

GREEN ANARCHY

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HIT WHERE IT HURTS, BUT IN THE MEANTIME... *By Primal Rage*

1. THE PURPOSE OF THIS ARTICLE

The purpose of this article is to counter the authoritarian and limited advice offered by Ted Kaczynski in his piece, "Hit Where It Hurts" (GA #8). This is an offering of possibilities of revolt against civilization, and we point out that it is

one of many and we have no notions of grandeur as to a vantage point of ours. These are our words, an offering, to take what the reader sees fit. Our basic stance is this, by all means revolt should be, to some degree, tactical, but the heart of revolt is within each of us. Any act of revolt is generally not some massified, preplanned action, but the outcome of spontaneous rage: the natural response to oppressive, suicidal conditions. It goes without saying that when acting in self-defense that the defending person seeks to do the most damage possible. In almost every case of revolt this is generally applicable. The civilized mission to domesticate and exploit all life is by any definition an attack on life. Therefore, resistance will always be an act of self-defense. However, in this sense, not all revolt is equitable with the fight scenario that Ted uses as his analogy.

Revolt is not just a defined action, as Ted treats it, but any act of resistance against the civilized order. It is in this rage and spontaneity that we find the spirit of resistance. We feel limiting or degrading this spirit is to deny the reason we are fighting in the first place, and that is dangerous.



2. AUTONOMY IS OUR GOAL

It seems apparent to us that the whole of civilization is accountable for our current state, and that true autonomy will be possible only from the destruction of that condition. The role of technology in this development (and the continuing of this) is undeniable. We agree that the technological system is a more viable of many targets in the fight for autonomy. In this we respect Ted's comments as to how to potentially disable that beast. However, isolating this aspect can be very problematic. Ted states that activities such as "smashing up a McDonald's or Starbuck's" are "pointless" and "not a revolutionary activity." It would be ridiculous to think that anyone truly feels that smashing up some corporate chain stores or factories will halt civilization, but what single action will? Any

direct action is rage put to motion. It is literally striking a blow into the civilized order, and most importantly a strike against domestication. How could this be anything but revolutionary? No blow will be the single or great blow, and to expect such is idealistic at best. Every act of resistance brings us one step closer to the realization of autonomy for all.

3. IN DEFENSE OF WILDNESS

"[N]o one in his right mind believes anything like real wilderness can survive very long if the techno-industrial system continues to exist." This much is true, but few harbor notions that civilization will die easily. This creates a multifaceted form of resistance. Our goals are twofold: to end the civilized existence and to keep it from consuming all the wildness that remains. If we put all our efforts into doing one thing, we risk the possibility of having nothing left for a post-civilized existence. We don't feel every action is a great or worthy one, but that is from our viewpoint. We have no part in legal actions, but know of people using them successfully to keep logging out of wild areas. Is logging those areas inevitable? Quite possibly, but I don't feel that those efforts necessarily drain from an effective revolt. We must never forget that civilization is a totality, it encompasses every aspect of life, and we must resist the colonization at all levels and do what is possible anywhere. We feel the importance should always be on eliminating the overbearing presence and domination of civilization but this should never keep our eyes off what is happening here and now. Resistance is everywhere and revolt is life.

4. WHY THE SYSTEM STANDS STRONG

The System is truly durable through centuries of domination and exploitation. The State is primarily its own public relations firm and this keeps it strong. If we are to succeed as revolutionaries, we must break through that stronghold at every possible level.

The facade of democracy and any equation of government with freedom is a target and on this and every front we must seek to counter the apathetic, consumerist dogma. All government, technology, civilization is oppressive, capitalism candy-coats itself and this makes any form of revolt important.

... continued on page22

Thinking Through The Fall

To try to end this civilization is to give it too much credit. What we call "civilization" is a flight from reality, a momentary extreme deviation from the ways of the whole wide Universe, and every attempt at it will end no matter what we think, no matter what we do. If we accept this, it changes the focus of our energy: Instead of working for the fall of this civilization, we are getting ready for the fall — preparing to guide it, to navigate it, to survive it and to fight through it.

The most naive way of thinking about the future, after the escapist fantasy of techno-utopia, is the eco-liberal mantra that we must stop destroying the Earth right now, or it will be "too late." Even though most people accept this, our civilization is not stopping or even meaningfully slowing down — and none of the ones in history did either. Western industrial civilization will continue to make insane war on all life within its reach until it crashes, because that's what civilizations do. Not only that, but unless all the ecological specialists who made their "last chance" warnings in the 70's and 80's were wrong, it's been too late for a long time now.

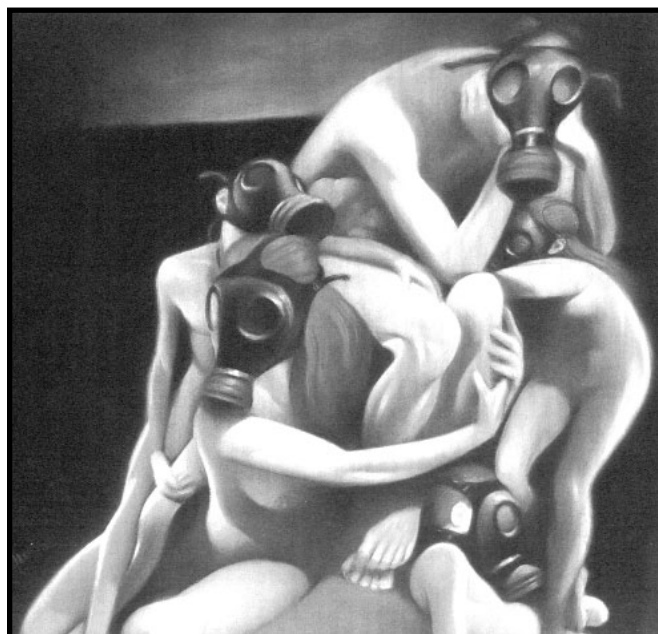
This raises the question: Too late for WHAT?

Not for life on Earth. For countless species of fungi and bacteria, who call food what we call toxic waste, the future is looking better than ever. Most plants and insects, and even some small mammals, are in no danger of being exterminated this time around. I'm going to say that even humans are safe. We're so busy mythologizing ourselves as planners and originators that we forget that we're the most flexible and adaptable animal that's ever lived. If civilization was going to exterminate humans, it needed to bring the whole species to a uniform level of utopian domestication and helpless dependence, and then let the whole thing crash. Instead we're making a billion people as tough as rocks with the barbaric global violence that makes "advanced" society possible.

It might be too late for whales, eagles, giant trees, and many other species that we love when it's convenient for us. And it might be too late for all but a few of our surviving non-civilized human cultures. What it's definitely too late for is a non-catastrophic transition to a sustainable society.

Regional famines are caused by erratic weather, by depletion of the soil, by blights in monoculture crops, and by trade that permits large populations to live in desolate regions. All of these are becoming greater and greater threats, and we're only continuing to feed our population by feeding these threats, by borrowing against the Earth's capacity to feed us in the future.

Disease epidemics have ravaged humans ever since we started living in cities and traveling a lot. They're not just remote history — the flu epidemic of 1918 killed 20 million people. Technological society claims to have defeated many diseases, when really it has just been running from them with vaccinations and antibiotics and chemical toxins. These are cheap fixes that actually weaken our ability to deal with the deeper causes of disease. Again, like someone falling into debt, we have only been increasing our troubles by pushing them into the future.



In the same way, we have been putting off and intensifying the inevitable disastrous effects of chemical pollution, radioactive waste, irrigation that concentrates salt and makes deserts, species extinctions, destruction of the Earth's natural ways of detoxifying, and of course our own increasing alienation from the rest of life.

Like participants in a pyramid scheme, we have been buying our "success" by stealing from the people who will come after us — except soon those poor suckers will be us.

I expect the catastrophes to come in waves, a little one here, a bigger one there, teasing us and licking at our feet, until we're in them. The USA has more money, water, and good land than most places, so we won't be worst off, but we've been living so high that we might fall the hardest. Some time when you're on a busy street, in line at the post office, on the bus, look around. Get used to the idea that most of these people will not live a lot

longer. Who among them would survive if the food stopped coming into the city for a month? A year? How many would survive as refugees, walking hundreds of miles in weeks? Who would lose the will to live before learning to eat rats and drink from puddles? In the worst epidemics 90% die and 10% live. Which group will that person be in? That one? You?

... continued on page12

GETTING INVOLVED WITH GREEN ANARCHY

Since its inception, *Green Anarchy* the publication has undergone many shifts in focus and political content. Earlier issues of *GA* contained a confused mix of articles that ranged from uncritical appreciation for millennialist, radical Christian movements like the Diggers to the inexplicable reprinting of Cindy Milstein essays that were not only *pro-democracy* but *pro-government*. The last five issues of this paper have been published by a collective of anarchists who are very clear about what we want to accomplish with this project and about what type of movement we are trying to contribute to the formation of. Our goals - as ambitious as they may be - are pretty direct and straightforward: the destruction of civilization and all the systems of domination it has spawned. Unlike some who call themselves green anarchists, we don't believe it's possible to peacefully "garden-away" the State (though we're open to dialogue with those who do), and our primary interest is in helping to build a decentralized, anti-authoritarian environmental movement. So - among other things - we publish this quarterly newspaper, but like any other DIY effort this project is in perpetual need of funding. If you support what we're doing and appreciate the importance of a paper like this, then please consider subscribing or carrying *GA* in your infoshop and bookstore.

Our new subscription rates are \$12.00 for five issues and our bulk rates for bookstores and distributors is \$1.50 per issue. We have complete sets of *Green Anarchy* (issues 1-9) available for \$18.00 and we carry lots of obscure, hard-to-find anarchist and anti-civilization literature in our mail-order distro. These are the main ways this project is funded, so support the underground press and strike a blow against capitalism by becoming a **subscriber** or **distributor** of *GA*. Another important aspect of this project is the prisoner support work that we do. We offer free subscriptions to anyone who writes us from the States dungeons, and currently our prisoner subscription list is 300 and counting. In order for us to continue providing this service (which we consider to be of paramount importance) we need to generate some more funding, and to that end we've set up a **prisoner support fund** and are asking our readers to consider sending an extra 2-5 dollars with their subscriptions, which will in effect "sponsor" several prisoners.

We also want the larger anarchist and radical environmental movements to take advantage of this paper by **contributing** articles, essays, letters, artwork and poetry. We're also always on the hunt for news of resistance from around the world to incorporate into our "Direct Action News" section and would love to start receiving regular **action reports** and **news items** from other bioregions. We're particularly interested in news items dealing with anarchist resistance, ecotage, and any insurrectional activity aimed at the destruction of the State, capitalism and the industrial system.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO GREEN ANARCHY

Here are the rates:

US	5 Issue Subscription	\$12
Canada	5 Issue Subscription	\$15
Europe	5 Issue Subscription	\$20

Other countries- please contact us for prices via e-mail or by post.

Send well concealed cash, postal money orders or checks made out to *Green Anarchy* to PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440. e-mail us at greenanarchy@tao.ca with any questions or orders.

HOW TO DISTRIBUTE GREEN ANARCHY

We are actively seeking distributors of *GA* both in the US and abroad. Here are the prices:

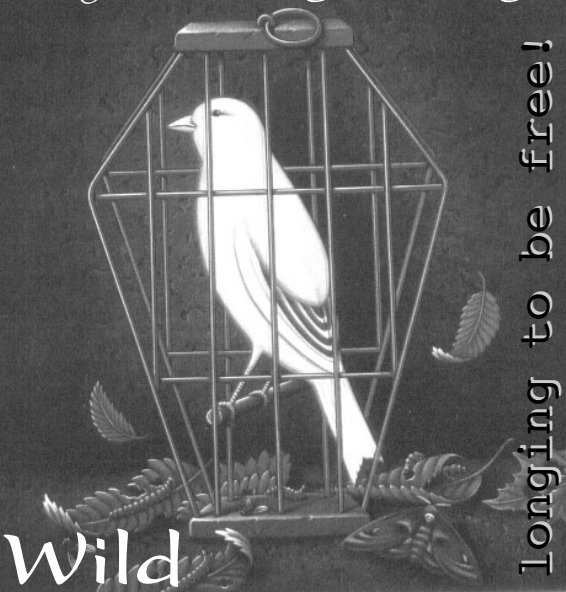
US\$	Quantity of 1-49 copies	\$1.50 per issue
	Quantity over 50 copies	\$1.20 per issue
	You sell it for \$3 per copy and make the extra money for yourself.	

International

Sending large quantities of *Green Anarchy* costs a lot of money and takes time. We ask that people pay the same rates as above but add extra money for postage. We will send packages out as cheap as possible (usually surface) unless specifically requested by you to send it air mail.

Please contact us about specific rates or if you are interested in trading zines via e-mail or post if you have any questions.

...why does the caged bird sing?



by Chuck A. Rock

The Tiger glares at the humans through the bars of his cage-

Waiting for the chance to come to unleash his furious rage-

It's been 9 long years of captivity-

It's been 9 long years of resistance-

But... The caged Tiger is Wild!

The humans lock Him in a box, they say for his own good-

Cause Tigers aren't reproducing the way humans think they should-

It's been 9 long years of captivity-

It's been 9 long years of resistance-

9 years of watching for a chance to

dance and have sweet romance-see the glance

Tiger Jaws Human Backbone

It's been 9 long years of rage-

It's been 9 long years of Hate-

It's been 9 long years of fear-

It's been 9 long years of rape-

They stole the Tigers life!

His jungle His balance His sanity!

The humans drug Him cage Him

and in everyway disrespect Him.

The humans hate Him because

they fear Him-

because He will never be their

pet-

Tiger Jaws upon Human Bone

The caged Tiger waits for the first

chance to dance sweet romance-

see the glance-

The caged Tiger is Wild!



The *Green Anarchy Tour* is an attempt to bring together the radical environmental, anarchist, and underground music movements through video, music, and workshops. We're organizing all day events with a "radical film festival," workshops on eco-defense and direct action, talks by various anarchists, and a night time punk show to benefit west coast political prisoners. In Eugene, we are under the gun of the state (secret service, ATF, FBI, Grand Juries, etc.) and we understand that time is running out for "above ground" activism that is both effective and radical. Some of us consider the next few months, possibly years to be in many ways the tactical "last stand" for publicly amassing support for radical/underground revolutionary activity. The war we are fighting against the state, against industrialism, is real and there are many P.O.W.s. This tour is an attempt to bring the consciousness of the stakes and tactics of this war across the country and raise money for our prisoner comrades. Please check out our website at greenanarchy.org/tour for more information. And check out the **Eugene Independent Media Center** at eugene.indymedia.org.

LIBERALS

If your brains

were wool

You could not knit a sock

If your brains

were thread

Your hands would be too clumsy to sew

If your brains

were dynamite

You could not blow off the top of your head

ANARCHISM: THE NEW IDENTITY POLITICS.

After such recent anarchist events as the *San Francisco Bay Area Bookfair* and the *Total Liberation Conference* it seems increasingly clear that significant populations of the self-described anarchist movement in North America manifest anarchy in the context of either a historical society much like the society for creative anachronism (SCA), or a literary society. Anarchism has become an ideology to be debated, discussed, argued, while sipping coffee or re-enacting some historic moment in anarchist history (e.g. Mayday). These are the benign aspects of anarchist identity politics. These types are often thoughtful, just steeped in their own gray matter, or wrapped in whatever the hippest clothes of the scene are. What's missing ultimately is either revolutionary praxis or just as important the experience of anarchy in their daily lives. They have adapted a fiery and primal instinct toward freedom and non-domination into a form of social identity that is either solely hip, or content existing within the walls of the cranium.

The malignant form of the anarchist identity politics often takes the form of anarcho-philosopher-intellectual, who, while tragic, never seems to even attain the hip aspect of anarchist subcultures, is just left ensnared in the cortex endlessly picking from the anarcho-salad bar of ideas, though never finding the right dressing. This type of anarchist identity politics is unstable, unlike the syndicalist urbanites that accept 99% of the totality of modernity (capitalism, coffee culture, new CDs, book stores, hip clothes, clubbing, Sony Playstations, etc.), the anarcho-philosopher-intellectual stands alone, scratching the chin, peeling away layer after layer of thought in order to distill the most self-serving, unbinding, individualistic, holy grail of pure anarchism. This project must never be obstructed by action, nor the actual experience of anarchy, it must take place on internet discussion boards, in small circles of cynics, barricaded from the necessity of struggle, within the ivory towers of cyber-space, distant from accountability.

Both the benign and malignant forms of anarchist identity politics can be cured by the holistic traditional medicine of action and experiential anarchy. By leaving the coffee shop, hip clothing store, discussion board, or annual conference and taking a trip into either a wild place or taking action beyond going to meetings you will certainly break the spell of any case of anarchist identity politics. Does it seem strange to anyone that so many anarchists make no priority to leave the range of the police state ever, i.e. taking a trip to the forest or visiting tree-sit campaigns? Because it is not enough to say I'm an anarchist period. Even if an entire subculture in a hip urban scene allows this illusion to flourish, you must rebel. Because the species and cultures going extinct everyday don't care if you are an anarchist, your identity means nothing, its your action towards anarchy and your experience of anarchy that makes you an anarchist, or at least one that's worth anything. Anarchism as intellectual project and hip culture has sterilized the wild spirit of anarchy, which can only be regained through the experience of action and wildness.

Green Anarchy Tour 2002



FEEDBACK

Is Green Anarchy In Retreat?

I had a problem with the last editorial, not so much in content, which was well put, but with context. I'm not pointing blame since I understand where the authors are coming from, but I think the way it's said gives a wrong impression. There's two points: 1. I fear that if we start going into retreat (which isn't necessarily implied, but is likely to be taken by some), we may never come out. Even if we do start to search for other ways to attack civilization, we shouldn't ever give up our presence or dim our voices. 2. I think that we should be clear with people, as publishers and outspoken groups, we have given up an aspect of our anonymity. People who are coming into green anarchist theory and action should know first hand that we are immersed in a serious task, and not one that starts and stops. Once we become involved, we are marked by the State, and we can't just fuck shit up and walk away. It is up to each of us to decide, first and foremost, what our level of involvement is and going to be. If for anything than our own safety.

For wildness and Anarchy, Coalition Against Civilization

Note from Epiphany: Thanks for the response. This letter essentially captures the point of the article "Same Children Playing Revolution in the Park," which was to think carefully about your position in relation to the power-structure at all times. The Green Anarchist movement has many levels and locations so this analysis will be applied in different ways throughout our numbers. Knowing and understanding what risks to take, where, and when is essential. Understanding the essence of guerrilla warfare is the point, whether it is guerrilla propaganda, guerrilla sabotage, or guerrilla gardening, the fact is that we have less power than our enemy, militarily. This fact forces our tactics to be adaptive, intelligent, and secure. There are times for insurrection, times for the spectacle, times for traveling alone, times for staying under the wings of a community, times for everything. We must not get locked into any mode of action and then fear wavering from it to be a digression from moving in some ill-conceived "forward direction." Retreat is never constant, silence is never for long. Like a wild place, diversity, adaptability, is survival and security. We hope to dance on the ruins, and to survive unscathed and unimprisoned to both bring about and share in this day of liberation from the machine. Remain diverse in your ways of struggle, and we all just may see each other there in end.

Feedback From Australia

Dear Comrades,

Whilst I was thankful to receive the last copies of *GA* (and handed them out accordingly), as I read the last issue I was filled with a growing sadness. It seems that *GA* is content to continue to develop into a heavily ideological, dogmatic and sectarian publication that wants to push a certain primitivist/anti-civ party line. Once again it seems that radicals are happier doing battle in disconnected cynical debates with mythical theoretical opponents that try to build a part, however small, of a genuine refusal of capital, based on the complexities of life. Debate and analysis is fantastic, robust discussion should be encouraged, but much of the last issue of *GA* seemed more interested in reducing the scope of ideas through denouncing all those that disagree with the new anarcho-primitivist orthodoxy. No better line indicates this than that in "Remedial Revolutionary Consciousness" that reads "As for the critics of the ELF, the left, the greens and their moderate variants are a key part of the glue that holds the whole rotting social order". With all the flourish of a Stalinistic denunciation

the new message seems to be "agree with us or you are the class enemy". All that junk that settled on the remains of the traditional anti-capitalist movement, the hard-lines, the splits, the violence against comrades in words and deeds, all those manifestations of alienation, seem set to rise again if the above comment is truly reflective of the mood amongst green anarchists in the US.

The leviathan of global capital seems set on an un-ending period of total war and militarization. Yet despite appearances, the current intensification of conflict comes not from the strength of capital, but is a product of the fractures and fissures rupturing across the global ruling class. Facing the numerous uprising and struggles of the multitude for autonomy and the assertion of the dignity of life and earth, the rush to war is a bloody and ultimately futile attempt to re-assert control. In this context a green anarchist stance: an out look that stresses the interrelation of human freedom and the health of the earth versus oppression and restriction in all its forms, a critique of the totality of exploitative relationships of commodity society; has a valuable part to play. But to do so green anarchists should forsake the comfortable position of dogmatic self-righteousness and pious certainty and embrace pluralism, doubt and questions. As to questions, issue #7 asked the readers their stance on *GA* having a "no compromise approach to the destruction of industrial civilization and also be pro-indigenous". If the alternative to being pro-indigenous is to be anti-indigenous well there is no real debate there. But in terms of constructing a basis for political praxis rather than a no compromise approach to the destruction of industrial civilization I

would like to see a no compromise approach to total liberation. This is not just splitting hairs but reconstructing the process for change around a positive perspective and one that is far more accepting and fluid.

With this in mind, I think *GA* should open its doors to actively solicit contributions from numerous perspectives and thrive on the debate and diversity the struggle for a global family of free cultures in harmony with the earth creates. Some may ask, where do you draw the line? Surely this will never be a fixed position, and what else are letter pages for?

Thrash for freedom (with green, red, and black dreams),

**Dave Antagonism
Wollongong, Australia**

Editor's Response: Thanks for the feedback, and just so you know, we openly solicit any contributions to this paper which will help us take a more critical look at where we and others are coming from. In fact, the editorial collective writes very few of the articles in each issue. Do we want to use this project to promote anti-civ perspectives? - Of course. Do we want to draw finite perimeters on this discussion? - Definitely not. Our goal is to further this discussion from an anti-authoritarian and anti-industrial perspective. As far as your "red" dreams go, however, we feel that it is irresponsible, unrealistic, and shortsighted for anarchists to continue on with their uncritical support of industry and the inherent hierarchy of production, as well as their lack of understanding of ecology and how far out of balance with the rest of life we have become.

Responses on Infoshop.org to "SPOTLIGHT ON THE GREEK ANARCHIST MOVEMENT" from GREEN ANARCHY#8 - Spring 2002

Throughout the history of our movement and struggle, any anarchists who have attempted to push the envelope and infuse theory with action (Alexander Berkman, Leon Czolgoz, Ann Hansen, the Angry Brigade, etc.) have had to endure harsh public criticism and revolutionary betrayal at the hands of conservative "anarcho-gradualists" and "anarcho-lifestylists" who seem to believe that social transformation will be brought about gradually by "educated" instructors and small groups of academic thinkers, who will "reason" the ruling class out of power and who will make slow, unvarying "progress" towards their goal through principled arguments and incessant educational or mis-educational efforts. We at GA "flatly refuse" this ridiculous notion. Here is some of the more hysterical BS that we deal with constantly due to our desire to question the limitations we place on ourselves and the anarchist "movement" and our support for focused, thoughtful acts of revolutionary violence.

Bakunin writes on Wednesday March 13:

It comes off as romanticized ignorance because it was written by primitivists, who essentially don't want to talk about the fact that anarchists are opposed to their bullshit ideology. Namely, the primitivists try to seize on acts of revolutionary violence and focus on them, rather than constructively assess the movement-building that takes place. Why? Because they aren't anarchists, and aren't interested in the construction of anarchist federations.

When primitivists accuse us of being sectarian, it is a dishonest attack. Because it is rooted in the pre-supposition that they are already established members of the anarchist movement, which they aren't. Indeed, we attack all stripes of people who claim to be "anarchists", from "anarcho" capitalists to "anarcho" primitivists. This is not sectarianism, it is defining our boundaries as anarchists and opposing ideologies that are *antithetical* to anarchism.

One does not revise the principles of anarchism, one revises oneself and ones application of those principles self-critically. If you no longer agree with the principles of anarchism, or never did, then you aren't an anarchist - there is no form of anarchism where the fundamental principles of anarchism are mythically altered. We define things by name because, although their form and application may change, their core essence does not.

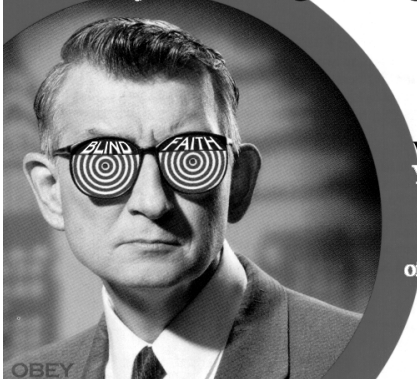
The core essence of anarchism is a true synthesis of liberty and socialism. If you disagree with this, find another movement, because then you disagree with anarchism. While our application of this principle changes, our commitment to it doesn't.

It is the primitivists who are lost in a time warp, refusing to re-evaluate the same old tired Rousseau-inspired "noble savage" BS. Anarchists have always railed against primitivism, from the very inception of anarchism, and always will.

cw(3PO) writes on Thursday March 14:

I think this primitivist v. federationist debate needs to be flatly refused, as both sides fail to be self-critical with respect to their own frozen ideologies...On one side, we have people proclaiming that we need to shove a bone through our nose and live as hunter-gatherers, and, while also asserting that the majority of the population needs to die. On the other side, we have people advocating a more radical version of social democracy, who think that people should spend half of their time attending consensus meetings and workers assemblies and the other half engaging in industrial toil (which will supposedly become more pleasant, once workers control the factories). An ideology is a body of ideas which are not self-critical, and hence is not capable of revising itself. Ideologies are products of authoritarian mindsets belonging to people who attach themselves to frozen dogmas instead of exploring new possibilities. Because they aren't based upon a continuing understanding of desires and needs, they serve the interests of capital. Primitivism and workerism are both ideologies that serve the interest of capital, and I reject both of them because as an anarchist, I'm constantly revising my perspective on the basis of new understandings of desires, needs, as well as different forms of dominating behaviors...Fifth Estate, Green Anarchy, John Zerzan and company are not qualitatively different from NEFAC, the IWW and the ISE in my eyes. All are based on frozen dogmas, abstractions and selectively-interpreted data, and not at all in a continuing reflection upon real desires and needs. For me, being an anarchist means rejecting dogma, not conforming to a dogma that has commonly been called "anarchist".

you are getting very sleepy. . .



Move on through the haze of monotony, triviality, and alienation that is your life. Know that your loss is not in vain for there is a higher purpose. Your purpose is to serve a heritage of control and servitude which can be traced back to the origins of civilization, of masters and men. it is a proud lineage. who are you to wonder of a better way?

on the count of three you will awake. . 1 . 2 . 3 . .

hello, I will be teaching your history class this semester. Due to the school's lack of desks you will remain on your knees. open your books to chapter two, verse 15 and we'll examine Man's invention of agriculture and civilization.

Small wonder the unabomber is featured in the same issue.

The kind of militancy that the Greek anarchists utilize is of a revolutionary nature, and is antithetical to primitivism. For primitivists, violence is a means to achieving some mythic destruction of civilization [something that could probably not be achieved short of eradicating the entire population], an undesirable and unattainable goal that saps the movement of its energy. Greek anarchists, like anarchists all over the world, are fighting for a society based on the principles of Liberty and Socialism, in which the means of production and distribution are held in common and developed along ecologically and socially beneficial lines - this is directly opposed to the primitivist standpoint of "destroying" them or the process of "phasing out" technology.

Thanks for the feedback! We strongly encourage dialogue about the contents of this paper and discussions about the anarchist movement as a whole. We believe that direct communication is healthier than spite-filled internet postings; we spend as little time in cyber-space as possible! Please keep letters between 300-500 words, anything longer, send to us as an article.
- the Green Anarchy Collective

SEX AMONG

by Arthur Evans

INTRODUCTION

The following essay is being reprinted from the obscure underground classic "Witchcraft And The Gay Counter-culture: A Radical View Of Western Civilization And Some Of The People It Has Tried To Destroy," written by queer anarchist and anthropologist Arthur Evans in 1978. This groundbreaking book critiques civilization and industrialism from the perspective of queer and pagan peoples, and should be read by all anti-civilization anarchists. In the last few decades, it's become obvious to people active in the revolutionary struggle that the problems we are fighting are all tied together. The problems are all functions of the patriarchy in decay and spring from fundamental flaws in the most basic ideas of this civilization.

In this book, Evans talks about the suppression of witches and nature religions in Europe in connection with the rise of patriarchy there. He links the suppression of the witches, of gays and lesbians, with the rise of masculinism, militarism, and the patriarchal state. Like many feminist anthropologists and herstorians, Evans has had to rely heavily on myth and the oral tradition to reconstruct the story of his people - since patriarchy was so ruthless in obliterating gay and pagan culture - but this doesn't make his theories any less valid or thought-provoking.

We've chosen to reprint an abridged version of this particular essay because it deals with the militaristic origins of the Amerikan empire and seems extremely relevant to our current global crisis. Many original footnotes have been removed because we cannot print the entire bibliography, but quotes have been attributed where Evans did so.

SEX AMONG THE ZOMBIES

I see
I wear
the zombie smile
of the sane
as we tiptoe past mirrors
cradling the grenades
of our truth.

Claudia Reed, "Women's Work" in Plexus magazine

American civilization began in genocide.

When the early European colonists arrived in North America, they did not come upon a vacant land. Instead, they found a multitude of nature people who had lived there for years on end. These nature people had developed some of the highest cultures in recorded history. They lived full, long, healthy lives. Their societies had little hierarchy and no government superstructure. Organized warfare, in the modern sense, was rare or unknown. Labor was free. Women generally enjoyed a high status, and Gay persons of both sexes were regarded with religious awe. They developed beautiful arts and crafts, in which nearly everyone was skilled. They managed to satisfy all the basic needs of human existence with much grace and beauty, and were able to do so without the curse of cities, police, mental institutions, or universities. Although personal violence was known among them, it paled in comparison to the level of violence in any Western society during the past two-thousand years. The Indians loved nature and knew how to talk to plants and animals, whom they regarded as their equals. They were able to feel (and not just know) that everything that is, lives.

Onto this scene came the industrializing whites, burdened and propelled by over two-thousand years of patriarchal institutions. The whites denounced the Indians as "primitive," "savage," and "barbarian." They accused them of worshipping devils and ridiculed their Gay shamans. They taught them how to practice organized warfare. They plied them into violence against each other, stole their land, and succeeded in killing off nearly every one of them, quarantining their survivors in concentration camps called reservations.

The whites' genocide against the Indians affected how the whites thought about sex: They came to view sex as an instrument

of imperial policy. For them, the purpose of sex was to breed as large a number of people as possible to push aside the relatively low-density Indian population and the population of colonists from other European nations. Colonial leaders eagerly looked forward to the day when fast-breeding white Americans would force their way over the whole Western hemisphere, both north and south. In 1751, Benjamin Franklin published his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind*. In it, he urged Americans to breed rapidly in order to take over new lands. He called upon the British government to forcibly displace



Spanish imperialist Balboa orders two-spirit (trans-sexual) native people accused of sodomy to be eaten alive by dogs.

the local Indians to make room for the growing number of rapidly breeding Americans.

One of the most outspoken advocates of the same policy was Thomas Jefferson. In 1786, when the states were under the Articles of Confederation, Jefferson stated: "Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest, from which all America, North and South, is to be peopled." Later, in 1801, after the constitution was in effect, Jefferson continued along the same line: "However our present interest may restrain us within our limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand it beyond these limits, and cover the whole northern if not the southern continent, with people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws." Jefferson continually pointed his finger at the retreating Indian tribes, whom he considered savages, and urged Americans to "press upon them" until they were pushed out of the way. He even urged rich Americans to get Indian leaders in debt "because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands." The early French colonists had a similar view of sex as a tool for breeding. They vied with the Americans as to who could fill up the continent first with their populations. Such a twisted view of sex (which must have seemed totally incomprehensible to the Indians) came easily to the colonists. It had lain readily at hand for nearly seventeen centuries in the

Christian religion. The various churches of Europe (both Catholic and Protestant) had long been imperialist institutions. They had advocated the very same view of sex for similar reasons. Such a view was also found in the ancient state of Israel, which had invaded the land of Canaan, uprooted the local population, and bred as rapidly as possible to fill up the land. This attitude became so entrenched that it was projected onto the Israeli god. Accordingly, in the book of *Genesis*, which was accepted by both Jews and Christians, the Israeli god gives this as his very first commandment to Adam and Eve: "Be fertile and multiply; fill the earth and subdue it." In New England, the Puritans were infatuated with the history of the ancient Israeli state. They regarded themselves as the founders of a New

Israel in the American wilderness. They compared the Indians to the sex-worshipping Canaanites whom the Israelis killed.

Imperialism and compulsive heterosexuality go hand in hand, as was well understood by the ancient Israeli state, the Christian churches of Europe, and the American colonial leaders. In early America, this use of sex paid off. Due to rapid breeding and the continual invasion of immigrants, the colonial population grew from 250,000 in 1700 to 1,400,000 in 1750, an increase of well over 500% in only fifty years.

In view of the imperialist use of sex in the colonies and the dead weight of Christian tradition from Europe, it's not surprising that the colonies outlawed sodomy. Even the outbreak of the Revolution had no effect on changing these laws. The Bill of Rights spoke only of intellectual rights, such as speech, religion, and assembly. It had nothing to say about the rights of sex, the emotions, or the body. Jefferson, the originator of the Bill of Rights, helped write a law that Gay men be castrated. Moreover, the right to religious freedom was (and still is) considered to apply only to patriarchal religions. Public religious orgies using hallucinogens have never been permitted in the United States.

In the earliest history of Europe, the ancient worship of sexuality originated in a matriarchal agrarian society. The people lived in close emotional communion with the land. This was the ancient economic and religious fact that lay behind the latter-day cultural forces of witchcraft and heresy. This tradition managed to survive in some form or other in Europe until the 17th century. In America - apart from the Indians, who were killed off - no such tradition of relating to nature and the land ever took root. "The American farmer started off as a capitalist farmer from the very beginning."

American farmers were entrepreneurs, interested only in getting as much cash out of the soil as quickly as possible, and then moving on when the land was exhausted. Because of their rapid exhaustion of land, they tended to become a class of land speculators. Hence from the very beginning we find the narrowness of American rural living and the repressiveness of its small towns. Land was not viewed as a manifestation of the Great Mother to be collectively worshipped and loved. It was a mere resource to be exploited and sold on a competitive basis in the markets of big cities. In American history, there was no historical counterweight to the sexually repressive, nature-killing forces of patriarchal institutions. The absence of such a counterweight has had staggering implications for America's sexual, religious, and cultural life.

From the earliest days of independence from Britain, American leaders joyously described the new society as an empire and called

for a policy of vigorous imperialism. In 1773, John Adams called for the annexation of Canada and Nova Scotia, and said, "An empire is rising in America." In 1783, George Washington described the states as a "rising empire," a phrase that had become commonplace by then. The ruling class of landowners and rich merchants looked with covetous eyes on the vast tracts of land still held by the Indians, the Canadians, the French, and the Spanish.

During the American Revolution, there was considerable unrest

among the lower classes, and many of the poor called for an annulment of debts and a redistribution of land. In several states, poor radicals even took over the machinery of the government. Some of them expressed anarchist views. But by 1780, the upper class began to re-assert itself. Upper-class leaders wanted a centralized government that would prohibit states from annulling debts. They wanted a government that would be strong enough to wage war and undertake a program of continental empire-building. Out of these upper-class interests emerged the constitution movement. Its chief spokesperson, James Madison, openly stated that the powers of the central government "ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority." In effect,



Two companions being slain together during the Inquisition

THE ZOMBIES

the constitution movement became "a well-organized campaign by a coalition of America's upper-class leadership to establish the institution appropriate to an American mercantilist empire" (Williams). In the various elections for the new constitution, less than one-fourth of adult males were allowed to vote, and women had no vote at all. The new constitution was approved (though barely) by those select few. On April 30, 1789, George Washington was installed as President, and the world saw the birth of what was to become a terrifying new institution, the United States Government.

The single most striking fact of American history - a fact that has conditioned every aspect of the nation's life, including its sex life - is the militarism of the U.S. Government. Indeed, if the nature of an institution is determined by what it does rather than what it says, we would be close to the truth in seeing the U.S. Government as essentially a machine for making war.

The entrenched militarism of the U.S. Government throughout its history has had a profound influence on American values. It has affected the way Americans think about nature, other people, their own bodies, and sex roles. One notable effect has been on the American concept of sanity, reflected in the American psychiatric movement. The father of American psychiatry was Benjamin Rush, who lived from 1746 to 1813. *Benjamin Rush was the Physician General of the Continental Army*. He was a stern disciplinarian who believed in using violence against mental patients. He condemned both masturbation and sodomy. He believed that being Black was a disease. He locked up his own rebellious son in a mental hospital for 27 years. Today he is highly regarded by many American psychiatrists.

The American Psychiatric Association currently publishes an official list of mental disorders, which, as most readers know, recently listed homosexuality (the A.P.A. was forced into an about-face on the issue due to action by Gay activists). This list, which is comparable to the Vatican's index (except that it applies to behavior instead of books), is of *military* origin. It was first developed by Brigadier General William C. Menninger, who was head of the psychiatric division of the Surgeon General's office in the U.S. Government during World War II. Before the A.P.A. adopted the list, it was put into use by all the branches of the armed forces. Its purpose was to weed out men who are not fit for military slaughtering. Today, at least one-half of all American psychiatrists are employed by institutions. The institutional nature of the A.P.A. itself goes back to its beginning. Its original name was the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions. The first proposition publicly approved by this group was a justification for the use of violence in "treating" the insane. Most mental institutions in America are governed on a military model (with lines of command, central control, the threat of forcible confinement, etc.). In 1964, more people were in mental institutions than prisons.

In the U.S.S.R., psychiatry has a similar militaristic coloring and is also used to suppress dissent. In Nazi Germany, the leading role in the development and use of gas chambers was played by psychiatrists, and their first victims were mental patients. An untold number of Gay people were exterminated in these chambers.

American militarism has affected the way Americans view masculinity, just as Roman militarism affected Roman views. All American men have been conditioned throughout their lives to think of disciplined aggressiveness as masculine, to look down on effeminacy, playfulness, passivity, and open emotionalism; to admire hardness in other men; to dread above all things being called a sissy; to enjoy relations of dominance and obedience; to get a thrill out of seeing pain inflicted on others; to get turned on by uniforms; and to be able to accommodate themselves to functioning in large, impersonal, hierarchical institutions. Men who internalize these values are considered admirably sane by American society. But this is a concept of sanity that supports war. When the orders come, such sane men are ready to kill other men on command. They are totally unprepared to deal with other men in an openly loving, warm, sexual manner. To them, that's insane. Until recently, most psychiatrists would have agreed.

The United States is a garrison society. The extension of Pentagon and secret-police control over American life has been the material equivalent of a military coup d'etat. As when Augustus Caesar took control of Rome in 27 B.C., so it is today: the Senate continues to meet, the tribunes of the people are elected, the courts hand down decisions, new Presidents take office, and all the proper outward forms are observed. But behind the show of the visible government there looms the overwhelming institutional power of the military and the secret police. True, there still remains a degree of freedom of speech and thought, especially for the middle class and the privileged professional classes. But if any group becomes an effective threat to the establishment - as the Black movement did in the 1960s - it will soon find its organizations infiltrated, its offices bombed, and its leaders shot.

The history of militarism in the United States with its culmination in the Pentagon business empire is not an isolated social fact.

Militarism is related to industrialism. Furthermore, militarism and industrialism are not unique in the United States. Similar phenomena can be seen in all "highly developed" societies, regardless of whether they are capitalist or communist. Industrialism, like militarism, has had a devastating impact on our sensual and sexual lives. Since the beginning of the Christian era, it

has been the single most pervasive force in mutilating Gay culture. No understanding of the oppression of Gay people in modern times is even half adequate without an understanding of the power of industrialism.

Industrialism is the process by which people cease producing things directly for their own immediate needs. Instead, things are produced through specialized and centralized institutions. The producing institutions can be quite varied (for example, factories, universities, governments) depending on the things produced (automobiles, knowledge, law and order). In any given society, there are degrees to which such specialized and centralized institutions control production. Among the American Indians, for example, there were practically no such institutions. In modern America, on the other hand, nearly every aspect of life has been industrialized. When most of a society's production (of whatever nature) is controlled by specialized institutions, I call that society industrialized.

There is no recorded instance in history where a highly industrialized system of life was voluntarily chosen by a non-industrial society. In every case, industrialism has been imposed on the people by the violence of the institutions themselves. In Europe, industrialism was an edifice built on the blood and gore of centuries of Christian violence. In America, it came to power through the annihilation of the Indians and the enslavement of the Blacks. In Russia, it was the fruit of Stalin's grim war of terror against the peasants. In the modern Third World, it is everywhere coming to power through the conflicting imperial ambitions of America, Russia, and China. In every case, militarism has been the means by which industrialism has triumphed. Industrialism, therefore, is not just a system of production. *It is also a system of power.*

Why do people everywhere resist industrialism? For one thing, industrialism is not necessary for a nature culture to survive (as long as it's left alone by "higher" civilizations). The classic example is the North American Indians, who managed to meet all basic human needs with a minimum of centralized institutions and without destroying their environment.

There is a second reason for this resistance to being industrialized. Industrialism, by its very nature, destroys the magic of human existence. Consider the way we, as industrialized people, relate to our environment. Everywhere we see huge cities, highways, factories, universities, airports. Everywhere the trees, the plants, the animals have been slaughtered. In 1969, the Atmospheric Sciences Research Center reported that there was no longer any uncontaminated air anywhere in North America. In 1970, Thor Heyerdahl crossed the Atlantic in a handmade boat. He reported that he could not find one oil-free stretch of water during the entire crossing. What kind of people are we that we do this to the environment? *"Only those who have broken off their silent inner dialogue with man and nature, only those who experience the world as dead, stupid, or alien and therefore without a claim to reverence, could ever turn upon their environment and their fellows with the cool and meticulously calculated rapacity of industrial society."* (Roszak)

We have seen in past chapters how the triumph of Christianity and the emergence of the industrial system resulted in the objectification of nature. What we must now realize is that this objectifying has resulted in the deadening of our feelings. Nature people everywhere believe that the earth, the trees, the moon are living personalities who talk to us and with whom we can communicate. We laugh at them and call them savages. Could they be right, after all? If so, when they talk to us about these things they must feel like people with vision trying to explain color to someone who is blind.

"Man was created to have room to move about in, to gaze into far distances, to live in rooms which, even when they were tiny, opened out on fields. See him now, enclosed by the rules and architectural necessities imposed by over-population in a twelve-by-twelve closet opening out on an anonymous world of city streets" (Ellul).

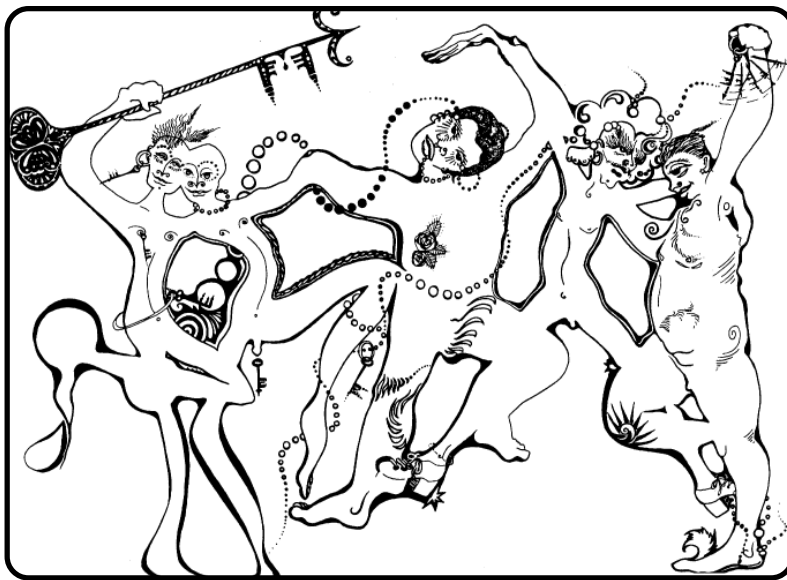
Industrialism continues to teach that humans are superior to animals and that "civilization" consists in getting as far away as possible from our animal nature. Wilhelm Reich correctly believed that the rise of fascism in industrialized countries was dependent on the repression of our animal nature within the bourgeois family. *"The theory of the German superman has its origins in man's efforts to disassociate himself from the animal"* (Reich). When alienated from their animal nature, people come to view it as evil, and then look for an outside authority-figure to keep it repressed. "The Leader," whether political or religious, suppresses from without what is feared from within. The Nazis associated homosexuality with animal behavior (which, like all sexuality, it is). They violently purged their own party of known Gay people, destroyed the early antecedents of the Gay Liberation Movement, and sent masses of Gay people to the gas chambers. Similar attitudes could be found among Russian Stalinists (whose overriding ambition was to industrialize Russia as fast as possible).

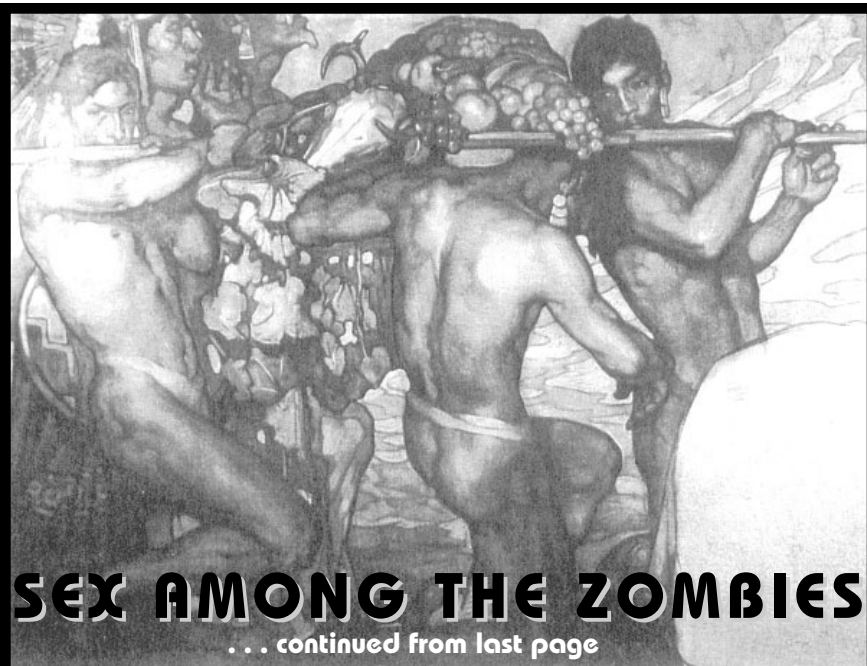
The industrial system has made us forget how to live. Nature people know how to make their own houses, food, medicine, clothes, religious rites, humor, and entertainment. These skills keep them from becoming enslaved by money. Since people always retain the skills of survival, it's very difficult for an aristocracy of money to get control of their lives. The people don't need money to survive. In an industrial society, however, we are never taught the skills of how to live. We become totally dependent on money for meeting our every need. If the money runs out, we have nothing to eat, nothing to wear, nowhere to sleep. As a result, we become totally dependent on those who control money. In capitalist countries, these are the huge business monopolies. In communist countries, it is the state.

Industrialism has degraded both labor and leisure. Most people in industrial societies are in fact wage slaves, working forty hours a week or more at monotonous, hateful "jobs" for the sole purpose of making enough money to live and enjoy life. When they come home debilitated from such alienated labor, they have nothing left to their souls except alienated leisure: television, movies, newspapers, all of which indoctrinate with industrial values. Like schools and universities, these media are part of the general anesthesia.

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Industrialism has killed the animal within us. We become indoor people, surrounded by concrete and plastic, working hours on hours as factory workers, bureaucrats, academics, living in our skulls and dead to our bodies.





SEX AMONG THE ZOMBIES

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Workers in industrial societies tend to work longer hours than people in native cultures. And industrial work is far less interesting. Industrial workers are kept at their jobs through their dependence on money and through constant indoctrination by institutions. "The natural tendency of man, as manifested in primitive (sic) societies, is almost certainly to work until a given consumption has been achieved. Then he relaxes, engages in sport, hunting, orgiastic or propitiating ceremonies or other forms of physical enjoyment or spiritual betterment. This tendency for primitive man to achieve contentment has been the despair of those who regard themselves as agents of civilization and remains so to this day. What is called economic development consists in no small part in devising strategies to overcome the tendency of men to place limits on their objectives as regards income and thus on their efforts" (Galbraith).

Industrialism has devastated our sexual lives. We complain that we treat each other's bodies unfeelingly, as so many objects, to use and dispose of. Yet we fail to realize that we treat everything (including ourselves) as so many objects to use and dispose of. We fail to see that the total objectification of our environment and of nature is a direct effect of the power system of industrialization. If we have been conditioned throughout our lives to objectify everything, how can we fail to objectify those who excite us sexually?

The industrial system has reduced sex to a procreative activity, just as it reduces all human functions to productive activities. Under industrialism, the purpose of sex has become purely economic: to breed consumers, workers, and soldiers for their proper roles in industrial and military hierarchies. Sexual relations have been reduced to productive relations. The basic unit of people-production is the monogamous heterosexual family.

Sex itself is locked up in secrecy, privacy, darkness, embarrassment, and guilt. That's how the industrial system manages to keep it under control. Among nature peoples, as we have seen, sex is part of the public religion and education of the tribes. It becomes a collective celebration of the powers that hold the universe together. Its purpose is its own pleasure. Any group of people with such practices and values can never be dominated by industrial institutions. That's why the first thing industrial societies do on contact with "primitives" is make them feel guilty about sex and their bodies. The historical tools for doing this have been patriarchal religions.

The whole industrial system is like one great night of the living dead where the entire populace has been reduced emotionally to the level of zombies. It has deadened us to our environment, deprived us of art, sterilized our animal nature, robbed us of the skills of survival, degraded our labor and leisure, and decimated our sexual lives. And so it has made us like the living dead - dead to nature, dead to each other, dead to ourselves.

All the highly industrialized nations of the earth, regardless of whether they are communist or capitalist, show the same effects of the impact of technology: concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a few; increasing regimentation of every aspect of life, including thoughts, emotions, and even fantasies; and devastation of the environment. "In spite of all the men of good will, all the optimists, all the doers of history, the civilizations of the world are being ringed about with a band of steel" (Ellul).

Of course, it's possible to divorce technical skill from institutional control, but then we no longer have industrial technology. Such a change would mean a new type of technology, something far different from any productive system that now prevails on the planet.

The industrial wasteland has come upon us from our past. It is the gestation of over 2,000 years of patriarchal rule, the last offspring of Christian/industrial institutions. It is vast. It is powerful. It has respected neither culture nor ideology. It has spread like a cancer over the whole face of the earth. It has ruined our work, our art, our environment, and our emotional and sexual lives. It has cost us the magic sense of life. If we are ever to rise up from the dead and regain our rightful place in nature, we will have to do more than put our faith in the state, the party, or technology - all of which are mere props of industrialism. We will have to tap the saving energies that now lie buried in ourselves and in nature. And that means we will have to summon forth powers that have not been known since the days of the shamans.

Some Recommended Readings:

The God Of Ecstasy: Sex Roles And The Madness Of Dionysus

by Arthur Evans

Critique Of Patriarchal Reason by Arthur Evans

The Faggots And Their Friends Between Revolution

by Larry Mitchell

Trans-Gender Warriors by Leslie Fienberg

The Mass Psychology Of Fascism by Wilhelm Reich

Visionary Love by Mitch Walker

February 12, Japan: Radicals Suspected Of Firing Projectile At U.S. Navy

Yokohama: Japanese radicals are suspected of firing a crude rocket launcher at a U.S. Navy oil storage facility southwest of Tokyo. There were no reports of injuries or damage in the incident near the U.S. Navy's Koshiba Fuel Terminal. Local residents reported hearing a large explosion late at night, and the pigs later discovered two steel pipes attached to benches on the grounds of a high school about 400 meters away from the U.S. facility. Frayed wires and a timing device recovered at the scene indicated that one of the pipes was used to fire a projectile in the direction of the fuel terminal, but no traces of it have been found. Police suspect anti-capitalist groups that have for decades voiced opposition to the U.S. military presence in Japan. They were also investigating the possibility that the incident was connected to a three-day visit by U.S. President George W. Bush to Japan scheduled to begin days later. U.S. Navy officials were "working closely" with Japanese police to determine the source of the blast. About 47,000 American troops are stationed in Japan as part of a bilateral security agreement.

February 20, Korea: Anti-Bush Demonstrators Fight Police

Seoul: Hundreds of people protesting the visit of President Bush fought riot police who tried to stop them from burning an American flag in downtown. The protesters, some wearing headbands with slogans that read "We oppose the United States," threw bottles and pounded on police shields with clubs. Ambulances took away several injured activists. At least 2,000 demonstrators attended the march, which started out peacefully at a park. Fighting began after police tried to stop activists from burning an American flag. Later, protesters burned American flags and a picture of Bush on which was written: "Bush is the axis of evil." Many protesters were farmers who complained that World Trade Organization rules had undercut their business with cheap imports. "Our farmers are struggling because the United States keeps pressuring South Korea to open its rice market," said Kim Hee-sang, a 31-year-old farmer. Bush was visiting the heavily armed border between North and South Korea when the demonstration started. Anti-US activists say his tough talk on the communist North has heightened tension on the Korean peninsula.

March 9, Italy: Over 100,000 Demonstrate In Solidarity With The Palestinian Intifada

Rome: The following statement was released from the Austrian Anti-Imperialist Camp, it has been slightly modified for GA: *Despite heavy rain and the boycott by the big mass media as well as by a big part of the pacifist left, 100,000 people demonstrated in solidarity with the Palestinian Intifada. This was...the biggest demonstration in support of the Palestinian cause ever in Italy...this was also the biggest mass manifestation in support of Intifada that has ever taken place in a western country. The idea to hold this demonstration was launched...by the Forum for Palestine... The call for this demonstration included five points: 1) Withdrawal of the Israeli army from the occupied territories; 2) Dismantling of all Zionist colonial settlements; 3) International observation against Israeli violence... Finally, the call included the request to the Palestinian National Authority to release A. Saadat, secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, as well as all other militants of Intifada.... After the demonstration, many newspapers have tried to distort this marvelous demonstration describing it as one of the usual pacifist marches, which call for equal distance from both the Zionist butchers and Palestinian victims, which condemn any form of violence*

"from any side." This is a lie... the demonstration had a clear anti-imperialist character. It called for...Palestinians to use whatever means they consider appropriate in order to free Palestine. It confirmed that whoever struggles for liberation from occupation and oppression can not be considered a terrorist. To the contrary, the U.S. and NATO are terrorists since they carry out a strategy of permanent war in order to maintain their imperial supremacy by heinous means like bombing of Yugoslavia and Afghanistan as well as imposing criminal embargoes on Iraq and Cuba. The extraordinary success of this demonstration represents a big step forward for...international anti-imperialist movement. It gives us momentum to continue our common struggle, to intensify the campaigns in solidarity with Intifada as well as with all peoples who demand an end to the wars of oppression and capitalist globalization. - Austrian Anti-Imperialist Camp (GA Note: Massive demonstrations in support of the Palestinian people, and against imperialism, have taken place in European countries such as Australia, England, Germany, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Poland and Spain, and Latin American countries such as Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru. Many of these demonstrations have been organized by Leftists who believe that Palestinian's need there own centralized state that is independent of Israel. However, many of these demonstrations

have also had the participation of anti-authoritarians who believe the state is an inherently oppressive institution, based on the exploitation of the masses for the benefit of a powerful elite, and they believe the Palestinians must work towards decentralization and self-government, not more hierarchy and elitism.)

March 16, Spain: Anti-Capitalists Clash With Police In Largest Ever Protest In The History Of Barcelona

Barcelona: Police clashed with anti-capitalist protesters following a march by hundreds of thousands of demonstrators after a European Union summit. The bulk of the rally had passed off peacefully but as it drew to a close in the city's historic downtown port area after dark, bottles and stones started flying and police fired rubber bullets and charged in with batons flailing. Some demonstrators set fires in trash cans. Militants threw bottles and rocks and fired flares at public buildings. Militants smashed plate glass windows at branches of two banks on the route of the march. "Eat the rich," had been daubed in red paint in Spanish on one bank window. Corporate clothing stores were also attacked by militants in the march. According to some eyewitness accounts, some masked people threw petrol bombs at businesses. Police said they made 38 arrests and seven cops were injured. Eyewitness accounts describe police beating protesters and journalists. A sea of demonstrators from a wide range of different groups had marched through streets to reject the free-market agenda approved by the EU leaders in the city hours earlier. Organizers estimated that as many as half a million people had joined the march and said they believed it was the biggest demonstration in Barcelona's history. Some 8,500 police had been drafted in to the Catalan capital for the summit amid fears of a repetition of protests against globalization that culminated in the murder of Italian anarchist Carlo Giuliani at the hands of Italian pigs in Genoa last July. Anti-globalization activists from across Europe had descended on Barcelona for this march, held under the title "Against the Europe of capital," to reject the liberal, free-market economic agenda espoused by EU leaders. There was anti-EU demonstrations in Barcelona all weekend, each day ended in clashes with police, though the demonstrations on the 16th were the most confrontational. French activist Jose Bove had warned Spain against cracking down on protesters, saying that would only fuel future demonstrations. To complicate matters for

the police, one of the biggest Spanish soccer matches of the season, between bitter rivals Barcelona and Real Madrid, also took place in the city on the same evening. The match was held up for over six minutes when two protesters wearing shirts bearing anti-capitalist slogans sprinted onto the pitch and attached themselves to the goal-posts.

March 19, Italy: Gunmen Kill Italian Official

Rome: Two gunmen on a motorcycle killed a consultant to Italy's labor minister as he bicycled home from work in Bologna. Marco Biagi, a professor and consultant to Labor Minister Roberto Maroni, had pushed for employment reforms that labor groups and leftist parties have denounced, saying the proposals would give employers too much freedom to fire workers. The Red Brigades, a communist urban guerrilla group that formed during the 1970s and has managed to survive through the past few decades despite political repression, took credit for this assassination. They claim that they carried out this action because the labor reforms proposed by Biagi threaten the well-being of the working class, and that the time is ripe for a new era of guerrilla warfare against the forces of capitalism. Similarly, Peru's notoriously murderous Shining Path recently bombed the U.S. Embassy building in Peru, just days before imperialist mass murderer Bush came to Peru to talk to it's political and economic leaders about the future of their nation. The bombing killed several cops, as well as a few innocent civilians. While we at **GA** most definitely do not support state-communist groups, the resurgence of the Red Brigades is noteworthy because it's indicative of a growing international resistance to capitalism and to the Bush oligarchy's overt desire to rule the world. Of course, the Red Brigades are authoritarians and it's almost guaranteed that should they succeed in seizing state power they would - like all state communists before them - promptly round up and execute anarchists, so in no way do we subscribe to the naive "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" philosophy. It is worth observing however, that the reappearance of the Red Brigades on the political stage is consistent with rapidly expanding destabilization trends at work in the world today that could potentially lead to the rupturing of the whole social spectacle. We also feel it's important to report on incidents like this because they won't be mentioned in the corporate media unless the movement or struggle in question becomes the next target of the "war on terrorism." We're first and foremost a newspaper and we feel the underground press has a responsibility to make available all the information that the State would like to hide from us, and let people draw their own conclusions. There aren't many papers in North America focusing on the activities of groups like the Red Brigades and that's why a publication like *Arm The Spirit* (out of Toronto) is so valuable. Without supporting the objectives and politics of the authoritarian left, it only strengthens our own movement to be aware of the existence of other groups fighting capitalism and to keep abreast of the progress many of them are making towards their goals. This protects us to some extent from their potential predation on us - after their revolution - and it can also help us identify opportunities for actions in line with our own agenda, which for all anarchists is at minimum the complete destruction of the state, and for many of us, the destruction of the industrial system and civilization itself. Hopefully, some anti-authoritarian guerrilla groups will be born out of the current global crisis.

March 21, Turkey: Kurdish Dissidents Clash With Pigs

Hundreds of thousands of Kurdish youth put up barricades and battled police in towns throughout Turkey after authorities banned Kurds from celebrating their New Year. Two demonstrators were killed. Riot police used water canons, tear gas and tanks to disperse crowds. At least 40 police

were injured and approximately 1,000 Kurds were arrested in the country. Authorities banned celebrations of Nowruz - the Farsi-language word for "New year" - saying that the festivities would be "exploited by outlawed groups to cause provocations." Kurds have been battling the Turkish government for cultural rights, including the right to speak their native language, for years. The Turkish government has received millions of dollars of US military aid to brutally repress those movements in exchange for acting as an arm of US foreign policy in the Middle East. For more information on the Kurdish struggle for self-determination, we recommend Noam Chomsky's excellent book *American Interventionism*.

March 22, Mexico: Thousands Take To The Streets Against Globalization

Monterrey: The United Nations-sponsored International Conference on Financing for Development was held amid growing awareness that globalization is a form of colonialism that must be brought to an end. "Representatives" of 171 countries, including 52 heads of state; the World Trade Organization; the International Monetary Fund; the World Bank; and dozens of non-governmental organizations met to discuss how to meet the United Nations' stated supposed goal of cutting global poverty in half by 2015. Acknowledging that the trade policies that were supposed to bring economic development to poorer countries have failed to do so, wealthy nations say they intend to increase direct development aid. However, most opponents of globalization/colonialism recognize that the people in power and the wealthy are not the friends of the working class, indigenous peoples, and the poor. The statements that were made by groups like the IMF and WTO about "ending poverty" through "appropriate" economic development are lies that only serve the interest of the ruling class. In fact, the only reason these corporate bodies are now pretending to care about the poor and the environment is because they want to calm down an increasingly militant anti-globalization movement, which is also increasingly anti-authoritarian. Thousands of protesters from different communities showed up to influence, or disrupt, this conference. Many of the activists who showed up to protest the conference were leaders from indigenous peoples movements and members of labor groups. However, quite a few anarchists were also in attendance. Masked radicals attacked businesses with spray-paint and rocks throughout the downtown area, and many activists clashed with police who tried to prevent the protesters from getting too close to the meetings. An image from the protests on the internet showed a man swinging a dead goat at the conference security. The goat apparently died after drinking water from a stream that was contaminated by industrial poisons. Unfortunately, with most of the protesters unwilling to smash property or break the law, the protests were not able to significantly disrupt the meetings. This meeting was more significant than most global summits because it involved the making of decisions that will largely determine the continuation of neo-liberalism in Latin America. Cuba's communist dictator Fidel Castro, a firm opponent of the neo-liberal policies that have landed nearly 75% of the Latin American population into poverty, was asked to leave the conference for the comfort of George Bush Jr.

March 24, El Salvador: Protests Meet Bush, Slam FTAA

San Salvador: George Bush landed in the capital of El Salvador on his last stop of a three-country trip to promote "free trade". Bush met with the President on the 22nd anniversary of Archbishop Oscar Romero's assassination by a right-wing School of the Americas graduate. He was "welcomed" by 15,000 demonstrators and was "protected" by more than 7,000 police. Police checkpoints restricted people from entering San

Salvador from outlying provinces, so most likely the demonstrations would have been even larger without the official harassment. Bush was met with hostility from the exploited everywhere throughout this trip.

March 25, Canada: Protesters March Against Neo-Liberalism

Victoria: A march, made up of homeless people, street youth, members of the Anti-Poverty Coalition, native sovereigntists, anarchists, members of the IWW, and others wound its way through the streets disrupting business and traffic downtown for several hours. The Liberal government of British Columbia has been cutting welfare and social programs, laying-off government employees by the thousands, and has created a six dollar training wage (two dollars less than the eight dollar minimum wage). They are also calling a referendum of Native Treaty rights, intending to exploit the racism of the white settler population in the province. The march targeted businesses in the downtown core that contributed money to the Liberal's election campaign, and businesses that harass street youth. The direction of the march was spontaneously decided by the group, which kept the police off-guard and caused much disruption to traffic. The crowd dressed like death, wearing all black and skull masks and marched through the streets banging on drums and pots and pans and attacking several businesses including The Bay, The Gap, City Hall, McDonald's and others. At McDonald's, the marchers danced on tables and chanted "Six bucks sucks!" Inside The Bay stink bombs were set off and clothes thrown onto the floor. Snaking through the Eaton's Center Mall twice some marchers wrote "Fuck the rich" on Eaton's Center property. Signs were pushed over, as the crowd left the mall, a Ralph Lauren yuppie clothing store was paint-bombed, and "Class War" was scrawled on the outside of The Gap, as police locked the doors, trapping shoppers inside. There were very few confrontations between the police and the crowd, the major incident being when a police motorcycle drove into a baby stroller and knocked a mother and her young child to the ground. There were no arrests and at the end of the day all participants dispersed safely. Several days before, on the 20th, the Minister of Human Resources made a public appearance and was met with an angry crowd who screamed at and denounced him for cutting welfare rates. After being taunted upon entering, the crowd chased him through the building and parking lot, delaying and disrupting his planned speech until police arrived. Direct actions against social welfare cuts, the privatization of public services, and the continued exploitation of indigenous peoples have become common in Canada.

April 22, Puerto Rico: Angry Mob Wounds Ten Marines

San Juan: A mob armed with bats and pipes attacked ten US Marines, leaving one with a cranial fracture and others with injuries from broken bones to minor scrapes. All ten were released from the hospital after a brawl that erupted late at night in the capital of this US-dominated Caribbean territory. The Marines - more than 60 wearing civilian clothes at the time - had just finished work as a security detachment for contested military "exercises on the outlying island of Vieques. Two Marines were arguing between themselves outside at about 11 PM when the armed mob began to attack them. Eight other Marines came to their friend's defense, and the brawl developed

into a large street fight involving more than two dozen people. Obviously, opposition to the American military operations in P.R. is intensifying.

May Day, Germany: Police Clash With Looting Demonstrators

Berlin: Riot police clashed with hundreds of anti-capitalist demonstrators after some of them smashed their way into a supermarket on the eve of May Day in a traditional trouble spot. Police were greeted with a hail of bottles, rocks and fireworks as they tried to stop the looting, which erupted after nightfall at the end of an open-air rock concert that drew an estimated



5,000 people to the streets of Kreuzberg district. A police helicopter whirred overhead as hundreds of officers rushed in and dispersed the masked radicals, geared up for anti-globalization protests in the capital on this holiday. Police drove water cannons into the streets and the situation remained tense, with demonstrators huddling in small groups. There

were no immediate reports on injuries. Berlin's gritty Kreuzberg district has been the focus of riots on May Day and the night before for at least 15 years. May Day, a traditional class-struggle anarchist holiday that has been largely co-opted by socialists and progressives, is celebrated in virtually every major city in the world. May Day is a celebration of class-struggle, but it has been transformed into a day of action against capitalism. Massive, militant May Day demonstrations took place in England, Australia, South Korea, Canada, and other countries.

May 9, Indonesia: The Struggle To Free Aceh Intensifies

Aceh: Armed clashes between freedom-fighters of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and government forces have been a daily phenomenon despite the peace settlement being promoted through negotiation. In North Aceh, at least five recent armed clashes have been reported. GAM ambushed the military who were on their way to carry out an operation in villages. At least ten military personnel were killed in separate battles, but GAM managed to escape after the attack. Due to repeated attacks by GAM, the military deployed more troops to locate GAM in suspected remote villages in North Aceh. As a consequence, their presence has caused trauma and fear for civilians. All male civilians were reported to have fled the villages to hide in the jungle to avoid further casualties when the military retaliated indiscriminately. Only women and children remained at home. This situation has caused severe economic problems for villagers. They have been banned by the military from going to rice fields and farms for any reason. Farmers could not cultivate their lands and work for their livelihood as the military were everywhere in the village looking for GAM. It was reported that after the military searched for GAM without finding anybody, the village civilians were often targeted and accused of hiding information about GAM's whereabouts. Many of them were shot dead and arbitrarily arrested, and their dead bodies were found dumped in nearby villages or roadsides. The GAM routinely attack the Indonesian military that terrorizes the people of Aceh.

"Solidarity lies in action. Action that sinks its roots in one's own project (...) that above all makes us free ourselves..." - Daniela Carmignani

The ELF And The Spectacle

The “decentralized cell organization” of the Earth Liberation Front is today often presented by the media and its supporters as the most extreme, the most “heavy,” and the most radical challenge of Radicals Greens to the dominant order. As a “front,” the ELF takes a bit of the Che Guevara image of third-world “national liberation” movements such as the Algerian “National Liberation Front” and extends it to a world scale. Still, how many aspects of this society are ultimately challenged by the practice of the ELF and their supporters? Like ELF supporters, we see a pressing need to ultimately put an end to the present horrific society. Unfortunately, we see the organizational setup of the ELF as reinforcing many of this society’s relations of representation, specialization and authority at the same time it challenges the immediate physical power of the system. The underground cells of the ELF windup as essentially specialists in destruction, intentionally cut-off from the entire milieu by the necessary security culture. Indeed, the more elaborate the vandalism pulled-off by ELF cells, the more such cells have the appearance of elite military units. Not only do most people feel like they could never join such an effort, many people feel like “these experts will just create the revolution for us.” Just as much, the aboveground “ELF supporters” windup as followers, viewing their activity as just an adjunct to the “real work” of the ELF. And both ELF activists and followers are dependent on the mainstream media to report their actions, which otherwise do not touch the lives of the mass of dispossessed people.

Many “radical greens” today rightly look to the inspiring example of native communities, which have generally lived in balance with nature for thousands of years. With this, some recognize that while we are not natives, we cannot survive unless we also become part of a human community, a community which involves balanced, direct relationships with nature and with each other. We must escape the present rootless, atomized social relation of modern humans. And some key parts of these social relations are people’s fixation on media and celebrities and their unquestioning obedience to experts, specialists and authorities. Many in the Radical Green/ELF milieu come out of the punk, mainstream activist, or animal rights “scenes.” However well intentioned these “alternative scenes” are, they have much of the logic of the present order, sometimes in extremes. They are often rife with stars, divisions between who is or isn’t “cool,” fixation with pose and image, and so on. We aren’t saying that those in these groups can’t escape this order but ELF ideology allows a similar dynamic to arise and works to prevent any critique of it.

We aren’t saying that we would-be revolutionaries should regard ourselves as the nucleus of a new society. We aren’t surprised by the gulags and Chernobyl’s that activists of “real” liberation fronts have constructed in Russia, Algeria, Nicaragua, China and many other places. While most Radical Greens don’t view themselves as a vanguard party, the horrors of re-education camps and so-forth are a natural product of the dictatorship of specialists in liberation. Since such a dictatorship is a natural product of this society’s entire dynamic, we must actively avoid the role and the logic of specialists in revolution.

The practice we see instead of specialization is to work to inspire a developing community of resistance. And we should realize a community of resistance already exists on some level everywhere. The most powerful tactics for us are those tactics which allow the dispossessed to seize direct control of their lives - strikes, riots, squatting and occupations of streets and neighborhoods. These may only be possible in some circumstances but the dispossessed will always be resisting work and commodity relations by slacking off on the job, shop-lifting, dodging fares and many other tactics.

We aren’t limiting ourselves to a laundry list of tactics or to only doing actions approved by a democratic central committee. But at the minimum, those wishing to be revolutionaries need to be able to be part of a diverse, organic community. The specialization, the cutting off of contacts, the continuous panic, and the media-focus necessary for ELF practice is a serious barrier to this. To create a new society, we must be able to talk about all aspects of how we are living and how we want to live. Yet the ELF practice makes it impossible to talk about even simple questions like which “targets” are valid.

We don’t make this critique on the grounds of pacifism or arguments around “any resistance will make you like your enemy.” Rather we look to means of resistance, revolt and revolution which use a human community as both the end and the means. From Spain in 1936 to Paris in May of 1968 to the upsurge in Argentina today, we see the self-organization of the masses as a force which is capable of sweeping away governments and ultimately social systems. The Argentine Popular Assemblies today organize to help the unemployed at the same time they work for the defeat of the present state. Not only is this self-organization quite capable of bringing about the end of the present social system, it can be a way for a community to directly control its activity. It can be a nucleus of a new society.

ASAN: www.webcom.com/maxang

GA editorial comment: The ELF is not an attempt to create a new human society, it is a group that fights to liberate the earth. Green Anarchists attempt to do both, and support all efforts of those fighting within and among those categories of resistance. If this is a critique of the ELF, it’s like saying the Black Panthers weren’t doing enough to liberate white businessmen from their oppression (the stated priority of the Panthers was liberating their communities, just as the stated priority of the ELF is to liberate the earth, not human society— though there is no need to assume that those struggles are mutually exclusive, as we all know they are totally connected). If this article is a critique of the supporters of the ELF (a very unsubstantiated critique), then read more issues of Green Anarchy to learn that both popular human resistance and eco-tage are represented (Argentina, Bolivia, Cinnцинatti, etc.).

**We are not just making
a stand against ecocide
and developers,
but the growth of
civilization, as well
as the demise of
our existence
and the
biodiversity that
comes with it.
For the protection
of Mother Earth!
- ELF**

Earth

March 17, Pennsylvania: ELF Arson Destroys Expensive Crane

Erie: A fire that destroyed a \$500,000 crane used at a road construction site has been claimed by the ELF. The following is the communiqué that was issued by the ELF: *Hello brothers and sisters! Our Earth is being threatened everyday by the industrial mega-machine, which devastates and kills our Earth. That is why the ELF is taking a stand in Erie, Pennsylvania. On Sunday, ELF members demonstrated their wrath towards the booming mega-machine that seems to be rising from the gates of hell, by destroying a 60 ton crane. These past months brothers and sisters in the Erie area have witnessed the atrocities that are being committed by Wintergreen George. Thousands of wild species are being killed for the sake of building the "Eastside Access Highway". This project will not just kill thousands of wild-*

life, but will clear most of the precious trees that stand so gracefully. Yet many developers have already been destroying acres of precious forest. Sunday's action was an example of the agitation people in Erie feel about the construction of the "Eastside Access Highway". We are not just making a stand against ecocide and developers, but the growth of civilization, as well as the demise of our existence and the biodiversity that comes with it. For the protection of Mother Earth! - ELF

March 25-26, Ecuador: Protests Against Pipeline Intensify

Mindo: At least 50 agents of Ecuador’s National Police forcibly removed and arrested 17 activists who were blockading the route of the Heavy Crude Pipeline (OCP) through the Mindo Nambillo Cloudforest Reserve at a site called Los Guarumos in northern Ecuador. Another two activists were arrested later when they tried to recover tents from their camp. Local residents and Ecuadorian and international supporters had been camped out in the treetops and

Cloudforest ridgeline since January 2 in an effort to stop construction of the OCP through the area. In response to the arrests, more than 100 local residents blocked the highway between Quito and Nono on March 26 and confiscated two large tractor-trailers carrying pipeline tubes for the OCP consortium, which is building the pipeline. Residents forced the vehicles into the town square and painted "OCP out of Mindo" on the tubes.

April 22, Philippines: Down With Greenwashing!

Quezon City: Some 20 people from various autonomous groups attempted to storm the main office of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) in order to dramatize the urgency of halting the natural ecology’s continued destruction. They lambasted the state and its corporate cohorts’ efforts to spread “greenwashing” among the people. They were eventually barred by security guards from entering the said government agency. The activists were undaunted, however, and, waving and showing off their respective flags and banners, began distributing flyers to passing vehicles and chanting slogans like “Fast-food chains out! Fresh food for all!” and “Total log ban!”. When interviewed by the local media, a spokesperson for the groups decried the state and its corporate cohorts attempts to greenwash their deliberate actions to destroy the natural ecology. The spokesperson said that DENR’s latest charade of “eco-friendly programs and policies” are devised to cover up its collusion with big logging and mining companies,

Late January, Minnesota: Persons Unknown Commit Sabotage Against "Target" Store

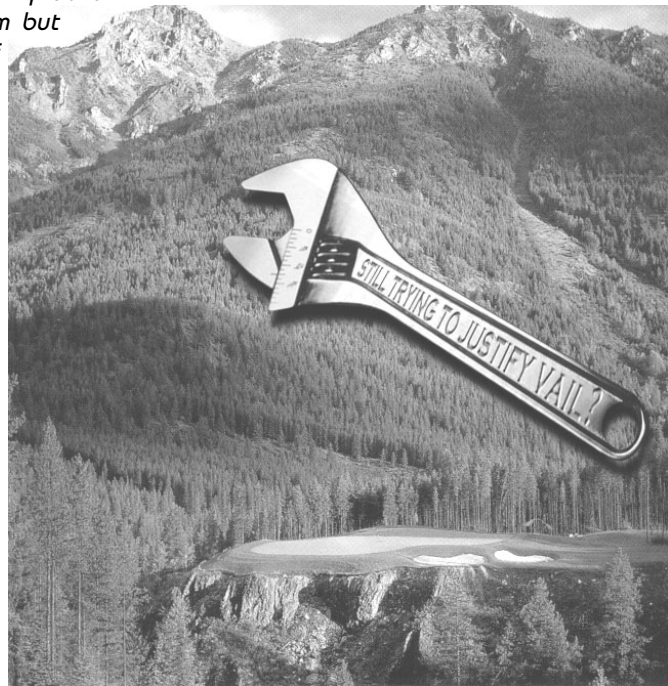
Dakota County: This communiqué was found posted on the internet: *A construction site for a new Target store in Dakota County, Minnesota was attacked. Backhoes, bulldozers, earth movers and other equipment had fuel lines, hoses, electrical wiring cut. Graffiti was left on machines and trailers reading "Fuck Sprawl", "Destroy Commodity Culture", "Against capital", "Who's The Next Target?", "There's Beauty In Breaking Glass", "Go Develop In Hell!" and others. We found sledge hammers on site and thanked them for it by smashing out windows on machinery. Marking stakes were pulled out of the ground. This is an attack on capitalist development and expansion. This is an attack on the Targets, Walmarts, their exploitation of workers, their imposition of commodity exchange. With a few simple tools and the cover of nightfall anyone can act. This action may only be an inconvenience to them but what it is a defiance of capitalist business-as-usual. As our message to them left on a trailer said: **We Are The Exploited!***

February 26, Australia: Eco-Saboteurs Cause Millions In Damage To Logging Equipment

Geevston: Environmentalist saboteurs damaged \$3 million worth of logging equipment. Seven excavators, a “skidder” and a workers caravan were trashed and torched, and logs were burned. The attacks have brought logging to a halt in this region. This attack happened just a few weeks after suspected radical environmentalists caused \$750,000 of damage to machinery at another logging site.

March 9, France: Tunnel Linking France And Italy Reopens To Bomb Blasts & Protests

Chamonix: The Mont Blanc Tunnel, rebuilt, blessed and hailed by the transportation industry as the safest such passage through the Alps, reopened after an extravagant, self-promotional ceremony. However, signs that not all was well proceeded the opening. A pre-dawn blast blamed on environmental protesters destroyed a maintenance truck at the French entrance, and about 1,500 demonstrators marched to the entrance ringing cow bells. Nearly 200 police helplessly watched the protest. Groups opposed to the reopening of the tunnel to truck traffic set off two bomb blasts last year while it was still closed. Environmentalists oppose allowing truck traffic in the tunnel, which they consider a safety hazard and a major polluter in the pristine region.



Liberation Actions

citing DENR's refusal to impose a total logging ban. For many years now, DENR gives special favors to marine park and dolphin show owners, wiping out in the process natural ecosystems like those in Zambales province to give way for "protected" and privately-owned "eco-parks". The activists also appealed to the people to boycott fast-food chains like McDonald's and to start growing their own food. McDonald's and other restaurants promote a throw-away, consumerist, capitalist society wherein only profit, not the ecology and people, matters. Activists who converged for the picket consisted of individuals from the Anti-Capitalist Convergence Philippines, Autonomy Solidarity International, Earth First! Lucena, Earth First! Manila, League for Environment and Animal Freedom (LEAF), Not for Sale Collective and Youth Collective for Animal Liberation (YCAL). Parallel actions also commenced on the same day in southern Philippines where the Anti-Capitalist Convergence Cebu and Davao networks are based.

May 3, Indiana: Animal Liberation Front Claims Responsibility For Sims Poultry Fire

Bloomington: The following is the communiqué received by the North American ALF Press Office: *The Animal Liberation Front is claiming responsibility for the early morning May 3rd attack on Sims Poultry Processors in Bloomington, Indiana. While it may not be an actual slaughterhouse, Sims Poultry was targeted because of its role in the industries of animal exploitation and murder.*

The ALF will not rest until all businesses profiting from the misery and death of the innocent are destroyed. Record numbers of chickens are being raised and killed for meat in the U.S. every year. Nearly ten billion chickens are being hatched in the U.S. every year. These birds are typically crowded by the thousand into huge factory-like warehouses where they can barely move. Chickens are given less than half a square foot of space per bird while turkeys are each given less than three square feet. Both chickens and turkeys have the end of their beaks cut off, and turkeys also have their toes clipped. All of these mutilations are performed without anesthesia, and they are done in order to reduce injuries which result when stressed birds are driven to fighting. Today's meat chickens have been genetically altered to grow twice as fast, and twice as large as their ancestors. Pushed beyond their biological limits, hundreds of millions of chickens die every year before reaching slaughter weight at 6 weeks of age. These institutionalized practices begin with the premise that living beings are mere commodities to be "processed" and consumed. Despite the state's ongoing campaign to discredit and dismiss the movement for animal liberation, we will not shy away from acting to save the lives of innocent beings. As long as there is animal suffering, we will wage a non-violent war against their oppressors. As long as there is animal suffering, there will be the Animal Liberation Front.

- ALF

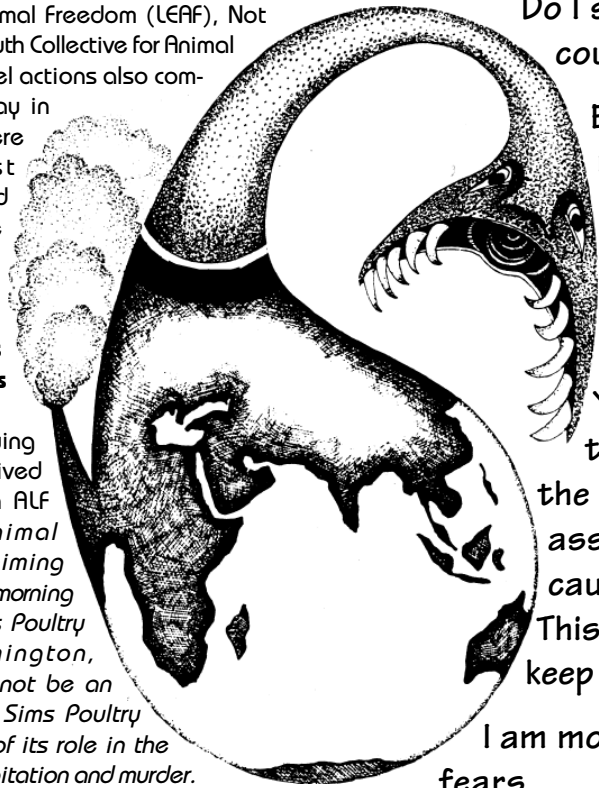
Suicide Bomber

By Critter

why don't i fly away
so i can't hurt those that i love
and so i can drop bombs on those i don't

why dont i leave
those who'd be better off without me
and remove those we'd be better off without

there isn't anything
i wouldn't do for you
and to be rid of them



NO LONGER!

Do not tell me what fire
I can play with!
I will not repent.

Does my flame light up
too many of your bloody battles?

Do I scare you?
could it all be too true?

Exposure of your
monstrosity

I delay No Longer!

My core is singing stronger.

Diluted and polluted No
Longer!

You are too big of a baby
to nurse.

the scars of your murderous
assaults

cause my eruption.

This is good, I shall No Longer
keep still!

I am moving through your darkest

fears

where there is no path.

Anticipating,

Prepared.

- pearl nemesis



Silvano Pellisero Is Free At Last!

March 14th: Naples, Italian anarchist Silvano Pellisero has been released from prison. Silvano served more than four years in prison, charged with eco-sabotage against the High Speed Train project in the Sussa Valley. He was arrested along with Soledad Rosas and Edoardo Massari, who both died in prison under very strange circumstances. Silvano can be contacted at the following email addresses: tutto@squat.net and asilosquat@tiscalinet.it

This Direct Action News section is dedicated to Beth O'Brian (Horehound), Barry Horne, Carlo Giuliani and all others who have died fighting this omniscidal system.



Perpetuating the Spectacle: A Response To The ASAN Article "The ELF And The Spectacle"

This is a short critique of the brief essay *The ELF and the Spectacle*, which to me comes across as a purely academic diatribe with very little basis in reality. It does, however, make some very valid points, though few and far between. I agree whole-heartedly that people need to move beyond participating in "scenes" and truly develop a culture of resistance to be effective, but the author(s) fail to recognize that people doing radical actions are quite possibly people very active in helping to develop sustainable communities. I'm wondering how many people actually in the "Radical Green/ELF milieu," not the "scene," that the author(s) knows. Most who are purely in the "scene" do not take action, while most who take action are not just in a scene.

People who take action do so because they feel strongly enough about something to risk their relative freedom and/or lives to fight for what they believe in, so what are the chances that these people do not participate daily in being together in "a community which involves balanced, direct relationships with nature and each other?" I, as one who is imprisoned for taking action, take exception with the stereotype the author(s) are helping the mass media to convey. All of the imprisoned saboteurs that I know personally, or am familiar with, lived lives prior to incarceration that were strongly based in helping our communities strive for a more harmonious relationship with the natural world we are all part of. Suddenly, there's something wrong with using every tool in the tool box available to us to fight back?

The author(s) seem to be attempting to perpetuate the myth that we who feel strongly enough to take action are not part of the "mass of dispossessed people". It is precisely because we are part of the dispossessed masses that we feel the loss caused by society's destruction of, and alienation from nature, enough to be driven to act. Those who sit on their asses and write about inspiring the dispossessed masses fail to realize that the greatest inspiration is action. The actions I speak of include, but are not limited to, creating free spaces, community gardens and huge bonfires in which we can watch corporations go bankrupt, actions that those in the "Radical Green/ELF milieu" are quite likely to participate in.

The entire premise of The ELF and the Spectacle article, that people who do ELF type actions are not part of the dispossessed masses or "part of a diverse, organic community," is false. People who do ELF-type actions come from a wide variety of backgrounds, but the one thing they have in common is that they have been affected by the destruction of nature and because of this have been driven by some internal force to take action. These people are precisely the "dispossessed" that the author(s) speak of who are developing communities of resistance.

Your mother could be the one striking the match tonight, but if she is, I can almost guarantee, in the future she will not be sitting around writing a rant condemning the dispossessed who have been moved enough to put their safety on the line, because in the long run, she realizes its her life, the lives of her children and that of every living creature on the line. There will always be people developing communities of resistance who feel the need to strike out against the dominant order; they have my deepest respect, and I don't feel they should apologize or hold back because they are some of the few who are moved enough to strike back. They also don't need so-called "would-be revolutionaries" joining the mass media's efforts to discredit and marginalize their actions. People have been doing these actions long before the ELF was conceptualized, and as a tactic that uses one of the state's own tools (i.e. the media) to promote more such actions, I believe the ELF has been a resounding success.

By Craig Marshall (Critter) - April '02



Go Wild!



The Pleasures, Benefits and Ecology of Wildcrafted Foods

I wake to the young summer Sun reaching for me through the low branches on the far horizon's trees, enticing me to come out and wash my feet in the dew-damp grass and bathe my face in the low-hanging mist. I drift down into the valley where the predawn lingers and the blueberries are yet wrapped in the frosty patina of the night. The chill on my fingers invigorates as I pick them one by one, deftly selecting the ripe from the unripe and passing over those that have been nibbled by Mouse and Chipmunk. A few Huckleberries and Dwarf Juneberries join the collection, along with a sampling of last year's lingering Wintergreen berries. What a refreshing taste, crisp texture and bright cranberry-like luster they lend to the sweet menagerie!

With reverence I place my steps on the moss carpet between the plants, careful not to step on an Orchid or a Frog still stiff with morning cold. In the midst of such bounty I soon satiate myself, then give thanks.

The first amber spears of light begin to reach these bottom lands— my sign to move on, as I know the wildlings wish for their turn at breakfast as well. So I wander up the western hillside where the sun has already dried the grasses and formed warm pockets between sheltering boulders. There I find a comfortable patch of green upon which to lazily lounge and allow the chill and dampness to be washed from me.

As I drift off into undesired slumber (undesired because it is only early morning and I have done no more than eat), the sweet essence of Oxeye Daisy baking in the Sun tickles my senses back to wakefulness. Rolling over, I nibble on several of the flowers beside me, taking care to avoid those who are providing homes for insects. Several of the spicier basal leaves then join in a savory finale with a couple sprigs of lemony Sheep Sorrel and succulent Cleaver tips.

Armed from the inside out with sweet Earth nourishment and from the outside in with warm Solar nourishment, I finally laze into that hardly needed nap.

The cool shadow of a boulder draws me back to much appreciated wakefulness, as I am anxious to take the high route back home through the Forest to see how another section of my Earth Garden fares. At Wood's edge I meet a downed Basswood tree blocking the trail. First giving thanks for the unexpected gift, I strip off some of the strong fibrous inner bark, to use for winter basket and cordage making. Then, for supper, I gather a satchelfull of the mild-tasting leaves.

Taking stock of the surrounding Blackberries, I surmise they won't be ready for several weeks. With adequate moisture it looks like they will be worth coming back for.

Now under the Maple canopy, I take mental note of the whereabouts of the blossoming patches of Leeks and Spring Beauty seedheads, for they will not be as conspicuous when I come back in the Autumn to gather my Winter store. The dry Spring encouraged mid-season Mushrooms not near as bountiful as last year, so I leave the few I see for the Squirrels. I have dried stock yet from last year, and the more reliable Autumn crop is yet to come. Being so deeply shaded, the Forest floor is otherwise pretty quiet of edible growth at this time of year.

On the last rise before home I come upon a large patch of infertile-type Mullein — the best to use for medicinal purposes. I gather a few leaves for a friend who wishes to use them to help clear her lungs as she quits smoking. Just below the Mullein grows a strong colony of Sarsaparilla, which another friend uses to help her through periods of melancholia. She likes to gather her own, so the next time she visits I will bring her here.

Arriving home at mid-day, I treat myself to two full glasses of wild Mint tea that I brewed in yesterday's Sun. I am feeling great for the exercise, fulfilled from the joy of discovery, and content with the glow of good nourishment.

I was once an enthusiastic gardener; I maintained a collection of heirloom and Native seed varieties, and I was proud of the tricks I learned to push the length of the growing season in either direction. I usually had produce to spare and I delighted in helping others to begin gardening.

But something didn't feel right. I had to destroy so much to establish my garden. It was once a little meadow of flowers and grasses and Mice and Butterflies — a rainbow of life coexisting in ageless Balance. I killed it all. Even those who could run or fly away likely died, because I pushed them into unfamiliar territory, where they would be more vulnerable to predation (they didn't know the hiding places or escape routes). Some died a slower death by contributing to overpopulation or from injuries incurred in fights as they unwittingly invaded the territories of established residents.

And I killed the generations to come.

What about the grand scale gardening that produced what I didn't grow — the grains for my bread and the fibers for my clothing? Even though they were organic they were still the product of the plow. Those soils and the natural communities they supported had never before been disturbed. "Why" I asked myself, "is it so necessary for us to do so now?" It seemed as though the rest of life, including our own Ancestors, flourished for millennia without plow or spade. To them the whole Earth was a garden. They saw food growing everywhere; they knew that parts of most plants are seasonably edible. They could not understand why the coming farmers would destroy this diverse bounty only to toil at producing so few and sometimes unreliable replacements.

Our foraging Ancestors left us a verdant legacy pleasing to the eye and to the soul. The streams ran clear, the rain fell clean, and the seed grew and died and grew again. And then we decided we could have more by sowing the seed ourselves . . .

I already enjoyed gathering wild edibles. Some years I would gather wild and domestic varieties of the same food. For example, my garden raspberries would ripen first, and then in a couple weeks I would gather wild ones. To produce the domestic version I began by procuring the land, then I tilled it, fenced it to keep out garden-loving animals, bought the plants, fertilized and watered, weeded and pruned, and then got to harvest. For the wild berries— you guessed it— all I had to do was the picking. I've gathered wild and domestic versions of Asparagus, Onions, Ground Cherries, Jerusalem Artichokes, Spinach, Currents, and several other fruits and vegetables, in the process realizing that I had more time for other things when I foraged rather than gardened.

On top of that, the wild fare was better tasting, cleaner than organic, and more nourishing.

And I had such a good time foraging! I would notice the wildflowers growing amongst the edible fare and the other animals feasting on it with me, and perhaps I'd come across a pair of Fawns taking an afternoon nap. I would gather a few other edibles at the same time and take note of still others for the coming season, just as in the story above. My row of raspberries provided a bit of that experience, but relatively speaking it was pretty much one-dimensional.

As you can probably already surmise, my garden grew smaller and smaller each year until all that were left were the hardy perennial Rhubarb and Asparagus, and a patch of transplanted wild Jerusalem Artichokes. Yet I missed my garden. I enjoyed my intimate relationship with the life of the plants. So I redirected that desire for connection and found pleasure in helping restore wild and endangered plant communities. My "garden" is again a luxurious meadow (which still receives my kitchen compost!) And I have time for endless romps in the woods and fields — without having to worry about planting, pulling, or protecting.

Where To Start

Many nature centers and university extension offices offer wild food foraging and preparation classes, and some areas have wild food clubs, which often host wild food potlucks. If you share your newfound interest with those you know, you may be surprised by a friend who already has a degree of expertise. Following is a list of several of the better field guides on the subject. I would suggest procuring two or three of them, as cross-referencing them is a great aid in positive identification, and one book will often contain information on a plant that the other doesn't. Yet as good as some of the books are, I would still recommend beginning with the personal guidance of an experienced forager.

Recommended field guides:

1. **Peterson's Field Guide to Edible Wild Plants** by Lee Allen Peterson
2. **The Encyclopedia of Edible Plants of North America: Nature's Green Feast** by Francois Couplan
3. **Stalking the Wild Asparagus** by Euell Gibbons
4. **Foraging for Wild Foods in Wisconsin** by Larry Monthey
5. **The Wild Food Cookbook: From the Fields and Forests of the Great Lake States** Dr. Frances Hamerstrom
6. **Identifying and Harvesting Edible and Medicinal Plants in Wild (and Not So Wild) Places** by Steve Brill with Evelyn Dean
7. **Edible and Medicinal Plants of the Great Lakes Region** by Thomas A. Naegele
8. **Peterson Field Guide to Medicinal Plants and Herbs** by Steven Foster and James A. Duke
9. **Indian Herbalogy of North America** by Alma Hutchens
10. **Medicinal and Other Uses of North American Plants: A Historical Survey With Special Reference To The Eastern Indian Tribes** by Charlotte Erichsen-Brown

Is Wild better than Organic?

Wild foods are cleaner. A recent test (January 1998 *Consumer Reports Magazine*, page 14) showed pesticide residues on 77% of conventional produce and on 25% of organic produce. Wild fare not growing within drift of sprayed crops should be uncontaminated.

More nourishing. Wild foods are on average 10 times higher in vitamins and minerals than their domestic counterparts. Some traditional herbalist's, such as Jethro Kloss (author of *Back to Eden*), claim that wild varieties have more vital life energy, because they grow in undisturbed soil in symbiotic relationship with the plant and animal communities in which they evolved.

Ecological. A Broccoli patch supports Broccoli; a Wheat field supports Wheat. A wild food patch can support a variety of foods, for both Humans and other animals. The variety and number of lifeforms found there pale those in farm field or garden. Broken soil is susceptible to erosion; a natural area's duff and groundcover protects the soil, curtails flooding and recharges the watertable by absorbing rain and snowmelt.

Cheaper. There were times when I reduced my food budget to nearly nothing, and yet I was eating better than ever.

In Closing

Many of us who live in the city might think that we do not have such ready access to forageables. This is true to some degree, and yet the disturbed lands that a dense population creates produce some of the best and easiest-to-gather wild foods. Many edibles are colonizers - they move in fast to reclaim land that has been laid bare. Vacant lots, old garden plats, and fallow fields - providing the soil is relatively clean, of course - can offer a plethora of edibles and medicinals free for the picking. Lamb's Quarters (a wild Spinach) abounds in such areas, along with Oxeye Daisy (a sweet-spicy green), Wild Strawberry and Elderberry. Some of the flowers you will see, along with many of the common plants you probably already know, such as Violet, Dandelion, and Cattail, are edible. So grab friend or family and a couple of the field guides recommended at the end of the article, and have a tromping good time!

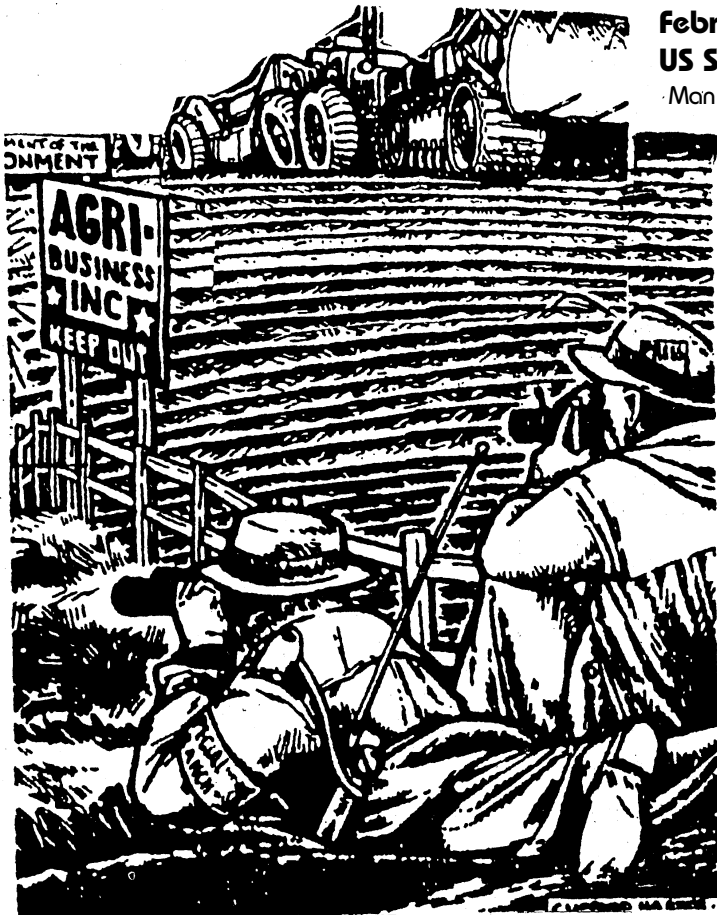
by Tamarack Song,

Teaching Drum Outdoor School

7124 Military Road, Three Lakes, WI 54562-9333.

Phone # 715-546-2944. e-mail: tdrums2@newnorth.net

www.newnorth.net/tdrums2



February 5, Philippines: Anti-GE Activists Block US Soybean Shipment

Manila: Anti-GE activists blocked the unloading of 17,000 tons of soybeans from the USA, because they were genetically engineered. Activists occupied the unloading equipment of General Milling Corporation at a berth in Batangas, about 63 miles south of Manila, unfurling the banner "USA Stop Dumping GMO's On Asia" on the hull of the cargo ship. The vessel was delivering its load to the largest soybean processing plant in the Philippines. The Philippines buys about 300,000 tons of soybeans annually, mainly from the United States. "Asia should not be a dumping ground for genetically contaminated products," said one anti-GE activist. "We should not be forced to feed our children with food that the rest of the world is increasingly rejecting."

March 9, England: Over 100 people Destroy GM Crops

Long Marston: The anti-GE group Undercurrents traveled to this region to record on film over 100 campaigners as they destroyed a crop of genetically modified oilseed rape at Forest Farm. This is the final year of the farm scale GM trials in Britain. Last year a survey carried out in the village showed that the majority of residents do not want GM crops. Letters have been written to local authorities, and the farmer himself asking for the trial to be stopped. Local people have attended a public meeting at the time of sowing in October to demand action from the government and Aventis, the biotech company who manufactured the GM crops. The trial was even reported to the police for the criminal damage that could be caused through contamination of neighboring crops rendering them un-sellable. Police were unsure of their role as they watched and videotaped people as they pulled up plants, played samba, and spoke to the media. Eventually five arrests were made.

April 10, Belgium: Aventis Experimentation Field Destroyed

Smetlede: During the nighttime a field was destroyed where Aventis Crop Science experiments with genetically modified oil seed plants. The "Green" Party Minister of Health Magda Aelvoet will soon speak out on new Aventis trial applications and activists wish to increase pressure on her to prohibit these trial applications - which are certain to have a devastating affect on ecosystems.

April 24, Scotland: GM Crops Destroyed In Highlands

Munlochy: A field of genetically modified crops which has provoked a storm of protest in the Highlands was vandalized. The Northern Constabulary said about five acres of GM oilseed rape was destroyed at Roskill Farm on the Black Isle in Easter Ross. The site has been the focus of campaigners' simmering anger since it was first earmarked for GM crop trials by the seed company Aventis in August 2000. The incident comes only days after a Scottish parliamentary committee called for the crop trial, which had just started to flower, to be ploughed up. A total of 4,000 protesters based on the Black Isle handed a petition to the transport and environment committee expressing their opposition to the crop trial. Mr. Harper claimed evidence indicated that GM oilseed rape was the most likely of all experimental crops to cross-pollinate with non-GM crops, and could do so at greater distances than allowed for in the current trials.

ANTI-GENETIX ACTIONS

In case you haven't been paying attention, the mega-machine is on the brink of ultimate success in its war against nature. Genetic Engineering is their newest weapon, but some are fighting back!

Early January, California: Nighttime Gardeners Take Action Against Plant Sciences, Inc.

Manteca: The North American ALF Press Office received the following communiqué: *Early in January, Plant Sciences Inc. in Manteca, CA was visited by nighttime gardeners. We spread salt across many rows of GE strawberries, intending to disrupt research and cause economic damage. We also uprooted a test plot of GE Valent wheat. This is the second time Plant Sciences Inc. was visited, the first time was two years ago at their Watsonville property. Our actions will continue until the genetic engineering of life is stopped.*

The Culture Of Make Believe: An Eye-Opening Exploration Of Civilization's Dark Heart
by
Derrick Jensen



Finally, the much-awaited follow-up to Derrick Jensen's landmark book, "A Language Older Than Words", is out! In this new 700-page masterpiece, Derrick Jensen sets the bar as high as possible, examining the atrocities that characterize so much of our culture—from lynchings in early 20th-century America to manufacturing disasters and death squads in developing nations and the destruction of the natural world. Tearing away all illusions with his shocking yet graceful prose, Jensen sets out to destroy white male human history and its complex web of racism, sexism, hate, greed and wanton disregard for life. If you feel oppressed by civilization and are sickened to the depths of your being by the horrors it has caused, then we urge you to order a copy of this book, which is published by Context Books 368 Broadway, Suite 314, New York, NY 10013.

INDUSTRIALISM MUST GO!

A contribution from Derrick Jensen

Author of *A Language Older Than Words* and *The Culture Of Make-Believe*

A few years ago I asked a friend, "If you could live at any level of technology, what would it be?"

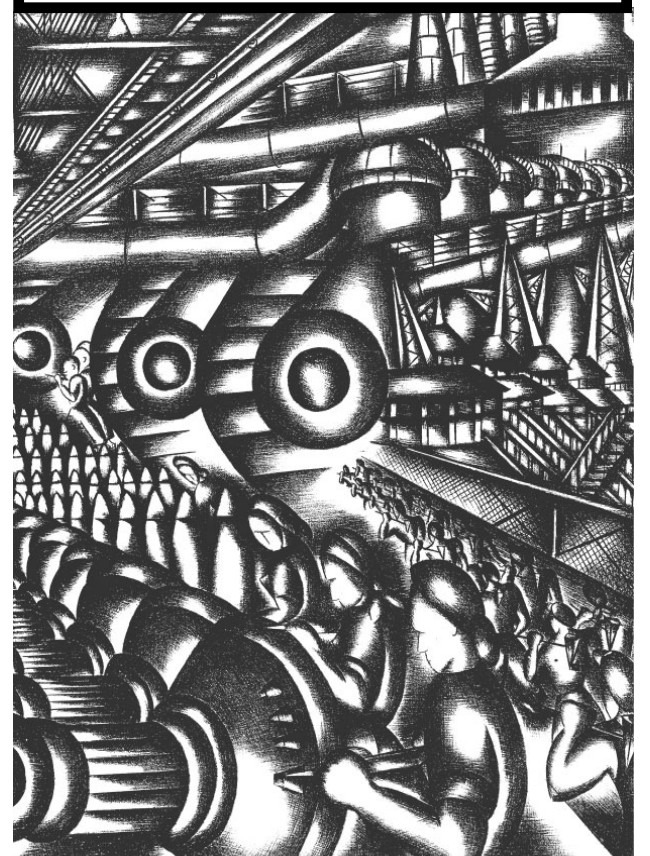
My friend can be a curmudgeon. He was in one of those moods. He said, "That's a stupid question. We can fantasize about living however we want, but the only sustainable level of technology is the stone age. What we have now is the merest blip - we're one of only six or seven generations that ever have to hear the awful sound of internal combustion engines (especially two-cycle) - and in time we'll return to the way humans have lived for most of their existence. Within a few hundred years at most. The only question will be what's left of the world when we get there."

He's right, of course. It doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out that any social system based on the use of nonrenewable resources is by definition unsustainable: In fact it probably takes anyone but a rocket scientist to figure this one out. Similarly, any culture based on the nonrenewable use of renewable resources is just as unsustainable: if fewer salmon return each year than the year before, sooner or later none will return. If fewer ancient forests stand each year than the year before, sooner or later none will stand. This is what we see, for example, in the collapse of fishery after fishery worldwide: having long-since fished out the more economically-valuable fish, now even so-called trash fish are being extirpated, disappearing into industrial civilization's literally insatiable maw.

Another way to put all of this is that any group of beings (human or nonhuman, plant or animal) who take more from their surroundings than they give back will, obviously, deplete their surroundings, after which they will either have to move, or they will dwindle. Our culture - Western Civilization - has been depleting its surroundings for six thousand years, beginning in the Middle East and expanding now to deplete the entire planet. Why else do you think this culture has to continually expand? And why else, coincident with this, do you think it has developed a rhetoric - a series of stories that teach us how to live - making plain not only the necessity but desirability and even morality of continual expansion - causing us to boldly

go where no man has gone before—as a premise so fundamental as to become transparent? Cities, probably the defining feature of civilization, have always relied on taking resources from the surrounding countryside, meaning, first, that no city has ever been or ever will be sustainable, and second, that in order to continue their ceaseless expansion cities must ceaselessly expand the areas they must ceaselessly hyper-exploit: the colonies. I'm sure you can see the problems this presents and the end point it must reach on a finite planet. If you cannot or will not see these problems, then I wish you the best of luck in your career in politics or business. Our studied - to the point of obsessive - avoidance of acknowledging and acting on the surety of this end point is, especially given the consequences, more than passing strange.

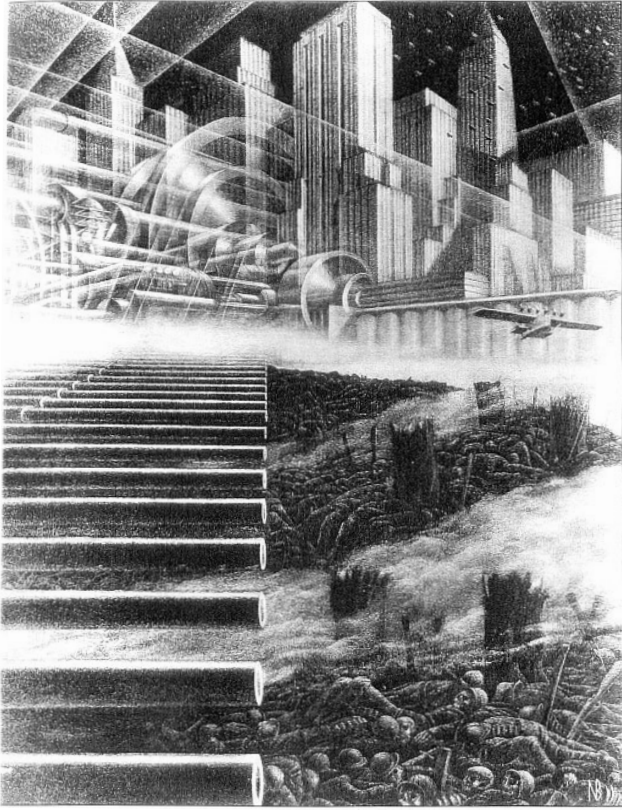
Because people do not generally choose to starve themselves to death; because sane people do not generally destroy their own land-bases; and because industrial production requires the importation of resources in order to continue, trade - no matter how unequal - is not reliable enough to allow one to base one's way of life on it. The resources must be taken by force. Thus our long history of war. This was true in the beginning, about which the anthropologist Stanley Diamond wrote, "Civilization originates in conquest abroad and repression at home," and it's true today, when capitalist propagandist Thomas Friedman acknowledges, "The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist - McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the F-15, and the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies is called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps." Fortunately, because we as a species haven't fundamentally changed in the last several thousand years, since well before the dawn of civilization, each new child is still a human being, with the potential to become the sort of adult who can live sustainably on a particular piece of ground, if only the child is allowed to grow up within the context of a culture that values sustainability, that lives by sustainability, that rewards sustainability, that tells itself stories reinforcing sustainability,



and strictly disallows the sort of exploitation that would lead to un-sustainability. This is natural. This is who we are.

In order to continue moving "forward," each child must be made to forget what it means to be human and to learn instead what it means to be civilized. As psychiatrist and philosopher RD Laing put it, "From the moment of birth, when the Stone Age baby confronts the twentieth-century mother, the baby is subject to these forces of violence . . . as its mother and father, and their parents and their parents before them, have been. These forces are mainly concerned with destroying most of its potentialities, and on the whole this enterprise is successful. By the time the new human being is fifteen or so, we are left with a being like ourselves, a half-crazed creature more or less adjusted to a mad world. This is normality in our present age."

What is required of each of us is that we unmake this normality.



It seems unfair: The people who will pay are not the ones who borrowed. But what do the payers pay? A few weeks of suffering and an early exit from this horror movie. And what did the borrowers borrow? A lifetime of fear and denial half-covered by shallow pleasures. If we're going to survive MENTALLY, we need to unlearn the value system that civilization taught us for its own benefit, and learn a different one, where death is not the unspeakable ultimate bad thing but a normal friendly part of life; where electricity and hot tap water are not necessities that elevate us from humiliating poverty, but minor luxuries, even fads; where living well doesn't mean insulating yourself from everything you can't predict or control, but having honest friends and a day to day life that's meaningful.

People know this. Of futures where humans survive after this system falls, one of the worst imaginable would be where the Earth is barren but the violent selfishness of civilization continues. But we know this as the "postapocalypse" genre of popular adventure movies like *The Road Warrior*. That's how bad our own world is — that we FANTASIZE about a world with war, hunger, and no trees, just because we'd get to be outside all day fighting for something that matters, instead of cowering in sterile buildings rearranging abstractions.

I don't want to romanticize the collapse. It's not going to be a judgment or a "cleansing" where the bad people die and the good people survive. It's not going to have a clear beginning or end, and it's mostly not going to be fun. We will be throwing the stinking dead bodies of our families into pits and kneeling in garbage coughing up blood. But we may also get to break the pavement off the streets with sledge hammers and plant gardens. It's what's really going to happen: this civilization will fall, humans will survive, the Earth will survive, and we will have an opening to try something new. Within that range of imagined futures, even the bad extreme is not so bad, and at the good extreme we see the Earth quickly healing to its former fecundity, and people living peacefully with other life, and never sliding out of balance again.

But why shouldn't we? Historically when great centralized empires fall, younger ones at their edges grow and take their place. Why should it be different this time?

Now it begins to get tricky. Obviously we don't just want to knock the system down to get revenge on it for forcing us to go to school. We want to make it so our descendants can live a million generations without ever falling back into this nightmare and dragging the Earth with them. How can we do this? Is it even possible?

What is the deeper disease, of which corporations and factories and police are merely symptoms, and how can we learn immunity? If this is the question, then the answer is not to just be Indians again, because Indians clearly did not have immunity and were overrun by civilization everywhere. Maybe we can return to the same economy, but if we also return to the same consciousness, I see no reason civilization won't overrun us again.

Indians are always quoted saying they "don't understand" civilization, and this is precisely why they're so vulnerable. It's why, when Columbus landed, people ran out to bring him gifts, instead of... Instead of what? What COULD they have done? The Seminoles went into the swamps and fought a guerrilla war and didn't do much better. How can a non-coercive society defeat a coercive one? That's what we're here to figure out, and whatever it is, it's not going to come from a perspective on civilization that says "We do not understand why you do not

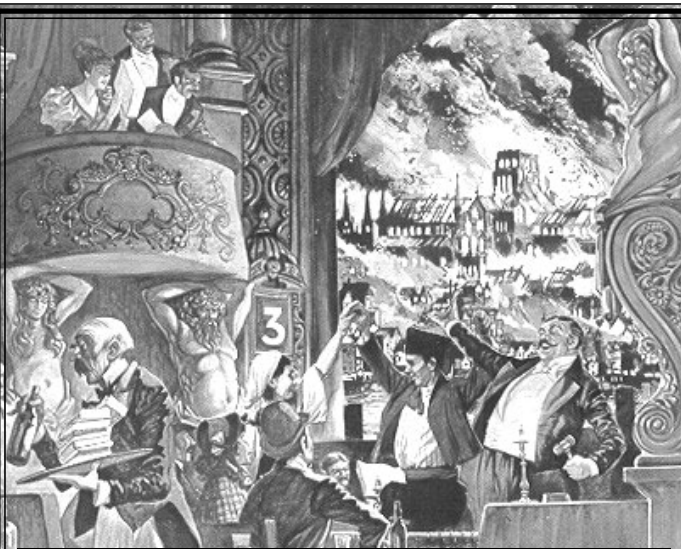
Thinking Through The Fall

... continued from page 1

hear the Earth screaming." It will come from a perspective that says "Oh yeah, civilization. Been there, done that." And it is only here, in the belly of the Beast, that we can learn it.

I'm assuming that the permanent transcendence of civilized consciousness is possible, but we'd better not assume it's inevitable. We don't have to do anything to end any given civilization, but to end civilization in general, to stop one after another from rising and falling until humans go extinct, we will have to take focused, inspired, and audacious positive action. This action will be deep — more on the level of emotions than ideas or physical tools; it will be more about being alive than being right; and it will be done with, or upon, people with the full-blown emotional plague, starting with ourselves.

Now we're walking a dangerous line. We have to go deep into civilization to get over it, but not so deep that we cripple the Earth. Oops! It looks like we've already failed both ways: By the time this civilization crashes, the Earth will be badly wounded, and still many people will be fighting to start the game again or keep it going — not just hard-driving white yuppies, not just the super-elite preserving technology in their fortified compounds, but working people all over the world, who, when they're programmed successfully, are programmed to value laboring to gain advantage for their families in zero-sum games of money and social status.



"Down at the square the party goes on... the doomed sit down to their last feast!"

All the people in the world who have lost sight of their oneness with the Earth, but not yet gained sight of the emptiness of their striving, will be fighting to rebuild the farms and factories and schools and offices and governments, and we're going to have to live with these people, and stand up to their abuse and protect the Earth from them, as long as it takes for them to wake up.

Even if it takes only a lifetime, that means YOUR lifetime. Even if we can and do transcend civilization, nobody alive now will get to see this transcendence as a sudden happy event. For us it will be a process, drawn out, messy, and unresolved.

I don't know what exactly is going to happen, but I can guess! First, before things start to loosen up, they will get even tighter. For generations the most powerful, brainy, and wicked people in the world have dreamed of a high-tech global security state, and this is their big chance, their little moment on the stage. We will see retinal scans, chip implants, and every computerization of authority that you can imagine, and to everyone's surprise it will all be an embarrassing failure, because systems run by technology are easier to scam and inspire less loyalty than systems run by people.

Now we've got several things going on at once. Systems are being run by machines, so people are forgetting how to run things — but the machines are not sustainable. And the deadly disasters are striking closer and bigger. And different parts of the world are at different stages in all this, and they're probably fighting each other.

Systems will break down in many ways and not at the same time. If somehow the whole world's technological infrastructure fell hard all at once, then it would not be rebuilt, and to rebuild something like it would take hundreds of years, because no one remembers the older technologies that the newer ones were built on. But I don't see this happening without a science-fiction super-catastrophe. In a complex and uneven breakdown, some societies will still have high-tech industry, and they will certainly use it to try to consume societies that don't. Like a fire that goes to where there's still fuel, the present system will live on where there is enough oil and emotional distress to keep it going. Elsewhere, depending on how many people get left alone to try things, we might have a spectacular variety of

local economies and societies. Then we can work out in practice what we can now only argue about: How much technology, and which ones, can we get away with without going out of balance?

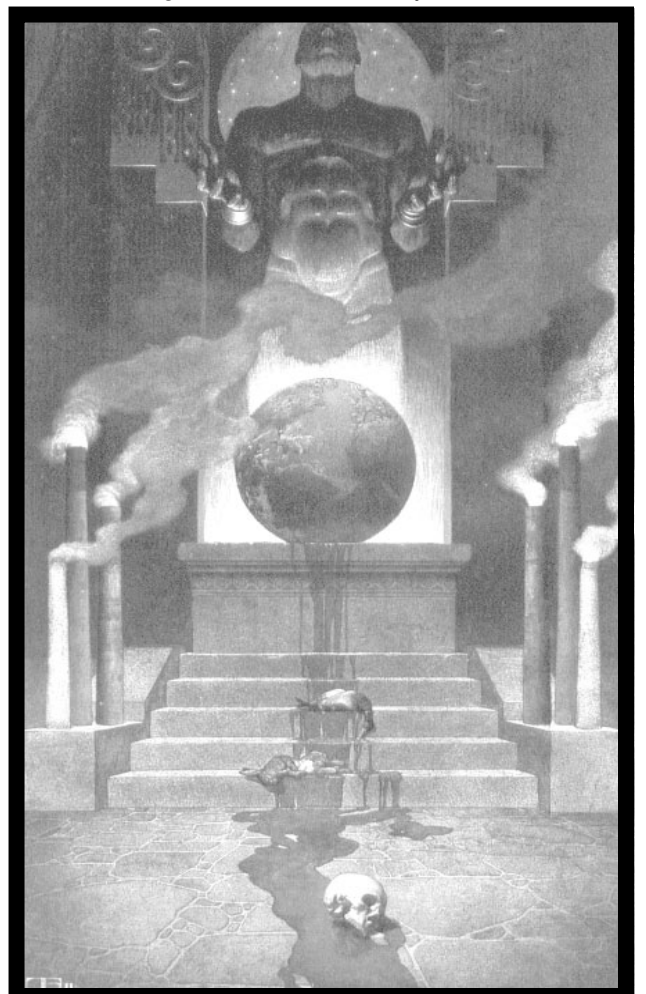
In any case, all over the world, the conflict between addiction to civilization and transcendence of it will continue. It will be fought with stories and ideas, with competing cultures and technologies, and sometimes with deadly force.

Violence is a shallow and temporary solution, but sometimes a shallow and temporary solution is exactly what's needed. Using force in exceptional cases does not make us "just the same" as people who use it habitually — the psychology is completely different. With discipline, it is possible to use non-consensual force and then to back out of that world and heal the damage, just as it's possible to go into debt and then pay it off.

But also, it is important that the catastrophic failures of systems are seen as the natural result of civilization, and not of resistance to it. If both sides think civilization would succeed if it wasn't for the dissenters, then they will keep fighting each other forever. Calling for the overthrow of industrial society is a bad public strategy, because it gives civilization's servants a way to blame us when their own plans fail. When people starve in an economic collapse, they can say, "See, this is what the anti-civilization people were asking for." But if we PREDICT catastrophes, and explain how they're built into the system, and save some people through our own systems, then we are giving civilization enough slack to hang itself, and skillfully inviting people to our side.

I think we're going to do it. For one thing, the oil and coal that power industrial civilization have mostly been used up, and much of what's left will take more energy to extract than its burning will generate. Non-industrial civilizations will emerge, maybe like ancient or medieval civilizations with scavenged technology, probably powered by slaves. But the first time around they had surprise — they succeeded by conquering naive Indians and other people with no experience resisting a more "advanced" society. Next time they will be fighting cultures forged in the deepest fires of the techno-industrial megamachine — the cultures that we are creating now, even if we don't know it.

I've made a lot of assumptions in this article, and ignored many potential events, some of which will actually happen. China could launch an all-out nuclear attack on the USA. Or the break-downs and changes could be less extreme and take hundreds of years. I'd like to see people with different knowledge and ideas get into a wide dialogue on the post-civilized future. It's possible to do too much predicting, but right now we are not doing enough, especially with so many people accepting the dominant predictions that technology will fix everything, or else humans will go extinct so there's no use trying. Probably the most important thing happening right now is something I've completely overlooked. I remember what an old Soviet dissident said: "History is like a mole, burrowing unobserved." **Get ready.**



WHAT IS "GREEN ANARCHY"?

By the Black and Green Network

Is it about simply shoving bones through our noses and returning to the tribal lifestyles of our ancestors? Well, it can be about that for those who want it, but that is generally a simplistic or derogatory definition. In this primer we are attempting to outline some common ideas shared by many who identify with green anarchy. It is less of an ideology, and more of a way of looking at who we are and where we came from as a species, and most importantly, where we could go from here.

Green anarchy recognizes that before the onset of civilization some 10,000 years ago, we as human animals lived as hunter-gatherers. Because of a variety of factors, about which anthropologists have not reached any firm consensus, nomadic foraging peoples began settling near water sources, and the cultivation of wild plants and animals slowly began. Over the millennia, this cultivation gave rise to agriculture, private property, patriarchy, capitalism, and the current advanced technological age into which we have all been born. All these influences —seen as an interdependent web of social controls—make up what we call “civilization”. To be against civilization is to desire the removal (by various means) of these institutions from our lives. Many people question, “Then what will replace them?” But many green anarchists wonder if they all NEED to be replaced by anything. Do we really know who we are without civilization? A glimpse into the lifeways of our ancestors can tell us a lot about the “need” for certain unquestioned institutions or ideas.

PRIMITIVE AFFLUENCE

The hunter-gatherer lifestyle makes up the bulk of human existence, and is believed to be more socially egalitarian than civilized life. Despite examples of various hierarchies in primitive cultures, no examples can match that of modern nation-states. Pre-civilized life has always been stateless. (for examples, see Colin Turnbull’s *The Forest People* and the *Encyclopedia of Hunter Gatherers* by Richard B. Lee.) The psychological effects of civilized life on the human personality have been compared to the social disposition of many primitive people by various writers and scholars. The general contentedness, light-heartedness and self-assurance, family connections and community-based cooperation have been documented extensively, despite commonly accepted western myths about the supposedly brutish and miserable lives of non-industrial people. Unknown to millions of modern people, there are several remaining cultures of peoples in remote places who still practice such lifestyles.

Before civilization, plant cultivation was limited to scattering seeds to promote certain wild species, but only for seasonal use. Monocultural food production was unknown. The nutritional value of wild food has been studied and confirmed to be far superior to cultivated crops, and the hunter-gatherer workday usually did not exceed three hours. Most GAs agree that the original alienation of humans from our natural environment began with the domestication of plants and animals, although this is not seen as an absolute. Some indigenous cultures are believed to have been practicing early farming methods, including the domestication of wild dogs, without the social trappings of civilization until very recent decades. In different regions and at different times since civilization began spreading around the globe, empires and nation-states have risen and fallen. And in some places, civilization as a whole has never really been accepted. For example, in West Papua (New Guinea), native people are actively fighting against the imposition of civilization itself.

BIOCENTRISM NOT ANTHROPOCENTRISM

Green anarchy strives to move beyond human centered ideas and decisions into a humble respect for all life and the limits of the ecosystems that sustain us. “Anthropocentrism” is often used to define the dominant world view of western culture, in which humans hold the status of superior beings in nature. A dictionary definition of anarchism states, “Rejection of all forms of coercive control and authority.” Within this definition is an inherent critique of domestication and technology, two pillars of civilization. The incarceration into cages and mass production of animals and plants is a form of coercive control. While the ideology of anarchism claims to be inherently against domination, for most of its history, it has been silent in many ways about the domination of animals and nature, and the connections between them and the suppression of the female or feminine principle, by patriarchy.

Now, the biosphere is collapsing at the hands of civilization. A revolution in the way modern humanity sees itself in nature must accompany the physical destruction of state power and capitalism, or we are doomed to continue on the path toward ecocide. Green Anarchy is an attempt to redefine or evolve the traditional idea of anarchy, placing the reunion with our wild selves at the center of our struggle. This is not to say it is “more important” than the fight against capitalism, racism, sexism, etc — but rather, that those “isms” should be seen as PRODUCTS of humanity’s alienation from nature.

BACK TO BASICS

Part of the project of reuniting with our wild selves is to recognize and begin to integrate some of the lifeways of hunter-gatherers into our own. As we do so, we can begin to see the dilemma of our total reliance on both the physical and social institutions of civilization. Private property, industrial medicine and food, computer technology, mass media, representative government, etc., all work together to maintain our alienation from wildness.

As we begin to live more harmoniously with nature, we must also work to detect and subvert the social systems of domination (sexism, racism, capitalism, hierarchy, religion, division of labor etc.) that have severed our connection with each other and the planet we inhabit.

Cumulatively, eight hundred billion people experienced life on Earth prior to agriculture in a way that we could call anarchy. We know historically and anthropologically that many societies larger than 100 to 500 people gave rise to rulership and authoritarianism. Based on what we know of what has worked in the past, many GAs envision a post-industrial future of decentralized autonomous village-like communities. Housing collectives, community gardens, free schools, barter networks and community centers are great examples of ways people can begin creating such networks for mutual aid. It is no longer enough to assume that ecological sustainability

will come naturally after “the social revolution”. We must assume that sustainability has already existed. The struggle to return to our wild roots and to destroy authority and domination is one struggle.

While some GAs believe humanity can only be free when we can return to our hunter-gatherer roots, others see a sort of blend of appropriate technologies, permaculture and natural farming methods, and wild food gathering as good models for post-industrial communities. Despite these differences in perspectives, GAs agree about the necessity of a future without mega-technology and industry.

IMPOSED CIVILIZATION

As Michael Novak states in *The Experience of Nothingness*, “Science

and technology ask of their practitioners a whole way of life for which young people must be socialized by many years of schooling.... Watches on their wrists, precise schedules, analytic thinking, prescribed laboratory exercises, and other conditioners tie our young people into the scientific, technological culture of which they are members.” The automobile is a perfect example of this conditioning. Although one may choose not to use the automobile, forced adherence to traffic devices, living with roads, mass marketing of cars to any and everybody, traffic, global oil economies and wars caused by them, and the resultant poisoning of air and water, demonstrate that the automobile cannot be separated from its surrounding culture. A similar scenario can be envisioned for each piece of technology and the conditioning required for people living amidst them.

Part of a green anarchist praxis is to publicly call into question our industrial culture, through tactics as varied as producing videos and writing books to carrying out militant direct action against the engineers of eco-devastation and symbols of state power. It is not enough to create alternative lifestyles that better the lives of those immediately around us. We have to fight to create space in our culture for those ideas to spread, and we will have to fight to defend them when the state attempts to repress our efforts.

We also must extend solidarity to those already living close to the Earth in sustainable ways, and those struggling against colonization (the freedom fighters of West Papua, Mayan Zapatista communities of Mexico, U’wa of Colombia, Native “Americans” of Arizona, the Dakotas, Canada, and elsewhere, the pygmy tribes of Africa, etc.) and neo-colonization (such as MOVE or the Black Riders Liberation Movement of Los Angeles’ Watts neighborhood). The uncolonized and uncivilized represent the only connection we have to the wild earth and our naturally anarchistic roots.

While GAs in no way prescribe mass genocide for the sake of ecological preservation, most of us recognize that civilized humanity itself is voluntarily (although maybe unintentionally) committing collective suicide through its own unsustainable behavior. We try to address the population question with as much compassion as possible. We do this under the realization that six billion people cannot exist on this planet AS THEY DO NOW without state mechanisms in place to provide food and water for urban ways of life. These ways of life are dependent on the exploitation of Earth and the majority of people residing here.

As anarchists, we are biocentric because human freedom in a civilized wasteland is meaningless to us. If nature is still viewed by anarchists as the passive backdrop to our fleeting struggles, we will never learn that as organisms, freedom and liberation necessitates peaceful coexistence with the biosphere. We support those who swim upstream in resistance to civilization’s persistent assault upon their autonomy and sanity—and we support those who fight in defense of wild living beings and places that haven’t yet been destroyed. Since the destruction of wild nature is inextricably linked to the erosion of human inner-nature and egalitarian social relationships, it is also important to critique civilization on a social level.

Put simply, green anarchy means questioning everything and deconstructing the obstacles that prevent us from being healthy human animals and fighting to bring life back from the brink of extinction.

