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Greenpeace, Earth First! and The Earth Liberation Front: The Progression of the Radical Environmental Movement in America

Christopher John Covill

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Causes of worldwide environmental destruction created a form of activism, *Ecotage* with an incredible success rate. Ecotage uses direct action, or monkey wrenching, to prevent environmental destruction. Mainstream conservation efforts were viewed by many environmentalists as having failed from compromise inspiring the birth of radicalized groups. This eventually transformed conservationists into radicals.

Green Peace inspired radical environmentalism by civil disobedience, media campaigns and direct action tactics, but remained mainstream. Earth First's! philosophy is based on a no compromise approach. They took direct action tactics further than Green Peace was willing too. Earth First's! direct action campaigns epitomize modern environmental radicalism. Tree spiking, sabotage, arson and other forms of property destruction inspired even more violent radical groups decades later. The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) is the top domestic terror threat in the United States today. It is the collective name for anonymous and autonomous individuals and groups that use unconventional methods of economic sabotage and guerrilla warfare to halt environmental destruction. They have been compared to terrorists and criticized for lacking true commitment to environmental preservation resulting from their destructive direct action methods.

My research shows that the ideology and actions of the modern radical environmental movement can only be understood by taking into account the lasting political, social and radical precedents created by the groups that inspired it. The movement today displays ideology, tactics, and enthusiasm for direct action that can only be understood from early influences in the movement. Examining individual radical groups apart from the movement provide sufficient insight and explanation for how today's movement functions.

Introduction: The Radical Environmental Movement

We are now living the most critical moment in the three and a half billion year history of life on Earth. The diversity of perhaps 30 million species faces a radical and unprecedented change. Never before, not even during the mass extinction of the dinosaurs at the end of the Cretaceous era, 65 millions years ago, has there been such a high rate of the extinction of biological diversity then we are witnessing now. Over the past four hundred years, human civilization declared war on large mammals. Some ecologists assert the only large mammals living twenty years from now will be the ones that humans have chosen to allow live. Prominent biologists assert the devastation of tropical rain forests, temperate- zone old growth forests, accelerated deforestation, rapacious commercial fishing as significantly contributed to the high extinction rate of large mammals. Whales, tigers, gorillas and elephant populations have all been decimated (charismatic mega fauna) from habitat destruction and poaching.

Scientists estimate the Earth could lose at least 2/3 of its species within the next 40 years, if not all of them. Humans have destroyed countless ecosystems and species. Human activity is now starting to have fundamental systematic effects upon the entire life-support system of the planet. We have upset the world's climate and poisoned our atmosphere and the oceans. We have destroyed the ozone layer that protects us from ultra violet radiation changing the CO₂ ratio in the atmosphere causing the "greenhouse effect." The human race has contaminated and exhausted countless natural resources crucial to sustaining planetary life (Foreman 2).

Before the onset of the dramatic human population explosion in the past 150 years, vast amounts of pristine forest and wilderness covered most of the Earth's surface. These diverse wild lands

supported many terrestrial ecosystems on the entire planet. These undeveloped ecosystems performed the same task of planetary life support as they have for millennia. They now face a challenge never before confronted. Due to an endless list of modern day environmental travesties such as global warming and the overconsumption of natural resources, the Earth's ecosystems are deteriorating fast. The rapid exploitation of resources and species over the past 200 years has been unprecedented in human history. The situation of declining environmental health that can only be corrected by the same species responsible for its current state of destruction (Robichaud).

The turbulent years of the Vietnam War and civil rights movement increased social consciousness and inspired people to question the government's authority, social injustices and environmental degradation. On April 22, 1970, Earth Day marked the beginning of the modern environmental movement. Senator Gaylord Nelson, a committed environmentalist organized massive grassroots rallies resulting in coast-to-coast demonstrations across the United States. Earth Day had been a welcomed break from the regular tension caused by anti war protests and race riots. Thousands of universities and colleges organized protests against environmental deterioration. 20 million Americans, mostly students, took to the streets, parks, and government institutions to demonstrate the need for environmental reform. Grassroots groups that had been fighting against various environmental causes such as oil spills, industrial pollution, unsafe nuclear power plants, raw sewage, toxic waste, pesticides, urban sprawl, deforestation, and wildlife extinction realized they shared common values with other groups. Earth Day ultimately organized and connected the activists who later founded mainstream organizations.

Earth Day created a platform for environmentalists to collaborate their efforts in improving the environment. Americans became aware of the governments indifference on environmental issues.

Almost overnight, the environment became a popular cause, previously confined to a few environmental enthusiasts. Membership in mainstream organizations grew. Another movement, unknown to public, had grown from old conservationists who inspiring the creation of radical groups and movements. Within years, groups powerful enough to stand alongside of mainstream groups appeared. Over the last 50 years, different schools of thought and conservation helped shape environmental theory and radicalism. Conservationism, Preservationism, Anthropism and Deep ecology were all philosophies leading to the creation of the modern radical environmental movement today.

Resource conservation is a conservation ethic focusing on resource use, allocation, exploitation, and protection. Its primary focus is on maintaining the health of the natural world and the beings that inhabit the Earth. Conservationists are concerned with the health of forests, fisheries, habitats, and biological diversity. Its Secondary focus is the conservation of materials and energy, which are important in order to protect the natural world. Conservationists measure the worth and value of things, natural and cultural, through median per capita income. This theory believes that the greatest good for the greatest number of people should be applied towards resource distribution. Conservationism heavily dominated public environmental policy prior to the 1960's (Camer12).

Preservationism states it is the duty of all humans to protect the environment for future generations. Within the last forty years, preservationist had more influence than any other group regarding environmental policy. Preservationism dates back to the late 1800s, its most noted writer Henry David Thoreau wrote some of the first books on the necessity of preservation and points of view reflecting Deep ecology. This environmental theory calls for nature to be enjoyed and protected by all humans. It focuses views mans relationship with nature as superior while reflecting an ethical duty to

protect wilderness and wildlife. Because it views human dominance over nature in this is a very anthropocentric philosophy (Camer12).

Anthropy is the theory that humans must be the central concern of all decisions regarding the environment. Environmentalists such as Dave Foreman negatively state Anthropocentrism as the explanation why human beings feel the need to consume and develop the Earth. Anthropocentrism further states the cause of environmental destruction directly results from human overpopulation, and human behavior causing non-human species extinction. Defenders of Anthropy view the maintenance of a healthy, sustainable environment as necessary for human existence. Some environmentalists have criticized Anthropocentrism as the central problematic concept regarding environmental philosophy. It draws attention to a systematic bias' found in traditional Western attitudes regarding human superiority over the environment (Naess). Defenders of Deep ecology such as Arne Naess repeatedly criticized Anthropy as a byproduct justified by Western traditional, moral thought, and overconsumption.

Deep ecology is an environmental perspective that has been described before by other individuals, Norwegian eco-philosopher Arne Naess coined the term in his 1973 article "*The Shallow and The Deep, Long- Range Ecology Movements: A Summary.*" A Biocentric concept used to inspire worldwide thought and environmental ethic. Deep ecology denounces modern urban industrial society as a value priority philosophy and advocating environmental harmony and systematic equilibrium. To differentiate between the Deep ecologist and shallow ecologist Naess stated, "Combating pollution and resource depletion would be a small part of the Deep ecologists concern. Deep ecologists view humans as just one species among many other animals. Humans have no special right to dominate or destroy the environment, including other life forms (Naess 95)." Deep ecology morally justifies direct action. Mainstream organizations such as the Sierra Club and Wilderness

Society often will not resort to the practice of Deep ecology, but sympathize and understand why Deep ecologists carry out direct action campaigns. The best example of this cross over is Dave Foreman, founder of Earth First! He served on the board of directors at the Sierra Club for years after leaving Earth First! (Camer14-15).

Since the first Earth Day, environmental destruction has grown as fast as the Earth's 6.5 billion human population. Hundreds of plans, programs, groups and organizations were established to uncover and address the causes of worldwide environmental destruction. Many of these programs were initiated and funded by federal, state and local governments. They mainly targeted general environmental problems that resulted in minimal success. Private organizations usually held more compassion and concern for environmental causes they were addressing and for formed advocacy groups. However, political resistance resulted in regular failure, easily deterring some organizations. The power and financial support given to politicians by special interest groups makes using the political process extremely difficult. There have been some rare instances when environmental groups attained victory through political debates and litigation. Environmentalists often criticize mainstream conservation efforts in Washington, DC for habitually resulting in failure by corruption and compromise with special interests.

One form of activism, Ecotage, has an incredible success rate and controversy surrounding its practice. Ecotage focuses specifically on the activities of companies and industries that seriously damage the environment. It seeks to remove the profit motive from environmental destruction. Ecotage uses direct action or monkey wrenching to prevent environmental exploitation. Property destruction is the sole purpose of Ecotage and never intends to inflict casualties. Arson and explosive devices are the main methods of Ecotage. Protection existing ecosystems in order to save them for complete

annihilation or extinction, justifies criminal actions. This eventually transformed conservationists into radical environmentalists. Understanding the history of the environmental movement involves taking into account the groups and movements that pioneered the lasting political, social and radical precedents. The radical movement today displays ideology, tactics, and enthusiasm for direct action that can only be understood from the early progression of the movement. Examining individual radical groups apart from the entire movement does not provide sufficient insight or explanation of how today's modern radical environmental movement functions.

The Greenpeace Movement!

In 1963, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a Test Ban Treaty limiting nuclear atmospheric tests. This initiated underground nuclear testing. The United States discontinued underground nuclear testing in the Nevada desert after protest from Las Vegas locals, led by billionaire Howard Hughes. The U.S. Department of Defense searched for a new testing location. It chose the isolated Amchitka Island, in the Alaskan Aleutian Islands. Amchitka had been a nationally registered wildlife refuge located 4,000 miles northwest of Vancouver, British Columbia. On October 9, 1965 the 80-kiloton nuclear test codenamed LONGSHOT had been detonated. It was six times more powerful than Fat Man, the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The U.S. Navy drilled deep shafts into the ground until reaching granite. The detonation caused seismic readings of 5.75 on the Richter scale. Roads fissured and steam banks crumbled one mile from Ground Zero. Mud geysers erupted from lakes and granite melted from rock cliffs. Wildlife nesting areas were disturbed. The U.S. Department of Defense predicted that radiation would not leak from the testing area for hundreds of years. Shortly after the detonation tritium, iodine, and krypton were all detected in previously pristine freshwater ponds (Weyler 53-56). Bob Hunter, a journalist for the *Vancouver Sun* and environmental activist reported the dangers of nuclear testing conducted at Amchitka. Scientists discovered that an earthquake

registering 8.3 on the Richter scale ripped open a 500-mile fissure through Alaska, launching a tsunami across the Pacific Ocean towards Japan. The west coast of Vancouver Island sustained \$1.5 million in property damage from the tsunami.

In August 1969, the United States government announced a one- mega ton nuclear bomb test, codenamed MILROW scheduled for October in the Amchitka Islands. On September 24, 1969 British Columbians' who had been indifferent to anti war sentiment prominent on the west coast of the United States, protested against Amchitka. The announcement of testing plans instigated environmental and anti Vietnam War protests (Hunter 4-6). On October 6, 1969 the Don't Make a Wave Committee went to the U.S. Consulate to protest. Schools shut down for the day and dozens of students from local high schools and the University of British Columbia were bused in to protests. 6,000 people converged on Peace Arch Park, a friendship monument between the United States and Canada. The park is located between the longest undefended boarder in the world. The Bohlen's, arrived with the Sierra Club, Paul Watson arrived with the Vancouver Liberation Front, and the Society for Pollution and Environmental Control. With the exception of one high school student burning an American flag, the crowd dispersed peacefully that night.

The next day, Hunter wrote another article to rouse support for Amchitka. Later that day, he was informed MILROW had been detonated a day early. The detonation occurred 4,000 feet below the surface of Amchitka. At ground zero, rock had been thrown 15 feet into the air. At 500 feet below the surface the granite had been reduced to dust. Fish were thrown from lakes and geyser's shot water and mud 50 feet into the air. Two lakes were drained resulting from fissures. Near the detonation, a wide variety of rare sea birds sunning themselves on rocks had been killed. They were found dead with broken backs and their legs driven through their body. A large number of sea life had also been killed.

Seals and sea otters were found floating dead on the ocean contaminated with a frothy toxic coating. The detonation registered a 6.9 on the Richter scale. In every ocean of the world the blast had been detected. Alaska detected shock waves for 37 hours. The success of the MILROW blast encouraged the U.S. Department of Defense to next test a 5-megaton thermonuclear blast, five times more powerful, codenamed CANNIKIN. Detonation had been scheduled for the fall of 1971. It would be the largest underground nuclear test explosion in United States History (Weyler 58-59).

In January of 1970, Jim and Marie Bohlen prominent disarmament activists, along with a number of other Americans avoiding the draft were living in Vancouver, Canada. Jim and Marie Bohlen were frustrated by the lack of interest the Sierra Club had in stopping nuclear testing at the Amchitka Islands. They were active in the local Sierra Club leadership. The founding members of Greenpeace were active in two different social movements, the peace movement and the campaign for nuclear disarmament. Jim and Marie Bohlen were American expatriates who moved to Vancouver with their family after their 18-year-old son became eligible for the draft. Vancouver had a large Quaker community that was sympathetic to large number of draft dodgers. Jim Bohlen, a composite materials researcher and veteran of the Second World War, had been involved in the design of a missile motor system known as Sprint. Later this design was incorporated into the Advanced Ballistic Missile System. The carrier of the same warheads tested at Amchitka (Hunter 6). On February 8, 1970 a routine phone call from an associated press writer looking for a story about any campaigns the Sierra Club may be planning spoke with Jim Bohlen. Without Sierra Club permission, Jim Bohlen stated, "we hope to sail a boat to Amchitka to confront the bomb...if the Americans want to go ahead with the test," he said, "they'll have to tow us out. Something has must be done to stop the Americans from their ecological vandalism. The Sierra Club did not endorse this action and Bohlen set out to stop the test on his own (Weyler 66).

People living in the Pacific Northwest feared the nuclear testing of a bomb over 250 times the size of the one dropped on Hiroshima would be catastrophic. They were afraid it would cause earthquakes, tidal waves and radiological contamination. The Don't Make A Wave Group met to decide how would actually disrupt this test. This committee had originally been an action committee of the Sierra Club. Jim and Marie Bohlen, Bill Darnell, Bob Hunter, Paul Watson and Irving Stowe met at the Vancouver Unitarian Church to discuss a hypothetical solution to stop the nuclear testing. Marie Bohlen suggested they procure a ship and sail to the test area, despite its impracticality. The Bohlen's and most activists were aware of the previous failures of the *Golden Rule*, who attempted to enter the Enewetak test zone in 1958 and the *Phoenix* who actually made to the Marshall Islands. Traditionally, the U.S Navy boarded and arrested the crews of unauthorized ships sailing into or around test zones (Weyler 64).

The group's goal original goal had been to sail to Amchitka to get close enough to disrupt the demonstration and draw public attention and outrage to the effects of nuclear testing in the Pacific Rim. Finding a boat rugged enough to sail to Amchitka and survive the Bering Sea's potentially deadly riptides and winds was not an easy task. Besides weather known to destroy ships, sailing into a potential deadly nuclear test zone would not make finding a captain with a ship any easier. Thirteen months after Bohlen announced a ship would sail to Amchitka, he found a captain and a boat. John Cormack an old man and former navy sailor offered them an eighty-foot halibut seiner, the *Phyllis Cormack*. The boat had been in terrible condition. After the first time Hunter and Jim Bohlen had seen it they went to the bar for drinks. Bohlen stated, "shit man, this is crazy! Were all gonna *die*! (Hunter 15)." In August 1970, before the first voyage the committee named the boat the *Greenpeace*. It was a combination of "green" for ecology and "peace" for their intentions. By October 1970, the U.S. Navy began to block off the testing area around the island. The group's first voyage ended when they United

States government canceled the detonation.

In July 1971, the *Greenpeace* set sail through the Strait of Georgia into Alaska's Bering Sea after CANNIKIN was rescheduled for November. The Don't Make a Wave Committee formally changed its name to the Greenpeace Foundation. Darnell coined the name Greenpeace after the Stowe's usual goodbye 'V' sign for peace. Greenpeace would not just stand just for peace, but an ecological peace (Hunter 7). By September 15, 1971, the *Greenpeace* had triggered a media sensation that stirred up pressure on Washington to stop the test. Protesters in the United States, Canada and members of Nixon's own council opposed Amchitka testing. During this time, Nixon had been under heavy pressure to continue nuclear testing by the Department of Defense and anti-communists. Nixon, angered by nuclear testing protests stated to Kissinger "they've bled over god dam atomic test that's been made (Weyler 110)." Under political pressure, Nixon did not want to detonate the bomb before September and wanted to avoid media criticism that it was a presidential decision, passed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. They ruled against suspending the test by a 4-3 vote.

On November 6, 1971, the United States had conducted the largest underground nuclear detonation at a cost \$200 million. CANNIKIN detonated with an explosive force equivalent to almost 400 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb. The explosion caused a seismic shock of 7.0 on the Richter scale, causing rock falls and mud slides of a total of 35,000 square feet long. At ground zero, a new a new lake had been created over a mile wide. The earthquakes and tsunamis predicted by scientist and environmentalists did not occur. A number of small tectonic events weeks later were thought to be a result of the interaction of the explosion with local tectonic stresses.

The group's second voyage ended early when the *Greenpeace* had been 1000 miles away from the test. The committee failed in its original goal to halt testing at Amchitka by sailing the *Greenpeace* to the test site. The controversy caused the U.S. government to halt further testing in the area. The U.S. Atomic Commission announced the island would be restored to a wildlife refuge citing, "political and other reasons (Weyler 132)." Even though technically failing to accomplish their goals, Greenpeace experienced a phenomenon that few environmental conservation groups had done through failure, victory. The new technique of combining direct confrontation with media exposure resulted in a successful strategy. It was the first time an environmental group actually went to the source of the problem to directly confront an issue.

The cause against nuclear testing did not end with Amchitka. On January 21, 1972, the group targeted French nuclear testing in the Moruroa Atoll in the South Pacific, 3,000 miles east of New Zealand. Greenpeace approached McTaggart wanting to charter his personal yacht the *Vega*. An original member of Greenpeace, David McTaggart was a French Canadian Olympic badminton champion and entrepreneur. McTaggart initially had been skeptical of helping an ecologist group. After learning about the disarmament movement, he became mildly sympathetic to Greenpeaces' cause. McTaggart had more interest in challenging the illegal French claim of cordoning off 100,000 square miles of territory on the open sea. The cordon violated international law (Weyler 142-143).

On April 27, 1972, he agreed to sail the Moruroa Atoll in his personally owned yacht the *Vega*. Later the group renamed it the *Greenpeace III*. After arriving at Moruroa, the five-member crew of the *Greenpeace III* had been involved in a bloody altercation with French sailors, after refusing to leave the test area. French sailors severely beat McTaggart during the protest. Greenpeace used the successful media tactics from the Amchitka campaign to suspend French testing. By November 1973,

Greenpeace claimed that it had successfully disrupted the United States and French nuclear testing through direct confrontation and media exposure (Hunter 155-157).

Greenpeace began to raise awareness for other environmental causes in 1973. The protection of whales became an active part of the new Greenpeace agenda. They held a concert to raise money for educating the world's number one consumer of whale products, Japan about the dangers of whaling. In April of 1975, Greenpeace gained the notoriety it is famous for today. They set sail for the North Pacific where they confronted Soviet-whaling fleets at great personal risk. On July 17, 1976, a converted Canadian mine sweeper, the *James Bay* attempted to intercept the *Vostok* Soviet fleet 1,400 miles off the coast of California. Greenpeace activists moved between Soviet whaling ships and whales on zodiac rafts. Harpoons and bullets were shot over Greenpeacers' heads. That same year another anti-whaling expedition sailing in the *James Bay* took place. *Greenpeace VII* disrupted the same Soviet fleet. Greenpeace received financial assistance of an unknown "deep throat" source. Later, it had been revealed as multi-millionaire Ed Daly of World Airways. This financial support had been attributed to his friendship and sympathy for French movie star Bridgett Bardot's activist causes (Weyler 418,420).

In 1976, Greenpeace launched a campaign against the highly fashion fur industry killing and skinning foxes in Newfoundland. It wanted to disrupt the international fur trade. Norwegian ships engaging in the fur trade became targeted. Greenpeace received a hostile welcome from the Newfoundland fishermen who were involved in the hunt. Greenpeace used helicopters to move people and supplies to a base camp at Belle Isle. Brigitte Bardot a French movie star, animal rights activist and social activist involved herself in this campaign. She later auctioned off clothes and jewelry worth three million francs to fund animal rights protection causes at her foundation (Hunter 379, 383).

Greenpeace continued the same style of direct action and media attention in Iceland and Spain. The

bloody style whale fleet hunts of 17th and 18th century mixed that modern technology had eradicated whales more rapidly than any other time in recorded history. Greenpeace activists' uncovered illegal whaling activity in a number of nations. In 1986, the International Whaling Commission approved a ban on all forms of commercial whaling with the exception of legitimate research purposes (Weyler 475, 507).

The French Military conducted over 200 more underground nuclear tests (40 of them atmospheric) at Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls in the South Pacific over a thirty-year period ending in 1996 (Brown). In July on 1985, the French government resumed nuclear testing. Greenpeace sailed their flagship the *Rainbow Warrior* to disrupt the test. On July 9, 1985, an explosion ripped open the hull of the *Rainbow Warrior* docked at Auckland Harbor. Fernando Pereira, a photographer on board went to the hull of the ship to retrieve camera equipment before evacuating the ship. While below deck, a second blast ripped a truck-sized hole in side of the ship. Forty-four pounds of high-grade explosives placed by seven French commandos acting on orders from superiors in the French military caused the blast. Fernando Pereira was murdered and divers recovered his body days later. New Zealand officials captured two of the commandos. They were convicted of manslaughter and served less than one year in jail. French economic pressure caused forced their release from a New Zealand prison, serving the remainder of their sentences allegedly in French custody. This incident re-informed New Zealanders about the dangers of nuclear testing. In 1987, legislation eventually resulted in New Zealand declaring itself a nuclear-free zone after passing the declaration of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act 1987 (Death of a Rainbow Warrior).

Greenpeace Goes International

Greenpeace's international expansion is attributed largely to David McTaggart. He served as head of Greenpeace from the 1970's to the end of the 1980's. He expanded the organization internationally, setting up offices across the world. He believed that all ecosystems involved all individuals, connecting everything globally. McTaggart felt Greenpeace should not be any different. A non-governmental organization with a global presence and reach would have the ability to apply pressure to environmental issues that reached outside of the Pacific Northwest. This made Greenpeace the most ambitious environmental organization in the world. Within years, Greenpeace set up the capability to act both globally and locally. It recruited people from host countries and assisted local campaigns while maintaining direct ties and operational authority across the globe from Greenpeace Headquarters in Seattle, Washington. Greenpeace chapters in French Guiana established beach patrols to protect endangered sea turtles eggs and nests. Greenpeace successfully stopped the indiscriminate death of sea life caused by 40 miles long Japanese drift nets used for fishing.

Greenpeace created public awareness of American and Soviet naval forces whose ships released radiation. Greenpeace marked harbors with large nuclear warning radiation signs. Greenpeace's most sensational media exploit was their voyage to Antarctica. Antarctica has bases for scientific research there from many different nations. Greenpeace claimed that the human presence there for whatever reason had contaminated pristine natural landscapes with trash and sewage directly dumped into the ocean (Weyler 389, 401, 407).

Greenpeace U.S.A.

Greenpeace actions in the United States divided itself into four major categories; nuclear, toxic, ocean ecology, and atmosphere and energy combined. In 1989, Greenpeace received infamy in its

nuclear activity campaigns after a standoff with a U.S. Navy Trident II submarine test launching nuclear missiles. In response, A U.S. Navy patrol boat rammed the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior II* claiming that had sailed into the off limits testing range. It toxics program is the most grassroots based part of Greenpeace activism. Their efforts help neighborhoods and communities fight garbage and hazardous waste incinerators that emit toxic gases. The toxics program has resulted in the significant decline of major companies recklessly polluting the communities they surround.

Another great success, the Greenpeace ocean ecology program accomplished the 1987 ban on the disposal of plastics at sea by the United States federal government. Another success had been a law passed requiring shrimp and fishing boats that previously killed thousands of endangered baby sea turtles use turtle excluder devices. These devices filter out caught turtles through a trap door allowing a ninety percent of turtles in shrimp nets to escape unharmed. During the atmosphere and energy campaign against U.S. chemical maker DuPont, Greenpeace activists occupied metal boxes and oil drums on train tracks leading to DuPont factories to protest the manufacture of the ozone depleting chemical chlorofluorocarbons. The Montreal Protocol banned the use of chlorofluorocarbons globally.

Criticisms of Greenpeace

Some critics of Greenpeace believe the organization is not radical enough. The two most notable critics of Greenpeace are Paul Watson and Icelandic filmmaker Magnus Gudmundsson. Original member Paul Watson, expelled by Greenpeace, created his own organization the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. Watson is a known advocate of property damage. He has attacked the vessels of whalers and drifters in order to disrupt hunts. He considers Greenpeace's actions simply not confrontational enough. Watson, the most vocal critic of Greenpeace was involved in some of their earliest confrontations with whalers and sealers. His influence helped push Greenpeace to engagements

that are more physical with opponents. His idea of environmentalism is more confrontational and physical than Greenpeace. He took part in confrontations with Soviet whalers, putting his body in the path of sealing boats, ripped a hakapik from a sealers hands and illegally carried baby seals off to safety.

In 1977, Greenpeace removed him from the board of directors after he grabbed a sealer's club and threw it in the water. Critics have described the group's behavior acting like environmental pirates. They regularly ram and sometimes sink the ships of whalers and drift netters. Watson calls Greenpeace "the Wal-Mart of the environmental movement..." he further stated, "they suck up the energy and resources of the grassroots organizations and move on. They're a multi-national corporation, with a \$200 million-a-year budget. They just built a \$60 million office building in Hamburg, Germany (Motavalli)." Forbes magazine described Greenpeace as "a \$360 million global empire and skillfully managed business with full command of the tools of direct mail and image manipulation, tactics that would bring instant condemnation if practiced by a for-profit corporation (Greenpeace)." Greenpeace has escaped public condemnation by hiding behind the camouflage of its non-profit tax exemption status its United States.

Magnus Gudmundsson, an Icelandic filmmaker made several films attacking Greenpeace. He claimed the organization faked film footage in its own documentaries. He also claimed Greenpeace controls secret bank accounts, used to funnel money to radical groups that have not renounced violence such as Earth First! Gudmundsson's allegations have not been unchallenged. In 1989, Greenpeace sued him in Norway over his first film, *Survival in the High North*, after he accused Greenpeace of fabricating a sequence showing a sealer drag a dead seal pup by chains. In a mixed verdict, Gudmundsson was ordered to pay 30,000 Norwegian kroner and make changes to the film. Greenpeace

has also won retractions from Danish television, which produced *Man of the Rainbow*, another anti-Greenpeace documentary based on Gudmundsson's accusations from *The Irish Sunday* and the *Business Post*. In 1991, Greenpeace sued after they published Gudmundsson based Greenpeace conspiracy theories. Gudmundsson claims that another Greenpeace staged footage about kangaroo torture in Australia. Australian Greenpeace activist Trevor John Daly documented the sequence in question as actually appearing in another film. Greenpeace stated the secret bank accounts were nothing more than reserve funds for campaigns. Gudmundsson claims that Greenpeace has funded Earth First! This is not a shocking accusation. Both groups have occasionally worked together during campaigns. Greenpeace funds in question were registered field campaign accounts (Motavalli).

Greenpeace Today

Greenpeace surpassed the Sierra Club in membership growing from a few committed activists to the largest environmental multinational organization in the world. Today its center of operation is located in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The Greenpeace Foundation is estimated to have \$ 360 million in assets worldwide, maintaining a gross revenue of 100 million dollars annually, half of which is funded directly from the United States. Greenpeace has 400 fulltime employees that work out of offices in 43 different nations and organizations in 43 nations. In the United States, it has thirty-five field offices. Greenpeace Membership in recent years has dropped from a once record high 5 million to 2.5 million supporters in the United States and 4 million worldwide. Another mainstream attribute is that Green Peace U.S.A has taken its cause door to door. They also sponsor three fulltime lobbyists who work on Capitol Hill (Greenpeace Worldwide).

The executive director of Greenpeace, Gerd Leopold stated that Greenpeace today does everything that mainstream organizations do and more. They have become multifaceted as a lobbying group, research organization, litigation house, and offer inspiration and assistance to grassroots movements globally. The people attracted to Greenpeace and those who carry out actions under the Greenpeace name are usually committed environmentalists or members of the public, wishing to support environmental preservation. The people active in Greenpeace are not looking to take over government offices; they just want their concerns heard. Greenpeace is set apart from other mainstream groups because use peaceful direct action to support projects and campaigns. This very effective approach has served Greenpeace well. The tactical approach is to go to the source of the problem or the center of where legislation and policy are passed. This method exposes environmental degradation that institutions and companies try to keep secret. Greenpeace's ability to work internationally promoting responsible environmentalism broke down the bureaucratic boundaries set up by institutions and political powers. Since the 1970's, people have supported Greenpeace because they have created a bond of trust with the public. Greenpeace creates environmental change that they people alone simply cannot do themselves (Greenpeace Worldwide).

Today, Greenpeace success relies on its power and reputation to successfully facilitate change. Combating big business through grassroots campaigns, direct action or confrontation is still used today. Many other radical environmental groups believe that any organization the size of Greenpeace complete with a hierarchy and formal leadership cannot be dynamic and flexible enough to act in the best interest of the environment. Radicals state that when a fight is over local issue activists use their own resources and funding to make executive decisions on the spot from the bottom up. For example, some groups regarded assistance from Greenpeace dealing with toxins in their community as giving structure and organization to their cause. Radicals often feel that other radical groups aligned together

are often more effective and in control of their own operation. Radicals are responsible only to the ecosystem in which they seek to protect, unlike Greenpeace who takes over entire movements in a bureaucratic nature. These groups often regard Greenpeace's ability to reach a mass audience through mass mailings, even if on recycled paper to rally support, ecological heresy. Generally, radical environmental groups do not champion causes through mail. Greenpeace has been criticized for remedying human caused problems, without changing the behavior that caused the problem in the first place. Radicals often feel that Greenpeace does not go far enough fighting against the economic inequality that modern radical's state is the root of the problem, "the world's richest 20 per cent of the population consume 86 per cent of its goods and services, over half its energy and nearly half its meat and fish (Greenpeace)." This unequal distribution of wealth and consumption renders any action by Greenpeace lobbyists on Capitol Hill, as compromising, ineffective and unacceptable.

Greenpeace has continued over the years to support peaceful direct action, while insisting on more Internet activism and emphasizing the role of the individual. For example downloadable booklets in PDF form, concerning the different kinds of paper that should be used for household tasks, such as toilet paper and paper towel. Greenpeace wants to educate consumer behavior encouraging green products. According to Gerd Leopold, current International Executive Director of Greenpeace, "The environment is not a question for specialists, it's an issue for everybody, he adds, "Greenpeace's success is visible in some areas more than others, especially where Greenpeace has been active longer. Europe's rivers are now obviously cleaner than they were when Greenpeace first began its work. Latin America and Asia have more recently targeted areas. Under no conditions do radicals believe that the development and destruction of the environment will change through traditional advocacy efforts. Greenpeace recognizes that you must save the environment through your own actions and that sending in a check to support them does not a person of environmental responsibility. Radicals are much more

focused on the environment in terms of a zero sum. If they do not act soon there will be little left due to human destruction. Environmental catastrophes require personal involvement is the key to take on these causes successfully. What radicals and eco-terrorists fail to recognize is that their actions and emergence alone have portrayed Greenpeace as a less controversial and mainstream organization (Greenpeace Worldwide).

Disqualifying Greenpeace as a Radical Environmentalist Group?

Despite initially rejecting the mainstream process, Greenpeace conformed over time to contain all of the elements of a mainstream organization. They raised money by offering memberships. As a non-profit organization, they solicited donations by mass mailings, television advertisements, and door-to-door canvassing by local members. Greenpeace provided an assessment to ecological problems usually creating public awareness and usually solved them with success. If unsuccessful, they used the legal system to conduct ecological defense. Greenpeace willingly engaged their opponents through the courts both in Canada and in France. They defended loitering charges for failing to leave a fisheries office during a protest. David McTaggart's court case referred to as the "Law of the Sea Case" recovered repair costs for his yacht *Greenpeace II* damaged after being rammed by the French navy.

The Greenpeace approach to environmental issues such as nuclear testing and disrupting whaling and sealing had been unique. Greenpeace activists were willing to risk great personal danger for environmental causes. This was unlike anything the mainstream environmental movement or world had seen before. Greenpeace is unique in the fact that they traveled to wherever they needed to in order to pursue their goal of protecting the environment and its creatures. Greenpeace became innovators who pioneered unconventional tactics to combat environmental problems. They created protests to

ensure the media blitz surrounding their actions continued. Protests such as bolting shut and sealing the effluent pipes of chemical companies and sky diving off the top of power plant smokestacks did not stop pollution, however raised social consciousness and public awareness of pollution. Greenpeace activists believed that public awareness of environmental damage was crucial to bring about change in public policy. The sensationalism captivated public attention, brief news clips or banners showing Greenpeace trying to save whales attracted thousands of supporters overnight.

The greatest separation between Greenpeace and radical environmental groups is actions regarding property destruction. Greenpeace views property destruction as violence any way it occurs. A whaling ship is a tool of environmental destruction, but should not be destroyed. It is a fundamental principle of Greenpeace that an act damaging the environment is violent and cannot be corrected through more violence. Violent acts committed by radicals usually result in the perpetrators being personally targeted for violence. There are exceptions to this Fernando Pereira was killed protesting issues to people holding legal power. Non-violent protest had drawn disproportionate violent reactions usually the form of beatings and death when that power is contested.

A major difference between Greenpeace and radical groups is that Greenpeace can participate in negotiations and action that usually draw the moral high ground. Radicals are concerned with results and feel Greenpeace's methods are outdated. Leopold calls the organizations non-violent approach, as "a political and philosophical strategy that Greenpeace thinks is a correct one. (Greenpeace Worldwide)." The difference between Greenpeace and radicals is that non-violence in itself is a strategy and final approach to issues that has met with great success. For radicals non-violent approach

is part of the formula that uses it along with property destruction to achieve goals (Greenpeace Worldwide).

Greenpeace had been radical in the sense that they used peaceful direct action and confrontation to achieve objectives. Before Greenpeace, an environmental group had never physically traveled to the site of a contested policy or action. Greenpeace does not practice some of anarchist tactics typically found in the modern radical environmentalism today. Greenpeace cannot be labeled a pure mainstream or radical group. Greenpeace is described often been as the bridge or gray area of radical environmentalism. Greenpeace as a radical organization, falls somewhere between the Sierra Club and Earth First! Behavior by Radical groups such as the Sea Shepherd's and Earth First! have legitimized Greenpeace's methods of direct confrontation as mainstream and practical. The group was absorbed into the mainstream due to the actions of new groups that emerged years later. These groups were willing to go one step further than Greenpeace's civil disobedience and direct actions. When people use physical destruction to achieve environmental goals, it made mainstream groups like Greenpeace appear more moderate.

Earth First! The Emergence of the First Highly Visible Radical Environment Group

In the Southwestern United States during the spring of 1980, a radical environmental advocacy group emerged, Earth First! Inspired by Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, Aldo Leopold's *Land Ethic*, and Edward Abbey's *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, this group of activists pledged "No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth! (Merchant 173-174)." During the Spring Equinox on March 21, 1981, in the Arizona Canyon desert area. As pagans, they celebrated the equinox with a primal urge of ritual and myth. They viewed the Colorado River as breathing new life into the veins as they traveled through the desert. In Edward Abbey's *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, he referred to the Glen Canyon Dam as, "an

invading alien and a monster in the middle of the desert (Foreman 171).” Foreman symbolized this dam as everything wrong with mainstream environmentalism and repeatedly petitioned against its construction to protect wetlands and a popular dinosaur fossil park located where the reservoir was constructed. Foreman stated, “Glen Canyon Dam is probably the single most objectionable feature in the West and symbolic of the industrial conquest of the wilderness (Bergman 2).” Abbey’s movie inspired the group to roll a long thin black gash cut into the face of the dam no water flowed through. After the crack, the environmental movement would be the same.

This action came to known as the cracking of the Glen Canyon Dam. The plastic role gave the illusion of a 300-foot long crack down the middle of Glen Canyon Dam. Earth First! created this crack by using three 100-by-20-foot rolls of black plastic, 1,000 feet of duct tape, and 1,000 feet of nylon rope. They created what looked to for the entire world as 300-foot long crack in the face of the dam. Abbey had been invited to the event as a guest of honor and attributed the dam as “receiving its spring rites (Bergman 3).” This action relieved the tension and anxiety being repressed by Earth First! over the failure of environmental policy. It brought their no compromise feelings to consciousness. The crack represented the failure of previous environmental groups and their inability to protest the very wetlands Americans thought conservation efforts were protecting.

The style of irony used making the dam appear cracked only people in the environmental movement would have understood the cracks symbolic nature. The Earth First! movement been created with the unrolling of the crack. Earth Fist! would use a no compromise approach to environmentalism. It became the antithesis of mainstream. Its would stop the destruction which mainstream policies had failed to failed, given up on or ignored through (Merchant 173-74). Dave Foreman the group’s leader had been criticized and glorified by environmentalists who criticized the cracking of the dam similar to

the way it unfolded in *The Monkey Wrench Gang*. The cracking offered environmentalists with a religious experience and propelled Foreman to the cult status of Abbey as he stood side by side with him on the dam and unrolled the crack screaming “Earth First! (Foreman 22).” Abbey and Foreman quickly became friends after the Glen Canyon Dam event. Foreman who was very political received abstract spiritual and ideological environmental guidance from Abbey. Abbey a severely enthusiastic environmentalist became extremely disgusted with American societies addiction to growth and consumption.

"The people who started Earth First! We'd all been in the mainstream groups, we were solid conservationists. But we were frustrated by making too many compromises," Foreman explained, debunking the popular myth that Earth First! had been a product of Ed Abbey's imagination (Bergman). Abbey frequently guest wrote articles and columns for *the Earth First! Journal* under the alias *Cactus Ed's Advice Column*. He even wrote the forward to Foreman's *Ecodefense* guide book in which Abbey stated, “I think that we're morally justified to resort to whatever means are necessary in order to defend our land from destruction and invasion and, and I see this as an invasion. He later reiterated that to clarify himself he sated “I would advocate sabotage, subversion, as a last resort when political means fails (Foreman 140,174).”

Dave Foreman observed the failure of the political system through his work as the Wilderness Society's Southwest Regional Representative nine months before forming Earth First! The main reason for creating a radical group in the environmental movement was the lack of outspokenness and conviction of seeing issues resolved. The political defeat that inspired Foreman and the four other activists to break away from the mainstream had been the, Resource and Review and Evaluation Project (RARE II) that resulted in groups like Greenpeace internally compromised so much that only

20 million of 80 million wilderness acres under study by joint cooperation efforts were designated as protected. Earth First! felt it was time for a new approach within the environmental community. When Foreman and four others conceived the group in 1980 stating, "It was started by people within the conservation movement who'd been talking about the need for taking a stronger stand. It wasn't a bunch of radicals from outside (Bergman)." Foreman was inspired by Bill Mounsey, a Colorado wilderness guide and outfitter who established a group called the Striders, for the purpose of protecting wilderness. Hardcore wilderness advocates and high-level Washington, D.C. lobbyists tossed around the idea of asking for double the amount of acreage in any wilderness proposal made through compromise. Requesting double the amount of acreage would make mainstream proposals appear more reasonable and protect more wildernesses (Foreman 14).

Nothing came of this talk until Foreman, Mike Roselle, Wyoming Wilderness Society Representatives Bart Koehler and Howie Wolke and former Park Service Ranger Ron Kezar were traveling in Foreman's VW bus on a road trip to the Pincate Desert, North America's last frontier. A barren, hundred-mile stretch of inhospitable desert in Northern Mexico to Albuquerque, New Mexico. They drove to a secluded area to drink several cases of beer, eat shrimp and forget about what had happened in Washington DC. They did not plan to carve out a movement from this desert meeting. After heavily drinking around a campfire, they realized their own significant talents, connections, credentials and commitment for the environmental cause. They unanimously decided they would become radicals. Roselle had not been an active environmentalist however, brought much experience as a Vietnam War protestor. He had experience with radical groups and knew the politics of confrontation. In the Youth International Party He learned how to direct young people to organize confrontational programs while manipulating the press. After Nixon's second inaugural address he left Washington and headed west to Wyoming where he met Roselle met Wolke (Foreman 17-21).

In 1975, Wolke graduated from the University of New Hampshire with a degree in conservation before moving to Wyoming. Wolke worked for the Friends of Earth as the Wyoming representative earning \$ 75 a month for 30 hours of activism protesting the Vietnam War. There was an underlying feeling that war is not healthy for the planet, with no concerns for the human aspect of the Vietnam War. He met Bart Koehler, a respected Wyoming conservationist for the Wilderness Society who later ended up being his drinking buddy. Wolke worked for Koehler for two years inventorying road less areas throughout the wilderness. He observed some of the most pristine wilderness anywhere on the planet. Observing failed policies first hand meant to protect these forests radicalized Koehler, he became aware of the twisted nature of conservation politics. Koehler's radicalism did not come, as a surprise to people who knew him personally. He received his master's degree in environmental and regional planning in Wyoming. His 1972 thesis, arguing for the protection of wetlands is cited today in scholarly articles and magazines. He was one of the first members of the Wilderness Society group considered the best bunch of wilderness advocates ever assembled by one organization. Kohler and Foreman both worked for the wilderness society and became fast friends meeting up again in the summer of 1973. He learned a power hungry executive director would soon fire them all and became the first to quit on his birthday in 1979.

Dave Foreman had been born in Albuquerque New Mexico. He was an eagle scout who joined the Marines during the Vietnam War. He was dishonorably discharged for deserting 70 days after joining. Foreman is somewhat of an oddity. The first bumper stickers for Earth First! read, "He was an Eagle Scout who joined the Marines Corps during the Vietnam War and was kicked out after two months for going AWOL. Freedom? The Marines guard it but they don't tolerate within their own ranks (Foreman 85)." He often referred to himself as a redneck for wilderness. He had a theory of a wildness gene that he said separated the lovers of the wild from the rest. He referred to himself in his

book *Confessions of an Eco Warrior* as a redneck for wilderness. He would sometimes bark and howl on stage while speaking to an audience. After graduating from the University of New Mexico, Foreman tried unsuccessfully to make a career as a cowboy but had no luck. He found a job with the Wilderness Society as a lobbyist in Washington DC, but fighting between the government and environmentalists regarding the complex nature of big time environmentalism caused him to want to leave after a decade. He perceived the failure of mainstream organizations' failure to protect the environment destroyed from compromise and corruption (Bergman).

Foreman met the fifth founder of Earth First! Ron Kezar working as a Wilderness Society representative visiting Kezar's local Sierra Club in El Paso, Texas. This meeting was to fill the Wilderness Society in on the struggle for desert wilderness preservation in the Southwest. Kezar originally born in Stockton, California grew up close to the Sierra Nevada Mountains. From the San Joaquin Valley. He could see their purple glow and snow and caps on clear days. He did not have interest in environmental conservation. In his early twenties, he took a mountain climbing trip to the Sierra Nevada's that inspired his radicalism. Initially his activism was mild and limited to writing letters to legislators and state officials. After his discharge from the Army he settled in El Paso, where he became the conservation chair for the local Sierra Club. Kezar had great success working on the passage of a variety of environmental preservation bills. He stopped a tramline from being built on Guadalupe Peak, the highest point in Texas. In 1977, he teamed up with Foreman to buy land near the Gila Wilderness in New Mexico for the Sierra Club. In 1979, he took a 125-mile backpacking trip through its wilderness with Foreman and Wolke (Foreman 17-19).

There is considerable mystery and mythology surrounding the creation of Earth First! Some rumor that Earth First! had been created in the desert, while other myths say it had been created while

drinking and reveling in a whorehouse. This mythology is important, the group wanted people to think of a renegade image to change the mainstream. An unconventional beginning was essential to their message. Critics of Earth First! say these myths cover up the lies and unplesantries surrounding the conduct of Earth First! founders. Earth First! defied the mainstream by promoting the mythical outlaw persona of the deserts, evoking images of cowboys and renegades alone in the desert, meeting in secret to take on aggressive images of cowboys from Americans past. A very prevalent theme found in the history of the Southwest.

The true origin of Earth First! did not come in the desert, bar or brothel. It started in Foreman's VW bus on the way to Albuquerque. After leaving Mexico, Wolke dropped off Koehler at a friend's house in Tucson and Kezar at his home in New Mexico. Emulating *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, Wolke and Foreman sat in the front seat and polished off a case of Stroh's Beer and Roselle sat in the back drinking as well. They were driving to Foreman's mother's house for some chicken fried steak. The men became drunk and began ranting and raving, bashing the mainstream and used fantastic rhetoric about the need for a group to oppose the mainstream environmentalist movement. They would fight to set aside multi- million acre ecological preserves in Ohio, Wyoming and other wildness places across the United States. Wolke expressed the need to close roads going through Yellowstone National Park and reuniting "the Absarooka Wilderness in Idaho, Wyoming and Montana." The Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness lies on the Montana-Wyoming border on the Gallatin, Shoshone and Custer National Forests near Yellowstone National Park.

The Absaroka-Bear tooth Wilderness derives its name from the Absaroka and Beartooth Mountain Ranges. The Absaroka's are named after the Crow Indians (Absaroka being the Indian name

for Crow) who inhabited much of South-Central Montana prior to white encroachment into the area. The Beartooth Mountains, named after the jagged mountain peaks in the range, resembling a bear's tooth. Foreman hoped this idea would inspire the creation of biological preserves across every region of the United States. Foreman was heavily intoxicated and screamed out Earth First! and Roselle woke from his alcohol-induced slumber and drew a picture of a clenched fist in the style of Che Guevara communist propaganda posters. The exclamation mark and the monkey wrench were added with in the following year (Foreman 17-21).

Earth First! started out with a great deal of enthusiasm and very little money. The Earth Firsters! began to identify subjects and targets of interest. Roselle recalled, "We identified all the ecosystems in the United States and those that would need to be protected in order to maintain biological diversity so that no matter what happened outside of these preserves there would be enough genetic material to reconstruct the biota." On November 1, 1980 in celebration of the Pagan New Year, Earth First! founding members sent out copies of the newsletter to their contacts. It contained information on these biological zone proposals. The mailing had been sent to 75 of the most influential contacts in science and radical environmental groups. They waited for a response to their proposal. The letter delivered an overwhelming response and turned the tabloid sized supermarket newspaper and became known as the *Journal*. Originally, it was intended to be passed down from person to person, spreading the word of Earth Firsters! cause to preserve the environment through a new concept circulating in environmental movement called Deep ecology. Deep ecology or biocentrism had been embraced by the founding members of Earth First! The founders of Earth First were very well educated. It should come as no surprise they were conscious of the current environmental philosophies. They rejected anthropocentric beliefs in favor of a biocentric outlook justifying their newfound radicalism.

After the cracking of the Glen Canyon Dam, the word 'movement' became clear and had significance in meaning to the founders of Earth First! They wanted to symbolize their actions and leadership style as distinct. They wanted to resemble the organizational structure of the Plains Indians. They existed in anonymous groups who all shared the same beliefs. There would be no bureaucratic style of approach found in Greenpeace, no lobbyists and no defined agenda. Earth First! would embrace the practices of Deep ecology would become a simple force of devoted, unpaid, grassroots activists. Their sole intent had been to create focused anarchy on a particular issue after political means have failed. It was never referred to as an organization, it was a movement. They defined anything larger than a local cell as an organization. It had no formal membership. The closest thing to membership cards the group offered were T-shirts featuring Roselle's clenched fist logo design stating "Earth First! No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth (Foreman 26-30)"

Foreman was heavily influenced by the Southwest and wanted Earth First! rituals that emulated Southwest Native American life. These autonomous Southwest tribes came together for a yearly summer long celebration of dancing, hunting, feasting and revelry. In 1980, Earth First! sought to reproduce this concept of festival by inviting everyone interested to a Fourth of July party. It was in honor of Indians and mountain men of the Old West. The get together had been given the name the Round River Rendezvous inspired by the book from Aldo Leopold (Round River Conservation Studies). Leopold stated the Ojibwa tribe viewed rivers as symbolizing the constant circle of life, a concept the founding fathers of Earth First! liked. The first Round River Rendezvous lasted four days. 200 people from various mainstream organizations attended drank lots of beer and sang songs along with Jonny Sagebrush. This was Koehler's stage character, which sang songs complaining about RARE II. This intoxicated behavior in the desert inspired the slogan "Sagebrush Patriots" to be used by Earth First! to make it clear the Sagebrush Rebellion from the 1970's ideology had been revived to

influence southwest environmental policy. President Ronald Regan even labeled himself a Sagebrush Rebel (1980 Sagebrush Rebellion).

A topic addressed by the crowd of environmentalists attending had been the Coyote River Dam, and what should be done about it. It had been regarded as disrupting countless natural ecosystems. Different scenarios about what should be done about the dam were explored. Some in attendance wanted to poison the Coyote River and blow up or destroy the dam. This defied the entire purpose of Earth First! and Foreman told the crowd that real Americans and real cowboys love the range and everything that goes with it. Earth First! had more interest in massive land grabs aimed at protection bio-zones.

Interaction with other mainstream groups was a hard relationship to sever. Foreman never intended on creating large a group. He wanted small cells and activities directed from 13 member councils. One Earth First! cell named *La Manta Mojada*, (the wet blanket) consisted of members already in mainstream groups. It intended to assert Earth First! ideology to targets of interest inside these organizations. This did not last long. It became obvious inside of the mainstream organizations that sympathized with Earth First! within Earth First! Heavy fighting occurred regarding cooperation with mainstream groups after the expulsion of Earth Firsters! Foreman refused to cooperate or taking directions from corrupted mainstream groups. He believed Earth First's! had an independent future to create a new movement.

In the fall of 1981, Foreman and Koehler who were both unemployed journeyed across the nation for the Inaugural Earth First! road show. It intended to publicize and promote their "new tribe," as they liked to refer to it as. With Koehler as Jonny Sagebrush, playing the guitar singing songs about

RARE II, Foreman delivered eloquent speeches preaching the virtues of preserving the wilderness lifestyle. They also stress the power and necessity of for the average man to fight for causes. Earth Firsters'! who traveled with the road show assisted local groups in their protest campaigns. Earth Firsters'! from across the country organized, funded, and picketed along side of local protests. These tours very successful and gatherings were fun to attend. The Earth First! movement developed a cult following and rapidly grew. Traveling to new towns every few nights, drunken sing a longs and communal living were all part the approach to the new land preservation based environmental movement.

Earth First! applied Greenpeace's' direct confrontation style into preserving land based biology such as forests and deserts. Greenpeace's exploits were conducted on behalf of whales, seals, and nuclear testing. Foreman began to draw media attention. In October 1981, he was interviewed in an article appearing in *Progressive Magazine*. He proposed a plan to limit the size of urban growth by reclaiming wilderness areas. He advocated force and the detonation of major dams. Foreman publicly declared his very clear pro earth environmental Earth First! no compromise position. The group at this time appeared outwardly law abiding. Foreman wanted to inspire people to carry out actions by promoting ecological sabotage (ecotage) or monkey wrenching (Bandow).

Monkey wrenching involves the disruption of a business or government operation usually through the act of sabotage or arson. Direct action targets property or machines that cannot feel terror and avoids targeting humans. In contrast environmental terrorism, ecotage is defined as terrorism where the target is the environment or natural resources themselves to remove profit from the action. The overwhelming response to Foreman's article in *Progressive* gave the radical environmental the indication that Earth First! had been the long awaited savior to the environmental movement. Three

hundred letters poured in a week after the article had been published. Subscriptions to the *Journal* topped 1,000 that month. By the time of the Third Round River Rendezvous in 1982 Earth First! had grown into a formidable group with a serious cult following all across the country.

The location of the Third Round River Rendezvous took place in a location symbolic Koehler, Wolke, Roselle and Earth First's creation. No place better represented the group's love of wilderness, criticism of the mainstream, grassroots campaigns better than the Gros Ventre Wilderness in Wyoming. This area borders three states and land ranging from the south of Yellowstone National Park, east of Grand Teton National Park and Gross Ventre National Park. It became the central location for Earth Firsts! battle over Little Granite Creek in Wyoming's Gros Ventre Wilderness. This area is a rugged offshoot of the Rocky Mountains. Its lowest point is 6,000 miles above sea level and peaks at 12,000 feet above sea level. It contains a diverse range of eco- systems from deserts to alpine forests. Gros Ventre contains diverse wildlife such as elk, moose bighorn sheep, mountain lions, and bears (Gros Ventre Wilderness).

During the Nixon administration huge sections of Wyoming's Bridger- Teton National Forest were opened up for oil exploration of in the 1960's. Getty Oil bought the right to explore two million acres in the Gros Ventre Wildlife Preserve without any public input whatsoever. In the early 1980's, Getty announced it would drill two exploratory wells in Gros Ventre to tap deep underground pockets of oil. One at Cache Creek a, a popular vacation and tourist location outside of Jackson, Wyoming and the second at Little Granite Creek located in isolated in pristine wilderness (Abbey). Mainstream environmental groups led by the Sierra Club were instantly willing to compromise and sacrificed Little Granite Creek almost as soon as Getty announced plans to drill. Roselle and Wolke attended a local environmentalist meeting. Wolke stood up and screamed like a rabid dog stating he " didn't give a dam

about tourists and Cache Creek ... Little Granite Creek was more important in proving a wild life corridor protecting Yellowstone and contains the biota he wished to preserve in a wildlife eco-zone (Manes 78).” Wolke had personally observed the countless beauty of the pristine Wyoming wilderness through his work at the Wilderness Society. It influenced his decision to become a radical environmentalist. He convinced the crowd to fight Getty until the entire crowd unanimously agreed with his position. Wolke attribute this success to being a radical believing if there had not been one radical in the room they would have never would have agreed with his position. For Wolke this reconfirmed the necessity of Earth Firster's! no compromise approach. Wolke's actions convinced mainstream environmentalists to demand both sites designated for drilling should be combined in a single environmental impact statement.

This environmental impact statement set precedent. No land based drilling proposal in United States history required such a complete ecological risk assessment. This proposal had resulted in a mixed victory. It stopped the drilling of these two locations in exchange for contained obligatory mitigation. This practice deceitfully exchanges or reduces environmental damage to a designated location by attempting to limit the projects harmful effects or damage. It alters the project in some form to relocate damage to another place of drilling. Critics feel the tactic of mitigation allows incursions into wildlife areas and destroys one place in exchange for another. The mitigation at Little Granite Creek called for special road construction procedures and reducing the impact of the drilling on wildlife by siphoning off toxic gasses and special handling of subsurface fluids. These subsurface fluids contaminate the soil and water and are unavoidable byproduct of oil drilling. Getty offered to restore the road leading to the drilling site to resemble its natural condition prior to clear cutting the forest. The forest supervisor at Bridger- Tenton Park National Forrest rejected Getty's offer, knowing full well that easy access roads into virgin forests would inevitably attract more drilling and logging.

In spring of 1982, a lawsuit filed by mainstream groups failed to win an injunction to halt the drilling. As a result, Getty prepared to drill soon as the ground thawed. Getty sent a two man unmarked survey team to stake out roads into the Little Granite Creek area. Roselle, Foreman and two others discovered the work in progress by finding wooden engineering stakes and brightly colored plastic ribbons that marked out sections of forest designated for clear-cutting. Earth First! masterfully manipulated the news of Getty's drilling action in the *Journal*. Foreman stated that the annual Earth First! Wilderness Bash would be canceled due to road construction at the rendezvous site. The survey team completed the roads path as four Earth Firsters! followed them up the side of the mountain each with a backpack full of beers. Just as in *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, Earth First! unsurveyed the entire road as they followed behind the survey team. This unsurveying of the roads happened several times. After collecting all of the unnatural materials left behind by the surveyors with beers in hand they drove away in Foreman's VW bus. They caused five thousand dollars worth of damage. Days later the police came to question Roselle and the other Earth Firsters! about the surveying sabotage. They consulted a lawyer who told them to give the police his card and never answer any questions. There was not a jury in Tenton County that would convict them anyways.

On July 4, 1982, "the tribe" arrived in response to the notice in *the Journal* with 500 angry environmental activists who converged on Little Granite Creek. The annual Rendezvous crowd of people arrived drunk, high and mobbed through the designated five mile planned stretch of road chanting slogans and unsurveyed all the engineering stakes and destroying seismological equipment with out hesitation. Edward Abbey recalled, "Roselle walking down the trail sticking survey stakes in his belt and doing an interview with the local paper. This could only mean that Earth First! had openly declared public warfare against Getty (Manes 81)."

Earth First! opened a second front in the preservation effort against Getty in regards to Gros Ventre. At the cowboy bar in Jackson, Koehler drafted an appeal to the road construction on a cocktail napkin. He typed it formally before sending it to the Department of Agriculture, which had jurisdiction over the Forest Service. Koehler was rather pessimistic if an appeal letter would have any success. He found help from an unlikely ally, Wyoming Governor Ed Herschler. Herschler was an astute political opportunist who initially opposed sabotage acts commit by Earth First! He willingly submitted to their grassroots campaign. He withheld the drilling permit from Getty after public outcry. Motivated from Koehler's letter he petitioned the Department of Agriculture to halt construction to the already half completed road leading to the drilling site making future drilling impossible.

Despite Earth Firsts'! contempt for the mainstream political process, Koehler's petition had been successful. Gros Ventre and Little Granite Creek were designated protected wilderness. This reinforced their lawsuit in court that eventually had been ruled in Earth Firsts! favor. The Earth First! founders believed a radical element was needed to achieve desired policies in environmental issues. Success in Wyoming validated their direct action by proving very successful. If the sabotage had not occurred on the road construction, oil-drilling efforts would have been successful. Roselle had been quick not to attribute the success to one specific event such as direct action, demonstrations or confrontation. An entire integrated strategy created out of necessity to combat environmental destruction had been successful. Unlike mainstream groups viewed as compromising ideals to get ready for the next battle and accepted defeat, Earth First! was not going to take no for an answer (Manes 81-83).

Another Beer Induced Earth First! Creation: The Wilderness Preserve System

Earth First! revealed its Wilderness Preserve System in June of 1983. It was another beer-induced vision after heavily drinking together. It was a necessary step for Earth First! in declaring just how radical they would become. Under the Wilderness Preserve System plan they wanted to declare 50 reserves containing 716 million acres of land off limits to industrialization and human encroachment. The goal was to return most of the United States to its natural undeveloped state. Every biological community would have their own large wilderness preserve. Earth Firsts! thought that wilderness should be preserved for its own sake, apart from any human value attached to it. Value had not based on its beauty, recreational areas or tourist attraction potential. The value lay in the biological diversity untampered with by human intrusion. The landscape level biological diversity of the all the species and interrelated communities of plants, animals, and climates is so large it can only be represented in one entire wilderness as whole. Invasive species would be eradicated along with industrial tourism. Lost North American species such as the Gray Wolf, Elk, Bison, Grizzly Bear, Wolverine, Caribou, Jaguar, and Ocelot would be reintroduced to their natural homes (Foreman 80-86).

Unlike mainstream organizations, Earth First! developed unrealistic proposals. They created an outline for a 5,000 acre Redwood Preserve in Northern California, 16.8 million acres of California Desert, 9.3 million acres of Montana forests and 19 million acres of Arizona Desert. This included the Yellowstone tri- state area of Colorado, Washington and Wyoming. Mainstream organizations regarded the request of these large amounts of land as insane. Earth Firsts! ambitions, attitudes and affiliation with radicalism allowed them the ability to ask for things mainstream groups would never be able to. The New England Earth First! cell lead by Jamie Sayen and Jeff Elliot, asked the federal government to purchase ten million acres of second growth forest from lumber companies who wanted to leave the region. The extremity of the proposal made the Wilderness Societies 2.7 million-acre proposal appear reasonable.

After reading Earth First! 16.8 million acre California Desert proposal, the Sierra Club increased the acreage amount they were asking for in a bill to Senator Alan Cranston. He accepted their 8 million acre proposal, which resulted in 81 wilderness areas in Mojave National Park. Earth First! quickly gained a reputation in the Western United States for a hardcore activism that environmental movements never had or seen attempted before. Greenpeace could not compare to the violent acts that Earth First! had resorted to such as beer drinking while pulling up wooden engineering stakes in the middle of the forest. Earth First! did not just speak out, they stood up against agents of environmental destruction.

The Kalmiopsis Campaign

Earth First! had their actions literally reciprocated the next year when they campaigned in the Bald Mountains in the North Kalmiopsis Region of Southwest Oregon. The North Kalmiopsis is already designated part of the protected Kalmiopsis Wilderness preserve. It contains areas scientists believe are the most diverse conifer forests located in one place on the planet. Some scientists go one step further, regarding it as the center of conifer evolution. This is fascinating to scientists because 300 foot tall Redwoods from California, meet Alaskan Cedar, Pacific Silver Fir, Douglas fir and twenty five other cone bearing trees found exclusively in the Pacific Northwest. Only the Great Smokey National Park contains more diverse flora and fauna than Kalmiopsis. The Kalmiopsis is unique host 92 well-defined plant communities that contain a number of rare plant species that exceeds 100. The rivers are ice cold and full of native salmon and trout. The native spotted owl, an animal that is heavily fought over between environmentalists and loggers, is also found in these forests. Black Bears, Cougars, and a long list of other inhabitants including the legendary Bigfoot have even been reported to live in the Kalmiopsis. The Kalmiopsis wilderness faces deforestation at an increasingly rapid rate.

In 1934, 830,000 acres of old growth forest were untouched. In 1980's, only 404,000 acres remained pristine while 167,000 acres were formally protected (List 198).

On April 25, 1983, Earth First! fight began its campaign in the North Kalmiopsis. Mike Roselle and three others blocked a bulldozer making its first cuts into the side of Bald Mountain. The road when finished would split the Kalmiopsis in half, ripping apart the untouched web of wildlife. They attempted to block the bulldozer because they filed a court injunction citing the violation of RARE II regulations. For three months Earth Firster! harassed road-clearing efforts. On May 5, a new bulldozer operator Fred Brown stated to six earth Firster's! "If you don't get out of the way, I'm gonna kill you! (Manes 87)." Brown made good on his threat and attempted to run over Foreman and another protester. This did not break Earth Firsters! resolve. On May 7, Foreman returned to protest with David Willis an Earth Firster! confined to a wheel chair. They went 10 miles up to the entrance of the logging company and formed a barricade. Five crewmembers and a local sheriff watched as Foreman was ran over by a loggers in a pick up truck. Foreman had suffered permanent damage to his knee from being run over and dragged truck at the blockade then arrested. By the time the court injunction had been granted, still no charges were ever filed against the truck driver who ran over Foreman and another Earth Firster! A total of 44 Earth Firster's! were arrested for protesting at Bald Mountain road that year. The Oregon Wilderness Act of 1984 nullified the court injunction against road construction. The Forest Service was determined to gut the forest after a series of natural fires and held its first timber sale in March of 1986 (Manes206).

By 1987, the Kalmiopsis fell victim to a full scale logging operation at multiple locations throughout many of its forests. Another fire of an unknown origin that same year motivated the Forest Service to clear the area in a salvage and recovery attempt. The Earth First! protesters became

increasingly aggressive and started action that resulted in a precedent setting court case that became the focus of national attention. More than Earth First! 20 arrests took place in 1987 in the Kalmiopsis. A 28-year-old woman named Karen Wood, and five others became know as the Sapphire Six. Wood a computer scientist from Virginia moved to Oregon in the mid eighties after she married he husband. She became active in environmentalism and joined a local all women's Earth First! group.

Wood and the group participated in a mission to disrupt a lumber sale. Each sale had been coded with a color and her mission was the sapphire timber sale. Mike Roselle had been present and gave instructions to the women on the points of non-violent confrontation. They were instructed not to bring weapons, drugs or alcohol and to remain respectful and not resorting to physical violence. Earth Firster's! behavior had been scrutinized by local and federal law enforcement agencies after numerous arrests. Woods group scheduled a sit in at a logging equipment center. A men's group climbed trees and sat in perches. At 3 am, the loggers returned to take logs that were already loaded and scheduled for pick up from the earlier that day. Once loggers started the equipment Earth Firster's! chained themselves inside and outside to the equipment. They locked the doors with chains and kryptonite locks. The workers became furious and tried to rip one a protester out of the vehicle. Others loggers threatened to rape Wood's, until she screamed people in the forest with cameras. Nearby tree sitters heard the screaming from the woman's group and also began to scream. The local sheriffs department shortly arrived. The police used bolt cutters and electric saws to remove the locks and arrested all of the protesters (Manes 89-92).

Each member of the Sapphire Six had been sentenced to 15 days in the Curry County Jail and fined \$250 fine. A protester who climbed one of the machines wires refusing to come down earned an extra five days in jail and \$ 350 fine. Collectively they were made to pay \$ 1700 dollars in restitution

to the Huffman and Wright Logging Company. Earth Firsters! civil disobedience resulted in the Huffman and Wright Company filing a SLAPP (Strategic lawsuit against public participation). This lawsuit stops citizen groups from challenging plans of a developer or cooperation. It is a deterrent to protesters who end up spending all of their time and money in court instead of protesting. Prior to the Sapphire Six, no company had ever sued protestors for punitive damages. Judges usually prohibited these claims in court under First Amendment Rights (Herrick 3).

After a weeklong trial in a county sympathetic to the timber industry, Huffman was awarded \$25,000 in punitive damages and \$5,000 in actual damages. Foreman had been reduced to a spokesman during the campaign after his knee was shattered earlier that year and stated, “civil disobedience was too conventional... I’m much more in favor philosophically with monkey wrenching...for Earth First! There is no truce, no cease-fire and no surrender! (Manes 97).” That same year Foreman advocated burning heavy equipment as a successful means of monkey wrenching.

Public Protests

Earth First! became split after the Sapphire Six incident over the best method of protest, civil disobedience or wide scale ecological sabotage. The media designated everything Earth First! did as direct action. Besides a few tree sit ins, only activists carrying out covert actions such as tree spiking and the sabotage of machinery made the news. Earth First! adopted the tactics of silent agitators. Earth Firsters! began to focus their attention to companies participating in environmental destruction. Billboards denouncing the Coors Brewery through billboard campaigns became the most notable. Billboards were an object of value to *The Monkey Wrench Gang* and received considerable attention in Earth Firsters! campaigns.

Earth First! published a *Little Green Song Book* promoting protest chants specific to the cause causes. People began to act on behalf of Earth First! by chaining themselves in front of doorways, refusing to move from bulldozers and sitting up in trees for weeks at a time. They stormed cooperate offices and hung banners at the World Bank office in California denouncing the exploitation of the environment motivated by greed. The attack on the World Bank resulted from Sarawak rainforest destruction. In 1988, A Forest Service Office was also stormed during a protest. 25 Earth Firster's! were removed but none had been arrested (Herrick 3).

Direct Action and Monkey Wrenching

Any question as to Earth First's! acceptance of monkey wrenching was stated early in the tribe's existence. One of the very first articles about monkey wrenching in the *Journal* contained articles promoting tree spiking as a guaranteed way to save trees. The 1982 issue of the *Journal*, *The Dear Ned Ludd* column gave readers detailed instructions on how to use metal road spikes to spike trees and sabotage or disable trucks. *Journal* editor, Peter Dustard found advocating metal punji stake attacks extremely offensive. He was blocked from offering a rebuttal, editing or removing the column by the circle of 13 member- advisors. Foreman had advocated the practice in his *Progressive Magazine* interview. Dustard's attempts to block direct action tactics inside Earth First! fell on deaf ears. The circle went ahead a regularly published "unconventional eco-tactics" in a regular column in the *Journal*. The labeling of the term "unconventional" has significant meaning for Earth First! It is the same term the United States military used when referring to guerilla warfare. Early instruction in the articles offered unconventional tactics ranging from the best mixtures to make irremovable adhesives for posters and billboard, to various different instructions on how to mechanically destroy or sabotage heavy equipment, vehicles and dirt roads.

Edward Abbey justified monkey wrenching in the *Monkey Wrench Gang* and in *Hayduke Lives!* Dave Foreman justified monkey wrenching in *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior* and *Ecodefense* as a situational response, violent or non-violent it did not matter, what best-suited mother Earth is what counted. Foreman stated in *Ecodefense*, "...that monkey wrenching had a long and distinguished history in the United States, going all the way back to the Boston Tea Party, in 1773. The good citizens of Boston opposed to King George III's tyranny, boarded ships and dumped thousands of pounds worth of tea into the harbor (119)." Under this view it makes monkey wrenching appear more acceptable to the public. Foreman over the years failed to see the value of civil disobedience. In the Kalmiopsis campaign he had been run over by a truck causing permanent physical damage to his knees and later sued for thousands of dollars. He felt after the first time of standing in front of a bulldozer and getting nearly killed media sensation lost its luster. As a former lobbyist Foreman agreed different approaches were all part of fighting for environmental causes. Civil disobedience directly entailed confronting ones adversary while monkey wrenching used acts of stealth to commit anonymous acts in the name of the environment. Sabotage such as, cutting bolts drilling and disabling machinery and arson were all means to protect the environment (Bendon).

The radical element of Earth First! wanted to use monkey wrenching as a primary tactic not a last resort. Arson, trees spiking and the sabotage of bulldozers and heavy equipment are seen as necessary measures to disrupt harvesting ancient forests. Some activists in Earth First! enthusiastically accepted these methods. Some were morally opposed to the dilemma of possibly injuring or killing people who were just doing their jobs, despite the environmental degradation they caused. Monkey wrenching split consensus inside the group. Earth First! believed negative publicity resulting from

destructive methods of monkey wrenching fueled publicity and increased tensions, allowed their campaigns to win over time (Foreman 117-118).

Articles in the *Earth First! Journal* became so popular it inspired Foreman to write and publish a how to book entitled *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkey Wrenching*. This book had been conceived after he was injured in the Kalmiopsis campaign and unable to assist Earth Firsters'! in the field. This book is now in its third edition and had been compared to *The Anarchist's Cookbook*. *Ecodefense* is glorious book containing 350 detailed pages on how to destroy just about any piece of equipment or machinery used in wilderness destruction. *Ecodefense* intended to combine an ethical context with a tactical strategy guide to which monkey wrenchers' could operate from. Foreman believed that placing a method of action with ideological conviction had been necessary to convince uncommitted Earth Firster's! and the public of the necessity of the violent and destructive application of Deep Ecology (Merchant 174-75). It offers instructions on the surveillance and planning of strategic monkey wrenching and sabotage activities. Detailed diagrams to destroy heavy equipment, power and seismograph lines, snowmobiles and helicopters on the ground can be found. It also contains instructions on jamming locks, making smoke bombs, pipe bombs, tree spikes, nail boards and incendiary devices. The first rule of any direct action sabotage is do not get caught. Foreman listed several methods to avoid detection and escape and evade from law enforcement. He urged people to work in pairs and listed several activities such as bird watching and fishing to camouflage monkey-wrenching operations (*Ecodefense* 33). The release of *Ecodefense* had been an instant success. It found its way into the backpacks of environmentalists and mischief-makers across the country. Soon Earth First! gained the reputation for being above all things, tree spikers. Tree spiking became the primary direct action by Earth First! It was cheap, easy, and fun and only a couple of people were needed to spike trees.

Tree Spiking

Earth First! and other radical environmentalist groups did not invent tree spiking. It is believed the practice of tree spiking originated in the early 1900's during timber labor union disputes in the Pacific Northwest. It came to prominence in the 1980's as a contentious tactic of radical environmentalist circles. Tree spiking is the driving of large nails, metal rods or ceramic spike into a tree trunk in order to prevent their harvest. Some tree spikers mark trees belligerently to deter their harvest. Tree spiking along with directly informing milling companies about the location of spiked forests has saved thousands of forests (Manes 88). Spikes could possibly injure or kill loggers. Metal saw blades hitting an embedded spike could break or shatter, making it deadly and uneconomical to harvest spiked trees. However, metal objects unrelated to tree spikes are commonly found in trees, objects such as nails or bullets can be lodged in trees unintentionally causing the same damage. Prior to milling operators check trees with metal detectors for spikes or other objects in trees. The objective is to stop the harvest of trees, not to injure people or damage chainsaws. Chainsaws are equipped with chain guards designed to prevent a broken chain from breaking off and injuring the operator. Foreman claimed injury to humans was an unlikely consequence of tree spiking. Intentionally informing sawmills and timber workers to the presence of spiked forests and logging company's safety procedures reduce the likelihood of human injury resulting from monkey wrenching (*Ecodefense* 18).

Ecodefense listed helix spikes as the pay dirt of ultimate metallic spikes. These spiral nails are practically permanent once driven in and very difficult to remove. When the head is cut off, they are given hidden appearances that can often mame loggers. Forrest officials and loggers used metal detector to find these hidden dangers and then radicals switched to thick high temperature baked ceramic spikes that are even more deadly and cannot be detected (*Ecodefense* 95).

Timber companies, labor interests and eventually some Earth First! members have condemned the tactic of tree spiking. The first publicized tree-spiking campaign by Earth First! had been lead by Roselle in the Pyramid Creek campaign as a last resort after three years of unsuccessful civil disobedience efforts in the Cathedral Forest at Willamette. Roselle had his followers spike trees spike trees with 63 pounds of 20 pence nails. The spiking had been as a political act, media event, and public attention awareness drive. Earth First! protesters were tired of being dragged into court by SLAPP lawsuits and getting beaten up by loggers and police and arrested.

Tree spiking became Earth First's main act of retribution. The spikes used at Pyramid Creek were common nails that can be purchased at any hardware store. They range from four inches common nails, to foot length, bridge spikes. Roselle stated that the use of the minimal amount of nails or spikes used in tress resulted in 22 rangers in the forest of days unsuccessfully pulling out spikes. At \$ 3,000 a saw blade and risk of personal injury, loggers will not cut into forests even rumored to have been spiked. Unable to find them all, the timber company could not harvest trees anywhere in the area. (Manes 11). The publicity that was generated had been overwhelming. *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* viciously attacked Earth First! The media attention turned thousands of people sympathetic to environmental preservation on to the Earth First! movement. *The Earth First! Journal* received a thousand more subscribers that month (Manes 99-102).

No Earth Firster's has ever been arrested in connection with tree spiking. Only one serious injury is listed resulting from tree spiking. On May 13, 1987 a Cloverdale, California mill worker George Alexander was seriously injured when the band saw he operated struck an 11 inch helix spike, shattering the blade. The mill had never been warned of an anonymous spiking in the area. Pacific Lumber quickly blamed Earth First! at their press conference. The Los Angles County Police chief

suspect had been a lunatic and right wing militant separatist living in the forest. No charges were ever filed in connection with Alexander's injury (Foreman 15).

Tree spiking and nail boarding were declared a federal felony in the United States by the Anti-Drug Abuse Act in 1988 (18 U.S. Public Law 100-690). This 350 page document had been criticized by environmentalists and the American Civil Liberties Union for inserting a number of provisions originally unintended into the document. Opponents of the law regard it as deceitfully surrendering some of the most basic liberties to fight the "alleged war on drugs." It specifically targeted tree spikers operating on public lands with out the remotest connection to drug related or trafficking crimes. The section entitled "*Hazardous or Injurious Devices on Federal Lands*," amending the existing law (Chapter 91: Title 18 of U.S Code) and listed life term of imprisonment penalty for tree spiking convictions that resulted in death. Any property damage exceeding \$10,000 carried felony charges and five-year minimum sentences. A clause in the amendment addressed personal injury from explosive devices and booby traps such as punji stakes. Serious bodily injury had been defined as a causing a cut, burn, bruise or abrasion. This term gave law enforcement agencies a loose interpretation of what constituted serious injury, increasing the severity of the charges. A series of articles in *Readers Digest* attacked this law intended to disrupt marijuana farmers as specifically aimed at targeting environmentalists (*Ecodefense* 28-32, 95).

In 1988, one Washington lumber mill lost \$20,000 worth of blades from cutting spiked trees. Forest Service spokesman Jay Humphries stated, "Tree spiking is not a pandemic, there are still less than 100 incidents a year. Most of the illegal activity and threats to loggers and Forest Service land is related to marijuana growing, not environmental ecotage (Bendon)." Foreman regarded tree spiking as highly effective and the Forest Service failing to report incidents to avoid publicizing Earth First's!

success (Bendon). The practice of tree spiking did not hurt the Earth First! cause. The large amount of pristine ecosystems threatened made it necessary. The practice of notifying industries and government agencies to where spiked forests were, coincided with their mission statement never to kill anything as a result of direct action. Economically it drove the price of harvesting timber over the brink of economic viability removing the profit motive.

Ecodefense developed a substantial cult following, selling several thousand copies. It is believed to have significantly contributed to increased tree spiking through the training and inspiring the act. It is difficult to measure its impact through media reports, small spikings were sensationalized, or the government did not announce them to the press. They feared it would inspire copycat tree spikings. Monkey wrenching did appear more frequently in the media months after this book was published.

Earth First! public stance on the approval of direct action usually portrayed them as the number one suspect in environmental crimes. Foreman became worried when Earth First! in conjunction with the Animal Liberation Front were blamed for a fire at a livestock barn in 1988. Foreman claims Earth First! had no involvement in the arson. After an internal investigation by Earth First! Foreman blamed the owner of the barn for starting the fire for insurance purposes. Earth First! would also be blamed for more actions they did not commit. Federal agents believed that an Idaho timber company spiked thousands of its own trees for insurance purposes and to discredit Earth First! (Bendon).

On December 17, 1989, California Earth First! used *Ecodefense* as a guide and disrupted the most popular off-road desert race in the country. The Barstow-to-Las Vegas across desert race with up

to 1,100 drivers had been called off after Earth First! barricaded a tunnel to sabotage the race. Off road racing and dirt bike riding contributed to crushing endangered desert tortoises and rupturing the ears of Desert Kangaroo Rats. In The Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society and other groups that say it damaged the environment had fought it in court over it since 1975. Three desert motorcycle races were also canceled by denying operating permits after federal officials investigated the risk to the animals. The denials marked a victory for environmentalists trying to save the desert tortoise (“Motorcyclists Lose in Battle With the Tortoise”). California activists destroyed countless bulldozers and pieces of heavy equipment using the *Ecodefense* Guidebook by pouring coarse sand like compound mixed with cement in the crank cases of machines at construction sites. Home construction in the area was halted by sabotage and arson Foreman stated, “In some cases burning a target is the most effective way of decommissioning it (Manes 88).”

Operation THERMCON

In Prescott, Arizona, a series of undercover investigations know as Operation THERMCON had been launched as a result to a series of sabotage incidents occurring in October and November 1987. The FBI had been determined to disrupt Earth First! between 1987 to 1989. Operation THERMCON involved more than 50 FBI agents who infiltrated the Arizona Earth First! cell. In October 1987, three Earth Firsters! Mark Davis, Margaret Millet, and Marc Baker claimed responsibility for the attacks on a ski lift calling themselves the Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC). Evan Mecham had been the former governor of Arizona. EMETIC's damaged a chairlift at the Fairfield Snow Bowl near Flagstaff, Arizona. An acetylene torch had been used to cut bolts off several of the lift's support towers. A warning letter claiming responsibility by anonymous letter and threatened “to chain the Fairfield CEO to a tree at the 10,000-

foot level and feed him shrubs and roots until he understands the suicidal folly of treating the planet primarily as a tool for making money." the resort shut down the lift in order to repair over \$50,000 in damages caused by EMETIC's sabotage (Jarobe 52-53).

In May 1989, Davis, Millet, and Baker were arrested on charges related to the sabotage of the Fairfield Snow Bowl and transmission towers in the Arizona desert leading from the Palo Verde Nuclear Generating Station. Conspiracy charges to damage power lines leading from nuclear power plants at Central Arizona Project Aqueduct, the Rocky Flats Plant in Colorado and the Diablo Canyon Power Plant in California. Two additional people were also indicted on charges. A fourth EMETIC member, Ilse Asplund and Dave Foreman had been arrested at his home in Tucson, Arizona. Foreman had been awoken at 5am with a .357 magnum put to his head and dragged out of his house in his underwear by agents Undercover FBI agent Michael Fain and informant Ron Fraizer a friend of the three EMETIC members were mainly credited with bringing down this group (Foreman 167).

Foreman had not involved in the group but was charged with conspiracy; on the grounds he gave an autographed copy of his book *Ecodefence* to the undercover agent Fain with the inscription "Happy Monkey Mrenching! (Foreman 161)." The FBI conducted raids later rounded up 25 members of Earth First! The FBI had 575 hours of bugs, wire taps and self implicating talk of tree spiking in Idaho's Clearwater Forrest. Hundreds of surveillance photos and outdoor survival equipment had also been recovered in the raids. Some Earth Firsters! belligerently spoke over the phone about previous direct action campaigns believing their phones were not tapped ("Earth First! Exposes FBI Conspiracy")."

On May 30, 1989 Attorney Gerry Spence represented the Operation THERMCON defendants, The four from Prescott entered into a plea bargain. Davis was sentenced to 6 years in prison and

restitution of \$19,821 for the Arizona Snow Bowl. Millet was sentenced to 3 years and restitution of \$19,821. Baker was sentenced to 6 months and a \$5000 fine, and Apslund to 30 days and a \$2000 fine. The four were sentenced in September 1991. Dave Foreman's case had been separated from the other four and sentencing was deferred until 1996, when the charges were reduced to a single misdemeanor and fined \$250. Conspiracy theories and criticism to explain how Foreman avoided jail time were hatched from left wing and Marxist Earth First! supporters. Foreman claimed he had not been sent to prison because he did not participate or conspire in the sabotage acts of 1991(Jarobe54).

Foreman believed the FBI's \$ 2 million Operation THERMCON investigation by had been politically motivated, "...a result to frame me for 'conspiracy' and brand Earth First! as a band of terrorists (Foreman 127-128)." Foreman claimed the operation intended to discredit Earth First! by linking its leaders to the conspiracy. Undercover agent Michael Fain was recorded saying "I don't really look for them to be doing a lot to hurt people... Foreman isn't really the guy we need to pop... I mean in terms of an actual major perpetrator... He's not it... He's the guy we need to pop to send a message to these people and that's all we're really doing here anyway...Right? Uhoah! We don't need that on tape (Manes197)."Foreman was released from his probation early when this tape accidentally surfaced.

The Timber Industry Strikes Back?

The Timber Industry and their employees usually see Earth First! as nothing more than terrorists who would rather see a logger dead than a tree cut down. Earth First! leader Judi Bari had significant experience in organizing unions and Marxist revolutionary behavior during the Vietnam War protests. She led activists in Northern California and Southern Oregon in an effort to promote

Redwood conservation. The Northern California timber industry had been decimated by job loss and outsourcing, despite record profits by Pacific Lumber. Timber workers agreed to unionize if California Earth First! renounced tree-spiking as a tactic. The timber worker and environmentalist dialogue intended to slow the process of Redwood destruction (Bari 62).

Mike Roselle had enthusiastically advocated tree spiking and allegedly trained 1,000's of young radical environmentalists in monkey wrenching, tree spiking and sabotage. In 1990, he publicly renounced tree spiking as a result of Bari's new timber worker and environmentalist dialogue concerning the California Redwood Industry. This announcement caused Oregon Earth First! to change its tree spiking policy. A bitter rift between Foreman and Roselle developed. Foreman believed Roselle had surrendered all of the fear Earth First!'s successful tool of monkey wrenching caused (Manes102).

In 1990, Bari conceived a nonviolent campaign of protest meant to mimic the Mississippi Summer Meeting of 1964, called Redwood Summer. The Redwood Summer called for college students all over the United States to come to Northern California to intimidate and influence logging companies under the scrutiny of the entire nation. Its goal had been to halt logging in Sequoia National Forest. Bari and 150 laid off workers publicly protested against Pacific Lumber. They wanted The State of California to evoke public domain and seize Pacific Lumbers' assets for the benefit public interest. After this rally Bari and Cherney received countless death threats. The police refused to investigate a single one. Due to increased tension between Earth First! and Pacific Lumber in the area, Beach Boy Brian Wilson urged both sides to use peace and negotiations (Bari 71, 76).

On May 24, 1990 before activists arrived, Bari and her friend Darryl Cherney were driving to Santa Cruz to for a concert to promote Redwood Summer. A pipe bomb under her Subaru wagon exploded beneath the driver's seat. The explosion ripped shrapnel and debris from the car into Bari's abdomen and eyes. The powerful blast threw the vehicle into several other parked cars. She was rushed into emergency lifesaving surgery. The damage to her soft tissue was severe and complicated by her shattered pelvis. She remained in traction for six weeks (Jury Vindicates Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney).

Within hours of the explosion the Oakland Police and regional FBI office said the bomb was homemade by Bari and Chenery. A press leak stated that bomb appeared to be a mishandling accident resulting from Bari's negligence of leaving the bomb in the backseat of her car. It also stated similar materials from the bomb were found inside the car and incriminating evidence of its components had been found at both activists homes. Cherney was held by the police for hours after the blast, restricted from seeing a lawyer while being questioned. Earth First! violently rejected the claim that any of their associates, including Bari and Cherney had anything to do with the bombing. Bari and Cherney waited for weeks to be either formally charged or exonerated. In mid June they were arraigned by the police who claimed they had a steady stream of incriminating evidence. The Oakland Police found a gag photo of Bari holding an Uzi submachine gun. they claimed nails from the bomb matched nails found at her home.

The environmental community rallied together in defense of Bari and Cherney following the bombing. Greenpeace hired private investigators to search for the real perpetrators of the bombing. The authorities refused any other possibility than the victims as the source of the blast. Days before the charges were dropped the Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, Friends of Earth, and numerous

other mainstream groups petitioned the House and Senate Sub judiciary Committee in Congress to investigate. The Attorney General of California wanted both agencies involved in the case investigated. Congressman Ron Dellums issued a statement condemning the FBI's media tactic of trying the case in the media. Cherney was convinced it was the work of the timber industry. Bari was a legitimate target for the timber industry and considered a dangerous instigator. Seeking to unionize timber workers in the Redwood region already facing economic hardship despite record profits provided plenty of motives for Pacific Lumber to bomb Bari (Bari 78).

On July 17, 1990 the California District Attorney announced that no charges would be filed as a result of unsubstantial evidence. The location of the bombs manufacture was inconsistent with evidence gathered at the crime scene. The FBI was unable to link tools at the homes of either suspect as being capable to make that style of a bomb. The matching nails found at her home were a common brand found at any hardware store in the United States. Bari and Cherney accused the Oakland Police and FBI of trying their guilt in the media unfairly through selective leaks and innuendos before admitting they had no substantial evidence against them ("Jury Vindicates Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney").

A Dark Conspiracy...

In 1996, the FBI field office released a 6,000 page file to Earth First! activists Bari and Cherney. The documents gathered for their own lawsuit provided detailed records of FBI agent provocateurs associated with Operation THERMCON spent two years winning the trust of the Prescott group. FBI provocateurs aggressively encouraging them to sabotage power lines and attempted unsuccessfully to convince the group that they should use explosives, and even offered to buy them.

FBI agents also selected the site and purchased and transported cutting equipment prior to the sabotage attempt. leading to accusations of entrapment (Bari 198).

According to the sworn testimony of Oakland Police and FBI agents, confirmed by documents in the FBI files, the FBI held a Bomb Investigator's Training Course in Eureka, California, in the heart of the Redwood region four weeks before the bomb exploded in Judi's car. During this week-long course, open to law enforcement only, the FBI blew up cars with pipe bombs and practiced investigation response procedures. The FBI official who supervised the Judi Bari bombing case was Richard W. Held, Special Agent in Charge of the San Francisco FBI office. Held became notorious for his role in during the 1970's domestic Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). In the words of J. Edgar Hoover, "COINTELPRO will expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize activists and groups advocating social change in the United States. ("Who Bombed Judi Bari?")."

The techniques of COINTELPRO included the use of disinformation campaigns, surveillance, threats and violence in order to isolate political groups, terrorize and destabilize them, and frame or assassinate their leaders. Held's association with COINTELPRO goes back 25 years. In the late 1960's and early 1970's he was in charge of the COINTELPRO operation against the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles, in which the FBI produced death threats and fake documents to discredit activists and foment in-fighting. Two of the best known victims of COINTELPRO are Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), and American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier. Both are internationally recognized political prisoners who were framed and still remain in jail for crimes that the evidence shows they could not have commit. Richard Held was directly involved in both their cases. ("Who Bombed Judi Bari?").

The massive FBI abuses shown in this case contradict the agency's claim of reform. The use of false charges to frame and discredit activists, as well as the tolerance of violence against them, recalls the darkest days of J. Edgar Hoover's infamous COINTELPRO program of FBI repression against political activists in the 1960's and '70's. COINTELPRO was officially disbanded in 1975 after a congressional investigation exposed its massive abuses of democratic rights. In the 1990's, the techniques of COINTELPRO appear to have been used in the Judi Bari case. Detailed photographs of her Subaru wagon show that a bomb ripped through the driver side floor of the car and not in the back seat as the FBI claimed. Bari believes that the conspiracy against her and other Earth First! activists arrested in Operation THERMCON further demonstrate the governments conspiracy in her bombing and are related and a deeper plot of the governments desire to silence dissident groups (" Who Bombed Judi Bari?").

On June 11, 2002, a federal jury returned a stunning verdict in favor of Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney in their landmark civil rights lawsuit against four FBI agents and three Oakland Police Officers. The jury found that six of the seven FBI agents and Oakland Police Officers framed Bari and Cherney to disrupt participation in the Redwood Summer and discredit Earth First! Bari received compensation for permanent injuries that physically disabled her from the bombing. The federal jury awarded 80% of the \$4.4 million in total damages for violation of their First Amendment Rights of free speech and free assembly in defense of Sequoia National Park ("Jury's message to feds in \$4.4 million verdict for Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney").

A Founders Interpretation: Earth First! Today

The near death of the two most outspoken Earth Firsters! from a suspected timber industry pipe bomb and the contested practice of tree spiking caused serious divisions inside the group. During the late 1980's and early 1990's, the FBI had considerable success disrupting anarchists and radical environmentalists. Despite the disruption, Earth First! survived and had to seek new anonymous underground methods to practice direct action. Ironically, Earth Firsters! ideological existence had been threatened by internal anarchy, not mainstream bureaucracy. The old guard of founders and original supporters favored expelling uncommitted pacifists. They hoped to reform the group to coincide with its original message from the first desert meeting. Inside Earth First! as two extreme factions emerged. Advocates of anarchy and people committed to civil disobedience divided consensus. Foreman offered people opposing monkey wrenching and direct action a no fault divorce. Some members left the group to pursue other nonviolent environmental causes. Foreman and Bari had a series of bitter arguments over the use of direct action. Bari would later encourage Earth Firsters! who wanted to use ecotage to leave and join the ELF.

Foreman made a series of controversial statements to discredit himself and Earth First! publicly. Foreman a registered republican often made comments and harbored ideas that could be considered right wing. He made comments regarding people infected with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) as a pandemic that could benefit the environment. Foreman advocated allowing people during the Ethiopian Famine to starve in order to avoid throwing off the balance of nature. He also called for a decree to reduce the world's population by in 100 million people (Edwards 160). Foreman made a series of statements defending Abbey's position about the need to halt illegal immigration in the Southwestern United States. Abbey's insisted this would reduce societal and environmental ills caused from cheap mass employment and ease pressure on the overloaded welfare

system. Abbey predicted a social, political, and moral revolution that was both necessary and inevitable occurring in Latin American nations. Abbey suggested that the United States Government encourage it by, “finding every *campesino*(farmer) at our southern border, give him a handgun, a good high-power rifle and a case of ammunition and send him home. He will know what to do with out gifts and good wishes (Foreman 219).”

During the late 1980's Foreman, Wolke and Roselle regarded Earth First! as having evolved into an entirely different entity than they had envisioned. In 1985, the annual Rendezvous took place surrounded in a forest of Aspen's at Colorado's Uncompagne Plateau. At the Rendezvous, Wolke argued with an Oregon Earth Firster! to no avail, that it was inappropriate for the Oregon Earth First! group to advocate legalizing marijuana for any reason. After a long argument with the activist Wolke stated, “It's not our issue I insisted, simply not our issue (Wolke).” Earth First! founders wanted to stick to real environmental issues and policy that's success could be measured by wilderness areas protected and saved.

At a 1987 Earth First! Rendezvous under the big ponderosa of the Grand Canyon's North Rim, Abbey had been heckled and subjected to harsh criticism by younger Earth Firsters! The old guard of Earth First! revered Abbey and were horrified that he received that type of treatment at an Earth First! event. Earth First! funds intended to support the *Journal* had been diverted to launch a punk rock-style information letter *Live Wild or Die* by a leftist element in Earth First! It exposed and published previously unknown monkey wrenching and direct action campaigns. It viciously attacked Foreman and Abbey's public right wing views while publicizing internal Earth First! problems.

By 1990, Earth First! had attracted new counterculture members who took the group in a more left-wing direction than Foreman was comfortable associating with. The defining moment for Foreman had been when some activists under the Earth First! banner held a puke-in at a shopping mall. On the 26 anniversary of Earth First! Wolke in his article "*Earth First! A Founders Story*," resentfully stated, "Unintentionally, we'd created a vehicle for the counter-culture. Earth First! became a vehicle for leftist political causes, anarchy, anarchist-leftist's, anti-hunting campaigns, eco-feminists, fags for social justice and new age crazies who came talking to us about of cosmic energy (1)." Wolke and Foreman reflected a very common sentiment of early members felt uncomfortable and out of place in their own group they created. By 1990, Foreman Wolke, Roselle and most of the old guard severed their ties to Earth First!

Wolke's April 6, 2006 article entitled *Earth First! A Founders Story* clearly addressed the internal changes that occurred within the Earth First! He stated, "originally this movement was meant to be a redneck," he explained "the only human diversity we cared about within our movement it was really the diversity of white middle class outdoors types... to help us cultivate the beer-guzzling redneck image(2)." Most of the old guard had been outdoor enthusiasts, pro gun enthusiasts, pro war, hunters, and conservatives, just like Foreman. They created an environment that was outwardly hostile to the growth of a leftist social change and causes. Foreman ultimately regarded Earth First! division as a result from the new guards Marxist ideology and cancerous leftism. By 1990, Earth First! had been divided by conservationists versus social activists, hunters versus hunt saboteurs and Wilderness Miss Ann Thropy (pronounced mis-anthropology) columns in the *Journal* replaced by bleeding heart leftist social issues

Foreman's resentment stems from the criticism he received by leftist Earth Firsters! after not being convicted on federal charges in Operation THERMCON. After his exoneration of federal sabotage and conspiracy charges he stated, "I got to the point where I didn't care if people like me, or what they say about me." The trial nonetheless was a break point ...the kind of support I got from my real friends, and quite frankly, I got more support from the mainstream than I got from the new Earth First! made me happy, because that's where my deeper roots were (Bergman 5)." Foreman went back to working as an environmental activist for several mainstream organizations.

In Bergman's 1998 article *Wild at Heart: An Interview*, Foreman defended his return to the mainstream environmental movement from criticism. He Stated, " for over twenty-five years now I've been doing the same thing," he insisted " I've never change my goal as a conservationist... and that's been to protect as much wilderness, intact ecosystems and native species as possible... as times change, as a person changes, you seek new ways of doing that. I've been looking for new, effective strategies the whole time (5)." On his 50th birthday, Foreman won an election for a third term as President and Director of the Sierra Club. At the time *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior* just been published, and he launched a new magazine, *Wild Earth* (intended as a replacement for the 1980s style *Earth First! Journal*), and launch a new environmental group, The Wildlands Project.

In 1986, Roselle started working for Greenpeace, creating the group's first American Action Teams. He organized groups of activists who trained, prepared, and executed unlawful acts together. In 1998, he was elected to the organization's national board of directors. In 1990, Greenpeace U.S.A. made him the director of their national Rapid Response Team program. In the 1990's, he founded the Ruckus Society in rural Montana with Wolke's help. In January 2005, Wolke went on to found Lowbagger.org in Missoula, Montana with Roselle as its publisher and editor. *Lowbagger* is an online

journal that has a national audience. It covers and comments on current events that affect the lifestyles and landscapes of outdoor enthusiasts (Wolke).

Earth First! As A Radical Environmental Group: It's Significant Contribution to The Revolutionary Structure of the Modern Radical Environmental Movement

Despite some of its founding fathers returning to the mainstream, Earth First! continues to operate today. Earth First! left a lasting impact on breaking down mainstream barriers of environmental policy and reform. Their revolutionary approach of refusing to compromise and direct action campaigns during the groups first ten years left a permanent impact on the radical environmental movement. They applied Deep ecology not just in theory, but in practice. Earth First! represented a large number of environmentalists that felt non violent civil disobedience is not enough, and that the environmental crisis calls for more drastic action. Strategic monkey wrenching opened the door to use ecotage as the politics of reform. In Manes *Green Rage*, Foreman is credited as having, “developed strategic monkey wrenching based on the belief that if profit brings the resource industry into the wilderness, loss of profit due to continuing equipment damage, production delays, and increased security will drive them out ultimately eroding their bottom line(186).” This notion resulted in significant land based environmental protection and preservation of thousands of acres wilderness and national parks.

Earth First! developed an unorganized operational structure model that modern radical environmental movements use today. Earth First! is a movement rather than an organization. It lacked an identifiable and official leadership and supported its self through fundraising and solicitations largely donated by mainstream groups. The only contact information available for Earth First! had

been through the *Journal*. It had a list of unregistered post office boxes in various states. No names were ever revealed in the media taking credit for monkey wrenching, except for public campaigns that Earth First! chose to bring forward to the media. Earth First! pioneered sabotage tactics like tree sitting and tree spiking to halt logging and development. Earth First! had a legitimate commitment to their ideology and a sincere effort in achieving environmental reform just as its founders had intended. Earth First! had been recognized for many things. It had been politically provocative using inflammatory rhetoric and media to create successful nonviolent confrontational campaigns. It aroused sympathy for whatever cause they were championing. Tree spiking, tree sitting, monkey wrenching and the application of deep ecology were customized to fit the Earth First! strategy.

Earth First! finances were further scrutinized by the fact it was not a registered nonprofit organization such as Greenpeace. Roselle formerly operated the California-based Earth First! Direct Action Fund. Since 1985, the Earth First! Direct Action Fund has assisted in planning, coordinating and funding the frontline operations of the Earth First! movement. This fund provides donations so that activists will have access to action resources: tools, climbing equipment, props, banners and transportation ("The EF! Direct Action Fund") This fund heavily solicits public and private donations. It heavily solicits contributions from mainstream organizations. They regularly received funds from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Greenpeace, the Turner Foundation; the Tides Foundation; the Foundation for Deep Ecology, and the New-Land Foundation. Greenpeace donated money to Earth First! fully understanding it would be used for direct action operations. This benefited mainstream groups by allowing them to support actions they publicly were not willing to endorse for fear of public opinion and losing memberships (Spencer & Morais).

Some Earth First! activists gained notoriety for peaceful protest such as Julia "Butterfly" Hill, who had camped out on the branch of a tree slated for cutting, while Earth Firsters! on the ground brought her supplies and removed her garbage. Butterfly Hill holds the world record for the longest recorded tree sit known to date. On December 18, 1999 she spent 738 days in the canopy of a 180-foot-tall 1,000 year-old California Redwood she named Luna. She successfully negotiated the permanent protection of Luna in a three-acre buffer zone. Her two-year campaign informed the public that only 3% of ancient redwood forests remain. Entire forests were brokered off by state and federal agencies to Pacific Lumber Corporation. Her commitment and peaceful articulate message of hope, empowerment, and love and respect for all life inspired millions of people worldwide. Butterfly Hill and other forest activists founded the Circle of Life group to inspire, support and network individuals, organizations, and communities. They created environmental and social solutions rooted deeply in love and respect for the interconnectedness of all life. Through education and outreach, they promote efforts to protect and restore the Earth non-violently (Hill).

More infamous characters hurt Earth Firsters! and reinforced their radical reputation. Earth Firsters! militant message had been supported by Ted Kaczynski, later known as the Unabomber. Kaczynski had been a Harvard educated mathematics professor and Montana recluse who mailed dozens of letter bombs that killed three and wounded 28. After the FBI raided the shed Kaczynski had been living in 1996, FBI agents discovered several volumes of the *Earth First! Journal*. It is also alleged that Kaczynski went to an Earth First! meeting at the University of Montana where a hit list of enemies of the environment was distributed freely. They Also found a publication called *Live Wild or Die*, financed by Earth First! featured the environmentalist movement's most hated enemies. The *Eco-Fucker Hit List* by Mike Roselle listed the names of big industry and sciences most prominent enemies such as the Exxon Oil Company. On February 2, 1994 an article in the *Earth First Journal!*

erroneously claimed that a firm called Burson-Marsteller was in charge of Exxon's public relations campaign after the wake of the Exxon Valdez oil spill (Jackson).

On December 10, 1994 Kaczynski sent the mail bomb that killed Burson-Marsteller executive Thomas Mosser at his New Jersey home. Earth First! claims they had no involvement with the Unabomber and that his campaign started before Earth First!'s creation. Earth First! also claims that Kaczynski's message was about psychological fulfillment and never mentioned a single principle of the group. However, Kaczynski by accepting the Earth First! message and subscribing to the *Journal* regarded himself as a member. Kaczynski's Earth First! membership demonstrated how believing in an ideology combined with an unorganized membership structure can attract the violent fringe of radical environmentalism (Jackson).

Overall Earth First! campaigns of direct action and monkey wrenching proved to be an important part of radical ecology. Earth First! had been far from peaceful and often more destructive than violent. Earth First! was never an organization; it was a movement with no formal membership or officers. Leadership had been selected by good example, commitment and initiative. Despite his bitter disagreements with Bari and leftists over direct action and politics, Foreman is convinced that Earth First! accomplished the goals it set out to in the desert. Roselle's reputation as a master of non-violent confrontational protest attracted thousands to join Earth First! It spawned numerous effective wild land environmental groups and proved to be an excellent training ground for young activists.

Earth First!'s most significant contribution is that it succeeded in changing the parameters of the wilderness debate. Earth First! had been innovators of initiatives and successful environmental campaigns that back in 1980 were unimaginable. In 1990, Foreman and Roselle would have liked to

see both factions put aside their differences and unite to confront the most heinous environmental destruction facing the planet. Wolke stated, “whether or not Earth First! was a good idea is water under the bridge, but by the time Foreman and I quit in 1990, ideological anarchy appeared to be deeply imbedded in the group’s fabric (1).” Earth First! direct action campaigns would appear moderate in the years that followed by disgruntled Earth Firsters! and Animal liberation Front radicals who formed the Earth Liberation Front.

The Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front Introduction

Deep ecology states environmental deterioration is currently so rapid that ecological and political tactics which are objectionable to most people, are viewed as unquestionably necessary. A goal of Earth First! had been the proliferation of Deep ecology radical movements throughout the industrial world. By the time Earth First! made its presence known in the United States, the animal rights movement had been well established for decades in Britain. Politically, Green parties in Europe were much more prevalent and followed an ideology that integrated environmentalism with social justice, consensus decision-making, and pacifism. Greens believe that environmental and social issues were inherently connected to one another.

In the early 1970’s, British animal rights activists had been active for two decades before emerging in the United States. In Britain, animal rights anarchists were drastically more violent than any environmental group or movement in America. By 1988, the animal rights movement in England had operated with full momentum. They used arson to torch vivisection laboratories after conducting rescue raids in order to inflict economic damage on targets. This had been intended to discourage professions that involved the exploitation of animals. Disenfranchised tree spikers and monkey

wrenchers from the Earth First! road show began to collaborate with the ALF. this collaboration started an international radical environmental movement beginning in Great Brittan, before spreading across Europe and arriving in the United States. The animal rights philosophical approach and willingness to participate in routine violent acts, combined with the Earth Firsts! practice of deep ecology, decentralized leadership model and monkey wrenching inspired an even more violent radical environmentalist movement. The Earth Liberation Front would emerge form an alliance.

The Animal Liberation Front

In Britain, the animal rights movement dates back to the 1800's, when young people calling themselves the "Band of Mercy" disrupted hunts and sabotaged hunters weapons. Radical environmentalism in Britain gained notoriety from Green movements of the early 1970's. "The Band" reemerged with a vengeance. Ronnie Lee and Cliff Goodman, veteran animal rights activists and hunt saboteurs' formed a radical new "Band." They initially vandalized the hunters' vehicles and slashed. They then progressed to arson, touching vivisection facilities used for animal research and testing causing an estimated \$ 85,000 in damage. "The Band" hit a laboratory in Bicester where animal breeding had been conducted. They burned the building and all the cars in the parking lot down and destroyed a sealing boat before they were charged. In August 1974, Lee and Goodman were arrested for the raid on Oxford Laboratory Animal Colonies in Bicester. The media portrayed the Bicester arson as nothing more than hooliganism. As first time offenders, The Bicester Two as they were called were sentenced to 3 years in Oxford Prison (Newkirk 62-63).

During this time, Lee went on the movement's first hunger strike in order to obtain vegan food and clothing. After serving just 12 months they were released early. Lee emerging more committed

and militant than before. In 1976, Lee organized the remaining Band of Mercy activists and gathered two dozen new trusted recruits and created the ALF. The ALF's mission statement:

- 1. To inflict economic damage on those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals.*
- 2. To liberate animals from places of abuse, i.e. laboratories, factory farms, fur farms etc., and place them in good homes where they may live out their natural lives, free from suffering.*
- 3. To reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors, by performing nonviolent direct actions and liberations.*
- 4. To take all necessary precautions against harming any animal, human or non-human.*
- 5. Any group of people who are vegetarians or vegans and who carry out actions According to ALF guidelines have the right to regard themselves as part of the ALF (Newkirk 64).*

Years later In 1988, Kim Stallwood a spokesperson for PETA, regarded the creation of the ALF as a tremendous initiative on behalf of animals everywhere. Stallwood worked in a chicken processing plant before becoming a vegetarian. He was an advocate for the protection of small farms in Britain. He also joined a group called British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV) and internally radicalized it. In the 1970s, this group had been mainstream until the early 80s, when Stallwood and a number of friends were elected to the BUAV board of directors. From that point on the BUAV began to endorse radical policies of supporting illegal activities to save animals and disrupt vivisection, so long as they did not harm any life. In 1987, Stallwood went to work as a PETA spokesman and became a crucial linking factor between BUAV, PETA and the ALF. Some BUAV activists were extremely upset about the BUAV acting as media representatives for the ALF. Internal fighting between the old guard and the new guard became common as the new guard advocated direct action and sabotage (Stallwood).

Stallwood regarded the British animal rights situation as drastic and requiring an equally drastic response. All across Britain vegetarianism, animal rights, and cruelty free products became socially popular. Animal rights activists began to use a combination of peaceful and destructive campaigns against consumers and retailers of fur. Animal rights activists often spray painted people's fur coats while they were wearing them or threw red paint on fur coats sitting on store shelves. In Britain these tactics combined with fire bombing retailers, led to a dramatic decline in fur popularity.

Debenhams department chain store in England had been the victim of an ALF attack where three activists used timed incendiary devices that exploded in the middle of the night when the store had been empty in order to ruin the inventory from water damage. ALF began to publicize the accounts of damage conducted on behalf of the defense of animals. The ALF financially assisted activists accused of wrong doing who faced criminal charges. In February 1987, ALF co-founder Ronnie Lee who took part in the attack was sentenced to ten years in prison after being found guilty on three conspiracy charges involving arson and bombings. The bombings and arson attacks hurt the animal right cause in Britain and up to 15 ALF activists faced charges by 1988 (Toolis). In 1990, Harrods department store stopped selling furs after its sales dropped 40% and it was fire bombed three times. Harrods insisted they were not caving into pressure from animal rights groups (No More Fur At Harrods).

In the early 1990's, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) established that individuals become members of the ALF not by filing out paperwork or paying dues, but simply by engaging in direct action against companies or individuals who exploit animals for research or economic gain. It is very similar to the structural organizational model Earth First! used and a key component of radicalization. The ALF continued to conduct raids on research and testing facilities, freeing all of the animals before

burning the buildings to the ground. Activists engaged in a steadily growing campaign of illegal activity against fur companies, mink farms, restaurants, and animal research laboratories.

In 1986 Ingrid Newkirk, the president of PETA, described in her book *Free The Animals* the process of contacting the ALF and beginning training. Newkirk describes the story of a female K-9 police officer named “Valerie,” who received help from Lee to set up the first ALF cell in the United States. She flew from Maryland to London to seek Lee's help. She made contact with him through an appointment with Stallwood, executive director of the BUAV. Newkirk pretended she was writing an article about animal rights, and asked Stallwood how to contact Lee for an interview. Stallwood told her BUAV allowed Lee and his supporters to use an office in the BUAV building but Lee was not present. Lee had been banned by some BUAV members who did not agree with the merits of his direct action. Newkirk described how Stallwood introduced Valerie to Lee in a nearby pub. When he searched all of her personal effects to make sure she was not recording their conversation, he told her he could arrange for her to join an ALF training course in the Northern England. She boarded a train to the countryside where an ALF agent approached Newkirk beginning her indoctrination. She described the extreme secrecy of the ALF. Participants in the training course did not know each other's real names. everyone had been assigned a letters only. Newkirk stated Valerie had been assigned the letter “V.” Lee had been the only person who knew everyone's true identity (Newkirk 45).

Earth First! Britain

In the early 1990's, the radical environmental activism worldview continued to spread, and, a new faction emerged, interjecting new energy and dimensions into its radical arsenal. Earth First! was established in the United Kingdom after a 1990 road show tour by activists from the United States. Earth First! with their Pagan beliefs and deeply rooted Native American traditions and ritual references

of the Southwest became quick with friends the British Earth First! group. It is not surprising that when it spread to Great Britain, mainly Scotland, Wales and Ireland that it would find brethren with radical environmentalists there who deeply practiced Celtic renewal and ecological resistance movements. The green political mentality expedited social and environmental causes and awareness. In 1991, the international direct action movement Earth First! established itself in Britain and soon became the fastest growing environmental movement at that time (Taylor 24, 239-240).

Earth First! Britain gained media attention when two of their activists protested deforestation to the rainforests of Sarawak, Malaysia. Sarawak is part of the oldest, biologically richest rainforest on Earth and perhaps the world's oldest terrestrial ecosystem. The genetic repository of Sarawak dates back as much as 160 to 180 million years, much older than the Amazon Rainforest. Sarawak's rainforest has one of the world's highest rates of endemism. Native Penan jungle tribes were barricading logging roads and standing up to corporate exploitation of their home. Logging in Sarawak had been conducted to satisfy the Japanese consumer desire for mahogany. The British Earth Firsters! joined Penan blockades. They were arrested by the government and spent two months in a Malaysian jail. Britain's leading environmental groups and the Malaysian government were annoyed with sensational media attention and action of British Earth Firsters! this attracted.

Friends of Earth central office publicly denounced British Earth Firsters! campaign arguing that Earth First! taking action in Sarawak aided the Malaysian government claim that all opposition to the logging externally emanated from the west. This condemnation ignored the fact the Penan had requested people join them. The Malaysian government was unlikely to halt the destruction without increased physical opposition. British Earth Firsters! and Penan tribesmen were arrested after being beaten at protests. One imprisoned Earth Firsters! said, "In our absence from Britain we had been tried and convicted by the mainstream groups. They have convicted us of crimes they themselves could

never be accused of. Action! With friends like these, the Earth doesn't need enemies (Manes 120-123)."

The new generation of radical environmentalists in Britain activists focused attention on Multinational corporations and environmentally unfriendly and exploitive practices of NGOs. In July 1991, the annual meeting of the G7, the worlds seven leading state powers came to London. Without any money left after aiding activists in Sarawak, a small Earth First! group of less than two dozen dropped banners outside of buildings to disrupt meetings inside. The mobilization by British Earth First! began. The next time the G7 came to Britain, the radical environmental movement would draw thousands of protesters. British Earth First! began to make links with pre existing networks: Green Anarchist's, The (embryonic) Rainforest Action Network, Green Student groups, and various peace groups, Friends of Earth, Hunt Saboteurs and The ALF. these groups represented a generation largely consisting of students and anachrarist's disillusioned with mainstream environmental policy. British Earth First! groups sprang up in London, Brighton, Glastonbury, Liverpool, Oxford, Manchester and Norwich.

On December 4, 1991 British Earth First! carried out its first organized successful action at Tilbury docks in London. A riotous mobs of 200 people converged on South Downs in London to protest road construction. That month the British Earth First! action update reported the headline *Reclaiming the Streets: A Small Roadblock Done by South Downs Earth First!* The campaign to halt road construction continued in England. British Earth First! stormed the Liverpool docks with 400 protesters. For several days the mobs controlled the docks until dock workers refused to unload shipments while Earth Firster's! remained in the ship yard. Violent confrontations erupted between dock workers and protestors. Earth Firsters! criticized police tactics for allowing dock workers to

attack protesters before arresting only the protestors. Eventually the police cleared the entire dock arresting 72 protestors (Panagioti).

February, 1992 the first anti-road direct action had been held at Twyford Down in Hampshire. Friends of Earth held a symbolically chained themselves up of the site which ended by a court order. At the request of the Twyford Down Earth First! protestors from all over Britain began a string of actions sabotaging roads and blockades. 29 British Earth First! activists chained themselves up at the Malaysian Airline office to show solidarity with 31 Penan tribesmen on trial. Mass arrests caused bail release restrictions that contained instructions to avoid protests such as Twyford Downs. As a result, the mass breaking of bail became common. British Earth First! carried out a series of raids against Mahogany importers through out the country. The ELF activists also participated in the riots and mobbing throughout Hampshire. They found themselves under scrutiny by police interest in their activities. An inconsistent series of protests, direct action, anti-road campaigns, nighttime sabotage and street blockades focused attention on a group calling themselves the ELF. Increased investigations targeted British Earth First! and the ELF. A Hampshire based company employed by the police privately investigated them. They created a list of profiles and information on known or suspected radical environmentalists forcing them underground. (“Down With The Empire! Up With The Spring!”).

The Creation of The Earth Liberation Front

Hundreds of protestors from across Britain lead to the creation of camps in the countryside of South Downs. Groups traveling to a protest needed a place to sleep after traveling from all over Britain. This is the catalyst that set up Britain’s first ever ecological direct action camp. The British Earth First! had been divided between the Dongas Tribe and the Dragon Environmental network. In

June, the Dongas Tribe established a camp in a sheep pasture near a major highway. This became a central location to plan road protests and guerilla monkey wrenching. The Dongas tribe developed rapidly as activists was attracted to the site by its summer beauty and advocacy of direct action. The Twyford Down campaign formed a blend between predominately urban Earth First! activists and predominately rural ALF travelers. The activists and their different action techniques blended here (Panagioti).

Both sides had serious philosophical division as the summer progressed. There has been tension within the Dongas Tribe over what direct action policies should be implemented. By fall serious conflict erupted over the question of monkey wrenching. The Dongas Tribe threatened to repeat a failed arson attack on Dragon Tribe's camp in retaliation for sabotaging a planned direct action campaign. After serious fighting between the two tribes, direct action had been banned after a meeting of both tribes. Leftist, hippies and pacifists banished Earth First! from the tribes and camp they had been involved creating. The methods of Earth First! had proven too moderate for some of its members.

April Fool's Earth Night 1992: ELF's First Earth Night!

In April 1992, expelled members of the Donga Tribe and Dragon Environmental Network who favored direct action left their tribes. Later that month, they attended the first British Earth First! Earth Night in Brighton. At the gathering there was discussion about the use of direct action. Some felt that the British Earth First! movement would loose popular support it is associated with criminal damage. Earth First! would continue to advocate and focus attention on civil disobedience and mass demonstrations. This decision by British Earth First! ceased using direct action as a weapon. If activists wanted to participate in acts of ecotage and monkey wrenching they would use the new name

"Earth Liberation Front." A new movement was born, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). The ELF was dedicated to using ecotage as its primary weapon. The ELF is structured to maximize the two most effective aspects of Earth First! and the ALF. By operating in anonymous cells this decentralized structure maintained anonymity and group security. This also kept members and activists out of jail to continue conducting ecotage. It's derived its name and ecotage guidelines from the ALF, another movement whose members were also in attendance at Earth Night 1992. The ELF modeled itself after the already successful ALF autonomous cell structure and ecotage guidelines of operation, as well as its policy of illegal non-violent direct action (Panagioti).

The very first ELF direct action is unknown and undocumented. Its first and most notable actions occurred on April Fool's Earth Night 1992. A night organized by 60 activists in South Downs to carry out ecotage. April 13th, 1992 The Elves, targeted Thorne Moors Fisons intending to stop peat extraction. Thorne Moors, a peat company had been accused of destroying peat bogs. Elves attacked in the middle of the night causing an estimated \$100,000 worth of damage. Pumps, trucks and other machinery belonging to the company had been completely destroyed. Friends of Earth environmental group spent two years on a failed boycott and legal campaign to halt peat extraction. Upon hearing of news reports of the attack, Friends of Earth central office placed several telephone calls and went on television condemning the Earth First! action.. *Green Anarchist Magazine* publicized the communiqué' from the ELF shortly after the incident and stated, "all our peat bogs must be preserved in their entirety, for the sake of the plants, the animals and our national heritage. Cynically donating small amounts will do no good. The water table will drop, and the bogs will dry out and die, unless it is preserved fully. Fisons must leave all of it alone - now! (Best & Nocella 51-52)."

A Communiqué from “Tara the Sea Elf”

In many ways the first few months of 1992 set a pattern of radicalism that became prevalent throughout the next decade. In the 1993 fall issue of the *Journal*, an anonymous article announced the creation of the ELF in Brighton, England from the first Earth Night. It stated ELF is a movement of independently operating eco-saboteurs that split from the British Earth First! According to an account published in *the Earth First! Journal* activists in Britain frustrated with internal Earth First division wanted to pursue more aggressive tactics (ELF 1993). A communiqué from “Tara the Sea Elf,” claimed that by 1993 the ELF had created twenty clandestine cells across England. In the United States, the most radical element of Earth First! anarchist’s quickly adopted the ELF acronym, emboldened by it. The name caught on rapidly, in part because it provided communiqués for the most radical actions. The name ELF or referring to himself or herself as Elves had significant meaning. Elves are positively viewed in Western civilization and literature as playful and mischievous, not malicious. The name caught on also, in part, because the idea of Elves in the woods coincided with the pagan spirituality commonly found among some activists in radical environmental movements.

“Tara the Sea Elf’s,” communiqué asserted the ELF perpetuates the legends of the “Little People,” which in most European countries have a history of causing trouble, being mischievously always heard, but never seen. These mythical creatures lived close to the earth in most legends and function as protectors for the environment. They are appropriated as symbolic Earth warriors and conjure images that resonate with the pagan spirituality of many environmental activists. One Earth Firster! in 1993, writing under the pseudonym “Buck Young,” stated, “modern people can not experience the world as enchanted because they have paved it over and muted the Earth’s sacred voices (ELF 1993).” He wrote an innovative account of the emergence of radical environmental

activism that hints at why “elves” proved to be attractive. “Gnomes, elves, fauns, fairies, goblins, ogres, trolls and boogiemens ...must infiltrate our world to effect change from the inside. These natural spirits manifest in human bodies, working in co-ops, talking to themselves in the streets and spiking trees and blow up tractors starting revolution and making religions (Jarboe 46).”

Tara the Sea Elf’s communiqué further stated that unlike the ALF which seeks publicity, ELF cells, for security reasons, work without informing the press and do not claim responsibility for actions except through communiqués (Earth Liberation Front). The communiqué had been the first public declaration of unity between the ELF and the ALF’s actions. This unity mutually benefited both groups, by interchanging established leadership, membership and tactical knowledge. The ALF and the ELF routinely claim joint responsibility for ecotage in their communiqués and on their web sites. Radical environmentalists consider the ELF to be the environmental wing of the Animal Liberation Front. Tara the Sea Elf’s most important declaration found in her communiqués had been explanation of elves and other mythical creatures. The Earth Liberation Front Guidelines were publicized for the first time and state:

1. *To inflict economic damage on those profiting from the destruction and exploitation of the environment.*
2. *To reveal and educate the public on the atrocities committed against the earth and all species that populate it.*
3. *To take all necessary precautions against harming any animal, human or nonhuman* (Roesebraugh18).

The European Road Show: Exporting The ELF Concept

The Earth First! road show introduced Europe to the practice of Deep ecology with great success. Disenfranchised Earth Firsters! that had left America were a key component of creating the ELF. By 1994, the ELF quickly spread across Europe using the same style road show that many of its members previously participated in as Earth Firsters! Ecotage campaigns first occurred in Holland and Germany before spreading to Ireland, Italy, Finland, Scandinavia, Russia, Poland, Spain, France and New Zealand. ELF gained notoriety and recognition across the globe after a series of publicized attacks. Cooperation with existing ALF cells is believed to have developed ELF cells more rapidly in these countries. The global reach of Earth First! allowed British Elves to contact other activists with similar discontent for the status quo and informed them about the ELF tactics. The modern capitalist countries of Western Europe were targeted first. France, Spain, Germany and Holland all experienced some of the very first the ELF and ALF claimed sabotage attacks.

Symbols of capitalism such as Multinational Cooperation's (MNC's) were valued ELF targets. Within two years, attacks on McDonald's and major fast food franchises were conducted in Germany and Poland. In Amsterdam the Netherlands, Schiphol International Airport had been sabotaged when an Elf drove a stolen car into a newly constructed aviation tower. In Holland and Germany automotive dealerships were vandalized and destroyed as a warning to police against disrupting the ELF and ALF actions (Best & Nocella 54). By 1994, Earth First! leader Judi Bari understandably published a statement in the *Earth First Journal* recommending that "Earth First! mainstream itself in the United States and leave criminal acts other than unlawful protests to the ELF (ELF Burns)."

In 1994, Dutch authorities and police made claims that British Earth First! activists were travelling abroad to cause sabotage. British Earth First! disputed these accusations, later that year the

first ELF activist had been caught and later charged. He was arrested and accused of carrying out an 18 month campaign of vandalism in Holland against road construction sites. The Dutch government attempted to declare him insane, for his inability to provide a political reason for his actions, other than his care for the environment. The court ruled him mentally fit to stand trial. He was sentenced to three years in prison property damage. The increased popularity of the environmental movement, as well as the animal rights movement it is estimated that five ELF and ALF actions occurred every day that year (Best & Nocella 19).

Police carried out a series of raids against animal rights and environmental activists. In total, 55 raids had been carried out against suspected ELF and ALF activists. On January 16th, 1996, in Italy, six men were indicted after conducting a destructive five year ELF and ALF campaign. One year later, they were each sentenced to three years for conspiracy to incite direct action in the name of the ALF and ELF. The amount of investigation and indictments against the participants of the European road show caused many radicals to go into hiding and flee to North America. The ELF would make its United States debut later that year (Best & Nocella 52-53).

The Long Awaited North American Debut: Notable Actions of the ELF 1995- 2008

The increased crackdown on radical environmentalists occurred all over Europe and forced some of its most prominent environmental activists to go underground in hiding. Some traveled to North America to escape surveillance and arrest. In 1995, the first “Earth Liberation” action happened in Canada, by a group calling itself the Earth Liberation Army (ELA). They were considered by the European Elves at the time to be transatlantic cousins. On June 19, 1995 the ELA burned down a wildlife museum and damaged hunting lodge in British Columbia. October 14, 1996 a year later,

Columbus Day would mark the first ELF American campaign. To celebrate Columbus Day and the oppression of indigenous people everywhere, especially in the Americas, the ELF activists coordinated several attacks to begin their American campaign.

Notable ELF and ALF Actions 1996- 2008

1996

October 14, 1996. Eugene, Oregon. To celebrate Columbus Day and the oppression of indigenous people in the Americas, activists coordinated several attacks on fast food chains and oil companies. Two Willamette Chevron Gas Station locks were glued and painted with the slogan "504 Years of Genocide" and the Earth Liberation Front. Two public relation offices of Weyerhaeuser and Hyundai were attacked with their locks glued and spray-painted "504 years of Genocide and "Fuck Corporations," and the Earth Liberation Front" in red spray paint.. Two more McDonald's franchises locks were filled in with super glue and spray-painted painted with the slogan "Earth Liberation Front." (Best & Nocella 19).

October 16, 1996. Grants Pass, Oregon. McDonald's locks glued and spray-painted in support of the Mc Libel Two, activists facing charges in the *McDonald's Restaurants v Morris & Steel* lawsuit that lasted seven years, making it the longest-running court action in English history. They were sued for libel filed by McDonald's Corporation against environmental activists Helen Steel and David Morris (often referred to as "The McLibel Two") over a pamphlet critical of the company. The original case, considered by many scholars a Strategic lawsuit against public participation (SLAPP). More attacks follow throughout the week and on October 17, 1996 two more McDonalds were targeted with locks glued and slogans painted "Earth Liberation Front. (ELF)."

October 28, 1996. Detroit, Oregon. A U.S. Forest Service pickup truck is torched in a parking lot of the Detroit Ranger District headquarters. The building is spray painted with the slogan "Earth Liberation Front" and 'Fuck Logging, and Go Log in Hell.'" An incendiary device consisting of a plastic jug and later discovered to be homemade nitroglycerine is later found on the roof, failing to detonate. Damage had been estimated at \$15,000 Earth Liberation Front. Joint ALF and ELF claim (ELF).

October 30, 1996 Near Eugene, OR Arson destroyed U.S. Forest Service Oakridge Ranger Station south of Eugene. Estimated damage \$5.3 million. Law enforcement officers assert that a joint ALF and ELF claim had been received but not published (Friend, 2008).

December 25, 1996. Christmas Day, when a fur farm was raided in Michigan and 150 mink released into the wild by the Great Lakes with ELF claiming responsibility.

1997

March 11, 1997 the ELF began to gain notoriety in its campaign to increase its awareness by carrying out a series arson and animal attacks mainly located throughout the northwest and Oregon. in Sandy, Utah A series of firebombs by the ALF and ELF who claimed jointly destroyed four trucks and leveled the offices of the Agricultural Fur Breeders Co-Op, causing an estimated \$1 million in damage (Eco-Violence: The Record).

March 14, 1997 Eugene, Oregon. Tree spiking at Robinson-Scott timber harvest site in, Willamette National Forest had been carried out to prevent contamination of the Mackenzie River watershed ALF/ELF claimed joint responsibility they released a statement entitled *Beltane, 1997 introducing the ELF, Welcome to the struggle of all species to be free* (ELF).

March 18, 1997 Davis, California. The "Bay Area Cell of the Earth X ALF" took credit for setting fire to the University of California, Davis, Center for Comparative Medicine facility, which was still under construction No damage estimates were released.

July 21, 1997 Redmond, Oregon. Arson destroys the Cavel West meat packing plant that slaughter wild horses rounded up by the Bureau of Land Management and then shipped the meat to Europe for sale estimated over \$1 million in damage. The plant was never rebuilt and the ALF and ELF claimed responsibility and success. Nov. 29 in Hines, Oregon arsonists destroyed an entire U.S. Bureau of Land Management horse barn facility, chutes, pens and equipment. Four hundred horses were released and later recaptured. The ELF and the ALF took joint responsibility and damages were estimated at \$474,000 (Friend).

1998

June 2, 1998 Olympia, Washington. Momentum for ELF grew as they stepped up attacks most were located in the northwest except for a few isolated incidents. Two U.S. Department of Agriculture Animal Damage Control buildings and another U.S. Department wildlife station, miles apart, go up in flames on the same morning. The ELF and ALF took joint responsibility for both of the attacks estimated at \$1.9 million (Earth Liberation Front).

On June 28, 1998, Boston, Massachusetts: Elves defaced the Mexican Consulate with red paint in support of the indigenous Zapatista Army of National Liberation uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. In Boston the ELF painted blood red handprints on the walls, spilled pools of red paint on the ground and painted a Zapatista nationalist slogan "VIVA E.Z.L.N." (Earth Liberation Front).

On July 3 1998 in Middleton, Wisconsin: The break-in and release of 171 minks and ferrets from United Vaccines laboratory during a daylight raid. Holes in the fence were cut and 310 ferrets and mink were released. Equipment and windows were also destroyed. The slogan "Independence Day for Fur Farm Prisoners" was painted at the United Vaccines laboratory during the daylight raid. The ALF and ELF claimed responsibility (Earth Liberation Front).

October 19, 1998 Vail, Colorado. The most famous attack that occurred in: in, caused in excess of \$12 million in damages. The ELF claimed responsibility for burning five buildings and four chair lifts on

the Vail Mountain ski resort. The action came only five days after a court had ruled that Vail resorts could proceed with its planned Category III expansion into the Two Elks Road less Area, despite the objections of local environmentalists. In a communiqué ELF claimed that the fires were set on behalf of the lynx. "If there is any critical lynx habitat in the state, this is it! (Friend). "

December 26, 1998 Medford, Oregon. Fire ravages the headquarters of U.S. Forest Industries. An ELF communiqué issued weeks later says the strike was payback to the company for razing forests and killing wild animals for profit. The three-alarm blaze resulted in damages of \$700,000 (Earth Liberation Front).

1999

May 9, 1999 Portland Oregon., On Mother's Day 1999 Childers Meat Co. was torched. The ALF claimed responsibility for the meat company fire in an anonymous note: "In honor of Mother Earth and all the cows that have their babies stolen from them to help furnish the meat and dairy industries, the ALF chose Mother's Day 1999 to pay a visit to Childers Meat Company." The Childers fire caused about \$500,000 worth of damage. (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

Dec. 25, 1999 Monmouth, Oregon. Fire destroys the main office of Boise Cascade logging company timber management office. "Let this be a lesson to all greedy multinational corporations who don't respect their ecosystems," the Earth Liberation Front writes in a claim of responsibility to The Oregonian. "The Elves Are Watching." \$1 million in damages. (Earth Liberation Front).

Dec. 31, 1999 East Lansing Michigan: Arson breaks out in the offices of Catherine Ives, Room 324, Michigan State University's Agriculture Hall, a campus landmark. The ELF later issues a communiqué stated it doused an office with gasoline and set it ablaze because the university financed development of genetically modified crops to force developing nations in Asia, Latin America and Africa to switch from natural crop plants to genetically engineered sweet potatoes, corn, bananas and pineapples. Monsanto and US AID are major sources of funding for the research and promotional work being done through Michigan State University. According to local newspapers, the fire caused \$1 million in damage. "Cremate Monsanto, Long live the ELF! On to the next GE target!" director of the program, head researcher Catherine Ives who lost six years of GMO research stated "It was an attack on the very essence of what a university should be (ELF). "

2000

January 23, 2000 Bloomington, Indiana: Arson destroys a luxury home under construction at the Sterling Woods Development. Investigators find a cryptic message spray-painted in black on a sign near the house: "No Sprawl - ELF." An ELF statement obtained by the Environment News Service says, "The house was targeted because the sprawling development it is located in is in the Lake Monroe Watershed. This is the drinking water supply for the town of Bloomington, Indiana and the surrounding area. Existing developments and roads are already jeopardizing it." Damages of \$200,000 (Earth Liberation Front).

June 13, 2000 Seattle, Washington. Three pickups were torched of at the dealership. Investigators found Earth Liberation Front graffiti in the ruins and have linked the blaze to a simultaneous arson at the University of Washington's horticulture school in Seattle. "We can no longer allow the rich to parade around in their armored existence, leaving a wasteland behind in their tire tracks," the saboteurs wrote. "The time is right to fight back." In March, a total of thirty SUVs were torched, belonging to Joe Romania's dealership, in Oregon, with damages estimated at \$1 million. The massive arson was the second of two fire bombings against the Romania dealership attributed to eco-saboteurs. his action was claimed in support of Jeff "Free" Luers, who targeted the very same dealership and was in court for the charges at the time. He was then jail, later dropped to ten. Sentenced to twenty-two years in (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism).

July 20, 2000 Rhinelander, Wisconsin. Vandals hack down thousands of experimental trees, mostly poplars, and spray-paint vehicles at a U.S. Forest Service research station. The Earth Liberation Front claims the attack was against bioengineering, although researchers say the trees were bred naturally to grow faster and resist diseases. \$1 million in Damage (Earth Liberation Front).

November 27, 2000 Niwot, Colorado. Arson hits one of the first luxury homes going up in a new subdivision. The ELF later sends a note, made of letters clipped from magazines, to the Boulder Weekly newspaper: "Viva la revolution! The Boulder ELF burned the Legend Ridge mansion on Nov. 27th." The underground group explains in a follow-up communiqué that the arson was driven by defeat of a statewide ballot measure to control growth. Damages: \$2.5 million. (Eco-Violence: The Record)

2001

April 15, 2001 Portland, Oregon. The ELF claimed responsibility for setting fire to three cement trucks that belonged to the Ross Island Sand & Gravel Company, in Portland, Oregon. The attack was perpetrated, according to the group, to protest the company's mining of a 40-acre site in the Columbia River Gorge. The fire was started when four containers of gasoline were lit with a timing device. The damages totaled over \$210,000. In their written communiqué, the group states "Let this be a warning to all the greedy corporations who exploit our Earth's natural resources." In October of 2002, two men, Jacob Sherman and Michael Scarpitti, were arrested in connection with this arson attack and another that took place in June 2001, which targeted a logging company, is Estacada. (Earth Liberation Front).

May 21, 2001. Simultaneous fires at the poplar farm in Clatskanie and at the horticulture center in Seattle on. Firebombing of Jefferson Poplar Farms near Clatskanie. Investigators found Earth Liberation Front graffiti in the ruins and have linked the blaze to a simultaneous arson at the University of Washington's horticulture school in Seattle. The arsons all occurred within a 20-mile drive of Interstate 5, all between 2:15 a.m. and 4:21 a.m. The size, weight and number of devices used in some of the blazes would have required several agile saboteurs capable of carrying heavy buckets of fuel, one federal agent said. At the time, the Earth Liberation Front press office in Portland received a claim of responsibility in the Romania fire by a group of anonymous saboteurs (Denson).

2002

January 26, 2002 St. Paul, Minnesota. University of Minnesota Microbial and Plant Genomics Research Center soil-testing lab and construction trailer burned down, construction equipment, including a bulldozer were torched. Claimed immediately by ELF, \$ 630,000 in damages. ("Eco-Violence: The Record.").

August 11, 2002; Irvine, Pennsylvania. A device, containing gasoline, was thrown onto the roof of the Northeast Research Station in the Allegheny National Forest. The ensuing fire caused nearly \$700,000 in damages. An e-mail from ELF's office said "While innocent life will never be harmed in any action we undertake, where it is necessary, we will no longer hesitate to pick up the gun to implement justice, and provide the needed protection for our planet that decades of legal battles, pleading protest, and economic sabotage have failed so drastically to achieve." and that "all other US Forest Services administration and research facilities, as well as all Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources (DCNR) buildings nationwide should now be considered likely targets." (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

September 2002; Harbor Creek, Pennsylvania. More than 50 mink released Mindek mink farm Claimed by ALF and ELF. (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

September 28, 2002; Richmond, Virginia. 25 windows etched at 1 Burger King and 13 windows etched at each of 2 McDonalds. The ELF claimed by ELF. (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism).

November 1, 2002; Richmond, Virginia. Vandals who left messages crediting ELF damaged SUVs in several incidents recently. Twenty-five SUVs on the lot of a Ford dealer were permanently defaced with a glass-etching cream. A week later, SUVs parked near homes were severely damaged with an ax or hatchet. Vandalism and attempted arson have also been reported recently at highway and home construction sites in the area. (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

2003

January 20, 2003 Seattle, Washington. Arson at a McDonalds caused \$5,000 worth of damage. In an anonymous phone call he said there was an " E-L-F-A-L-F attack at McDonald's across from the Space Needle. There will be more...As long as Mother Earth is pillaged, raped, destroyed. As long as McDonald's keeps hurting our furry brothers, there will be more attacks." In September, 2005, Christopher W. McIntosh of Maple Shade, NJ, admitted he set the fire by pouring several gallons of gasoline on the roof on behalf of the ALF and ELF. (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

Aug. 1, 2003 San Diego, California. The ELF claimed responsibility for an arson fire that destroyed A 206-unit condominium nearly completed La Jolla Crossroads complex of 1,800 apartments and condominiums in University City near San Diego. The damage is estimated at \$50 million. To this date, this has been the costliest act of environmental terrorism in U.S. history. A 12-foot (3.7 m) banner at the scene read "If you build it, we will burn it," signed, "The E-L-F.s are mad (Earth Liberation Front). "

August 22, 2003 West Covina, California. The ELF attacked several car dealerships in east suburban Los Angeles, burning down a warehouse and vandalizing several cars, with such phrases as "I love pollution" written on the cars. All told, more 125 SUV's and Hummers, which were targeted due to their lower than average fuel efficiency, were damaged or destroyed causing \$2.3 million in damages. (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism).

September 19,2003; San Diego, California. The ELF action against urban sprawl at three separate construction sites in the upscale Carmel Valley neighborhood of San Diego, causing an estimated \$1 million in damages. Four unfinished houses were destroyed, two others were damaged and a condominium under construction sustained minor damage. A banner at the site of the first fires read, "Development = destruction. Stop raping nature. The ELFs are mad." (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism).

2004

February 7, 2004 Charlottesville, Virginia. The ELF set fire to a bulldozer and caused damage to other equipment that was parked off Route 29. This site is to be developed into retail, commercial and residential community. On their website, the ELF writes that the site was "targeted as part of the ELF's ongoing actions against large-scale developments going up at the expense of what little green space is left in North America." A banner left on the site read "Your construction = long term destruction - ELF" The action caused over \$30,000 in damages. (Earth Liberation Front)

Apr. 20, 2004 Snohomish, Washington. The ELF is suspected of setting fire to three luxury homes in Snohomish, Washington, bottles of flammable liquid were found at two different housing development sites in the area caused about \$1 million in damages. Two homes were destroyed and attempts were made to burn two others at a housing development. A note found at the site of one of the fires was signed "ELF" and reportedly contained statements condemning suburban developments. The perpetrators targeted new homes located in a golf course subdivision. Spokesmen for the ELF said that they believe that one of their members perpetrated the attack but were not completely certain. April 20, 2004; Snohomish, Washington: As well, an estimated \$1 million in damages (Earth Liberation Front).

May 17, 2005; Fair Oaks, California. Several SUV's and trucks were spray-painted with "ELF" and "polluter", and many also had their tires slashed. A short distance away "bomb the White House" was found spray-painted on a real estate sign. FBI, Secret Service, and a joint terrorism task force are investigating, and trying to find out if the two attacks were related. (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism).

September 11, 2005; West Old Town, Maine. The ELF vandalized at least a dozen large machines at the West Old Town Landfill, which is one of New England's worst polluters. Last winter ownership of the landfill was transferred from the Georgia-Pacific timber company to state hands, in a behind closed doors deal which resulted in the expansion of the site and a sweet deal for Georgia-Pacific and Casella Waste Systems who now run the site. The machines had their ignitions ripped out, or superglue poured into them, tires were slashed, two buildings and many vehicles were spray painted, and the fuel in the equipments' tanks may have been tampered with. Officials say the damage will cost tens of thousands of dollars to repair. (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

2006

January 17, 2006; Camano Island, Washington. ELF burned down a nearly completed 9,600-square-foot, \$3 million, and trophy house. Investigators said that: someone spray-painted a threatening message on a pink bed sheet and draped it across the front gate. (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism).

January 31, 2006 Guelph, Ontario, Canada. A fire destroyed a partially constructed home. Credit for the blaze was claimed on behalf of the ELF a few days latter in an email in which the group explained that the fire had been "A STRIKE AGAINST DEVELOPERS, FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY" and that it was done, "In the memory of William C. Rodgers 'Avalon' (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism). "

March 11, 2006 Salem, Oregon. Three newly-constructed upscale homes were vandalized with pro-environmental slogans which read: "Quit building ant farms," "E.L.F.," "Rent is a theif," "Viva E.L.F." and "Don't kill my air." Additionally, a window was broken. According to authorities, this is the second time within the past two years that ELF vandals struck in this neighborhood. (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

June 27, 2006; Guelph, Ontario, Canada. A fire destroyed a partially constructed home at 75 Summit Ridge, in view of the old East view Road landfill site, it caused about \$200,000 damage. Credit for the blaze was claimed on behalf of the ELF a few days latter in an email which included anti-development slogans. (NAIA: Animal Rights And Eco Terrorism).

2007

The FBI's most recent report stated that there had been over 1,200 "criminal incidents", within January 2006. Operation Backfire is a multi-agency criminal investigation, led by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), into destructive acts carried out in the name of environmental and animal rights causes in the United States. In 2004 the FBI merged seven independent investigations from its Portland, Oregon field office. Operation Backfire according to an agency statement focused on operational structure while investigating acts of domestic terrorism, carried out on behalf of the ELF the ALF that resulted in convictions in late 2006. In December 2005 and January 2006. The environmental radicalism movements of these groups had been severely disrupted by the FBI as a result of coordinated effort with the ATF. The FBI indicted five women and six men on a total of 65 charges, including arson, conspiracy, use of destructive devices, and destruction of an energy facility. (NAIA: Animal Rights and Eco Terrorism).

2008

March 3, 2008 Street of Dreams, Washington. The ELF is the primary suspect for the intentional destruction, by using explosive devices, set fire to four multi-million dollar homes from the 2007 Seattle Street of Dreams in Woodinville, Washington, causing \$7 million in damage. Authorities described the act as "domestic terrorism" after finding the initials of the Earth Liberation Front spray-painted in red letters, mocking claims that the homes were environmentally friendly: "Built Green? Nope Black! No 'McMansions' in RCD's R Not Green. ELF.

The Earth Liberation Front's Organizational Structure

ELF is organized into autonomous cells that operate independently and anonymously from one another and the general public. The group does not contain a hierarchy or any sort of formal leadership such as mainstream organizations. Instead the group operates under an ideology. If an individual believes in the ideology and follows the ELF guidelines, he or she can perform actions and become part of the ELF. Anyone has the potential to become involved. The cell structure is extremely effective and has allowed the ELF to successfully archive its operational goals while suffering minimal arrests. Law Enforcement agencies in North America do not have the training to recognize and combat unconventional organizations or their leaders. Individuals are commonly known to work in affinity groups, known as cells, which are usually self-funded. The autonomous aspect of ELF cells guarantees that if a cell is infiltrated or betrayed it would not effect or disrupt the movement. An entire cell could be arrested and it still would not affect the cell structure. Operating in cells is a type of guerilla tactics that has been successfully employed by various resistance movements in warfare throughout human history (Pickering 43).

Membership in the ELF is impossible to estimate internationally or in any given country. Since 1997, ELF attacks in the United States have not been confined to a specific region. The number of ELF actions has significantly increased across the country. Based on the increase of ecotage attacks throughout the country it is estimated that membership has grown. The ELF attributes two major reasons to explain its increase in membership. They see it as proof that more and more people are realizing the horrifying state of the environment and the extreme, economic exploitation of the environment and life on the planet by individuals and corporations. The ELF also attributes the increase to people's recognition of the failure of the legal system and government bureaucracy

preventing social change. If people are serious about stopping the destruction and exploitation of all life on the planet, they must also be serious about recognizing the need to personally become involved in direct action campaigns. ELF cells consisting of a few people can cause a tremendous amount of economic damage with just one action. ELF asserts that people do not need to be trained experts to become involved in the ELF. People just have to be willing to care about life enough about life on the planet to make a difference. They regard any action committed on behalf of the earth as environmental defense. ELF justifies ecotage actions as a natural response to threats destroying life on Earth (Pickering 44).

The Earth Liberation Front's Ideology

The ideology is the central binding force according to the ELF. It does not contain a traditional hierarchy of physical leadership. Ideology is a key of the group's existence, purpose and continued success. The ELF believes that the destruction of life is not a mere random occurrence, but a deliberate act of violence performed by those concerned with nothing more than pursuing economic gain at any cost. With this realization in mind, the ELF believes that the only logical response is to remove the profit motive from killing the Earth and its inhabitants. The ELF believes that hundreds of years of historical and social tradition can be examined to support their movement. History offers guidance on what had been effective and what has not in the current pursuit of protecting the planet from destruction. Social and political change must reflect on past attempts throughout history to learn what worked, what did not, and what can aid the current pursuit. Refusing to make this reflection is also a refusal to make a sincere life commitment to the protection of this planet and its inhabitants.

The ELF recognized that the mainstream environmental movement had failed miserably to stop the killing of life on this planet. Governments and their agencies are often ineffective, and seldom able to obtain the desired results environmentalists seek. Legal means of protest do little more than reinforce and petition the same system that is the root of the problem. The state system is not going to allow changes unless the government, big business, and mainstream consumer society feels change coincides with economic prosperity. People need to step outside of this societal law to enforce natural law. The ELF recognizes that the current mainstream movement has utterly failed to protect the planet. State sanctioned means of social change and the political system will never have any real effect in obtaining desired results. It is collaborating with the same system that is the root of the problem." What I'm continuing to do is cutting out the equation that wastes the most amount of time...and that is working within the system," said Coronado, the unofficial spokesman for ALF and ELF (Eder).

The Root Cause: The American Dream and Capitalism

The ELF defines natural law as our dependence on the substances in the clean natural environment that enable all life to exist, primarily clean air, clean water, and clean soil. Since the industrial revolution, the westernized way of life has been a complete violation of natural law. All creatures have the right to necessity's, such as shelter, healthy food (consisting of organic and locally grown items free of genetic modifications) and access to healthcare. There is no feasible reason besides greed and selfishness why the majority of stockpiling, greed and monetary wealth comes at the expense of others both human and nonhumans alike. The ELF ideology considers the various social and political problems facing the world today as the symptom of a larger overall problem. The only way to stop this problem is to directly destroy the root cause. The ELF maintains the root cause of this problem is the political and social ideology operating throughout Westernized countries. Capitalism

has created the mindset that allows injustices and environmental destruction. “The ELF regards the unequal distribution of capitalist wealth prominent in Western civilization as the cause for the 2 billion people on this planet starving or living in poverty on the planet (ELF).”

Capitalism and what some refer to in United States as, “American Dream” phenomena have long symbolized a form economic opportunity and freedom. “ The idea that no matter who you are, if you worked hard all your life, you to could have the perfect husband of wife, 2.3 kids, a new BMW, a beach house in Maui a penthouse in New York City and loads of cash to play with (Pickering 46).” According to the ELF, “millions do not realize the American Dream comes at price; it always has and it always will have an unseen social and environmental price.” The price consists of everything from taking advantage of third world slave labor, dumping toxic waste into our waterways, murdering those who take a stand for justice, destroying cultures, destroying environments, exploiting and oppressing or killing anyone or anything that poses an obstruction to the acquisition of material wealth.

The obsession with material wealth has not bought Western civilization happiness. The consumer lifestyle obsession and quest for material wealth has left millions of people suffering from depression and other illnesses. It is responsible for thousands of suicides and murders every year. The traditional family structure has degenerated from societal ills and causes rooted in capitalism. The ELF believes that true happiness is obtained from good health and strong community values. Living a life free of material possessions and truly understanding what it means to be alive without destroying the natural world is the ELF vision of a quality life.

The ELF believes western attitudes, mainly the United States’ attitude regarding the willingness to screw anyone or anything you can make a profit on as the chief corrupting influence

driving environmental destruction. The ELF's rage stems from ancient rainforests being cut down, old growth forests decimated, poisonous chemicals in the drinking water, ozone depletion, individuals and radical environmentalists who took a stand against governments or corporations being murdered. Shell and Chevron killed indigenous South American Indian tribes who protested oil drilling on tribal land. They criticize the United States for annihilating an entire race of indigenous people and the slavery and discrimination against blacks and minority's. Companies like General Motors, Ford and especially General Electric, McDonalds, Boise-Cascad, Monsanto and Exxon are criticized for massively profiting off of other misfortune and suffering occurring across the planet. ELF believes that these destructive entities need to be stopped immediately (Pickering 57).

The Earth Liberation Front's Ecotage Policy

The ELF unlike its predecessors the ELF never stated its goal was to gain public support or public acceptance of tactical covert direct actions. That is the job of mainstream environmental groups. The ELF does not consider public opinion when planning an action designed to maximize economic damage against entities profiting from environmental destruction. Making ELF and ALF targets known to the public could potentially sacrifice the effectiveness and secrecy of the action. The ELF uses direct action to achieve concrete results, not to appeal to popular public or moral opinion. The ELF believes that clandestine guerrilla tactics actualize social change more effectively than previous conservation efforts. Organizations that rely on leaderless resistance depend on the commitment of their members to a common ideology and set of goals and ELF is no different. The ELF uses real direct action in the form of economic sabotage. They believe that as much economic damage as possible must be inflicted on a target to remove the profit margin and deter environmental destruction. The ELF wants the targeted entity to decide if destroying life on Earth for the sake of profit is in its best interest.

Capitalism as a target is not an easily identifiable because it is an ideology. Capitalism can take the shape of individuals, businesses, governmental and non governmental organizations. Symbols, institutions and forms of capitalism directly destroy life and spread destructive “American Dream propaganda.”

What ever the target may be the ELF promotes efficiency and effectiveness. It promotes the idea of choosing the most effective target possible and using strategies to cause the most amount of economic damage possible. The idea of a movement, actions gaining momentum and hopefully will continue to inspire other people to successfully stop the destruction of life through the destruction of property. The ELF believes that more and more of this type of response is needed to successfully achieve their goals. The ELF has chosen a specific list of targets that is constantly increasing and continues to grow. The list changes as companies increase their monetary ambitions at the cost of environmental destruction, engineered foods, pesticides, fast food, SUV dealerships, and corporations that profit off of third world slave labor. The time has come to decide what is more important: the planet and the health of its population or the profits of those who destroy it. Unofficial ELF spokesman Rod Coronado during a phone interview from his home in Tucson, Arizona stated, " direct action is more necessary now more than ever..its up to citizens now to hold corporations and individuals accountable for their environmental crimes (Eder)."

There are many different reasons why ELF activists carry out ecotage through direct action. ELF ecotage techniques involve property destruction, sabotage, arson and explosives to destroy designated targets of property. The ELF specifically targets institutions used to injure animals, people or environmental destruction. ELF ecotage makes no distinction between individuals and companies that exploit the Earth. To date, most ecotage had been carried out against facilities and companies

involved in logging, deforestation, genetic engineering (GMO crops), SUV sales, urban sprawl, rural cluster development, “Mc Mansion” developments, energy production, and wealthy corporations who profit from the exploitation of third world slavery. These ecotage targets and actions vary depending on the cell and individuals who carry them out. Unofficial spokesman for the ELF, Rod Coronado stated " There is never any point in time where these people escape our surveillance or our attention - not until they get out of the business... we continue to closely monitor these entities and adapt accordingly (Eder)."

ELF's goal is to stop practices that are incredibly harmful to the environment and to help create environmental sustainability. The ELF exists and continues to operate from the support they receive from many mainstream groups because of the effectiveness of their tactics. The ELF appeals to people tired of violence and senseless destruction by vowing to never place a human life or animal life in danger. Elves claim they search for any living creatures prior to carrying out arson or sabotage, a practice which is heavily debated and criticized within the media and environmental movement (Best and Noccella 410). On November 13, 2005, Ed Bradley's *60 Minutes* interview entitled *Burning Rage*, questioned Rod Coronado, a former ALF leader and unofficial spokesman for the ELF. It is speculated that Coronado introduced arson to the ELF North American arsenal. Bradley questioned him concerning the practice of checking targets for any life human or nonhuman and replied, “For every arson that I've carried out, and there's a lot of them, there's probably three or four that were not carried out for that fear of injuring somebody (Beal).”

Taking Public Responsibility For Ecotage

The ELF has been criticized for being cowards and not taking credit for direct actions with the exception of communiqués through unofficial spokesmen. The ELF refers to their activists as brave and intelligent in their economy of violence. ELF members will never come forward and publicly take responsibility for actions. It is a strategic decision to remain underground to create the highest level of effectiveness. Avoiding capture is also important usually because these acts are of a felonious nature and would have lengthy jail sentences. The movement also does not want to lose its most committed members. The broad scope of nonviolent theory states individuals in opposition to a theory voluntarily change after realizing erroneous ways creating lasting change. This belief places an extraordinary amount of faith in the human conscience, which has more than proven to be misguided (Best & Nocella 49 –50).

The ELF believes that if an individual had a working conscience in the first place, they would not engage in activities that threaten life on this planet. This is not a demonstration of a working conscience, and therefore, all the attempts in the world to appeal to the oppressor's conscience will not work. There needs to be something more. Underlying the first guideline is a fundamental hostility to the United States capitalist economic system and a belief that the system is a fundamental threat to global environment. ELF leaders, at the very least, appear to believe that the capitalist system should be destroyed (Best & Nocella 56-57).

Not A Single Person Killed....Yet

The ELF guidelines specifically require all members to take all necessary precautions to ensure no physically harm occurs. In the history of the ELF no one has been injured as a result of the groups'

action. That is not a coincidence, the ELF understands fire is a destructive element. Fire tremendously aids in the destruction of property damage associated with the killing of life. If Similar actions preformed by the ELF occurred and resulted in harm to a person or animal it is not considered an ELF action. The ELF states acting alone for political or social reasons and even similar motives to ELF would negate the action, since a life form was injured. ELF would not consider it an authorized action. The ELF exists to protect the planet and all of its creatures. The choice to use ecotage is a very deliberate and purposeful strategy to target the real underlying threat to life: The quest for power, profit, and material wealth. The ELF does not engage or endorse tactics that actively target or physically harm any life in general. It believes that ecotage is the best action to remove the profit motive from environmental destruction.

The North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office

Leslie Pickering, a high school drop out and Craig Rosebraugh a college student and animal rights activists founded an organization named the Liberation Collective at Marylhurst University in Oregon. The Liberation Collective received several ALF communiqués and actively handled ALF related media and press conferences concerning ALF actions. In 1999, Craig Rosebraugh and Leslie James Pickering became "*unofficial*" spokesman for the ELF after allegedly receiving an anonymous ELF letter. In Portland, Oregon The North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office (NAELFPO) had been founded after Pickering and Rosebraugh accepted their new position as ELF spokesmen. NAELFPO became a legal above ground news service dedicated to exposing the political and social motives behind the covert direct actions of the underground ELF. The NAELFPO received anonymous communiqués from the ELF and distributed the message to the media and public. Both Rosebraugh and Pickering state they cannot be sure who sends these communiqués and do not know any ELF members personally and just pass along anonymous communiqués to the media (Rosebraugh 11).

The NAELFPO provides a public face ideologically in support of the ELF and similar acts of economic sabotage against those who profit from the destruction of the natural environment. The NAELFPO received several anonymous communiqués from the ELF and ALF. It distributed their message to the media and the public throughout North America. Before their website had been shut down by the United States government, it contains a disclaimer assuming that all correspondence is being monitored. Due to the work of the NAELFPO, individuals who are looking to learn more about these issues have a place to turn, and the public who may be ignorant to the actions and motives of the ELF and exposed to more frequent and in depth coverage in the media (Pickering 62-64). After the disruption of Scott's Timber industry in 1997 from tree spiking in the Willamette National Forest, The NAELFPO received its first joint ELF and ALF communiqué entitled *Beltane, 1997 introducing the ELF, Welcome to the struggle of all species to be free*. It introduced the ELF and ALF to a majority of Americans for the first time:

Beltane, 1997

“ We are the burning rage of this dying planet. The war of greed ravages the earth and species die out every day. E.L.F. works to speed up the collapse of industry, to scare the rich, and to undermine the foundations of the state. We embrace social and deep ecology as a practical resistance movement. We have to show the enemy that we are serious about defending what is sacred. Together we have teeth and claws to match our dreams. Our greatest weapons are imagination and the ability to strike when least expected. Since 1992, a series of earth nights and Halloween smashes has mushroomed around the world. 1000's of bulldozers, power lines, computer systems, buildings and valuable equipment have been composted. Many E.L.F. actions have been censored to prevent our bravery from inciting others to take action. We take inspiration from Luddites, Levellers, Diggers, the Autonomie squatter movement, the ALF, the Zapatistas, and the little people - those mischievous elves of lore. Authorities can't see us because they don't believe in elves. We are practically invisible. We have no command structure, no spokespersons, no office, and just many small groups working separately, seeking vulnerable targets and practicing our craft. Many elves are moving to the Pacific

Northwest and other sacred areas. Some elves will leave surprises as they go. Find your family! And let's dance as we make ruins of the corporate money system (Rosebraugh 20). "

The Post September 11, 2001 Government Response To The ELF and ALF

In March 2001, the FBI listed the ELF and ALF as the No. 1 domestic-terrorist threat in the United States. The FBI estimates that the ALF and ELF since 1996 have, " commit more than 600 criminal acts in the United States, resulting in damages in excess of \$46 million," said James Jarboe, FBI domestic-terrorism section chief, at a February hearing before the House Resources subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health (46). Only very few ELF actions have resulted in arrests. Most of its success results from its anonymous cell structure. Law enforcement agencies at every level have tried to disrupt the ELF organization with minimal success. They have harassed suspected ELF activists through numerous subpoenas to grand juries inquiries, raids, property seizures and questionable arrests.

Prior to the September 11, 2001 attacks, the perception of radical environmentalists' and ecotage attacks in this country were treated as sporadic nuisances by environmental leftists who were nothing more than criminals, crazies and crusaders. After September 11, 2001 a fear and shift in priorities occurred among many Americans the media and country rallied around President Bush and almost overnight instant comparisons had been made between the ELF and Al Qaeda. In the United States anti- terrorism hysteria swept the country. Many American displayed unquestionable patriotic support for President Bush and his counter- terrorism policies. The United States engaged in combat operations to disrupt the Al-Qaeda terrorist network overseas. During the hysteria of anti- terrorism sentiment sweeping the nation, lawmakers renewed their long-standing campaign to crack down on

dissident groups and domestic terrorist groups. Previously domestic terrorism had been confined to right and left wing extremists. Soon the disruption of the radical environmental movements of ELF and the ALF were rigorously pursued.

After September 11, 2001 attacks, the classification of the ELF and ALF as a domestic terrorist organization drew debate and criticism that still continues today. Congressional hearings and media debates addressed what defines a domestic terrorist or domestic terrorist organization. Federal law enforcement officials regard violent animal rights extremists and radical environmentalists as ecoterrorists. They claim they post just as much of a serious terrorism threats as Al- Qaeda. This lead people to question how do we define radical environmentalist's who commit ecotage? can we designate a group as terrorists who haven't killed a single person?

The ELF and ALF regard the FBI's classification as the most serious domestic terrorism threat in the United States, as well as the increasing number of ecoterrorism laws being passed, is a definite sign that the government considers the ELF as a viable threat to the capitalist ideology and westernized way of life. The ELF views that it had disrupted the nation-states that destroy life on the planet.

Defining Terrorism

There is no single, universally accepted definition of terrorism. Terrorism is defined in the Code of Federal Regulations as "...the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives." Terrorist activity is divided into two categories. A terrorist incident is a violent act or an act dangerous to human life, in violation of the criminal laws of the United States, or

of any state, to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives. Terrorism prevention is a documented instance in which a violent act by a known or suspected terrorist group or individual with the means and a proven propensity for violence is successfully interdicted through investigative activity (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85).

The FBI divides the terrorist threat facing the United States into two broad categories, domestic and international. The FBI defines Domestic terrorism as the unlawful use, or threatened use, of violence by a group or individual based and operating entirely within the United States (or its territories) without foreign direction, It involves as activities that involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.

The NAELFPO Post September 11, 2001

The United States Department of Justice focused most of its interest on the NAELFPO. They believed that it had a direct connection to the ELF. The United States Department of Justice launched a thorough campaign of years of surveillance, wiretaps, two major raids, and several grand jury subpoenas in an effort to disrupt the NAELFPO. The FBI did not find any credible evidence connecting the NAELFPO to any ELF or ALF ecotage actions. Craig Rosebraugh, in his book *Burning Rage of Dying Planet* stated, “ it is unlikely that anti- terrorism hysteria would have deterred the ELF from stopping any planned activities (118).”

The classification of the ELF as a domestic terrorist organization allowed agents to take full advantage of the US PATRIOT ACT. Joint terrorism task forces operations were given greater powers of investigation and funding to combat terrorism. Designating the ELF a terrorist organization had allowed increased personal, funding, surveillance and investigation techniques offered to joint terrorism task forces operations. This new force involved both the FBI and the creation of the Portland Joint Terrorism Task Force (PJTTF). The mission statement of PJTTF states, “the PJTTF is to identify and target for prosecution those individuals or groups who are responsible for Right Wing and/or Left Wing movements, as well as acts of the anti-abortion movement and the ALF and ELF.” In Portland, public outcry and outrage to the text of this mission statement resulted in its rewording. Generally, extremist groups engage in a great deal of activity that is protected by constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly. Law enforcement becomes involved when the volatile talk of these groups transgresses into unlawful action. Critics felt this was an organized attempt to target any dissident group after September 11, 2001 (Pickering 62-64).

Rosebraugh had been subpoenaed to testify at a February 2002 hearing before the House Resource subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health concerning the ELF and ALF. He evoked the 5th Amendment protecting himself against self incrimination 67 times(35- 45). Years of constant surveillance, wiretaps, raids, brief stints of jail time and several grand jury subpoena’s had taken their toll on them as official spokesmen. By June 2002, Pickering released a press statement resigning from her position at the NAELFPO. Pickering did not regret any of her sacrifices or commitment to her work at the NAELFPO. She urged other people to continue the struggle to oppose Anthropy through non-violence. She concluded her resignation by stating, “ Long live the Earth Liberation Front! Long live the Animal Liberation Front! Down with this insane system that plagues the Earth and its people! Revolution is Liberation! (Pickering 236-234).

Pickering's resignation later convinced Rosebraugh to resign from the NAELFPO in 2003. Rosebraugh remained an ardent ELF and ALF supporter. He believed that a conspiracy, or "Green Scare" (Similar to the "Red Scare" of the 1970's) targeting American environmentalists was well underway. Rosebraugh claims the government used the Al-Qaeda attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon to justify the crackdown on radical groups operating in the United States. After leaving the NAELFPO, Rosebraugh stated, "no one enthusiastically volunteered to replace us as spokesmen in the post September 11, 2001 world... the word ecoterrorism wouldn't stop following me.... the NAELFPO continued to operate... the commitment of people still supporting the crucial work of the NAELFPO and ELF and ALF underground is extremely gratifying to me (Rosebraugh 257)."

Prominent ELF Radicals and Unofficial Spokesman ? What About Anonymity?

The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society had been founded by Paul Watson. He was an original member of Greenpeace putting his life on the line several times to save seals. Sea Shepherds have been referred to as "Earth First's! Navy (Edwards166)." Sea Shepherds have committed numerous illegal acts in the name of defending whales, dolphins and seals. They have sabotaged nets and rammed and disabled fishing vessels on the high seas off the coast of Labrador. Watson sailed his zodiac raft into the hunting fields between twelve foot high ice walls and frigid Atlantic ocean swells. Watson arrived too late to stop the hunt, one of the sealers had just bashed a baby harp seals brains out with a hakapik. Watson attacked the sealer and threw it into the water. He then handcuffed himself to the bail of pelts being dragged up towards the ship. He was dragged through out the ocean as the sealers laughed while sadistically raising and lowering him into the ocean. He was repeatedly bashed against the hull of the

ship. He managed to escape from the bail and would have died if other Greenpeacers' had not arrived to fish him out of the frigid water.

Watson's death defying defense of seals had been internationally televised, unknown to him. Bridget Bardot had arrived on the other Greenpeace ship full of journalists and camera crews a month later. Watson was expelled for grabbing the hakapik out of the sealers hands. Greenpeace stated that Watson had broken Canadian law and the Greenpeace nonviolence code. He had become too violent for a mainstream movement concerned about credibility, budgets and bad publicity (Manes 107).

Rodney Coronado began his environmental activism career early in life inspired as boy watching Paul Watson's intervention in disrupting sealing. He was a Pascua Yaqui Native American from New Mexico and was normal, intelligent and athletic student. At the age of 12, he was displayed natural ecological consciousness, a key characteristic of many radical environmentalists. In 1983, he sent \$200 dollars to the Sea Shepherds. In 1984, after graduating high school he took a vacation to Vancouver, British Columbia to meet Paul Watson who had been working on an education program in local schools painting murals about the dangers of whaling. The Sea Shepherds had their boat the *Sea Shepherd II*, recently confiscated by the Canadian government during the Harp Seal campaign (the same one Coronado contributed too). Coronado expressed eagerness to join Watson and was enthusiastically accepted into the ranks of Watson's crew. Over the next few months Coronado would enjoy a rich mixture of idealism from Watson and other environmentalists. Watson became a father figure to him and a mentor. They worked together to repair the *Sea Shepherd II* that was in terrible condition from its impoundment 1986.

Coronado and a friend Howitt went to Reykjavik, Iceland upon hearing from the British Sea Shepherd cell, a bulk illegal whale meat destined for Japanese consumption originated there. Coronado and Howitt went to investigate located the meat center and systematically took apart processing machines, smashed all electrical devices and computers and cut wires and sabotaged refrigeration. They unknowingly poured gallons of cyanic acid on every piece of communication equipment they could find. They also took computer disks, records and notebooks relating to scientific research. Coronado in 2004 would later discuss this event in an interview with *60 Minutes* stating, “we had made a promise that if we ever got caught, continue, try to go forward and continue this work (Beal).

They then went to the docks and removed the salt water cooling valves on the ships that slowly cause flooding on the *Hvalur 6* and *Hvalur 7*. They complied with the Sea Shepherds non violence approach and checked the ship for people before sinking them, accounting for half of Iceland's whaling fleet. They safely escaped to continental Europe and Watson later issued a statement to a reporter that “Sea Shepherd agents are safely hidden in Europe (Manes 111).” Coronado and Howitt bounced from safe house to safe house before returning to the United States. Howitt went to Greece to lay low for a few months. Sea Shepherd membership in Iceland grew from 0 to 200 and in months whaling in Iceland became a contested issue that divided opinion in Reykjavik. The fleet and processing facility caused \$2 million worth of damage to the Icelandic whaling station. Whaling in Iceland was discontinued until the moratorium on whaling operations there was reviewed by the International Whaling Commission. After a careful review, they refused to restore Iceland's 200 whale quota for commercial whaling (Manes 111).

Coronado and Howitt both continued to sail with the Sea Shepherds championing various causes. Coronado established an environmental research and investigative service to expose

ecologically damaging practices. He was an active member of Earth First! and regularly contributed to editorials in the *Earth First! Journal*. He was also an activist for ALF. Coronado received a great deal of publicity. The uniqueness about his activism he defied the stereotype that only type a certain type of “crazy people” were environmental protesters or activists. He represents the fringe in the movement that will not tolerate actions it views as destructive actions and laws in place by a power structure that that established these laws to protect them selves and capitalism. He stated “sometimes you not going to question whether its right or wrong but how you're gonna do it.(ALF).”

The First Rule of Direct Action Is Do Not Get Caught

Starting in the early 1990's, Coronado fearless reputation gave him the platform to recruit others to join the crusade. Coronado has been connected to numerous raids against animal research centers, some of which occurred "Operation BITE BACK," a series of attacks on animal-testing and fur facilities in the United States during the 1990's. An offensive aimed at bringing mink research to a halt. Coronado and other ELF and ALF activists stormed the office of professor Richard Aulerich, erasing more than 30 years of exploration into nutrition and natural decline of mink populations. The bombing also claimed 10 years of work by assistant professor Karen Chou, who was studying ways to use fewer animals in experiments. They also ransacked an MSU mink research farm on Jolly Road, wrecking equipment and opening the cages of animals."I have absolutely no regrets, and I hope the same thing continues to happen at MSU and every other college campus that does animal research I wish I could do it again, only I wish I could take all of the animals out of the environmental fur farms," Coronado said (Eder).

In 1992, the federal government indicted Coronado for his role in the MSU arson and bombing. Federal law enforcement officials refused to enter the Pascua Yaqui Reservation near Tucson, Arizona. They feared a repeat of the Leonard Peliter shootout that killed two federal agents who entered tribal land to arrest him. Coronado became a fugitive until he was arrested in September 1994. The indictment alleged that Coronado crossed state lines to steal research materials and carry out the attack against MSU. He faced a maximum prison term of 50 years and a fine of \$1.25 million. In 1995, Coronado became the first activist to go to jail for committing ecotage on behalf of an animal-rights organization. After pleading guilty to one count of aiding and abetting arson, Coronado was sentenced to 57 months in federal prison and ordered to pay MSU \$2 million in fines and restitution. Coronado was convicted and spent four years in jail for the animal-rights cause. For the federal government the sentence was a rare victory in the fight against the elusive soldiers of the radical environmental movement (ELF).

On Dec. 31, 1999, ELF activists bombed biotech facilities at MSU's Agriculture Hall, causing \$400,000 in damage. Coronado was released from prison and unconnected to the 1999 assault. He said the firebombing of the early 1990's, were justified and proved that direct action worked. He also remarked that "it is not like anybody is individually targeting MSU... Rather they are targeting wherever this research is being conducted. MSU is no stranger to genetic engineering and animal-abuse research. As long as MSU remains closely aligned with industries conducting research on biotechnology and genetics, they will remain a target (Eder)."

In 2002, Coronado regained his place at the forefront of the movement when his probation terms expired, allowing him to return to the radical environmentalism. By the time Coronado had been a member of the ALF and a spokesperson for the ELF. He is also a former crew member of the Sea

Shepherd Conservation Society and Earth First! editorial contributor and activist. He gave dozens of lectures, conducted demonstrations on the front lines of the struggle. On March 9, 2004 Coronado lead an Earth First! campaign in Sabino Canyon. The canyon had been closed to the public after wildlife biologists warned that an increasing number of human/mountain lion encounters had made the popular hiking area, visited by 1.3 million people a year, dangerous. The Arizona Game & Fish Department despite protest closed Sabino Canyon to hunt and cage 4-5 mountain lions claimed to show insufficient fear of humans. In Arizona, Game & Fish's predator eradication policies were heavily criticized (Mountain Lion Defender Need your Help).

The Tucson community demanded the lions should be left undisturbed in their natural canyon home. Arizona based Chuk'shon Earth First! cell lead by Coronado openly declared their plans to prevent the capture of and mountain lions. They stated they would enter the canyon and put their bodies between the park rangers and lions if necessary. Public pressure and Chuk'shon Earth First's! efforts in the canyon called a number of hunts off. Game & Fish promptly recommended Chuk'shon Earth First! organizers Rod Coronado and Matthew Crozier, for federal prosecution for dismantling snare traps and spraying mountain line urine all over the park to create false trails for the tracking dogs. Coronado had been arrested in the canyon in March, FBI agents ripped Crozier out of his bed in the middle of the night nine months later. Along with Esquire magazine writer-at-large John Richardson, whose confiscated tape recordings of the group's movement provided the basis for the case against Crozier and Coronado (Beal). Richardson, who was not tried with the other two, faces one misdemeanor count of interfering with a forest officer (Mountain Lion Defender Need your Help).

In the course of the trial, it came out that in addition to trapping and imprisoning “Sabino” the lioness, after falsely claiming that the hunt had been canceled. Since March 2004, Game & Fish had overseen the murder of four other mountain lions in the Sabino Canyon area. The helicopter pilot and a U.S. Forest Service agent with him both testified that they saw the men digging up a trap, though they gave different accounts of how many of the men were involved. Coronado insisted that the trial question the morality of saving mountain lions, not the actual accusations he faced. Both defense and prosecuting attorneys stated the trial was about the crimes and not about the moral and ethical treatment of mountain lions. On December 13, 2005, he and codefendant Crozier, were found guilty of felony conspiracy to interfere with or injure a government official, misdemeanor interference with or injury to a forest officer, and misdemeanor depredation (theft, destruction, or the attempt to do so) of government property. August 6, 2006, Coronado was sentenced to eight months in prison, three years supervised probation, and fined \$100. Crozier was sentenced to 100 hours community service, three years probation and a \$1,000 fine(Beal).

Demonstrating an Incendiary Device

In February, 2006, United States Attorney Carol Lam announced today the unsealing of a one-count indictment charging associated with the FBI's Operation BACKFIRE, Rod Coronado with the felony charge of demonstrating the use of a destructive device. FBI and ATF agents arrested Coronado in Tucson, Arizona. According to the indictment, on August 1, 2003, at a public gathering in the Hillcrest neighborhood of San Diego, Coronado spoke for 15 hours on the need to take direct action to protect the earth then demonstrated the making and use of a destructive device with the intent the device to commit arson. Coronado stated he was simply exercising his constitutional right to free

speech when he responded to a question from an audience member and explained how he had constructed a non-explosive, incendiary device out of a plastic jug filled with gasoline to commit a past arson that he had long been sentenced for. Hours earlier, a fire had destroyed a large apartment complex under construction in the University Towne Center area of San Diego. The ELF claimed responsibility for the arson that destroyed the nearly completed La Jolla Crossroads complex of 1,800 apartments and condominiums in University City near San Diego. The destruction was estimated at \$50 million. A 12-foot banner at the scene read "If you build it, we will burn it," signed, "The E.L.F.s are mad." To this date, this is the costliest act of environmental terrorism in United States history (Earth Liberation Front).

In September 2006, Coronado sent an open letter to supporters from his prison cell in Florence, Arizona. In the letter, he announced his commitment to social change through nondestructive means. Citing his desire to raise his young son without teaching him that "violence is a necessary evil," Coronado expressed hope that others in the earth and animal liberation movements would consider more peaceful methods: "In my years past I have argued that economic sabotage was an appropriate tactic for our time. Like all strategists I have also been forced to recognize that times have changed and it is now my belief that the movements to protect earth and animals have achieved enough with this strategy to now consider an approach that does not compromise objectives, but increases the likelihood of real social change. Let our opposition who believe in violence carry the burden for its justification, but let those who believe in peace and love practice a way of life that our society sorely needs now more than ever. (Coronado)."

Coronado stood trial in San Diego on charges related to his speech in 2003 in Hillcrest. After two days of deliberations, the jury remained deadlocked in his favor, and on September 19, 2007, Judge Jeffrey Miller declared a mistrial. Coronado subsequently entered a guilty plea, accepting a deal for a one year prison term, as a result of which he was sentenced to one year and one day. Regarding his guilty plea, he said in an open e-mail on his website: It has long been my desire to put my past behind me and instead build a sustainable existence for myself, my wife, Chrysta, and two children, Anheles and Maya. This decision to take a plea bargain comes only after much careful consideration and a sincere desire to do what is best for my family. Such unconstitutional assaults on my free speech beg for a continued legal battle and defense, but I am instead choosing to reach a settlement that will allow me to move on with my life rather than face years of litigation that might lead to many years in prison (Coronado).

FBI's Operation Backfire and the Disruption of The ELF and ALF

In 2004, the FBI merged seven independent investigations from its Portland, Oregon field office and called them Operation BACKFIRE. According to an agency statement, their operational focus is on investigating acts of domestic terrorism, carried out on behalf of two activist groups, the ELF and ALF. In December 2005 and January 2006, with assistance from the ATF, the FBI indicted 11 people on conspiracy charges for attacks claimed by the ELF and the ALF. Five women and six men on a total of 65 on federal charges, including arson, conspiracy, use of destructive devices, and destruction of an energy facility. The defendants were named as Joseph Dibee, Chelsea Gerlach, Sarah Kendall Harvey, Daniel McGowan, Stanislas Meyerhoff, Josephine Overaker, Jonathan Paul, Rebecca Rubin, Suzanne Savoie, Darren Thurston and Kevin Tubbs. A 12th alleged co-conspirator, William "Bill" Rodgers, also known as Avalon, affiliated with Earth First! committed suicide while in police custody. His suspicious suicide made him an ELF Martyr. At least a dozen books used in the research

were dedicated to his memory. Prosecutors allege that the 11 conspirators collectively referred to themselves as "The Family" and had taken an oath to protect each other. According to reports, and their own websites, most of the indicted individuals have claimed to be innocent of the charges. The FBI indicated that some of the charges related back to a 1998 arson attack that catapulted ELF to national prominence on the Vail Ski Resort in Colorado. The combined cost of the damage from all attacks is estimated anywhere from 40 to \$80 million dollars (Eco-Terror Indictments).

Two other ELF members indicted in the Vail arson, Overaker and Rubin, remain fugitives from justice. These indictments became the subject of much debate. The potential sentences were unprecedented for nonviolent incidents. Some of the charges carried mandatory minimum sentences of 30 years and some of the indicted were facing mandatory minimum sentences of life in prison if convicted of all charges. The FBI's reasoning for the severity of the charges is their assertion that the accused are "terrorists," though the charges leveled against them are not terror related, nor did not kill anyone. The most severe of the charges had been arson-related. Some of the defendants in this case were facing up to life plus 335 years in prison. To escape the possibility of life in prison, all but four of the defendants turned police informant in July 2006 and cooperated fully with prosecutors agreeing to testify against codefendants in exchange for leniency (Gerhard, Gitlin & Weinerman).

On November 9, 2006, the remaining four defendants McGowan, Paul, Zacher, and Block struck a deal with prosecutors where they admitted their responsibility, but would not inculcate any other individual, whether they be informant, fugitive, or deceased. Offering "global resolution" to the case, these arrestees, except Paul were facing life in prison. They received leniency in exchange for cooperating with the prosecution. Sentencing passed down in June of 2007 extended Terrorism Enhancements at sentencing with Judge Aiken deciding certain crimes warranted them. These

Enhancements raise the base criminal level of the defendant and were taken into consideration by the Bureau of Prisons when assigning inmates security levels in federal prisons. None of the arsons of Operation BACKFIRE resulted in injury or death. The defendants were assigned to maximum or supermax facilities with violent offenders (Gerhard, Gitlin & Weinerman).

On December 15, 2006 Gerlach and Meyerhoff plead guilty to \$20 million worth of arsons committed between 1996 and 2001 caused by the Eugene, Oregon ELF cell known as "The Family. " Their fire-bombing of a Vail ski resort resulted in damages totaling \$12 million and the FBI characterization of the ELF as the United States top domestic terrorism threat. Gerlach has previously pleaded guilty to 18 counts of arson in other attacks, saying she was motivated by "a deep sense of despair and anger at the deteriorating state of the global environment," but adding that she has "since realized the firebombing did more harm than good." Meyerhoff has renounced ELF and pleaded guilty to 54 counts, but is still under indictment in Michigan, Arizona, Washington, Wyoming and California (ELF and ALF Sentencing).

Final Conclusion: The Progression and Radical Environmental Movement and The Terrorism Question

As recently as March 3, 2008 FBI Special Agent Richard Kolko stated in *USA Today* article "*Ecoterrorism Probed in Five Fires,*" the ELF and ALF are probably what we'd consider the No. # 1 domestic terrorism threat, because they have successfully continued to conduct different types of attacks in and around the country (3A)." They have not killed a single person but have inflicted an estimated \$110 million dollars in damage during 1800 crimes. Arson blazed the most highly toured

luxury housing development housing development in the United States, the "Street of Dreams" development. The developer claim that these houses are energy efficient, ELF believes they are decadent "McMansions." The homes were built near the headwaters of Bear Creek, which is home to endanger Chinook salmon. Opponents of the development had questioned whether the luxury homes could pollute the creek, which is also a source of drinking water. A sign with the letters stating " No McMansions" in RCD's r not green, "ELF" " a reference to rural cluster developments and residential subdivisions. The arson is estimated to have caused \$7 million in damages had been left at the scene of the fires.

The progression of radical environmental groups and movements share certain aspects of similarity in their evolution. The modern radical environmental movement ELF and ALF owe their existence to the activists and innovators that pioneered radical environmentalism. The Sierra Club, Greenpeace, Sea Shepherds and Earth First! pioneered conditions, practices and methods of operation commonly associated with radical environmentalism. They eroded social boundaries over time that became essential to the modern radical movement today. One group or movement alone is sufficient in explaining the current ELF and ALF movement today.

Despite their drastic differences in ideology and methods of operation, radical environmental groups share commonalties. They believe that all life is sacred in the natural world and inherently valuable apart from its usefulness or monetary value to human beings. Humans and non-humans alike deserve equal respect on Earth. Second, they believe like many scientists that within the last 100 years humans have caused an unprecedented extinction crisis of species and irresponsibly squandered natural resources and polluted the Earth at unprecedented scale in human history. Most environmentalists Radical and non-radical believe globalism and the quest for the accusation of wealth by man are the

chief destroyers of culture and environment. Industrialism, capitalism, consumerism, and the domination of life by MNC's intent on extending capitalist practices into every corner of the planet have contributed to the global decline of biodiversity and the irresponsible desecration of the most pristine places on Earth.

Radical environmentalists generally believe MNC's and free market capitalism have forced the consumer lifestyle on people in westernized countries. The destruction of these entities in the industrial world is a prerequisite to restoring earth's ecology before mass extinction of all species is inevitable. Besides Greenpeace, few radical environmental activists believed that the legal system and governments of the world successfully represented the interests of environmentalist. The Sea Shepherds, Earth first! and ALF and the ELF cite the absolute failure of the system that the mainstream movement to protect the Earth, ultimately justifying and forcing their practice of Deep ecology. The legal system is viewed as ultimately failed from corruption and economic agendas of governments who are easily influenced by greed.

The ultimate failure of the mainstream system justified deep ecology, and created civil disobedience movements and monkey wrenching as morally permissible or even obligatory. Radical environmentalists do not see politics as an instrument to achieve goals. Laws are viewed as the illegitimate influences of multinational corporations and wealthy elite's, seeking enhancement of their own personal wealth. Radical environmental groups engaged in ecotage aimed at preventing environmental destruction have been identified as the leading domestic terrorist threat in the post September 11, 2001 war on terror. In the face of a serious threat posed by Al- Qaeda, the case for extending the conventional definition of terrorism to include attacks against noncombatants and property within the United States still has not deterred the ELF. The amount of destruction and media

attention ELF and ALF created after the September 11, 2001 attacks raised controversy concerning how we categorize radical environmentalists and what constitutes domestic terrorism. ELF despite inflicting millions of dollars in property damage to day has never killed a single person in its ecotage attacks. To date the ELF has not killed a single person in its ecotage campaign, despite an estimated 1800 attacks resulting in \$110 million in damage. It is questionable if a comparison to Al- Qaeda could even be made.

The United States suggested in a series of congressional hearings that ecotage receive the same moral classification and political classification. This mistaken association between genuine acts of terrorism and ecotage raised questions about the examination of ecotage through “ Just War Theories,” of ecology and nonviolent forms of civil disobedience are legitimate claims. Anyone who reads radical environmentalist or anarchist journals will see widespread opposition to the consumer lifestyle and industrial and technological systems. These commonly held ideas and belief’s blame modern society for a host of environmental and social ills.

The most infamous activist of Earth First! The Unabomber, suggested many of these same ideas that radical environmentalists subscribe to. He stated that modern living had removed the joy and wonder from life. The need for humans to explain every scientific process combined with the societal pressure for the consumer lifestyle has led to a host of mental illness. The Unabomber is a prime example of what one man working alone can accomplish for the cause. He caused tremendous damage and fear by accepting the beliefs of a movement and taking the initiative to act on them. Some Scholars and academics believe that applying the terrorist label to radical environmentalism is not only inaccurate, but also dangerous. It further excludes people from the political process. However, this does not apply to the ELF because they have no intention of working within the law. The ELF and ALF already harbor a great deal of hatred towards the government. Post September 11 crackdowns

reconfirmed previous held assertions. The PATRIOT Act reinforces previous notions of a dark conspiracy against American liberties resulting from a growing authoritative tyrannical government. This increases the likelihood that radical environmental ecotage campaigns will assume an even more a violent character.

The ELF has taken credit for dozens of ecotage acts aftermath the September 11 terrorist attacks. "The ELF realizes the profit motive caused and reinforced by the capitalist society is destroying all life on this planet. This year, 2001, we hope to see an escalation in tactics against capitalism and industry (ELF)" The group openly encouraged and instructed other people and groups with acts of domestic terrorism. The ELF and ALF organization continues to publish and distribute through articles and website (before there are often removed by the government) of full-color photographs and communiqués glorifying its arson attacks. The ELF much like Al- Qaeda uses modern technology to deliver messages to supporters. The ELF offers a PDF booklet "*Every Night is Earth Night*," offers a how-to guide entitled "*Setting Fires with Electrical Timers--An Earth Liberation Front Guide*." The guide provides the politics and practicalities of arson. Advice columns and how-to guides about devices, fuel requirements, timers, and security are also contained. The ELF web site also offers "*If an Agent Knocks*," publication directing its activists how to frustrate and evade FBI Counter-Terrorism Agents. The statements and actions of the radical environmentalists after the September 11 attacks clarify the ideology and loyalties of the radical environmental movement.

On May 18, 2005 senior officials from the FBI and the ATF told a Senate task force of their growing concern over radical environmental groups. John Lewis the FBI's deputy assistant director for counter terrorism, said animal and environmental rights extremists the ELF and ALF, have claimed credit for more than 1,200 criminal incidents since 1990. The FBI has 150 pending investigations associated with animal rights or eco-terrorist activities, and ATF officials say they have opened 58

investigations in the past six years related to violence attributed to the ELF and ALF ("America's Number One Terrorists"). "The most worrisome trend to law enforcement and private industry alike has been the increase in willingness by this movement to resort to using of incendiary and explosive devices. The ELF has been linked to fires set at SUV dealerships, construction sites, in various states and bombings against pharmaceutical and cosmetics industry animal vivisection labs. The disturbing trend is that attacks have increased in frequency and size, said Lewis.

The ELF and ALF is an extremely dangerous movement by the mere nature of its organizational and philosophical principals. However, people are not willing to place them in the same category as Islamic fundamentalist terror organizations. After the recent attack of the Seattle Street of Dreams on March 3, 2008, I asked and observed the reactions of both faculty and students alike unknowingly at the University of Rhode Island. The reaction to the torching of the "McMansions" estimated at costing anywhere from to \$7 -10 million dollars brought sarcastic chuckles from most people I had spoke with. Almost no one questioned further came straight out and said the ELF arson was a terrible thing. I believe these reactions represent a common belief entities the ELF and ALF targeted do not represent the average American. Most Americans have trouble sympathizing with MNC's who constantly economically exploit the general population. These ELF attacks were perceived by average people to have been carried out against people and entities that epitomize the worst characteristics of the American obsession with consumer lifestyle and the unequal distribution of wealth.

The ELF stated in prior communiqués almost this same exact philosophical sentiment. The average American who is currently ravaged by credit card debt, high oil prices or lost his home in the housing crisis that began in 2007, does not feel bad that a \$7 million trophy homes was burned to the ground. People in this country are ravaged by the destruction MNC's have caused. People unable to

ear a living from the criminal practices of these institutions have suffered greatly. The speculation driving up the price of oil, gasoline and diesel fuel to over five dollars a gallon in some parts of the country rejoice in seeing “McMansions” and Hummer dealerships torched. This is penance for sins of entities driven by greed at the expense of others. The struggle for every American affected by the unequal disparity of wealth reflecting cancerous social problems in this country. Urban sprawl has invaded every aspect of American society contaminating watersheds and poisoning our bodies with its heavy metals and pollution. Urban sprawl and residential track housing have placed a Home Depot and Wal-Mart every 1.5 miles across the United States. This further degenerates society creating more low paying jobs and increasing the burden on state welfare programs. This has decimating our traditional notions of small town America, paving over the parks that as children we once played to construct more decadent institutions of America greed.

This urban sprawl has poisoned our bodies and minds removing us from our symbiotic relationship with nature. GM foods are another controversial target of this movement. While intended to help aid starvation in drought stricken countries they have unknown side effects. Companies like Monsanto, interfere with a process in nature that takes hundreds of thousands of years to develop characteristics. We can buy organic however, we have no idea if they are GM modified. The possible long term affects these “Frankenstein Foods” produce on the human body.

The radical environmental movement today is very different from the early mainstream movements that inspired it. The ecotage actions of the ELF and ALF have pushed the radical actions of Green Peace and the Original Earth First! to appear moderate by most people. After my research I do not believe that one explanation exists that fully covers the evolution of environmental radicalism. I say this because today's movement is as unique as its current cells. Radicals are truly motivated by different events and perceptions that cause their commitment and criminal behavior. One

overwhelming theme that I observed with individuals and groups resorting to direct action or Deep ecology were all hopeless and frustrated with the inability to achieve change through legal means. The radicalization process broke down traditional barriers with each successful process until direct action and ecotage were common practices and socially accepted among other radicals. Without central leadership or a home organization there is no one set ideology can collectively categorize these ecotage actions. I believe that there is no doubt that the ELF and ALF actions are extremely destructive and criminal in nature, however I do not believe Rod Coronado and Osama Bin Laden should be placed in the same category.

Just like any other terrorist organization, the ELF and ALF cannot carry out their goals without financial contributors, logistical support and media attention. However There are some similarities between both movements. They fundraise and recruit in the same ways. Like Al- Qaeda, a major source of interest in financing and fundraising. Al- Qaeda is funded by zakat, a charity donated that often finds its way to of shell businesses and organizations who launder it. The ELF received receives a major portion of its funding from main stream environmental organizations. Some people criticized President Bush for not shutting down ELF and ALF the sources of funding. PETA sent over \$70,000 to ELF and ALF member, Rod Coronado. The Center for Consumer Freedom has found that the Ruckus Society (Roselle from Earth Firsts! organization) helped train eco-terrorists. The Turner Foundation and the Ben & Jerry's Foundation also donate money to these radical environmental groups (America's Number One Terrorists).

I believe that the term terrorism is used as an umbrella to attack violent acts and acts deemed to be undesirable with the current interests of the government and big business. When you list the ELF and ALF as terrorists, you are placing them in the same category as Al-Qaeda, Hamas and Hezbollah. Categorizing them in the same group as Islamic fundamentalist terror organizations even disturbed

some members of congressional inquiries in 2002 and 2006. Despite the ELF and ALF's radical actions, there are members of these groups that do not participate in criminal activities throughout the course of their day. They are law abiding citizens from all walks of life. In reality, congress of the federal government cannot do much about individual extremists committing crimes in the name of the ELF or ALF who burn things down in the middle of the night. Outlawing the group as a domestic terrorist organization strengthens their commitment and further radicalizes them. The ELF and ALF may threaten dozens of people each year and unquestionably destroys property, but an Al- Qaeda attack using weapons of mass destruction, chemical biological or nuclear could kill millions of people.

The ELF and ALF do not reflect the elements of a criminal organization, seeking to draw support to their cause rather than profit from their practice of ecotage. ELF to date has not had anyone killed in an ecotage action. This might explain a large part of the sympathy or indifference for labeling The ELF and ALF as a terrorists. To some people, they are championing causes and delivering results on topics that the average man has no input on or capability of acting on. I believe that until someone dies in an ELF and ALF raid, people will continue to think of the activists in this movement as criminals, crazies and crusaders who reflect a common unhappiness with exploitative practices of government collaboration with MNC's who destroy the planet for no other reason than greed.

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