyes could see.

We were now trespassing on PNM's property. We passed several signs warning us to turn back. We had passed the power plant several minutes ago, and there wasn't much to see other than the sagebrush and the alien-looking structures that carry the powerlines to Phoenix, Arizona.

We climbed over a barbed-wire fence and stood looking at two massive waste pits. They were built to be ponds, but there appeared to be a solid black mass in both of them. I picked up a rock and threw it at one of the ponds. It bounced off.

"Show him the ladder," Pottenger said. Hunt escorted me to the other waste pit, where a ladder led down into the pond. It was apparent that the level of waste had decreased, and nickelsized holes in the ladder were now visible where the waste had once been. "What kind of chemicals make holes like that? That there is a goddamn stainless steel ladder," exclaimed Hunt. All I could do was to shake my head in disbelief. It was apparent that this waste was highly toxic, yet it was being routinely stored in aboveground ponds that were lined with what looked like ordinary trash bags.

Hunt had filed a lawsuit 10 years ago, but his former lawyer had agreed to a settlement with PNM against Hunt's will. Shortly thereafter, a check from PNM for hundreds of thousands of dollars arrived in the mail, but Hunt sent it back.

Pottenger laughed, remembering when the FBI arrived at Hunt's house to collect taxes on the check he never



#### Navy Stung by the ELF

The US Navy's recruiting headquarters in Montgomery, Alabama, was targeted by the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) on March 29. A large truck was set ablaze, and messages—such as "Stop the War" and "Leave Iraq" were spray-painted on five Navy vehicles. This was the first documented anti-war action carried out by the ELF in North America.

#### **SUVs No More**

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) spray-painted anti-war and anti-oil messages on nearly 65 SUVs and trucks in Santa Cruz, California, on April 8. Residents awoke the next morning to find "No War," "SUVs Suck," "No Blood for Oil" and other anti-war messages painted on their vehicles.

The North Bay Ford-Lincoln Mercury dealership was hit the hardest. Forty trucks were vandalized with such sentiments as "Killer," "I love slavery" and "ELF." When told of the vandalism, Ford financial advisor Ingrid Stevison cried, "Why are they targeting us? I mean, we're not at war because of Ford." To remove the graffiti, a local car repair shop estimated it would cost \$600 per vehicle.

In early May, 30 new SUVs and several luxury cars in Gainesville, Florida, had their windows defaced with glass-etching fluid. An anonymous communiqué claimed that the SUVs were vandalized due to their enormous contributions to air pollution and consumerism, as well as Bush's war on Iraq.

#### Sprawl be Gone

On June 3, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) set fire to a luxury home in Chico, California. The fire was extinguished by water released from a melted PVC pipe. A communiqué stated, "Chico is slowly becoming victim to sprawl, and we will not sit back as all that is natural and beautiful is destroyed. Civilization as a whole has proven to be detrimental to human and non-human animals. We won't settle for anything less than complete collapse. Liberation for all life."

The ELF burned down two houses under construction outside of Detroit, Michigan, on June 4. Damage was

cashed. "The sheriff knew," he said, smiling. "He told them that if they stormed that house, somebody was going to die. Hunt was holed up in there. He had his shotguns, and he was ready for them." The FBI left without incident, and Hunt never did pay taxes on the check.

"I don't want their money," Hunt

said. "I told them that a long time ago. Last month after the article came out in the *Farmington Daily Times*, PNM was out here again. They asked me how much I wanted. I told them to get off my property and never come back."

It had become clear to me during the afternoon that Hunt is someone who cares about people, not profits, and he demands justice. "This company discharged so many sulfates down that arroyo that they mummified my sheep," he said. "They killed my father. He died of cancer. My wife has a pacemaker. One of

my daughters recently had a liver transplant, and my son suffers from brain damage." I took one final look at the power plant and turned away.

I had little hope as I walked away from the black waste pits. Far away in the

estimated at \$700,000. A \$15,000 reward was announced for information leading to an arrest.

#### A Glimpse of the ALF in Action

On March 31, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) smashed the windows at two McDonald's, three butcher shops and one Burger Wisconsin in Wellington, New Zealand.

On April 10, the Swedish ALF released more than 10 percent of the 8,000 minks held captive at the Osttorps Fur Farm in Essunga. To help the minks climb the five-foot-high perimeter fence to freedom, the liberators built ramps out of materials found on the farm.

A communiqué stated, "Animals have the right to live in freedom for their own sake. Fur farming and other business with animals and their bodies cannot go on. We will do anything so that the farmers will collapse economically, and so the minks can feel the ground under their paws at least one time before they die. Rather die now in freedom, than tomorrow by torture and captivity."

#### Day of Action to Protect Forests

On April 22, activists participated in a national day of action to protect US forests. Protesters gathered at regional US Forest Service (USFS) headquarters, political

twilight, I could see the sinister draglines moving slowly and silently, like giant monsters sucking the life out of the Earth. It can't last, I thought, as I took a deep breath of freshly polluted air. Who needs it, anyway? Who really needs electric toothbrushes, cell phones, televisions, gameboys, hair dryers, electric pencil sharpeners and all the rest? Generating Station continues to unleash its filth. According to the EPA, the power plant has increased its air emissions in recent years, despite a lawsuit filed by the Sierra Club and Grand Canyon Trust to enforce compliance with the Clean Air Act. Incredibly, more than 10 years after Hunt filed his first lawsuit, PNM still discharges waste down the

Shumway Arroyo and into the San Juan River.

The tour was over. It was dark now, and we headed back to the meat shop. When we got there, we sat in silence for a couple of minutes. "It's not right what they did," Hunt finally said. "They ruined my life." He turned and looked me in the eye. "People need to know what happened here," he whispered. The light was gone from his eyes, and I knew that he was tired of fighting. "You need to tell the people," he said softly. "Please tell the people."

What is PNM putting in our air?

Alternative, less-polluting methods of generating energy do exist. Unfortunately, the political initiative required to implement them does not. As corporate and political leaders scheme and bicker over what to do, the San Juan Matthew A. Cone, an under-

graduate student at the University of New Mexico, is the former systems administrator for the national Campus Greens organization. His website, www.knowoutlet.com/mcone, contains more of his articles and opinions.

offices and logging company headquarters. They sent a clear message to the Bush administration that people will not sit idly by while forest policies are rewritten to increase logging and decrease public participation.

Citizens from North Carolina, Alabama and Georgia protested the USFS at its southeast regional headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia.

In St. Louis, Missouri, the Missouri Forest Alliance, Heartwood and the American Lands Alliance delivered a stump to Representative Dick Gephardt's office. The activists noted Gephardt's refusal to take a stand against Bush's Healthy Forest Initiative.

In Buffalo, New York, the Friends of the Allegheny held an Earth Day campout in a downtown city park near the headquarters of National Fuel. National Fuel owns Highland Forest Resources, the company logging the largest timber sale in the East, and Seneca Resources, who is responsible for oil and gas drilling in northeast Pennsylvania and southeast New York.

In Missoula, Montana, the National Forest Protection Alliance and the Native Forest Network rallied to stop the destruction of forests and endangered species habitat. More than 100 people, including a samba band, marched through downtown to the USFS regional headquarters.



# What We Learned in Molokai

#### BY RICH ZUBATY

One day last October, the listless and lackadaisical residents of the "forgotten Hawaiian island" of Molokai woke up to the news that a cruise ship was going to dock outside of our reef in December. A floating city of 2,000 people intended to debark on our island of 6,000 inhabitants, and no one ever asked us!

Walter Ritte, who participated in protests to stop the Naval "practice" bombing on the island of Kahoolaw, and

Colette Machado, from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, called a meeting. Ten people attended and what we immediately discovered was that we needed more information.

So Machado flew in Isaac Moriwake, an environmental lawyer from Earthjustice in Honolulu. He made it clear that we were in for major environmental and social impacts. Then Gershon Cohen.



Residents of Molokai joined together to stop a giant, polluting cruise ship from debarking on their island.

project director of the Campaign to Safeguard America's Waters, came in from Alaska.

Cohen told us this: The Clean Water Act makes it unlawful to discharge pollutants from any "point source" into US waters without a permit. But discharge of sewage and grey water from vessels is exempt from this requirement. Grey water can legally be dumped anywhere, even though the Environmental Protection Agency has determined that grey water has the potential to cause significant environmental problems.

A typical cruise ship produces 270,000 gallons of grey water, 30,000 gallons of treated sewage and 7,000 gallons of oily bilge water daily. All of this waste is dumped directly into the ocean. Cruise ships also produce air pollution equivalent to 12,000 automobiles, claimed Cohen.

The cruise industry has a history of illegally polluting the waters in which it sails. From 1993 to 1998, cruise ships were responsible for 104 confirmed cases of illegal waste discharge, and they were required to pay more than \$30 million in fines. This is just the tip of the trashberg. In reality, this number represents only a fraction of the industry's total illegal dumping.

"And this from an industry totally capable of doing things right," says Cohen. "The industry spends \$770 group. White people and brown people, old people and young people, all pitched in to do whatever it was they could do best—just like making a luau.

Moriwake filed for an injunction and that gave us the "opening" for a news story. We contacted the local media, but they completely ignored us. So—and this is what we learned—we contacted the national and international media, with "Molokai versus Goliath" as the sound bite. Abbie Hoffman would have been proud. We emailed corporate media from around the world. It was a "man bites dog" story. They sucked it up.

And this is what else we learned. We attacked the *entire* cruise ship industry. We didn't limit ourselves to the issues relating to our sleepy little island because our issues were issues everywhere.

On the day the ship was due to arrive, 100 of us met on the wharf in the predawn darkness. We joined hands in a circle and said a prayer. The red sun lifted out of the dark Pacific swells, and we saw the huge white ship running around in circles. Some tough-looking guys came ashore, glanced at all of us and returned to the ship. The next thing we heard was that the passengers were not going to come ashore because of high winds.

We cheered and said another prayer.

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million on advertising each year and is building new, bigger ships. More people, more garbage. Fifteen new mega-ships are presently under construction, but not one of them is installing the efficient new wastewater treatment systems available."

So there we were in Molokai, about to have a chunk of Liberia parked in our backyard. "Foreign soil" that not even the Coast Guard was legally allowed to board or inspect. The director of the local tourist board told us, "The ship is coming, and there's nothing you can do

about it." That

was like waving a

red flag in front of

tient guidance, we

held meetings and

developed a con-

sensus strategy.

Obviously, we had

to hold a protest

when the ship ar-

rived. Some people

pledged to make

posters, some to

bring their boats or

canoes, some to make food and still

others to make t-

shirts. There was

no hierarchy in the

Under Ritte's pa-

a bull.

A month later, the ship was scheduled to come back again, and we got ready to protest again. But the ship never came.

Soon afterward, an official with the Department of Transportation—which had issued the Memorandum of Understanding that permitted the ships to visit—took one of our members into his office and shut the door. He told our person that the people in Molokai are "spoiling it for everyone, and if you guys shut up over there, there will be no cruise ships coming to Molokai."

So we shut up.

We heard an announcement a week later that the cruise ship lines were canceling their seven remaining scheduled visits until they could hold a meeting with the Molokai community. Well, there's been no meeting, and no one has heard of any attempt to organize one. It's over, for now, I guess.

Not a clean victory. But "a win is a win," as one member of our group said. By reacting before the ships got here, we



held them off. The other Hawaiian islands have not been so lucky. Fisherpeople have seen rafts of trash floating off the island of Lanai. A charter boat captain in Maui reported hydraulic fluid leaking from a cruise ship, but nothing was done about it. Recently, some Canadians—who videotaped massive quantities of trash being ejected into the wake of a ship they were on went public and announced that they would not go on a cruise again until the industry cleaned up its act.

Carnival and Princess cruise lines are owned by the same family in Miami, Florida. They register their ships in Third World countries, hire labor at Third World prices and dump their trash wherever they feel like it. It's corporate imperialism at its worst.

For more information, visit www.bluewaternetwork.org.

Rich Zubaty hides out in the "corporatefree" zone of Molokai and is the author of The Corporate Cult and Your Brain is Not Your Own.

# The Evils of Cruise Ships

One of the fastest growing tourist industries, cruise ships are like floating cities of opulence, leisure and waste. A report released in May by the Vancouver Island Public Interest Research Group (VIPIRG) assesses the environmental and community impacts of cruise ships in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

The report, "Ripple Effects: The Need to Assess the Impacts of Cruise Ships in Victoria, British Columbia," predicts that this billion-dollar industry could expand by as much as 80 percent during the next decade.

The cruise ship industry is notorious for its systematic pollution of oceans and the atmosphere. Frequently, companies mandate dumping toxic waste, raw sewage and wastewater illegally at sea. Unlike the US, Canada does not have laws to regulate the dumping of many poisonous substances. Thus, cruise corporations make it a regular practice to unload sludge as soon as the ships sail north of the US border. Since 1998, three out of four of the major cruise corporations have been convicted of felonies for environmental pollution.

A large cruise ship can be up to 900 feet long and carry as many as 5,000 passengers. Every week, a Royal Caribbean cruise ship can expect to discard into the ocean: 75 pounds of batteries, 117 gallons of dry cleaning waste, 2,262 gallons of photo processing chemicals, as well as thousands of gallons of oily sludge that is left over from burning diesel bunker fuel. This is in addition to the engine and air conditioning coolants, hydraulic fluid and other solvents



that are gifted to marine life. The ships also incinerate garbage on board, which releases cancer-causing dioxin, furan and heavy metals into the atmosphere.

Every ship carries many metric tons of ballast water to control its weight. This water is taken on in one port and dumped elsewhere. By this method, marine organisms and exotic species are transported from one location to another, sometimes dramatically affecting ecosystems. It is estimated that 85 percent of the San Francisco Bay has been taken over by exotic species due to the release of ballast water.

For more information, visit www.vipirg.ca.

A tried-and-true Animal Liberation Front wolf to Nana, the matriarch of a herd of elephants in South Africa, for freeing antelopes being held at a private game reserve in April. Nana swung the capture pen's gate open after she undid its metal latches with her trunk. She then joined the rest of her herd, who watched the antelopes bound away before they too walked off into the night. The game reserve was planning on relocating the antelopes for a breeding program.

A wild and free, captivity-smashing pack of wolves to the residents of Maui, Hawaii, who successfully fought to ban the exhibition of captive cetaceans. After receiving hundreds of letters and

more than 15,000 petition signatures, the county council added Maui to the growing list of places in the US that have banned displays of dolphins and whales. In addition to cultural, spiritual and economic reasons, council members also pointed to the stressful living conditions these animals endure.

A fearless, defiant wolf to Charlie "Wolf" Smoke, an indigenous citizen of Turtle Island who refuses to allow Canada or the US to impose citizenship on him. As a person of Mohawk, Lakota and Seneca descent, Wolf does not feel he needs the Canadian government's permission to live in what is now called "Canada." As a result, he has been persistently ha-

rassed and targeted by both Canadian and US authorities.

A pack of wolves fighting 'til the last drop to the four starving lions who clawed through a crumbling wall to escape their enclosure at a Baghdad zoo. Like many other animals at the zoo, the lions were abandoned and left unfed for days after the US started bombing the city

in March. Two of the lions

charged at US troops, who responded by opening fire and killing them.

A howling wolf that will not be silenced to the Ferrel Collective, a small group of activists who brought the Senate to a screeching halt on April 10. Protesting new budget and military allocations about to be voted on, the five activists disrupted the Senate chambers, chanting anti-war slogans as senators and C-Span cameras looked on. "The unjust and dangerous war in Iraq is part of an expanding corporate agenda to put profit interests over our interests as communities," said a handcuffed member of the Ferrel Collective. "Our government is not hearing us, so we have to make our voices heard. We must retake the space that is being run by dollars and greed."

A hypocritical two-wrongs-don't-make-a-right poodle to the Better World Club and Future Forests for easing the consciences of jet-setters. Both companies offer "guilt free travel with carbon offsets" so that customers can "fight global warming while they fly." A round trip flight from New

> York to London spews 440 tons of greenhouse gases into the atm o s p h e r e, which is about the same amount that 80 SUVs emit in a full year of hard

driving. Customers of the Portland, Oregon-based Better World Club pay up to \$22 toward replacing inefficient oil-burning boilers in Portland public schools. Future Forests, headquartered in London, offers to neutralize airplane emissions by planting up to five trees or by supplying five energy-saving light bulbs to developing countries for each longrange jaunt.

Ababy-blue-eyed, mad-cow Happy Meal poodle dipped in oil and vinegar to Paul Newman for his partnership with the 30,000-strong chain of McDonald's restaurants. Once known for his strong sense of ethics, the actor agreed to sell the salad dressings made by Newman's Own to the fast-food giant. Let's hope that Paul's belief that "eating well

is the best revenge" backfires with karmic and gastrointestinal indigestion for him and the 50 million people in more than 130 countries who eat McCrap daily. He should have stuck to his motto: "Why mess with hamburger when you can have steak at home?" McDonald's is one of the most sued and vandalized corporations in the world, and it has reported a drop in sales for more than a year now.

## Wolves and Poodles

# We Got Your Back

Law Collectives and Radical Legal Defense in the US and Canada AResource Guide for Activists My name's Dan Spalding, with the Midnight Special Law Collective. I'm part of a growing network of law collectives that provide legal support for activists and work with community groups. As you'll see, law collectives support people fighting for social change, and do it in a way that models the world we want to live in.

This is my take on our part of the movement for social justice. It's completely subjective, except when I'm quoting the law collectives I'm talking about. But I've been doing this work for just over three years now, which makes me something of an old man[sic] on the scene. Any insights are accidental; any mistakes are completely my own.

## What's a law collective?

As a movement, we still haven't sat down and decided what exactly defines us. We tend to care more about "action" than "writing up our manifesto to print in our newspaper." (We don't really have a newspaper.)

But from what I've seen, a law collective is a group of folks who help protesters understand and defend themselves in the legal system. We do everything from know-your-rights trainings to legal observing to hooking up arrestees with lawyers to organizing court support.

We also do our work democratically. Internally, that means we make our decisions collectively—by formal or informal consensus. We prioritize making sure everyone develops skills and no one (or everyone) is stuck doing drudge work.

Externally, we strive to work with the activists we're supporting. That means making sure they're the ones deciding on the legal strategy, and not us, and making sure they understand and are in control of their legal defense as much as possible.

Some of us do more than work with activists. Midnight Special has a project where we represent people through the process of making complaints against the police in Oakland and Berkeley, California. Common Front Legal, in Ontario, Canada, does much more—as you'll see here.



GIVE ME YOUR STARBUCK'S, YOU GAP, YOUR NIKE TOWNS FUL OF SWAATSHOP INVENTORY, YOUR MC DONALD'S, GOBBLING PROFIT AND CRAVING MORE, SEND THESE, AND TACKY CORPORATE - BRANDED OUTLET MALLS TO ME, I PUT MY LOUISVILLE SUGGER THROUGH YOUR PLATE-GLASS TOOR!

### Fun fact!

All of these law collectives are skeptical of lawyers. Lawyers are (generally) used to bossing folks around, and they have trouble making democratic decisions.

Midnight Special has one law student and no lawyers. But most law collectives have one or more lawyers.

Need legal help but... Don't know who to call? Don't live in one of these cities? Don't fret! Contact us anyway—any of us. Law collective folks are friendly, and even if there isn't a group in your town that calls itself a "law" "collective," there's a good chance there are radical legal people close by. We'll get you in touch with them.

### Law Collectives Around the US

#### DC Justice and Solidarity Collective (Washington, DC)

www.justiceandsolidarity.org

(202) 544-8611

info@justiceandsolidarity.org

One of a number of local law collectives that has sprung up over the past few years, the DC Justice and Solidarity Collective surfaced in the Spring of 2001. We formed in response to the needs of a growing community of DC activists with whom we share a commitment to the struggle against the ravages of global corporate capitalism, imperialism, militarism, racism, homophobia, misogyny, and social injustice.

We combine our resources with those of the existing progressive legal community to: act as a clearinghouse of information, provide or arrange for relevant and/or requested trainings, and support the empowerment of arrested individuals by employing emotional and court support. We are currently seeking ways to work within the broader DC community.

Collective members include activists, legal workers, and lawyers who represent radical political ideologies.

#### People's Law Collective-New York City (PLC-NYC)

www.tao.ca/~nycplc nycplc@tao.ca

The PLC-NYC provides legal support, training, and education to people and groups engaged in radical action toward liberation and equality. We act as a radical presence in the legal community, provide jail support for activists that have put themselves in peril, facilitate popular education and training on rights and legal issues, and assist other communities in organizing legal collectives of their own.

#### R2K Legal Collective (Philadelphia)

www.r2klegal.org (215) 925-6791 info@r2klegal.org

Much like Libertas, R2K legal—named after the Republican 2000 national convention in Philly—has been defending hundreds of arrested protesters for the last few years. Here's how they've done with defending the 420 arrestees:

As of April 16, 2001, we have completed *all* initial misdemeanor trials. As of February 4, 2003, there are three remaining felony cases yet to be tried: The Timoney 3.

300-Number of people charged with misdemeanors

43—Number of people charged with felonies. Note: Many people arrested were never charged and were released without paperwork

106—Number of people charged with misdemeanors who took an Accelerated Rehabilitative Disposition (ARD). Note: ARD terms were six months probation, restitution, with no record or conviction.

237—Number of people charged who rejected ARD or other plea bargains and went to trial



Of the 194 misdemeanor defendants that chose to go to trial: 13—Misdemeanor convictions

- 15—Iviisdemeanor conviction
- 10—Summary convictions

Of the 43 felony defendants that chose to go to trial:

37-Charges thrown out or reduced to misdemeanors

1-Felony plea bargain (probation only)

3-Yet to go to trial

Note: These 3 young men were accused of engaging in a scuffle with police—including then Philadelphia Police Commissioner John Timoney.

96%—Percentage of wins vs. losses (including those that took the non-conviction plea bargain as wins).

#### Midnight Special Law Collective (California)

www.midnightspecial.net

(510) 834-1883

info@midnightspecial.net

Midnight Special Law Collective has been around since just after the 1999 Seattle/WTO protests. We helped with legal support for the misdemeanor arrests and then moved to DC for the 2000 April

> 16 protests, where we did legal training as well as legal support. Afterward, we moved to Los Angeles for the Democratic National Convention—where we did it all again.

> Afterward, we were weary and broke from the protest hopping. We decided to move to Oakland and become more centered in our community. Since then, we've focused on legal training and support for activists and working with community groups.

> One of our frustrations is that most of the people we train are young, middle-class white activists. So we've produced a "Know Your Rights" comic book geared toward youth of color but good for everyone. We've already distro'd 6,000 copies, mostly to organizers and teachers who work with youth of color. To folks like that we give them away for free. Otherwise

we ask for the cost of printing and shipping: about 25 cents each.

Finally, we've worked with a local community group to help folks who are harassed by the police get through the police accountability system in Oakland and Berkeley. As weak as the system is here, it's still better than virtually anywhere else in the US. Ultimately, we want to teach folks in our community how to represent themselves and each other in this process.

#### Legal Support to Stop the War (San Francisco)

www.actagainstwar.org (415) 285-1011 daswlegal@riseup.net

Meet the newest member of the law collective family! Legal Support collective (or LS2SW) is organizing the legal defense for over 3,000 people arrested in six different local jurisdictions protesting the war and American occupation of Iraq.

#### ...CONTINUED

We ran a legal office for the numerous protests in the weeks leading up to the war. Then we staffed an office 24/7 in the days just before and after the war, when over 2,000 people were arrested (some of them repeatedly—you know who you are). Then we collected the information for those folks as they were getting released from police custody, or afterward. Finally, now that almost everyone's misdemeanor charges were reduced to infractions, we're educating folks and helping organize their mass defense. As of June, we have over 600 cases on the calendar, and we plan on winning them all.

### **Staying Frosty: Law Collectives in Canada**

There are two long-standing law collectives in Canada: Libertas and Commonfront Legal. Canadian activism always inspires me for being radical and solid, and the work of these collectives is no exception. They also embody three law collective archetypes: long-standing court support, demonstration support, and providing services to targeted communities.

#### **Libertas Legal Collective**

(514) 842-3251 legal@tao.ca

Libertas—formerly Quebec Legal is organizing the defense of the over 400 people arrested during the Summit of the Americas/FTAA protests in Quebec City in the Spring of 2001. They've been working non-stop for the last two years collecting evidence, tracking down witnesses, and collaborating with radical lawyers. They've won virtually all their cases, but the hardest cases haven't even started yet. Libertas is now located in Montreal, and they do legal support for protests—but not the legal follow up.

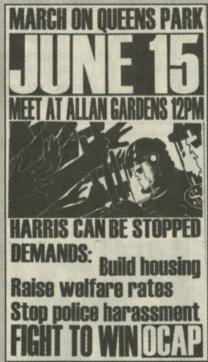
#### **Commonfront Legal**

www.ocap.ca (416) 925-6939 commonfront-legal@tao.ca Commonfront Legal works with the

Ontario Coalition Against Poverty

(OCAP), one of the fiercest grassroots groups fighting for poor folks' survival. They use direct action from the Depression-era (massive sit-ins at welfare offices when benefits are denied, for example) with a modern antiauthoritarian street savvy (like not getting co-opted by joining government committees) to be extraordinarily effective in getting people the benefits they need to live.

Commonfront Legal does legal support for OCAP's militant street protests. But they also do a lot of direct action social work. Individuals in the collective train for years to learn how to represent undocumented aliens through the immigration process. In Canada, this work can be done by non-lawyers, and Commonfront provides skilled organizers to help folks out. They also work to help people go through the paperwork of getting government benefits, in addition to—but not in place of—OCAP's tactics.



Here's one of their recent accomplishments:

After seven years of fighting to live her life and raise her daughter in safety, Dorothy Igharo, a non-status Nigerian woman, has received written confirmation that she can remain in Canada and will be "granted" landed status.

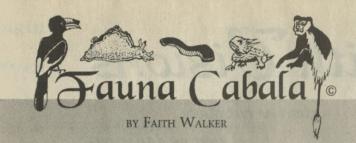
Nigeria is a country with regional states governed by the

Islamic law of sharia; recent verified cases have emerged from the north of the country in which women have been sentenced to death by stoning for having a child out of wedlock, a precedent which threatened Dorothy directly. As though that weren't enough, Dorothy felt the social norm of female genital mutilation would have put her baby daughter in grave danger.

On December 10, Dorothy and members of OCAP, the Committee of Non-Status Algerians (Montreal) and No One is Illegal (Montreal) brought delegations to two immigration offices demanding that Dorothy's deportation proceedings be stopped and that she be allowed to continue her life in Canada. The actions took place at the Greater Toronto Enforcement Centre (charged with administering deportations and detention) and the Ontario Regional Office of Immigration. Dorothy, backed up by 20 supporters, forced their PR hack to hear her out while demanding that he look at her daughter's picture and explain why

it was legitimate for Immigration Canada to tear her family apart. Eventually a meeting was granted in which Dorothy and fellow non-status women from the Non-Status Algerian Women's Committee and OCAP continued to press for answers while delivering first-hand accounts of the dangers they face and the consequences for their children should immigration deport them.

The day after our actions, a Director from the Enforcement Centre contacted Dorothy's immigration lawyer, informing her that Dorothy's Pre-Removal Risk Assessment had been approved. PRRA is a required procedure where immigration has to determine that someone they've rejected for protection in Canada won't be subject to harm after removal to their country of origin. Fewer than five percent of all such assessments are won, and it was particularly doubtful that Dorothy would win her assessment as this would require immigration to question its prior decision to deny her refugee status.



Female blanket octopuses (*Tremoctopus violaceus*) stockpile arms. This species lives upon the open ocean, where inch-long males, who weigh up to 40,000 times less than the six-foot-long females, search for their behemoth eightarmed femmes with enlarged eyes. When sighted, a rare event, a delighted male ejects sperm from a sac into a modified reproductive arm, severs it, hands it over to the female and dies. Females store arms in their mantle cavity and can have quite a collection, more than what is needed to fertilize their eggs.

The minute mass of males means they



Male blanket octopus

mature fast, favorable in the arms race to fertilize females. It also allows them to harness stinging tentacles stolen from Portuguese man-of-war jellyfish for their own defense. They grasp these tentacles, which contain tiny spring-loaded harpoons, in the suckers of two of their arms. It is a delicate operation that females are unable to perform because their large suckers can't carry such weaponry without triggering self-inflicting firing.

Thus, this extreme example of sexual size dimorphism likely evolved in response to both sexual selection (a competitive edge for quickly maturing males) and natural selection (survival benefits accruing from taking size refuge in a stolen defense).

# Remembering Henry Stuart Hutto

confinement and on

hunger strike. A strict

vegan, Henry, while in-

carcerated, refused to

eat food that possibly

contained meat. Even-

tually, his jailers re-

quested a meeting with

the prosecuting attor-

ney and the FBI. They

concluded that Henry

#### BY RALPH MCDONALD

Henry Stewart Hutto of Eugene, Oregon, a longtime Earth First! and animal rights activist, ended his own life on April 19. At age 49, Henry was a very kind, honest and politically committed individual. He had been homeless for several years, suffered from an aggressive form of arthritis and had been cut off from the Oregon

Health Plan's medical coverage.

Henry had a degree in wildlife ecology from Florida State University. His environmental and political heroism was unquestionable. In 1991, he spent 45 days in jail for refusing to answer grand jury questions about rescues at an animal-testing laboratory. He spent those days mostly in solitary



Henry Stuart Hutto

celebré, and they didn't think that he was going to talk. Henry was released.

More recently, Henry spent many volunteer hours resupplying the ongoing Red Cloud Thunder treesit in the Fall Creek area of the Willamette National Forest. His vintage four-cylinder Ford truck could barely make it up the steep mountain road going 40

Henry left the lightest footprint on Mother Earth that a size-14 shoe had ever left.

> miles per hour. Yet, he reliably supplied the treesitters month after month during the early phase of the treesit.

In the storage unit where Henry cooked his meals, there hung small, black-and-white newspaper pictures of his inspiration: Red Cloud, Geronimo and Crazy Horse. Next to these were buttons that read: "Animal Liberation" and "the ALF is always watching." Henry walked the walk, took his bicycle always and recycled everything. He left the lightest footprint on Mother Earth that a size-14 shoe had ever left.

Henry was loved by close friends in Oregon and by his family on the East Coast. On September 10, under the light of a full moon, Henry's ashes will be interred at Waldo Lake, Oregon.

Ralph McDonald lives in Eugene, Oregon, and was a friend of Henry Hutto.

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Armed with Visions

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#### Requiem for Ed Abbey

bright sun showers drip over the salmon pink slickrock casting restless shadows where there should be none. time worn crags smoothed over by the red sand's therapeutic love tower over the burning pine campfire.

grinding together, these rocks of marbled sandstone know no time and have no name.

#### they don't care.

they take what they want, what they need, and remain silent. it's a somber silence, almost sad, but its ambivalence is not without love.

people come to see them, to admire them, to love them to death.

I am as guilty as the rest, and it is with this in mind that I kneel with the Skyline between the sun and I and silently whisper my act of contrition.

—Tomas Hilla

clear as cut glass & just as dangerous

#### Third day of spring '03

Listening on our birthday birth is traumatic —From water world to drowning in air—

but it is not war Alice Walker says Faith in the peace of nature Peace is not without pain

When I told my uncle that I was going to march He said "They have cameras" I said "yes"

He meant watch yourself be cautious maybe don't go maybe don't forget yourself your looks don't forget they will beat you because they can

my uncle was a saboteur

He would destroy tractors used for mining copper, silver, uranium He said "They have cameras" He meant They will shoot you one way or another

-Little Baby Jesus yellow Jacket Hands-o-plenty

#### Fugitive

#### Wanted

Height unknown, weight unknown Race, gender, hair and eye color unknown

Last seen hiking into the desert, disappearing down a canyon Sleeping in an old growth forest, swimming in a mountain lake Reading a book in the shade of an oak tree

Is friendly, honest likes to laugh and play jokes carries a backpack, wears boots will live with only a tent and sleeping bag can cook and clean survive on beans and rice knows how to use buckwheat, whole-wheat, barley and rye flour spends entire days doing nothing makes love indoors and out writes without getting paid for it paints without getting paid for it plays music, dances, and sings without getting fame for it

can recite poetry by heart prefers shitting out-of-doors knows the phases of the moon can identify stars by their light birds by their song trees by their leaves clouds by their shape flowers by their bloom will not set an alarm clock is trying to help save the world is not trying to get ahead in the world is not upwardly mobile will not work forty, thirty or even twenty hours a week does not consume enough worry enough spend enough save enough has no shame has no credit has no insurance has no respect for money

holding the dream

A reward is offered for any information leading to the arrest of this individual If found please immediately contact the FBI, CIA, the nearest police station or academic institution

-Josh Gilman

Send poems to: Warrior Doets Society DOB 14501 Berkeley, CA 94712-5501 July-August 2003 Earth First! Page 39

# We the Swill Children Build

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BY THE LORD OF THE FLIES

It is likely that most readers of the Journal have gone dumpster diving or at least have considered it. thus, basic technique involved is not our topic here, as it has been well covered elsewhere. Our story then, is how dumpster diving has played a part in community building amongst the riff raff in our town, which will remain unnamed.

As any seasoned dumpster diver knows, you will often be in the presence of large quantities of a multitude of items. Oftentimes, you

won't have the ability to deal with your score before it rots to the point of inedibility (perhaps an opportunity to pelt a most-deserving corporate wanker?).

Have you been torn, on occasion, seeing all of the food that is potentially headed to the landfill? Our solution was to attempt to collectivize our community's food gathering and distribution.

We began more than two years ago by establishing a distribution point, which was a fridge in the basement of a housing cooperative where some Food Not Bombs (FNB) folks lived. Our idea was to get bartering going between dumpster divers, which would lead to greater variety with less diving for everyone. It would also ensure a steady supply of food for FNB. We would schedule around each other so that we wouldn't hit the same dumpsters on the same night, using a calendar on the door of the fridge to coordinate. The fridge was named "Calypso" after the ship of the great diver Jacques Cousteau.

We would talk about each other's scores to discern any patterns in dumpster activity. Certain dumpster routes formed that were recognized by code names.

There were but two rules: 1) No meetings. This was mainly to avoid power struggles, boredom and inaction. There would be less talk and more dumpster. 2) No iceberg lettuce and other such schwag. We wanted quality goods, organic produce preferred, especially avocados and mangos.

We talked to other dumpster divers, but at first there wasn't much trading. Maybe, we posited, some divers were uncomfortable with having to enter the housing cooperative due to its

## Community Building Amongst the Riff Raff

usual weird energy. But there was loads of food. Too much, in fact, for we

had piles upon rotting piles of molding, flyinfested food (the Horror). FNB couldn't cook and serve it all, so we tried to have regular food giveaways where we simply set boxes of food out on the street at an advertised time and place.

We hadn't learned how much was the right amount. Something more sustainable was needed.

Some months later, those same people who were involved with FNB moved to another house that they felt would be a better location for the exchange point. And it was better. Calypso was in the yard, well hidden by a tall hedge, and no one would have to pass through a house to get to it. Soon a shade tent was added, as well as shelves, pallets and a bread cabinet. A small metal box for donations to help FNB and to pay for electricity was attached to a wire.

Things would be different this time. Some of us realized that depending on society to be wasteful was not sustainable, so we encouraged homegrown and wild-gathered food. We would take compost to nearby gardens and send treats to the neighbors as tribute. We were trying to practice anarchy, but at times it seemed to resemble feudalism with no vassals, serfs, king or tax collector. We made living on trash as fun as possible, and to that end, we created a wonderful new culture. We made up dumpster names like Sparrow, Nightsong, Sunshine, Tuber... just kidding. Actually, we had the Gleaner, Vomitropolus Nausitaurium, Junk Cousteau, Ghost Rider, Diving Miss Daisy, Little Digger, Wonder Woman, Taurus and a whole host of others.

We would meet back at Calypso and, after a good score, celebrate with wine, pie, chocolate, smoothies and all manner of fruit that was minutes out of the dumpster and thus at the peak of ripeness (if it survived being consumed onsite). We had contests for eating pills vitamins and herbal remedies—and stuffing as many grapes in our cheeks as possible, then doing impressions of some famous actor. Bloated carrot juice bottles were flung to explosive effect.

We made lists of the things we found and photographed some of the more absurd items. We tried to name our merry enterprise: The Gleaners, Dumpster Share, Dumpster Liberation Front, Dumpster Mafia and the Swill Children, but nothing really stuck. We involved siblings and parents, especially when *The Gleaners and I*—a French documentary by Agnes Varda about people harvesting from the waste stream—came to our town's art house cinema. In case some of us hadn't built up the necessary enzymes, we had colloidal silver to cure the occasional upset stomach.

Enthusiasm led to the conception of a "Dumpster Olympics," where team

and individual events would include: hanging on the edge, loaded bicycle obstacle course with a jump, iron dumpster chef (a cook-off), time trial, scavenger hunt, diving style, bo> surfing, endurance and many more. We formed teams roughly by household. This went hand in hand with an evolution of techniques and equipment, including teamwork, flashlights, headlamps, bike racks, trailers, loading methods and dumpster mapping. The Dumpster Olympics didn't happen—the lack of meetings is probably to blame—but it still could.

Some of us had spread the word far and anon. And sure enough, we had a crusty punk explosion. We had advertised too well, and as a consequence, lots of people we didn't know started coming through. Maybe they weren't entirely responsible for what happened, but communication broke down about our second rule and other things. We were inundated with rotting piles of green potatoes with eyes and maggots (eew!), iceberg lettuce (the bane), processed cheese slices (blech!) and moldy white bread (the scourge). Someone dropped off five gallons of putrefying mayonnaise (nasty). On top of that, the donation box was stolen (evil).

We spotted some graffiti written on a bench about our project that said you could stay at the host house, as well as get free food. Random people would appear with this in mind, which was really more than the hosts could



bear. They grew weary of the mire. Cleaning up after someone else's mess was not popular, and Calypso moved yet again to its present location.

Only a few households participate now, in a low-profile operation catering to those who have shown the proper dedication to cleanliness. It is working well. There is a sink now, as well as compost and trash bins. What have we learned? Try it and make it fun.

All drafts of this article were made with a dumpstered notebook, pencil and eraser.



### **Dumpstering 201**

We again assume that you are already well-acquainted with the way of the dumpster, but here's a few tidbits of advice:

•Go by bike. Racks have advantages over trailers: You will have more maneuverability, and your carrying capacity will be smaller so that you learn to choose your cargo wisely. You are also a smaller object to detect and track.

•One hand holds the light, the other does the unprintable. Headlamps are fine if you don't care about having a clean hand to eat with (or you could stick to packaged goods and muffins—you peel the top off, and the inside is clean).

•Dumpsters are full of unfinished bottled water, which is good for hand washing and drinking (consider it a kiss from a stranger).

•If you have the time to sort out the rotten stuff, throw it back. Do you really want to take everything? It's a drag letting it go to the landfill, but you should have an idea of what you will do with your score once you get it back. Besides, you oughtta leave something for the next diver.

•Try candles. They don't stay lit on windy days but do well inside tall-sided dumpsters.

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# blast from the past

August-September 1990 Earth First! Journal

## **Steady Flames and Shooting Stars** *A Few Words on Activist Angst*

BY LESLIE LYON

"Be as I am—a reluctant enthusiast... a parttime crusader, a half-hearted fanatic." —ED Abbey

"So do we buy the second BMW or have a third child?" —ANGST-RIDDEN YUPPIE

I know you. You've dedicated your life to the most worthy and difficult cause of all: the defense of Mother Earth. For Nature's sake, you've taken risks, neglected yourself and loved ones, as well as

endured abuse. You work hours that would kill a lesser person. You'd do anything to save the planet from further harm.

You may have started out with boundless vitality, but you've since taken on so much work that it's all you can do to drag yourself out of bed some mornings. The job of Earth warrior doesn't pay well, so you'll never know the financial security enjoyed by your more "practical" friends. At times, you can't help wondering if anyone else has given up as much for the cause.

It's not easy being a radical environmentalist. Few people understand the need for drastic action in defense of Mother Earth, and even fewer take that action. The handful who are ready to take on the enemy face staggering odds, often with no hope of reward beyond a hardearned lesson in tactics. If you're a monkeywrencher, you live with a danger and loneliness beyond most people's endurance. Even if you only cheer on the women and men in black, you've learned that working in the system can be grueling too.

Remember when you joined the movement? If you were like me, you had a lot of energy and the fiery commitment

of fresh outrage. Years later, the commitment and outrage are still there, but they may feel more like a habit than a fire. Some of us are feeling downright burned out.

The hotter a flame burns, the faster it can exhaust itself. Since most Earth warriors carry a fairly volcanic torch, we must be especially vigilant against burnout. The symptoms include physical ailments (like lowered resistance, high blood pressure and insomnia) and emotional

> problems (ranging from depression to anxiety). If you're becoming irritable, humorless and jittery, chances are your flame is laboring against the chilling wind of activist angst.

Occasional hopelessness is inevitable and can be dealt with easily. Chronic hopelessness is different. Most of us know someone who has succumbed to the delusion that we're fighting a losing battle.

Every human has weaknesses. As hard as you try to hammer yourself into a machine with the sole purpose of saving the world, you'll still be flesh and

blood with needs that must be met. If you push yourself too hard, or take on more than you can handle, you will start making mistakes.

Even if you conserve your energy, you may not be using it wisely. One of the most common misuses of energy is morbid contemplation of the opposition. Keeping informed is one thing; worrying yourself sick is another. If you waste all of your time agonizing over the troubles of the world, you'll have none left for remedying them.

Another pitfall of activism is the conceit that everything will fall apart without you. No one is inherently more "valuable" than anyone else. Some can get things done on their own, but most of us do better with the help of others. It's healthy to let others share work, plan strategies and take credit. This is hard if you live in Apathyville, USA. It's daunting to be the only person in town who's heard of Earth Day. If you live in an area where the "E" word is spoken only at great risk, don't assume you're alone. Advertise if you're outgoing—or keep your ears open if you're more low key—but don't stop looking for like-minded folks to work with.

Most Earth warriors have to make a living outside of the movement. Nothing can catapult an idealist out of an ivory tower faster than gainful employment. Jobs compel us to endure trials—like co-workers who rely on a supreme being to solve all of their problems. It may be risky to speak your mind at work. As a field interviewer for the feds, I run my finger along the backbone of America every month. I'd rather discuss the local wilderness debate with my respondents, but financial constraints force me to stick to Bureau of Labor Statistics concerns. However, I still write newspaper columns decrying local institutions. I haven't had a door slammed in my face yet, and I don't think many people are fired solely for expressing their beliefs.

As a volunteer, I've learned that conflicts also arise within environmental organizations. Even if two people see eye to eye about what's wrong and what to do about it, they still have personality traits that may clash. People who believe strongly in causes often believe just as strongly in their own egos.

Even worse, some working environmentalists have lost their inspiration and infuriate others with their cynical, self-serving attitudes. I'm not the only one who's seen a "grassroots" outfit spend contributions on evils ranging from styrofoam cups to luxury junkets. If you're faced with such wastrels, remind them that members aren't eking out dues so some prima

donna can play Fortune 500 executive. If you're one of the wastrels, think back to your roots and consider the stress you're inflicting on your more honorable cohorts.

Maybe organizations aren't for you. Some of the most effective actions are accomplished by loners. If you engage in the kind of activities that judges and road contractors frown upon, your sanity may be entirely up to you. While less courageous campaigners bask in the limelight, you must content yourself with personal satisfaction.

Of course, it will take more than the promise of a better day to get us through the battles ahead. When it comes to self-indulgence, we Earth lovers have the responsibility of amusing ourselves in ways that don't compromise our principles. No shopping binges or trophy hunting for us! Still, we need fun and distraction as much as the detached masses do. Whether it's science fiction and heavy metal (my vices) or square dancing and crossword puzzles, distraction helps make an activist more effective.

Health of mind also depends on health of body. Staying up all night and living on Twinkies won't get the job done. A well-balanced, unadulterated diet is not only good for the planet, it's good for people who want to save the planet. Many unhealthy substances, such as sugar, red meat and caffeine, involve harmful farming practices. There's little excuse for smoking tobacco, since it ruins both soil and health. Earth First! is a notorious hotbed for fun-loving parties, a reputation that has doubtless inspired more jealousy than disapproval. Recreational drugs like beer and marijuana are wonderful, provided that overindulgence doesn't make one a couch potato.

An effective activist has a satisfying life outside of the movement. Dedication to a cause cannot solve personal problems or take the place of family and friends. You won't win over an indifferent spouse and kids by spending all of

your time away from use a cause to escape ten end up doing more persevering activist motives in order. If system in order

init

home. Activists who personal problems ofharm than good. The also keeps his or her you're fighting the to punish a spouse, father or boss, you'll probably fail at both.

It always helps to find some humor in any difficult task. Remember the Chicago 7? Instead of letting themselves be cowed by the charges against them, they confounded Judge Hoffman with their theatrical mockery of the judicial system. It's healthy to say what you feel, cry when you suffer setbacks and laugh when you prevail.

Without a doubt, the most effective way to remain sane in the face of adversity is to stay in touch with the ideal we're trying to preserve. As Earth lovers, we can maintain our vision by spending as much time as possible in natural set-

tings. There's nothing like a backpacking trip in the desert or a hike up a mountain to give an activist the strength to carry on.

Earth First! actions are as famous for their irreverent good humor as they are for their uncompromising defense of Mother Earth. It's the defense that matters to us, but these days, style seems to win as many battles as strategy. The side that can play as hard as it fights will have the best chance of winning the hearts and minds of a new generation.

Remember that you are making history—that you belong to a movement that will be idolized by future generations—and treat yourself accordingly.

Back issues of the EF! Journal are available for five dollars each. Please inquire for bulk discount prices. Or order our nearcomplete 22-year set for \$500.

# Native Youth Resistance

BY NATIVE YOUTH MOVEMENT— WINNIPEG CHAPTER

The Native Youth Movement (NYM) started like a wildfire across Turtle Island as our circle of friends began to extend our hands out in solidarity and unity. The first spark of NYM began here in Winnipeg, Canada, in 1990. The second chapter formed in Vancouver, British Columbia, several years later.

As Aboriginal youth living in a contemporary society, where did we stand and what was to become of us, our children, our grandchildren? It seemed that the generation before us didn't want to ask questions or say anything about the tremendous suffering, poverty and social issues that affect us. Our ceremonies were kept from us, and our language was only spoken by the older generations. They told us it was cute when we spoke English. We never understood what our grandmothers and grandfathers really wanted to tell us. A shame-

ful history untold but waiting to be found. We only knew that they wanted better for us.

Who gave the government authority to run our lives and everything else that surrounds us? Why were we only known as numbers within a system? Why did we have to go to church and not feel any connection between religion and daily life? Why are there Indian agents and the Department of Indian Affairs? Why were our leaders treated like children? We began to question everything around us. We asked ourselves if this was the way we were meant to live. We soul searched for knowledge about our past, our future and ourselves.

We began to learn about who our warriors were. No one remembers them, no one speaks their names, no one honors what they did for us and what they stood for. We felt that it was our responsibility to bring that back. Meeting at coffee shops all night, opening up our homes to each other, we would meet and talk about everything. We starting going to ceremonies together. We went to meetings, gatherings, conferences and started networking with those who were on the same level. We laughed together, searched together, cried together and shared our stories and visions. We stormed into offices, walked into meetings and made our stance known when we had to.

When we think about it today, we remember all of the youth involved past and present. Each coming forth with their gift, their own strength, each sharing and contributing. The wisdom and knowledge in their eyes. The sincerity in the tone of their voices when they talk about who they are.

An old man once told us about how our ancestors will come back in another generation and things will change. Sometimes when we sit with the young peoples, we feel like we are sitting with ancestors who are carrying knowledge and messages. It's a spirit passed down through blood, called the Warrior Spirit. The gifts that our youth carry need to be nurtured. That is why it is important to us that

our young people face the truth and are empowered. Everything that we need to survive is all around us in the natural world. Keeping ourselves connected to the truth that our source of life comes from the Earth, our mother. We pray that our young people will carry on the responsibility of speaking truth, speaking for our Mother Earth.

In NYM, we've learned to work with such a diverse group of youth aiming for the same goal. The NYM Winnipeg chapter has its part to play, as do other chapters. There are chapters in Vancouver and Secwepemc, British Columbia, in California, Philadelphia, New Mexico and Las Cruces, to name a few.

What became a huge ripple from a little ripple is the effect of the original spirit of the movement. NYM is a sisterhood/ brotherhood grassroots movement. We speak on a variety of topics and issues that affect us, as well as take part in direct action. Throughout the mid 1990s, NYM Winnipeg walked across Canada and talked to youth, connecting our ideas and prayers for positive change. We organize annual vigils for a Mi'Kmaq woman named Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash, who was involved with the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the '70s (see page 51). We have also spoken out on the extradition of AIM warrior Leonard Peltier, who was accused of killing two FBI agents. We fight for our treaty rights in the lands where we signed treaties and oppose the signing of treaties where they aren't already signed. We fight racist politicians who are determined to abolish our inherent rights and put profit before anything else. We protect our Mother Earth and the ones that cannot speak for themselves, including the winged and four legged.

When our elders and our peoples go hunting and fishing, they come home with criminal charges rather than food for

the table. When the West Coast peoples wanted to live a free life, camp out in their traditional territories and sustain themselves with the richness of the mountains, it was labeled resistance. They were deemed an "armed camp" because the men are hunters. A court injunction was brought against them by Sun Peaks Ski Resort, and they can't return to their lands or wear camouflage, the colors of our Mother Earth. NYM activists were intimidated and treated like terrorists in our homelands.

When mainstream society sees what we are doing, they may think we are a bit extreme. Our response is that they are used to seeing Indigenous people down under the foot of the government that oppresses us. There's nothing wrong with having pride, identity, goals and motivation, feeling

empowered and confident that we are doing what is right.

We've got big battles to fight. Why is it that Manitoba Hydro makes billions of dollars a year flooding our lands, wiping out our homes and our ability to live, while our people and band offices struggle to pay the hundreds of dollars worth of electricity? Large-scale industries are making billions, misplacing people and lives.

NYM chapters are bringing back what we have lost. To keep efforts on a roll, NYM organizes hip hop shows and vouth empowerment workshops. The idea is to start getting youth in a different process of thinking. On a broader scale, an important step is bringing back our traditional systems of government, warrior societies and clans. When we are searching for who we are, our spiritual guidance leads us to our responsibilities, which are encoded in our names and

who we are.

and unborn.

clans. It's a learning process about

selves, then our family, then our

community, then our Nation. We

have a message that we carry; it

needs to be heard. We are speak-

ing for those who are unheard

It is in our hearts to dream big,

think big, work big. To bring

back what we have lost. We may

never see our visions and dreams

come true—such as bringing

food trade routes back, having

traditional governance, our own

land bases, our own schools,

having our own economy and

our ceremonies of life and death.

That is why it is important that

we pass what we can onto our

children and grandchildren. Until then, we know what we

We begin with helping our-

OVEMENT VATIVE YOUT WARRIOR SOC

> To contact NYM chapters, email Winnipeg, nymwin@redpride.com; Vancouver, nym@redpride.com; Philadelphia, nymsavagez@redpride.com; San Jose, 515nym@redpride.com.

have to do.

For more information, visit www.redwiremag.com; www.redhiphop.ayn.ca; www.redline.com; and www.seedsofwisdom.com.

## NYM Homes Raided

Since the late 1990s, the Secwepemc Native Youth Movement (NYM) from British Columbia, Canada, has been fighting to stop the expansion of the Sun Peaks Ski Resort. The resort expansion would destroy important cultural and environmental areas within the unsurrendered territory known as Skwelkwek'welt (see EF!J May-June 2003). As a result of its no compromise tactics, NYM has faced increasing government repression.

On April 8, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Emergency Response Teams (RCMP-ERT) raided four homes and two workplaces of NYM members involved in defending their Aboriginal land in Skwelkwek'welt. The raids occurred simultaneously in Nuxalk and Secwepemc Territories.

Computers, computer discs, videos, phone books, email lists and files were confiscated. One warrant also included the right to access passwords and email messages. Two NYM warriors were arrested and held without charges.

During one of the raids, RCMP-ERT units, armed with M-16 machine guns, surrounded a NYM residence, yelling: "Open up, we have a suspicion of weapons." As the agents stormed into the house, they flashed a classic blank warrant and rounded everyone up, including the baby of NYM ex-political prisoner Kanahus Pelkey. RCMP officers searched the NYM activists, making women lift their shirts while male officers watched. Afterward, one RCMP officer loudly boasted: "This was a blast, we'll do it again sometime."

In response to this attempt to disrupt and dismantle NYM, a spokesperson said, "We will not let their weak attempt of intimidation sidetrack our purpose. It acts as motivation and fire under our feet to live free from oppression and invasion, as beautiful Red Nations. They can take all of what we physically have, but they can never take our Warrior Spirit!"



## 20 agents, nine hours, six large pizzas later Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty Office Raided

#### BY SHAC USA

Never once did any Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) volunteer doubt that at some point the FBI would take keener than com-

fortable interest in our national efforts. Never once did we fool ourselves into believing that to the extent we have rattled the cages of the vivisection industry, there would be no consequence. Not for one minute did any of us hold out faith that the federal authorities would crack down on the pervasive and twisted animal cruelty that happens every day inside of animal testing labs—instead of on civil dissent. We expected from the start that the FBI would raid our offices and personal lives, and this is exactly what it did on April 23.

TAL

As 20 burly and heavily armed agents spent nine hours putting their dirty little hands all over our personal belongings and proceeded to legally burglarize us, a fresh wave of anger and determination washed away any tinge of self-pity we may have had. If the FBI thinks that taking away our baby pictures, dream diaries and movie collections will scare us off, then it really is made up of Fumbling, Bumbling Idiots. And if Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) hopes that protests are

going to stop because our bullhorn and signs were confiscated, then it is in for one vicious slap of reality.

The FBI's raid on the SHAC office serves as a rallying cry. We are being effective—too effective for those who abuse animals and those paid to protect the abusers. This raid, the grand juries and the numerous lawsuits should serve as reminders to us that the industries we are up against are multi-billiondollar-a-year businesses. This buys enormous political clout, media bias and heavy-handed police tactics.

It is for this reason that this campaign chooses to work outside of the "proscribed" methods for social change. The Senate is no friend to animals; the courtrooms will not recognize that animals are not property; and the pages of USA Today are bought and sold to the highest bidder.

We find our strength behind our signs, masks and fists beating down that CEO's door. We are effective because we are not afraid to be confrontational and get our hands dirty.

Within 24 hours after the last FBI agent left our home, we had already moved our headquarters to a bigger and better facility. We reordered all of our leaflets, as well as obtained new phones and computers. We staged demonstrations at HLS and the home of its vice president of operations. We conducted media interviews and held a vegan outreach dinner. Unfettered and unfazed, it was business as usual.

Let this latest turn of events be a jolt of caffeine for the campaign and the animal rights movement. This raid is the clearest sign yet that the HLS campaign is being effective—even more so than we may have thought. Rather than being derailed, we are driven by even more injustice against which to fight. It's time to pull together, resist this criminalization of dissent and finish the hellhole that is HLS off for good! For more information, contact SHAC, (888) 354-2435; shacusa@envirolink.org; www.shacamerica.net.

"SHAC has provided or will soon be providing a model for any group that has any complaint with corporate America, to shut them down or intimidate them until their business is hurt."

---FRANKIE "THE TROLL" TRULL, FOUNDATION FOR BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH





### The FBI Has Nothing on Me

#### BY JOSH HARPER

My home was raided on Wednesday, April 23, by the Seattle Joint Terrorism Task Force. The FBI told reporters that it was in relation to multiple arsons, animal enterprise terrorism and interference with interstate commerce.

I'm sure that by now the pro-drunk driving crew at the Center for Consumer Freedom is celebrating my certain demise, and Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) collaborators are picturing the day they can happily return to making money without us pesky activists saying something about it. I can see them visualizing the boxes of FBI loot leaving my house and cheering as they devise the next chemical to pour down a beagle's throat. What they should be visualizing is this: Me continuing to fight them in the same way I have since I first got involved in the campaign against HLS.

The raid on my home was next to meaningless to me. I am angry, as anyone would be, that my personal belongings were taken. I'm saddened to see my baby pictures go. I am wondering why the FBI failed to report that it took a computer and video editing equipment from my room. I am doubting that I will ever get to enjoy the recent pictures from my birthday party that were on the camera that they stole. (Note to the Feds: The dancing pictures should be particularly funny. I hope you die laughing.) But my anger surrounding those things is fleeting. In case people have failed to notice, the FBI does this sort of thing every few years with me. I have grown used to it and have realized that in the grand scheme of things, it isn't such a big deal.

Following the raid, I was in England and was amazed at some of the people I met there. Having their homes raided is old news to them. They take it in stride and keep on attacking the bastards who are ruining this world for the rest of us. They get arrested, go to jail, get off their asses and go back to it. I intend to do the same thing now, and in a few years when the FBI makes its next attempt to intimidate me, I will do the same.

I hope that people don't let this raid scare them. The FBI has nothing on me. Nothing that was taken can get me in any sort of trouble, although I am sure the Feds will justify the raid with a publicized arrest. They will then let the matter quietly drop as my attorneys destroy the FBI's case, just as they always have in the past. I'll deal with it, just as I know you all would. We have a lot of work ahead of us. Let's get to it, shall we?

Josh Harper has recently returned from a tour of duty with Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty UK, who remain the best activists in the world, despite confusing potato chips for "crisps."

### Grand Jury Looks to Fresno State University

"We weren't talking about hate or how to blow up anything. This was a discussion of the historical, political and ethical aspects of the animal and Earth liberation movements," says University of Texas-El Paso professor Dr. Steven Best. Best was referring to a February conference entitled "Revolutionary Environmentalism: A Dialogue between Activists and Academics."

The conference, held at Fresno State University, has garnered the interest of a federal grand jury investigation. In May, university officials confirmed that they had received and acted upon a grand jury subpoena by supplying a videotape of one of the conference sessions on direct action.

While conference organizers put together the event to discuss tactics, critics maintained that the conference progressed from analysis to advocacy of more militant tactics.

Participants at the conference believe that the grand jury subpoena is a threat to academic freedom and to their privacy. The aim of the investigation remains unknown.

For more information on grand jury investigations throughout the US, visit www.shacamerica.net/ witchhunts.htm.

## An Open Letter to the FBI

According to reports released earlier this year, the FBI secretly monitored the June 2002 protests against the North American Wholesale Lumber Association (NAWLA) in Colorado Springs, Colorado (see EF!J August-September 2002). The Denver Joint Terrorism Task Force admits to gathering information about people at the rally and to passing information on to other law enforcement agencies.

#### To Whom It May Concern,

It has come to my attention that the FBI was investigating protest activities in which I participated during the Summer of 2002. This blatant abuse of law enforcement resources for corporate and political purposes must cease immediately.

At the Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs, a group of us assumed control of NAWLA's annual board of directors meeting. We were there for reasons that you should investigate: NAWLA traffics in stolen, genocidal and ecocidal timber cut from forests around the Earth. The board of directors was informed of its complicity and was asked to put an end to such practices.

Far from investigating these crimes, your agency was in Colorado Springs as part of your constant opposition to anything threatening corporate profit. I believe you understand the manner in which "investigation" translates into intimidation. That explains why you "investigate" people who publicize corporate crimes—especially those crimes perpetrated by wealthy US citizens against the world's poor.

An FBI spokesperson has stated that you were investigating one or more protesters and implied that those people may be dangerous. In reality, you gathered information on a couple dozen people who came to a quiet rally held at a small park near the hotel. Yet your agency missed the three people inside the hotel with more than 100 pounds of banner and climbing gear. The activists deployed their message against corporate plunder from the hotel's historic bell tower. This act escaped your "intelligence" gathering despite your overwhelming resources and high-tech gadgetry, including a surveillance helicopter.

Had those three people carried bombs and guns like the ones you use, they would have demonstrated themselves as being far beyond your power to assure public safety. Of course, we do not carry bombs and guns, despite the lies you feed the corporate media before every protest event of significant size.

Your efforts are ultimately useless in the face of real political violence. They only serve to obscure the manner in which "law enforcement" has become the real threat to true democracy.

Your invented "ecoterrorism" will never justify your overzealous information gathering on citizens—lawabiding or otherwise—who wish to protect the Earth and help other oppressed humans. You are defenders of a corporate-controlled status quo that is bankrupt of legitimacy, and you are clearly opposed to aspirations of freedom, fairness and balance.

Such behavior will not remain unaccounted for. "Just following orders" hasn't really worked since the Nuremberg trials. Think about your actions now. Think about your fellow FBI agents who were found guilty last year of abusing the First and Fourth Amendment rights of forest activists Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney after their car was bombed. By the way, you never told us who the bomber was, did you?

If instead of reassessing your individual roles in crushing true democracy, one or more of you feels compelled to repeat the FBI tactics of the '60s and '70s and burn something flashy in order to up the ante of political repression against the entire movement for the Earth, then my vote is for you to burn out Columbia Helicopters.

Sincerely,

-TIM REAM

Tim Ream used to work for the government of the United States of America. Now, he is seriously afraid of them.

### FBI Steps Up Repression of Indiana Activists

A federal grand jury subpoena was delivered to an activist formerly from Bloomington, Indiana, at his workplace in San Diego, California, on April 28. Without stating any charges, a grand jury in Indianapolis ordered David Agranoff to surrender hair, saliva, fingerprints and palm prints to the FBI within 48 hours. He resisted the grand jury's demands. "The FBI's attempt to make me surrender my biological information is a blatant move to harass and intimidate me," said Agranoff. "Clearly from the way it approached the delivery of the subpoena, the FBI was trying to disrupt my life. What disturbs me most is that I have committed no crime."

On May 13, Agranoff was pulled over by the local police as he drove home from work. An FBI agent and US Marshall, who had been following him, used this opportunity to serve Agranoff with a second subpoena. This time, the Indianapolis grand jury left out its requests for hair and DNA samples and demanded that he provide photos and fingerprints within a week.

Grand juries are antiquated legal bodies used to intimidate and repress

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# the Empire's Shadow

#### BY JAMES JOHN BELL

Exploiting the political climate of President Bush's "War on Terrorism," an ultra-conservative think tank, the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), has teamed up with the US Sportsmen's Alliance to draft legislation that would increase penalties for direct action, and, in some cases, outlaw environmental protests altogether.

ALEC's "Animal and Ecological Terrorism Act" defines an animal rights or ecological terrorist organization as "two or more persons organized for the purpose of supporting any politically motivated activity intended to obstruct or deter any person from participating in an activity involving animals or an activity involving natural resources." Versions of the legislation have appeared in Texas (HB.433), New York (A.4884), Pennsylvania (S.1257) and Maine. It may soon appear in Midwestern states and the Northwest.

"With HB.433 and its numerous clones, you can be labeled a terrorist if you leaflet a circus, protest an experimental lab, block a road to protect a forest or potentially impede industry profits in any fashion," says Dr. Steven Best, chair of the philosophy department at the University of Texas-El Paso. Best is just one of many professors and philosophers that are fighting back by speaking out. "The bill also defines 'terrorist' action as photographing or videotaping animal abuse

activist communities. When a person is subpoenaed, they lose their rights to plead the Fifth Amendment and have legal counsel. Individuals risk imprisonment if they do not comply.

Acting on his lawyer's advice, Agranoff submitted to the second set of demands. From his perspective, when considering how many times he has been arrested at nonviolent protests, this information could not bring harm to him or anyone else. in a facility, such as a factory farm or slaughterhouse. Thus, the terrorists are not the monsters who club pigs to death with metal pipes, but rather the activists, whistleblowers and investigative reporters trying to document such sadistic abuse."

This type of legislation is part of the ultra-conservative backlash against effective citizen campaigns aimed at holding corporations accountable for their crimes and abuses. ALEC has 30 years of experience at crafting anti-progressive legislation. With an annual budget



of six million dollars and funding from the National Rifle Association, Family Research Council and the Heritage Foundation, ALEC attracts powerful sponsors like Enron, Kraft foods and several oil companies. Currently, ALEC boasts a membership that includes 2,400 state lawmakers from all 50 states.

The ultra-conservatives have been constructing their new global empire

via a blitzkrieg of think tanks—hundreds, just like ALEC, are transforming governments in Asia, Europe and the US. Any sort of opposition, from liberal to radical, becomes increasingly difficult because the global apparatus of consolidated media, corporate globalization, world governance and police empire effortlessly neutralizes threats as they appear. Or does it?

There appears to be a weakness in the armor of ALEC and other ultra-conservative think tanks: Their attacks are really shadows based largely on organizing around a matrix of ideas, paper tiger legislation and symbols of power. The ultra-conservative's global shadow government is held together through a kind of *magician* state that maintains rigid control through decisive force and illusion over how their rule is perceived.

> Historically, movements fail when they start seeing shadows everywhere, because they tend to get suckered into fighting the shadows and their makers, instead of fighting over control of the light.

"Never attack the system in terms of relations of force—that is

the revolutionary imagination the system itself forces upon you. The system survives only by constantly drawing those attacking it into fighting on the ground of reality, which is always its own. But shift the struggle into the symbolic sphere." —Jean Baudrillard

James John Bell edits lastwizards.com and recently authored the afterword to The Sheep Look Up by John Brunner.

Agranoff has made it clear since this began that he will refuse to answer the grand jury's questions or submit to testimony. His non-cooperation stems from his resolution to not participate in the repression of his community.

Many activists in Bloomington have had a quick introduction to repressive government tactics. So far this year, the FBI has visited as many as 60 activists in the area. An FBI singleengine Cessna plane flew above Bloomington for more than a week and was confirmed to have made several low passes over at least two environmentalists' homes. FBI agents have also made harassing phone calls to individuals' places of employment, followed one activist's children and used other forms of intimidation.

Following the issuance of these subpoenas, protests were staged in Bloomington and San Diego.

## Askan EF! Lawyer He's working on Your Side!

#### BY STU SUGARMAN

#### Dear EF! Lawyer,

I read about the Supreme Court's recent ruling in favor of antiabortion groups who were charged with extortion under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Since corporations often use RICO against environmental and animal rights groups, how will this ruling effect us radical activists? —Just Asking in Maryland

#### Dear Asking,

The ruling you're referring to, NOW v. Scheidler, is a welcome decision for radical activists because it means that RICO is less of a threat to EF!ers than it was before. Law enforcement officials commonly threaten to prosecute activists under the RICO statute (18 USC §1961 et seq.) because its criminal sentencing provisions punish minor offenses with long prison terms. It also creates civil liability for activists, which could force activists to pay money to evildoers. Anyone even casually related to an organization that is targeted by the state can be sucked in and prosecuted under RICO's overly broad provisions.

During a nationwide campaign in the 1980s, Pro-Life Action Network (PLAN) and Operation Rescue organized human chains to close abortion clinics, and they roughed up people going in and out of the clinics. In 1986, the National Organization for Women (NOW) and a number of abortion clinics filed a civil lawsuit—*NOW v. Scheidler*—to stop the PLAN and Operation Rescue campaign. NOW alleged that PLAN activists had violated RICO.

In order to hold the anti-choice groups liable under RICO, NOW had to demonstrate that PLAN activists had committed extortion and thus violated a criminal act under the RICO statute. Extortion is defined as "obtaining" another person's property through the threat or use of force. NOW also had to prove that the extortion the antichoice groups engaged in was part of a common plan.

In 1998, a Chicago jury ruled that the anti-choice groups had, in fact violated RICO's extortion and racketeering laws. They awarded NOW \$258,000 in damages. In addition, defendants were barred from trespassing, setting up blockades or behaving violently at abortion clinics for 10 years. A US appeals court upheld the ruling, but in February, the Supreme Court reversed it.

PLAN's lawyer admitted to the Supreme Court that the anti-choice activists had violated the clinics' property rights and had even committed criminal acts but that they did not engage in extortion when doing so.

On February 26, the US Supreme Court decided *NOW v*. *Scheidler* by an 8-1 vote. Writing for the majority, Chief

Justice William Rehnquist stated, "Even when their acts of interference and disruption achieved their ultimate goal of 'shutting down' a clinic that performed abortions, such acts did not constitute extortion because [the antichoicers] did not 'obtain' [the clinics'] property."

The lone dissenter was John Paul Stevens, who wrote that no court had ever interpreted "extortion" so narrowly and that professional criminals would benefit most from the decision. *NOW v. Scheidler* has greatly weakened RICO where the

threat of extortion is involved. However, it did not affect other criminal acts enumerated in RICO, where

the defendant is accused of being connected to a threat involving murder, kidnapping, gambling, arson, robbery, dealing in obscene matter or dealing in a controlled substance listed in a felony criminal statute. These offenses (with the exception of arson) are less associated with activism than extortion has been, so it is now less likely that any RICO charge would be brought against an Earth First! or animal rights activist.

In sum, what this decision means for environmental activists is that depriving an evil-doer of income and engaging in economic sabotage, so long as no activist takes possession of any of the

evil-doer's property, is not considered extortion. Therefore, no RICO lawsuit relying on proving extortion can be brought against that activist.

Do you have a legal question? Write to the EF! Lawyer and you just might read the answer to your question in the next issue of the Journal. Contact Stuart A. Sugarman, LLC, 3430 SE Belmont, #101, Portland OR 97214; blc@hevanet.com. Please write "EF! Lawyer" on the subject line.

#### **Activists Wrangle with RICO**

Both Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) and Stephens, Inc. have filed RICO lawsuits against animal rights activists in the past. The lawsuits were an attempt to curb protest activity by pinning allegations of violence, burglary and harassment against individuals and groups—including the Animal Defense League, In Defense of Animals and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty.

Aside from intimidation, RICO lawsuits also serve to drain time, money and resources from activist campaigns. As a result, many defendants take settlement agreements, although RICO lawsuits often end up being dropped.

In 2002, HLS and Stephens dropped their multimillion dollar RICO lawsuit targeting animal rights activists. The activists had refused to accept any settlement offers or to comply with the legal procedures. HLS spent more than \$650,000 on legal fees.

## Anna Mae Haunts the FBI

#### BY YAEL

On March 27, a homeless Lakota man, Arlo Looking Cloud, was arrested in Denver, Colorado, on trespassing charges. He later learned that he and a man named John

Graham (aka John Boy Patton) were also being charged with first-degree murder for the 1976 slaying of Native American activist Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash.

Looking Cloud was transferred to Rapid City, South Dakota, where he pled not guilty to the charge. He is scheduled to stand trial on September 30. Graham has eluded arrest, and while he is believed to be in Canada, his whereabouts re-

main uncertain. On May 26, a Canadian warrant was issued for his capture.

During the 1970s, Aquash and her accused killers were all either at or near the Pine Ridge Reservation, where they worked with the American Indian Movement (AIM).

A member of Canada's Mi'kmaq tribe, Aquash grew up poor in Nova Scotia. After being abandoned by her mother, she dropped out of high school and moved to Maine to pick blueberries and harvest potatoes. Aquash later moved to Boston, where she volunteered at the Boston Indian Council headquarters, helping native youth develop increased self-esteem and avoid alcohol abuse.



These white people think this country belongs to them—they do not realize that they are only in charge right now because there are more of them than there are of us. The whole country changed with only a handful of raggedy-ass pilgrims that came over here in the 1500s. It can take a handful of raggedy-ass Indians to do the same, and I intend to be one of those raggedy-ass Indians.

-ANNA MAE PICTOU-AQUASH

With her two daughters, Aquash moved to Bar Harbor, Maine, in the early 1970s to work at the Teaching and Research in Bicultural Education School Project. When the program closed due to budget cuts, the family returned to Boston, and Aquash enrolled in the new careers program at

Wheelock College. At one point, Aquash turned down a scholarship to attend Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, choosing instead to continue working with Boston's African American and Native American communities. Aquash married twice, and after her second marriage ended,

she became involved with AIM leader Dennis Banks. A dedicated AIM activist in her own right, Aquash was present at the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation—a 71-day stand-off between AIM activists and federal authorities on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

On June 27, 1975, Aquash was also present during a shoot-out that led to the death of one Native American, Joe Stuntz, and two FBI agents. Leonard Peltier was later convicted for the murder of the FBI agents based on fraudulent testimony, withholding of crucial evidence and the FBI's coercion of "witnesses." Stuntz's murder was never investigated.

The Wounded Knee occupation marked the beginning of a period of heightened political violence on the Pine Ridge Reservation. According to AIM member Ward Churchill in his book *Agents of Repression*, the concentration of federal agents in South Dakota between 1973 and 1976 was the highest ratio of agents to citizens anywhere in the US.

During these years, at least 60 AIM members were

while still others were harassed and beaten. The Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOONs)-vigilantes hired to rid the reservation of AIM activity-illegally searched, shot into and firebombed people's homes. Almost none of the deaths or violent incidents were investigated, nor did the FBI take any measures to curb the GOONs' activity. The FBI allowed the GOONs to set up roadblocks and supplied them with intelligence and weapons (including military M-16 assault rifles). As recounted by Churchill, the repression on Pine Ridge was directed by the Pentagon.

shot or stabbed to death on

the Pine Ridge Reservation,

Against this background of officially sanctioned persecution, Aquash vanished. Beginning in November 1975,

she was deemed a fugitive wanted by the FBI for twice fleeing court proceedings on explosives charges. A rancher found her frozen body on the Pine Ridge Reservation on February 24, 1976.

### Anna Mae Haunts FBI continued



Anna Mae in custody in Colorado in 1975

#### continued from previous page

She had been shot in the head, but the coroner somehow managed to miss the bullet hole and listed Aquash's cause of death as "exposure." In a highly irregular measure, the FBI severed both of her hands at the wrists and sent them to a forensics lab for identification. Aquash was quickly buried as "Jane Doe" in a Catholic cemetery on the reservation before anyone could identify her. A second autopsy later revealed that she had been shot in the back of the head with a .38 caliber handgun.

There has been speculation for years that Aquash was killed by AIM members because she believed that some of them were government spies, or maybe because they thought she was an informant herself. Yet according to Colorado's AIM chapter, Aquash was killed as a direct consequence of the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) in the 1970s.

A written statement released in April from the Colorado AIM chapter says, "Currently, the determination of who murdered Anna Mae remains unproven, what is not unproven is that Anna Mae was targeted for 'neutralization' through the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO efforts. What is known is that through COINTELPRO, the FBI deliberately placed infiltrators and operatives within AIM to promote suspicion and disinformation. Anna Mae was the victim of a 'bad jacket' (sometimes known as a 'snitch jacket'), where FBI operatives suggested that she was an informant for the police. The FBI's express objective was to convince other AIM members of the need to eliminate Anna Mae as a 'security risk,' either by expelling her from the movement or by more drastic means."

The statement goes on to note that "justice for Anna Mae not only demands exposure of the person or persons who pulled the trigger of the gun that killed her but also exposure of the person or persons that ordered her death. It also demands the exposure of the COINTELPRO system, including the specific FBI agents and operatives that

specific FBI agents and operatives that precipitated the entire chain of events resulting in her murder."

The FBI has never bothered to interview the coroner who claimed that Aquash died of "exposure." Neither has it interviewed FBI agents who threatened Aquash's life shortly before she was killed. It is suspicious that the FBI is so interested in "resolving" the Aquash case but not the scores of other unsolved murders of AIM members during the same time period.

Some people believe that the present investigation of her murder is more oriented toward casting suspicion upon AIM leadership and creating distrust within the movement than it is about seeking to find the real killers. However, Aquash's daughters and her cousin, Robert Pictou-Branscombe, have been pressuring both Canadian and US authorities to investigate Aquash's death for years.

Yael is a poet and plant geek currently residing in Tucson.

### Prisoner and Legal Updates

Editors' note: Regulations for mail sent to prisoners vary according to state and individual prisons. Before sending monetary donations or packages, ask prisoners what the regulations are. Or, request a copy of the regulations by calling or writing the prison.

•Belgian animal rights prisoner Geert Waegemans has been released from prison after serving a four-year sentence for attempted arson of a judge's car.

•Matthew Lamont, an anarchist, antiracist and EF! activist, pled no contest to the charge of possessing an incendiary device that was allegedly intended to disrupt a meeting of white supremacists. Lamont has been sentenced to three years imprisonment, including time served since April 2002. Send letters to Matthew Lamont, #2057039, T90251, Facility B/B4-201, Box 5500, Wasco, CA 93280, USA.

•British anti-road and Earth First! activist Philip "Potty" Pritchard is on remand for breaking into RAF Fairford in Gloustershire, England. In March, Pritchard allegedly attempted to disarm B-52 bombers housed at the base by the US military. He is being charged with damaging the base's perimeter fence, aggravated trespass and conspiracy. Send letters to Philip Pritchard, JT5131, HMP Gloucester, Barracks Square, Gloucester, GL1 2JN, England.

•Native Youth Movement (NYM) warrior Kanahus Pelkey (Amanda Soper) was imprisoned and separated from her five-month-old baby for 71 days on charges related to actions taken during the 2001 protests against the illegal expansion of a ski resort on indigenous territory. Pelkey is out on bail and is seeking donations to cover her legal fees and to support NYM. For more information, contact nymunite@hotmail.com. Checks can be sent to NYM, SC1 C8 RR#1, Chase, BC VOE 1M3, Canada.

•Eco-activists David Stone and Alyosha Witness spent six and 10 days in jail, respectively, for burning a US flag at an anti-war protest in Ashland, Oregon, in April. They were charged with reckless endangerment and disorderly conduct. Although both are out on bail, they each still face up to

## Prisoners in the Struggle: Support Them!

one-and-a-half years in prison. Their trials are scheduled for September.

•Carol Gilbert, Jackie Hudson and Ardeth Platte, Clear Creek County Jail, POB 518, Georgetown, CO 80444, USA. These three Dominican nuns are facing charges of sabotage and destruction of government property for damaging nuclear missile transport equipment. Their sentencing is set for July 25. Each faces up to 30 years in prison.

#### **Animal Liberation**

•Jennifer Greenberg, #3100201610, Rose M. Singer Center, 1919 Hazen St, East Elmherst, NY 11370, USA. Serving one year for property destruction at a 2001 Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) demonstration.

•Rae Newlands, GN6613, HMP Winchester, Romsey Rd, Winchester, SO22 5DF, England. Serving four-and-a-half years for harassment of Huntingdon Life Sciences' shareholders.

•Benjamin Persky, #1410212600, NYSID #9846577R, George Vierno Center, 0909 Hazen St, East Elmhurst, NY 11370, USA. Serving two to six years for participating in a SHAC protest where Marsh Insurance executives' windows were smashed.

•Peter Schnell, #99476-111, FCI Otisville, POB 1000, Otisville, NY 10963, USA. Serving 14 months for assembling incendiary devices with the intent to target dairy trucks.

•Joshua Schwartz, #3100201611, NYSID #1900738L, EMTC, 1010 Hazen St, East Elmherst, NY 11370, USA. Same sentence as Jennifer Greenberg.

#### Anti-Globalization

•Rob Middaugh, #T41137 450 13up, ASP, POB 9, Avenal, CA 93204, USA. Serving three years for his involvement in the Mayday 2001 Reclaim the Streets celebrations in Long Beach, California.

•Robert Thaxton, #12112716, OSP, 2605 State St, Salem, OR 97310, USA. Serving a seven-year mandatory minimum sentence for throwing a rock at a cop at a 1999 Reclaim the Streets protest in Eugene, Oregon.

#### 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.

•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, #1379671, OSP, 2605 State St, Salem, OR 97310, USA. Serving 22 years and eight months for arson at a car dealership.

•Craig "Critter" Marshall, #13797662, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914, USA. Serving five-and-a-half years for conspiracy to commit arson and possession of incendiary devices to torch SUVs.



#### Indigenous

•Eric Wildcat Hall, #BL-5355, Unit I/A 10745 Rt 18, Albion, PA 16475-0002, USA. Serving 35-75 years for helping to ship weapons to Central American indigenous activists.

•Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, POB 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048, USA. Peltier, an American Indian Movement activist, is serving life in prison after being framed for the murder of two FBI agents during the1975 Pine Ridge siege.

#### MOVE

The "MOVE 9," members of an ecorevolutionary group, were framed for the murder of a cop and sentenced to 30 to 100 years each. Although many of the MOVE prisoners are listed together, they must be written to separately.

•Debbie Simms Africa, #006307, Janet Holloway Africa, #006308 and Janine Philips Africa, #006309, SCI Cambridge Springs, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238, USA.

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

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

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

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

#### Miscellaneous

•Thomas "JJ" Hicks, McDowell County Jail, 593 Spaulding Rd, Marion, NC 28752, USA. The FBI is currently trying to link Hicks, a longtime EF!er who was arrested for marijuana and weapons charges, to various Earth Liberation Front actions.

•Fran Thompson, #1090915, HU3A, Chillicothe Correctional Center, 1500 W Third St, Chillicothe, MO 64601, USA. Before she was given a life sentence in the early 1990s for shooting a stalker in self-defense, Thompson was active in animal rights and environmental campaigns.

•Byron "Oso Blanco" Chubbuck, #07909051, US Penitentiary, POB 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048, USA. Serving 80 years for aggravated assault on federal agents, escape and bank robbery. Chubbuck funneled money he stole from banks to the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in Chiapas, Mexico.

•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.

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## **Pacifism and Pathology in the American Left**

#### BY DAN SPALDING

Pacifism and Pathology in the American Left, AK Press, 2001.

Nothing about Ward Churchill is simple. Most of us are familiar with his work as a scholar documenting the US's imperial taking of American Indian land. Or, you may recognize him as an activist with the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the modern struggle against the government's continued genocide and ethnocide of American Indians.

But above all else, he's known as the

author of *Pacifism as Pathology*, the little blue book that outlines how pacifism in the US is connected to a practice that poses no threat to the status quo. He believes pacifism gives the illusion that the state gives a damn about candlelight vigils and symbolic arrests and that it actively undermines people doing effective organizing and action against the state.

Churchill's recorded lecture and discussion, Pacifism and Pathology in the American Left, puts those lessons in the immediate post-September 11 context. Recorded at the AK Press warehouse on November 16, 2001, Churchill challenges the most radical of us while giving nuance to the arguments

that gave *Pacifism as Pathology* its intellectual force.

The talk begins with Churchill underscoring the urgency of the situation today: The American empire is sustaining its rule by exploiting and dominating the world, abroad and at home. Understanding that, how can we categorically foreclose even the idea of the use of violence? And how can we blame the victims of state violence for being too militant?

Churchill puts it in terms we can easily understand: Many people blamed the Black Bloc for creating a police state during the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization protests, as if, after the activists got off the bus from Eugene, the mayor and police chief "ran out and bought themselves a SWAT team, a couple of armored personnel carriers, a whole inventory of tear gas, got everyone trained, equipped and coordinated to get out there in the streets. All in about 28 minutes."

What was the rationale of the pacifists at the WTO protests who were presumably fighting against the systematic killing of millions of people by the US, but at the same time helping to subject people who were damaging corporate property to arrests and police brutality?



Pull the camera back from protest in the US to the situation worldwide. If your field of vision includes half a million dead Iraqi children, what does it mean for leftists in the US to condemn the September 11 attacks? Churchill thinks the technicians of global capital in the World Trade Center were legitimate targets of people fighting against the US empire. He feels bad for the janitors in the World Trade Center and the children in the planes that crashed into it. But he doesn't feel any worse for them than he does for the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians killed during the last 10 years of sanctions.

Churchill puts up a mirror that lets us examine how much of our grief and rage is US exceptionalism. How many of our feelings—not necessarily about the morality of the attacks but our mixed emotions about whether such an attack was "appropriate"—come from thinking, on a gut level, that American lives are worth more than the lives of the people we're killing on a daily basis?

While challenging our notions of being radical, Churchill refines the arguments he made in *Pacifism as Pathology*. In the book, he gives lip service to the idea of pacifists being capable of making change. But virtually every example he

> gives shows them as being ineffective at best, self-serving and parasitic at worst. Churchill starts his talk, however, with positive examples of pacifist action. He cites members of Greenpeace who joined an armed AIM encampment and became the decisive factor in stopping the federal marshalls from launching an attack. He also mentions pacifists who have been truly dedicated, such as Daniel and Philip Berrigan. They engaged in "absolute defiance [and] didn't stay safe for a moment" in their fight against US intervention in Latin America.

In *Pacifism as Pathology*, Churchill mocked a young man who set himself on fire to protest the Vietnam war. In this talk, he comes up

again, but in a different spirit: "The one thing I cannot do is suggest that Norman Morrison avoided risk. That Norman Morrison avoided sacrifice. That Norman Morrison did not have the courage of his convictions. He most certainly did."

Morrison's name is chanted again and again, almost like a prayer so that he won't be forgotten. This suggests that Churchill is sincere when he says pacifism as a practice is not inherently counterproductive. Churchill is clear that he doesn't expect or demand that everyone take up armed struggle for social justice. What he has no time for is knee-jerk pacifists who denounce armed struggle and undermine people who are effectively fighting the system.

That's a comfortable argument in the context of the Black Panther Party or AIM. But think about the billions of dollars of damage to the US economy caused by the September 11 attacks. Even if we have no intention of doing violent action, are we obligated to be in solidarity with the attacks? Instead of saying, "We don't like terrorism either," is the truly radical response to say, "These attacks were crucial in stopping the US empire, and they will continue to happen until we stop dominating the planet?" If we're in solidarity with the oppressed people of the world, must we be in solidarity with what may have been one of the most effective attacks against the system that's oppressing them?

A lot has changed since September 11. On an everyday level, we're back to much of the pre-September 11 normalcy. On a more fundamental level, it's unclear whether the US government is stronger or weaker than it was before. Is the government more oppressive because of the attacks? Were Seattle police more oppressive because of the Black Bloc?

At the same time, we're witnessing a level of activism in the US not seen in decades. Literally millions of people are learning about real US history for the first time, looking more critically at the media, getting organized and hopefully being changed for the rest of their lives. It's unclear whether this will make a dent in the US empire. Iraq fell quickly, at least initially, and Syria, Iran, Venezuela, Colombia, Saudi Arabia and any number of other countries may not be far behind.

Nothing about the current situation is simple. Fortunately, neither is Churchill. His speech focuses on grim topics, but he is by turns conversational, serious, snide and humorous. The talk recorded on the CD, *Pacifism as Pathology in the American Left*, is as thought provoking, if not as persuasive, as anything in his little blue book. Anyone left of center will enjoy listening to it. And the more radical you think you are, the more you need to listen to it and reconsider.

Dan Spalding lives and works in Oakland, California, where he is part of the Midnight Special Law Collective and Legal Support to Stop the War. Find out more about him at www.danspalding.com and www.midnightspecial.net.

### Environmental News of the Weird

#### **Rearing Robot Rats**

Most robots have silicon and metal micro-processors as their nerve centers, but Steve Potter had a different idea. Potter, a neuro-engineering professor at Georgia Tech University, created what he calls a hybrot—short for a "hybrid robot." The hybrot is essentially a rat-controlled robot. Potter, who has been building the hybrot since 1983, described it as a "digital computer and living neural network working together."

The hybrot does its thinking with a layer of neurons taken from rat embryos. The neurons are grown over an electrode-activated silicon chip, and the chip picks up the electrical activity and sends it to a computer. The

computer then relays this information back to the robot, which responds to the activity with physical motions.

"Basically, we've taken these cells in a dish and given them back a body," explains Potter. He is looking for evidence that the neurons can learn new data from the information sent back to the robot from the computer. This is the first time that living neurons have been used to control a robot.

#### Anything into Oil?

Changing World Technologies (CWT) claims that it has developed a method to turn "almost any waste product imaginable" into high-quality oil, clean-burning gas and chemicals for manufacturing, fuels and fertilizers.

According to CWT, "feedstock" such as bloody waste from factory farms, plastic bottles, old computers, municipal garbage, infectious medical waste, polyvinyl chlorides, oil refinery residues and even anthrax spores can be processed into an oil similar to "light Texas crude." The entire process of pumping the matter through a series of tanks and tubes takes only two hours. The final product, a honey-colored liquid, is supposedly similar to a mixture of fuel oil and gasoline.

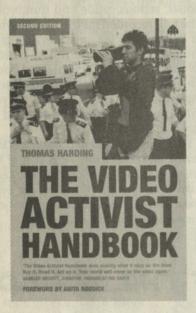
The thermal depolymerization process (TDP) imitates the natural process of decomposition, says CWT—only what takes thousands or even millions of years for the Earth to accomplish is recreated in a pressurized, hydrated tank in as little as 15 minutes.

Although many people have rushed to embrace this technology as the key to solving the problems of global warming, dwindling oil supplies and waste disposal, others remain unconvinced. Skeptics take issue with CWT's assertion that "nothing hazardous comes out of any feedstock we try."

The TDP industry's partnership with fossil-fuel companies is also suspicious. "TDP can make the petroleum industry itself cleaner and more profitable," claims John Riordan, president and CEO of the Gas Technology Institute. The TDP process could be used to refine heavy, crude oil into a more accessible substance by injecting steam into underground oil deposits.

> TDP can also extract the salable commodities of sulfur, mercury, naphtha and olefins from coal.

## Video Revolution Unleashing the Powerful Tool of Video



#### BY ADAMS WOOD

The Video Activist Handbook, second edition, by Thomas Harding, Pluto Press, 2001.

In 1996, I was fairly new to Earth First! and was quite new to video production when I found myself in a San Francisco, California, warehouse watching *Undercurrents*—a 90-minute activist news video produced in Oxford, England. It was the most inspiring thing I'd ever seen. The actions were daring and brilliant, and the video production was "spot on."

A few years ago, Thomas Harding, one of the original producers of *Undercurrents*, wrote a book to promote the use of video in environ-

mental and social justice campaigns. *The Video Activist Handbook* is now in its second edition, and if I had my way, it would be required reading for anyone involved in activist work.

Activists are often a little uneasy about their counterparts with camcorders. It's understandable—done poorly, video can incriminate, drain resources and waste a lot of time. But it can also be a very powerful tool. If we dismiss video activists along with the rest of the media, we miss a huge opportunity. Video is like any other tactic: We must learn how to use it before we can be effective.

Harding sees video activists not as spectators or exploiters of the struggle but as active and important participants. In his eyes, good video activists find a group that needs help and set out to meet its needs. When they produce a video, these needs come first. Harding outlines additional ways video activists can contribute, such as witnessing, recording evidence and helping activists hone their interview skills. His passion for video activism is inspiring, but Harding is also honest about the limitations and potential hazards. If more of us had this kind of understanding about video, we'd be a more effective movement.

The Video Activist Handbook is an important text for all activists, but it is even more exciting for those of us who are into video. Chapters on equipment and technique are geared toward the beginner and designed to get them out recording footage in a hurry. However, there is enough detail to interest intermediate videographers as well. The author offers some wise words on the psychological hurdles that can plague video activists: shyness, loneliness and boredom. In the small and sometimes isolated world of video activism, this kind of seasoned advice is a godsend.

A common gripe about activist videographers is that they demand hours of interviews for "their documentary," but the final product never materializes. These folks will appreciate Harding's section on producing an activist video. The author offers a step-by-step guide to defining and researching a project, sifting through footage and mastering the mechanics of putting it all together. In recent years, the digital video revolution has brought topflight editing equipment within reach of anyone with a computer and a willingness to steal software. The handbook is up-to-date in that regard, but it also devotes space to do-ityourself techniques, like simple camcorder to VCR editing.

Most of this edition's updates are in the distribution chapters. Harding cites outlets such as the Internet, video news magazines, cable access—even rave-style "video-jockey" projection. This edition also features more real-world examples of video activism, including brief descriptions or diary accounts written by the video activists themselves.

If there's a better guide for navigating the unique issues of activist video, I haven't seen it.

Adams Wood co-founded Whispered Media and is now one-half of Mountain Eye Media. He lives in western North Carolina, where he's trying to drink more water and less coffee.

- Mountain Eye Media: mountaineyemedia.org
- •Paper Tiger Television: www.papertiger.org
- •The Video Activist Network: videoactivism.org
- •Undercurrents: undercurrents.org
- •Whispered Media: whisperedmedia.org

Video, Activist Resources Cascadia Media Collective: cascadiamedia.org
Chiapas Media Project: chiapasmediaproject.org
Cold Mountain, Cold Rivers: wildrockies.org/cmcr
Earth Films: earthfilms.org
Free Speech TV: freespeech.org

## The Guerrilla Video Primer

#### BY RANDY SHADOWALKER

Guerrilla media is increasingly being used as a resource to command corporate, police and government accountability around the world. The Cascadia Media Collective has worked with video as a means of activism since 1996 and has created a video primer to help pass on skills.

In 2002, the *Guerrilla Video Primer* was produced to train the growing pool of guerrilla journalists who want to use video cameras as a means of radical social change. The *Guerrilla Video Primer* aims to demystify video skills and decentralize independent media.

Through careful explanation of camera basics and with examples from different types of situations in the field, the primer works to create a complete tutorial on what to expect in the streets and in the woods. It covers how to deal with each situation as skillfully as possible. The primer also illustrates that it is possible to maintain a radical edge while simultaneously producing high quality, interesting video reports.

A companion handbook to the *Guerrilla Video Primer* will be available this Summer to complement the skills and techniques presented in

the video. Additionally, the Cascadia Media Collective is working to create the Guerrilla Media Bulletin Board to provide an online forum for people to meet and share skills.

For more information, visit www.cascadiamedia.org.

Randy Shadowalker's ventures into video began with the Warner Creek forest campaign.

### Gold, Greed and Genocide

Gold, Greed and Genocide: The Untold Tragedy of the California Gold Rush, a 24-minute video by Pratap Chatterjee, International Indian Treaty Council, 2003.

In the mid-1800s, hundreds of thousands of settlers invaded the territory that is now called California. Nothing was safe from the onslaught: Miners blasted away mountains, polluted watersheds and massacred, raped and enslaved the people who lived there.

Before the gold rush, more than 150,000 indigenous Californians lived peacefully as fishers, hunters and gatherers. But just 20 years after James Marshall discovered yellow metal in the American River at Coloma, there were only 31,000 California Indians left. In the meantime, 12 billion tons of earth had been dug up. More than 7,000 tons of mercury were dumped into the rivers.

Gold, Greed and Genocide is filmed almost entirely from the perspective of Native Californians whose lives have been

forever impacted by the California gold rush. Since Native American perspectives are rarely found in textbooks, movies or television shows, *Gold, Greed and Genocide* is probably different from anything viewers have ever seen.

For more information, contact Oyate, 2702 Mathews St, Berkeley, CA 94702; (510) 848-6700; oyate@oyate.org; www.oyate.org.

### Amazon Oil Pipeline

Amazon Oil Pipeline: Pollution, Corruption and Poverty, a 35-minute video by Juan Pablo Barragan, Rainforest Information Center, 2003.

One end of the *Oleoducto de Crudos Pesados* (OCP) pipeline starts on the Ecuadorian coast, adjacent to the world's largest mangrove forest. Oil well construction at the pipeline's other end will devastate every national park and indigenous reserve in the Amazonian headwaters.

The pipeline project, shelved for more than 10 years as a result of opposition to its environmental and human rights impacts, has been riddled with problems since building commenced in 2001. The OCP construction triggered a break in a nearby pipeline in April, which led to more than 336,000 gallons of oil spilling into the Sucus-San Juan River.

Amazon Oil Pipeline: Pollution, Corruption and Poverty exposes 30 years of oil exploitation in Ecuador and shows how activists can help Ecuadorians oppose the further erosion of nature, culture and national sovereignty. It illustrates how people need to take control from the hands of greedy banks and corporations to protect this unique and sensitive ecosystem.

The Rainforest Information Center is offering to send a copy of the video to anyone willing to screen it and organize a letter-writing campaign.

For more info., visit www.rainforestinfo.org.au.



## announce

### Healing and Redefining Our World Youth Summit

July 9-14 · Black Mesa, Arizona

Black Mesa has been the center of many environmental and social injustices. The continued destruction of Diné and Hopi homelands is largely contributing to the many challenges facing Diné and Hopi youth. The Healing and Redefining Our World Youth Summit on Black Mesa will bring together youth and elders from all walks of life to promote a cross-cultural and cross-generational exchange.

Workshops will include: traditional foods and knowledge, renewable energy, arts and hip hop, indigenous people's rights, environmental justice, sustaining the land, spiritual well-being, natural medicine and organization building.

For more information, contact (928) 226-0310; www.blackmesawatercoalition.org.

### Call for Radical How-to's and Skillshares

All across the world, activists are organizing to take down the state. We all have skills we've developed, techniques we've enhanced and ideas we've created, but the problem is that our resistance is global.

An activist in North Carolina makes a paint bomb, while someone in Sweden perfects a lockbox. Where does one go to find guidance on the creation of such materials? Where can one turn for advice on the nitty-gritty details of construction, planning and design?

A proposition: a compilation of activist how-to's. It would be a living document that is created by activists and shaped by the entries submitted.

This could include information on tool making, scouting, security, banner drops, dumpster diving, billboard modification, sabotage on the job—you get the idea. Just think: If you were to host a workshop on a skill, what would you teach?

Documents of a sensitive nature should be encrypted. Please send an email message to request Our Tools Collective's PGP key. Send submissions to ourtools@mutualaid.org.

#### Grand Opening of the HOPE Farm

Central Oregon's HOPE Farm is a collaborative project bringing together farmers, educators, activists and others to promote biodiversity and innovative options for sustainable living. It is a working organic farm and education center whose mission is to help non-human species; distribute organic food; educate about permaculture; and encourage community building.

For more information, contact HOPE Farm, (541) 343-HOPE; www.hopefarm.net.



the Prison Industrial Complex

August 8-10 · Eugene, Oregon

This conference hopes to educate people about the bleak reality of the prison crisis and to mobilize those from the anti-repression, prisoner support and anti-capitalist movements. Conference participants will learn from survivors of the prison system and gain invaluable lessons about the nature of the beast.

Speakers will include Safiya Bukhari, co-chair of the New York City Free Mumia Coalition, American Indian Movement member and author Ward Churchill and Ed Mead, founder of the Prison Art Project. Representatives from several groups will be participating, including the Anarchist Black Cross, Native American Prisoner Support, Trannies in Prison and Women Embracing Freedom Together.

For more information, contact Break the Chains, POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440; www.breakthechains.net.

Los Angeles, California



#### August 1-6

The national conference of the animal rights movement, Animal Rights 2003,

provides a forum for sharing knowledge, discussing strategies and tactics, networking and "recharging our batteries." It brings the entire movement together under the banner of total animal liberation from human oppression.



The five-day event will feature 120 presenters, workshops, campaign reports, ex-

hibits, videos, planning meetings and networking receptions. Many groups are planning demonstrations and actions for the day after the conference.

For more information, contact Animal Rights 2003, (888) FARM-USA; www.animalrights2003.org.

## ments



## Burdock!

July 22-29 · Starks, Maine

Burdock is a gathering for people from every walk of life to celebrate each other, the Earth and a sense of community. Burdock nurtures an environment for people to educate one another on practical everyday skills, ecology, political and social issues, as well as ways to make the world a better place. The gathering will be based on mutual aid and cooperation to encourage education, commu-

nity building, do-it-yourself skills and a wicked good time. At Burdock, everyone is a participant and is encouraged to bring workshops, skills, music, art and good food to share. The gathering will be held on a farm with lots of fields, woods, a beautiful river for swimming and plenty of room for camping. A communal kitchen will provide food. Childcare and workshops for kids will also be available. For more information, contact Burdock, (207) 649-5980; burdock@riseup.net; www.ecohumanist.org/burdock.

### **Revolution Summer**

#### Summer 2003 · San Diego, California

Throughout the Summer, thousands of people will gather in San Diego to take direct action against the many facets of the system that maintain a world based on a hierarchy of power, class, race, sex and species. People are invited to come to San Diego for the Summer, as well as in September for an international protest against the World Trade Organization.

Revolution Summer will educate the activist community on how to better fight the system, using powerful and creative forms of nonviolent resistance.

A whole season of kick-ass teach-ins and actions will be organized around the issues of police brutality, sweatshop labor, the Patriot Act, human rights, animal rights, radical feminism, militarization of our communities, anti-globalization and stopping empire.

For more information, visit www.revolutionsummersd.com.

#### Summer Buffalo Roadshow

#### August-September · West Coast

The Buffalo Field Campaign (BFC) roadshow will be traveling throughout the West Coast this Summer. Beginning in mid-August and continu-

ing through September, activists will present the current situation faced by the Yellowstone buffalo herd with exclusive

video footage documenting the harsh reality of the conflict. BFC is currently lining up West Coast venues for presentations. If you can help set up a location, contact BFC, (406) 646-0070; mease@wildrockies.org.

## the World Trade Organization

#### September 10-14 · Cancun, Mexico

September is the storm season along the Caribbean coast of Cancun, and this year could prove to be one of the stormiest. Tens of thousands of people from around the world—including you—will be converging on the WTO's ministerial summit to protest its destructive economic policies.

In the spirit of Seattle, Prague, Quebec City, Genoa and the many other mobilizations against corporate globalization, activists will demonstrate both our anger and our joy in protest, using creativity, resolve and resilience to shut down the operations of the WTO.

For more information, visit www.indymedia.org.

### Wemoon's Army Eco-Anarcha-Feminist Traveling Ritual Theatrical Troupe

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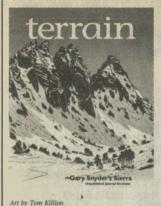
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## Buffalo Stampede Stomps on DC

On May 9, Anishinaabe activist Winona LaDuke was in Washington, DC, to speak out on behalf of the Yellowstone buffalo. LaDuke commented on the "irony that, in a new millennium, America is still killing buffalo."



LaDuke joined the second annual Buffalo Stampede on Capitol Hill with more than 50 fellow buffalo supporters to bring national attention to the ongoing buffalo slaughter in Montana.

After rallying support in Congress, the buffalo advocates proceeded, in a stampede-like fashion, to the Department of the Interior. The stampede demanded that the agency protect bison who wander outside of the park, rescind the bison management plan and cease plans to re-establish a bison hunt.

#### What is an Endangered Species Act petition?

The Buffalo Field Campaign, Fund for Animals, Ecology Center and Cold Mountains, Cold Rivers are writing a petition to list the buffalo under the Endangered Species Act (ESA). It is expected to be filed with the Department of the Interior this Summer.

When you think of filing a petition, you usually imagine collecting thousands of sloppy signatures. However, petitioning the Department of the Interior's US Fish and Wildlife Service is a formal process

wherein a scientific document is written to describe why protection under the ESA is warranted for a particular species. The buffalo petition describes the history of the Yellowstone population and demonstrates how it is unique both geographically and genetically. Further, the petition describes threats to buffalo habitat within Yellowstone's boundaries, as well as on public and private land outside of the park.

For more information, visit www.wildrockies.org/buffalo.

# The End of Wilderness

#### BY ROBERT FINKBINE

In early May, the Bush administration dealt another devastating blow to environmental protections. The Department of the Interior announced that it will no longer recommend any of the millions of acres under its jurisdiction for permanent wilderness protection.

This new policy has not created that much of a stir. Like most of the bad environmental news emanating from Bush's administration, it has been carefully upstaged by terrorist and war news. There was no formal announcement—just a few letters to interested senators from Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton that described a legal settlement she had reached with the state of Utah. However, a close reading of that deal showed it to be a fundamental reinterpretation of environmental law and a reversal of four decades of federal wilderness policy.

At issue in the settlement were more than two million acres of federal land in Utah that had been inventoried by former Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt. The land was designated as de facto wilderness—that is, land deserving of protection from commercial activity until Congress can decide whether to designate it as a permanent wilderness area. Babbitt's actions infuriated Utah, which had commercial intentions for the land. But the state's efforts to stop Babbitt in court failed.

In March, however, Utah quietly filed an amended complaint to which the administration quickly acceded.

Under the settlement, Norton agreed to not only withdraw the acres from wilderness consideration but also to renounce the department's authority to conduct wilderness reviews anywhere in the country.

In one stroke, Norton yanked more than 250 million acres off of the table, including pristine caribou habitat in Alaska, California's treasured sequoia forests and Colorado's rainbow-colored vermilion basin. If Norton's action is not reversed, these areas could be opened to mining, oil and gas drilling, logging and road building. Norton's associates rushed to assure critics that they will be mindful of "wilderness" values in the lands that they manage.

Norton insists that she is right in rescinding the Babbitt designation—and that Babbitt was wrong in the first place because the government's authority to identify and manage potential wilderness under the 1976 Federal Land Policy and Management Act has long since expired. That is an extraordinarily cramped interpretation of the law. One key part of the act did, in fact, expire. But other provisions, including the right to provide interim wilderness protections, remain very much alive.

There is no doubt that the law gives the Secretary of the Interior the right to identify potential wilderness areas and manage them accordingly. The only question is whether he or she wants to use that authority. And Norton clearly does not.

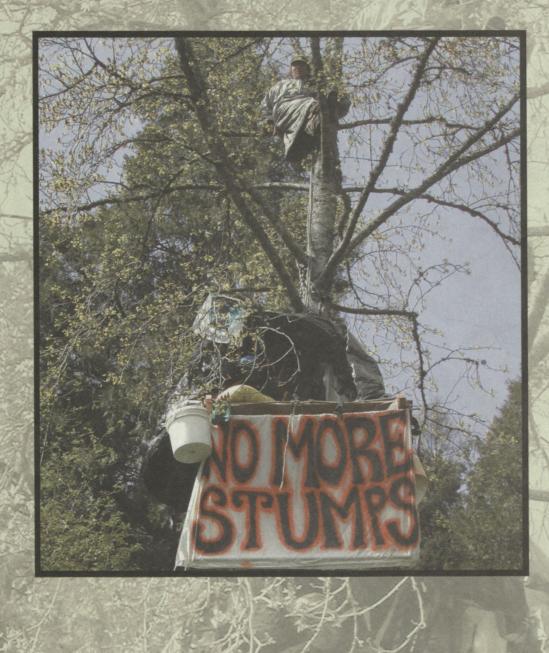
Robert Finkbine was a professor of US history for more than 30 years and has been both a professional whitewater rafting guide and a private boater on western rivers.

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