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RESISTANCE #4

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002

The ways in which we go about pursuing social change are unnatural. They have been developed to nullify the just desires we all have for autonomy, while placing no real threat to the structure that creates our vast universe of oppression. Our revolutionary spirits have been co-opted by fundamentally flawed methodologies, which prove unsuccessful time and time again.

When faced with oppression, is it a natural reaction to write a petition, mail a letter to your representative, lobby Congress or file a lawsuit? Is it a natural reaction to organize a protest, partake in a sit-in, lock your neck to a piece of equipment or go limp while the cops beat you and drag you off to jail to be fingerprinted? When faced with the current magnitude of oppression, is it logical to even consider single-issue reform as having any vague resemblance to a solution?

Preconceived concepts of what is and what is not proper action to take in pursuit of social change have mutated to a level of going unquestioned. These ideas have entire movements hypnotized; they have misdirected many individuals away from legitimate struggle. These avenues have been paved by the same governmental structures that cause the oppression they pretend to be solutions for. Activism detours potential revolutionaries while reinforcing the misconception that capitalist society can be reformed. It keeps us juggling the symptoms of an illness that goes untouched, all the while smiling like clowns.

It is important to ask ourselves if the methodologies we subscribe to have any chance of success. Have they been formed through a natural, logical and strategically-utilitarian process, or have they simply been handed down to us by those who have found them self gratifying in the past? Is it possible that our strategies have been designed and promoted by those in power in order to keep us chasing our own tails?

The argument that the movements led by Gandhi, Martin Luther King and others made gains through their practices of nonviolence is an uneducated misconception. These people and their philosophies were simply parts of larger movements, which utilized a wide variety of tactics. If we wish to gain even the limited success that these movements gained, we need to embrace an equally wide variety of tactics. If we wish to truly succeed, we need to learn from their mistakes.

Along these lines of thought, I have decided to make some significant

RESISTANCE #4

changes to this publication. No longer will *RESISTANCE* report on the same tired voluntary arrests, which rely on a fundamental faith in the system and which simply aren't an effective means of achieving true revolutionary change. From now on *RESISTANCE* will report only on legitimate struggle-- struggle that has proven effective against those who work daily to destroy life.

On Wednesday, July 26, Terry Turchie, Deputy Assistant Director of the FBI Counter-terrorism Division, appeared before the U.S. House Government Reform Subcommittee to discuss domestic terrorism and national security. Turchie testified:

The threat of special interest terrorism... most notably emanating from animal rights and environmental extremists... is emerging as a significant threat in a growing number of communities throughout the United States. During the past several years, special interest extremism... as characterized by the Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front... has emerged as a serious terrorist threat.

The Federal Bureau of investigations can easily be viewed as the defense system of the machine that these organizations struggle to destroy. For the FBI to state that these groups pose a "significant threat" is to confirm the effectiveness of their actions. Threat to what? There has been no threat to any natural form of life posed by either of these organizations; in fact, they both struggle to "liberate" life. The threat they pose is to 'national security' and to the continuance of our genocidal and suicidal societal practices. They are a threat to those who kill and destroy everything that lies between them and profit. They are a threat to the power they hold over our lives and all life on Earth. This "threat" sounds an awful lot like a blessing to me.

Since 1997, the Earth Liberation Front has claimed responsibility for over 19 direct actions of economic sabotage, causing well over \$34,131,000 in damages. These actions are being taken against those who profit from the destruction of the natural environment. No harm has ever been brought to any form of natural life, nor have any individuals been apprehended for any of the actions claimed by the Earth Liberation Front.

The Earth Liberation Front does not commit merely symbolic acts to simply gain attention to any particular issues. It is not concerned merely

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002

with logging, genetic engineering or even the environment for that matter; its purpose is to liberate the Earth.

The Earth, and therefore all of us born of it, is under attack. We are under attack by a system which values profit over life, which has and will kill anything to satisfy its never ending greed. We have seen a recent history rich in the destruction of peoples, cultures and environments. We have seen the results of millions of years of evolution destroyed in a relative blink of an eye. We watch as our governments justify murdering millions of people for oil while calling the Earth Liberation Front special-interest terrorists.

How can protecting the livability of our environment be called a special interest? How can self defense be called terrorism?

The only problems I can find with actions like these are that they aren't happening frequently enough and at severe enough levels. That the press offices aren't so flooded with communiqués and media calls that all forms of electrical communication are shut down. That entire industries aren't being driven to extinction due to profit losses caused by covert, direct-action campaigns. That areas of North America aren't completely protected from capitalist exploitation by clandestine guerrilla organizations. That the oppressive system itself isn't brought to its knees by the people taking direct action and fighting back. Though I can see all of this potentially becoming reality in the near future. What other choice do we have?



Grand Jury

Josh Harper Arrested by Feds; Faces Criminal Contempt Charges

Josh Harper was arrested in Seattle on September 27, 2000 for his refusal to cooperate and testify before a federal grand jury in Portland investigating the actions of the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and Animal Liberation Front (ALF). Immediately after speaking to high school students about animal liberation and resisting grand juries, Harper was surrounded by federal agents and taken into custody. He was held at the SEATAC Federal Detention Center until Friday, September 29, 2000, when he was released on bail. Upon his release, Harper was commanded to appear in Portland on October 27, 2000, to face criminal contempt charges. He then released

RESISTANCE #4

the following statement:

Dear Supporters,

As many of you may have heard, I was arrested on a warrant on September 27 by agents from the FBI, U.S. Marshall's office, and local police. The warrant stemmed from my refusal to appear before a grand jury convened in Portland investigating the actions of the Animal and Earth Liberation Fronts.

I was taken to a federal detention center and was expecting to be transported to Portland to await trial. Then, last Friday, a small miracle happened. The prosecutor in Portland and the one in Washington both tried to block me from getting bail. Federal agents were flown in to convince the magistrate not to release me, but due to overwhelming support from the animal, environmental, and anarchist communities I was released on bail! The courtroom was overflowing with supporters, and they managed to raise more than the amount needed for my bail in less than 20 minutes! I am overwhelmed by the generosity of everyone who helped me and cannot begin to express my gratitude.

Now that I am on the outside again I am preparing to fight the charge of criminal contempt. It is not likely that I will win, however, and chances are fair that I will be spending at least a year in federal prison, possibly more.

We must first put this in perspective. The crime I am accused of basically amounts to missing a court date. So why such a serious penalty? I say it is because they are afraid. All across the world people are rising up. Small cells of committed activists are fighting for human freedom, ecological sanity, animal liberation, and autonomy. Large protests are finally going past the tired, ineffective marches and sign holdings that kept the government safe from us all these years, and now are actually becoming a threat again! People are ignoring electoral politics and are taking action themselves. We are sick of the lie that tells us 4 minutes of action every four years will change the world. We are sick

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002

of watching as the last of the wild dies, as the animal nations are massacred, and as our communities become devoid of real life, happiness, freedom and personality. We don't want to live in a world owned by Starbucks, we don't want to work our existence away making profit for the rich bastards we all despise, and we don't want to be beaten down and arrested for finally speaking up! As we rise, they must try to knock us down. The grand jury system is being used all over this country to keep the power in the hands of the elite few.

We cannot let this happen without resistance! On Friday, the 27th of October, I am to appear in Portland at 9 a.m. before a judge. Let us show him that I am not alone. Come to the courthouse (1000 SW 3rd Ave, Portland, OR 97204) at 8 a.m. to show your support... And of course, the best thing you can do to support me is to keep the resistance growing.

On October 27, over 100 people showed up outside the U.S. Courthouse in Portland to give support to Harper and to resist the grand jury and government repression. At his arraignment date, Harper successfully asked for a postponement so he could obtain an attorney. The Court then rescheduled his arraignment for November 17, 2000.

The following statement was then allegedly released by Josh Harper, which provoked legal repercussions against his First Amendment right to free speech:

Hello again,

I am writing this update about my case to inform everyone of new developments and to thank all of those people who have helped me thus far. This is a very trying time for me, but it is made easier when I think that I am not alone. People from all over the world have written and sent donations. The Animal Liberation Front has shown support for me as well by breaking windows at a McDonalds and a Neiman Marcus in Long Island and Beverly Hills. All of this activity is inspiring, but sadly it doesn't change the facts of this case.

I am being charged with criminal contempt, a federal

RESISTANCE #4

felony, for failure to appear before a grand jury. Criminal contempt carries no maximum sentence, so any amount of jail time is possible if I am convicted. This case is a first in our movement and will set a precedent that could be very harmful.

The government is essentially saying, “Snitch on your friends or go to jail.”

Failure to cooperate with a grand jury is going to start costing people years of their lives. That is why we must fight this charge to the best of our ability.

I have finally found counsel in this case, but I still need funds to pay for their assistance. We are working on making some support fund merchandise, but we need help setting up benefits elsewhere. Please contact us below if you can do anything-- a vegan bake sale, a show, anything at all. We also need to fight back on another front, and the ALF has certainly taken the lead. The prosecution in this case planned to have this grand jury be an end to underground direct action movement by knocking out the aboveground support structure.

Craig Rosebraugh was targeted and had his home raided because he speaks so eloquently on behalf of those with compassion and respect for the Earth. I have been targeted because of my video productions and speaking tours, as well as my association with militant aboveground action groups. The government fears that people like Craig and I are increasing the level of direct action in this country simply by telling people that it occurs. I don't know how true that is, but I do know that is difficult to argue with the success of direct action.

In one night an Earth raper can be forever put out of business. With a few hundred dollars in equipment, animals can be freed from a lifetime of slavery at the hands of a vivisector. With long term planning and security, a new movement could emerge to cast off the oppressive state and its industrial masters. If this charge of criminal contempt

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002

puts me away for the next few years, I at least hope that the grand jury doesn't reach its goal of crushing direct action.

I see so many people fighting for a day when the Earth is wild again and we live peacefully with each other and the animal nations. Right now it seems like such a far away dream, and I am at times frustrated when I think how impossible it all seems. But then I am given hope when I remember our radical history, and all the wonderful things we have already accomplished. It remains to be seen whether or not we will be willing to do what is necessary to bring about the changes that are so desperately needed on this planet, but I see a spark of hope in every broken window, every torched police car and every mink running free as their hearts desire. I cheer every time I hear that our movement has created a safe space for wimmin, fed the hungry, or cast off one more boss. Let us increase the momentum.

Thanks for your support,

Josh

The arraignment was then postponed again on November 17 due to Harper's then attorney not being licensed in Oregon. The court at this time placed another release order on Harper, which prevents him from ideologically voicing support for the ELF and/or the ALF. Assistant U.S. Attorney Stephen Piefer pleaded with a federal judge to place these extra restrictions on Harper after submitting into evidence a copy of the above email allegedly sent by Harper discussing his support of illegal direct action. If Harper violates this order he would be subject to arrest and held until his trial.

On December 1, Harper was officially charged with criminal contempt. His attorney acting on his behalf entered a Not Guilty plea and the case was set for trial on January 3, 2001.

Criminal contempt differs from civil contempt in the sense that in it has the possibility of a jury trial, and the sentence has no legal upper limit. Upon conviction, a judge may sentence an individual up to six months in prison without a jury trial. If the prosecution or judge sees fit to try for a longer sentence, a jury must legally be used. Most often, civil contempt

RESISTANCE #4

is considered before criminal contempt is used. Civil contempt does not involve a trial and commonly has an upper sentencing limit of eighteen months or the remaining length of the grand jury.

Let Harper's plight and the growing government repression be a motivating CALL TO ACTION. Harper was arrested for not cooperating with a government witch hunt attempting to stop the courageous efforts of the ELF and the ALF. Now is the time for more direct action than ever before. It is up to all of us to show this murderous government that it is impossible to stop the ideology of the ELF and the ALF: the idea that there is more to life than killing anything and everything for profit.



Bloomington Raid

By Marie Mason and Frank Ambrose

On July 19, 2000 at 6:30 a.m., five Indiana Conservation Officers (COs) and one FBI agent knocked on our door and announced they had a warrant to search our apartment and car. They came in and showed us the warrant and proceeded to search through every inch of our apartment looking for implements of tree spiking. The warrant authorized them to take any nails, nail heads, hammers, metal cutting tools, boots, computers, and any communication linking Frank Ambrose to the ELF.

During the raid, the majority of the items the State seized were not listed on the warrant. The vast majority of the material taken was organizational literature and address books belonging to Marie. They also took some spray paint, a crow bar from our car, Marie's family photo albums, a couple of household hammers, tin snips and a Leatherman multi-tool. They left Frank's boots on the floor without even looking at them, though they photographed the soles of all the shoes in the closet. When they were confronted about taking items that were not on the warrant, they claimed that they could do it, and there was nothing we could do to stop it.

It was clear which police agency was there and why. The COs largely stood around and watched us to make sure we didn't flush the foot-long tree spikes they were looking for down the toilet, while the FBI agent, Rob Woesner, did the bulk of the work looking through our file cabinets and car. Whenever the COs had a question about an item, they went to him for

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002

advice. He almost always advised them to take the items. It was clear the FBI is targeting us because of our political beliefs and our involvement in the takeover of a State Forest office in protest of the logging they were planning, and the COs were there just because the crime being investigated was a state-level crime and therefore their jurisdiction under the law.

Towards the end of the raid, the COs separated us and tried to get both of us to talk. They told Frank that he should cooperate with the State so that the Feds would not get involved. They said that the Feds were much worse and would not give him any deals. Meanwhile, they argued with Marie to have her try to convince Frank to turn himself in and throw his life at the mercy of the law and courts. We merely reminded them that we did not want to talk and that if they had evidence to lock us up, they would have just done that along with raiding our place.

The police promised us that they would be back later in the day with an arrest warrant for Frank (he was the one actually named on the warrant). They never showed. They also promised that they would talk to “everyone” (actually only a few individuals were harassed) in the environmental community and that someone would “rat” on him eventually. They have since visited several community members and tried to get them to say that he has been involved in illegal activities. They also have more concretely shown that they are not just interested in framing Frank, but also in framing Marie. They approached Heartwood, a local forest protection group where Marie had recently been employed. When their director, Alison Cochran, was asked questions about Marie, she cooperated and in the end agreed to give the FBI Marie’s old computer. There was no warrant for this computer.

The raid and subsequent round of visits came in the wake of a series of Earth Liberation Front actions that have occurred in the Bloomington area this past year. Before the raid, there had been numerous Earth-destroying machines destroyed, a partially-built mansion burned to the ground, a wood chip truck burned, and trees spiked in two state forests. After the raid, the ELF took responsibility for attempting arson at the county’s Republican headquarters and for destroying more forest-destroying machines in the Martin State Forest.



RESISTANCE #4

Beyond the ELF:

Creating a new direct action movement against capitalism and industrialization

By Craig Rosebraugh

While the Earth Liberation Front has shown to have quite an impact in the United States since 1997, its targets have arguably been limited in nature. As the ELF is at least in theory an organization focused on environmental issues, its actions have stayed largely within that social movement. To their credit, the ELF has demonstrated a knowledge and understanding of a larger problem in society: the drive for profit and capital. Using economic sabotage the group has inflicted well over \$34 million in damages since 1997 in the United States on entities profiting off the destruction of the environment.

But is this enough? The ELF is definitely on the right track as far as tactics of economic sabotage are concerned. Yet there is a clear difference, strategically speaking, between burning a building completely to the ground and causing minor damage through various forms of vandalism. Granted, I am under the assumption that the basic motives for all of these actions would be the same and therefore would applaud the brave and heroic individuals for working to save the environment and smash corporate greed.

The main difference in my mind, though, lies in not only the monetary amount of damage done to the given target, but also in the target itself. The idea should be that if an individual desires to engage in economic sabotage she/he should pick the best target possible at any given time. Then the best tactic should be chosen at each given time to ensure the most damage will be done. So how is this done? How are the best targets selected?

In my mind the best targets are those that will have the most effect in stopping the exploitation, destruction, and deaths of the natural environment and all life coexisting on the planet. One must make every effort to look beyond individual social issues, be they human, animal, and/or environmental, to the higher cause of these problems. The desire, or manufactured desire, of the need for profit, material items, and ownership is at the heart of arguably many of these social issues.

Yet, instead of concentrating on fighting this desire most activists, largely of the leftist persuasion, appear content with continuing the exhausted state

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002

sanctioned legal means of protest, which have little effect. Underground organizations such as the ELF and the Animal Liberation Front have at least demonstrated a greater understanding of the role desire plays in the environmental and animal liberation movements. They have taken concrete steps to fight this desire within their own movements. Yet the real desire, the desire taught to us along with the American dream, apple pie and baseball, is most often overlooked or clearly unseen.

There needs to be a direct focus on fighting the desire created by industrialization and the westernized way of life. It needs to be a direct action focus using not state sanctioned forms of protest but underground guerrilla tactics in the form of economic sabotage and beyond.

So how do we go about combating this desire? How do we go about choosing targets that will have the most impact? The idea in the United States is to look at just what makes the country what it is. What symbols, what propaganda, what physical objects are involved in creating the atmosphere of desire? What makes the United States economically operate? Who and what are the information sources in the U.S. that push and create the propaganda? Are there targets that could be selected that involve and affect many corporations? Are there symbolic targets that if destroyed would place a major blow to the false reality?

Think big. Think Wall Street, the stock market, the Statue of Liberty, the U.S. Capitol, Mt. Rushmore, Disneyland, media conglomerates, military installations, governmental agencies (CIA, FBI, BATF, USFS, etc.), large multinational corporations, automobile manufacturers, etc. Realize the difference between pulling up an acre of G.E. crops and destroying Monsanto. The difference between sabotaging logging equipment and destroying MAXXAM/Pacific Lumber. The difference between spray-paint and fire.

When the ELF torched Vail Resorts, Inc. in 1998, the organization was on the right path toward targeting desire. Vail is known worldwide as the ritzy, only-for-the-rich, ski resort. A perfect symbol of desire. If you begin with nothing, work hard all your life, you too can become wealthy, powerful and can visit the planet's premiere facilities, including Vail. Those who can't are supposed to desire it.

The idea for a movement against capitalism and industrialization directly is nothing new. The Luddites (1811 – 1813) in England used direct action

RESISTANCE #4

with some success to combat the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. Before the revolution hit, many people for centuries had worked out of their cottages and small shops in villages on machines that could be run by one person. Suddenly, an industrial society appeared with new, complex machinery commonly housed in multiple-story buildings. This new way of working threatened and eventually killed the means by which livelihood had been achieved for years. The Luddites fought back using similar economic sabotage tactics seen today. Damages estimated at over \$1 million were inflicted on business owners during this two-year time period. Some manufacturers agreed to actually stop using the new complex machines due to the Luddite threat of action.

The tactics of the Weather Underground in the U.S. in the late 60s to early 1970s also appeared to be focused against the ideology existing in the United States. While their operations appeared somewhat reactionary and their group politics arguably questionable, they did succeed in demonstrating that symbolic and real targets like those mentioned above are not impossible to hit. Here is a summary of the Weather Underground bombings from 1970-1972:

- Haymarket Police Statue, Chicago, October 1969 and October 1970
- Chicago Police Cars following the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, December 1969
- New York City Police Headquarters, June 1970
- Marin County Courthouse, following the murder of Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain, August 1970
- Long Island City Courthouse, in Queens, in solidarity with prison revolts taking place in New York City, October 1970
- Department of Corrections in San Francisco and Office of California Prisons in Sacramento, for the murder of George Jackson in San Quentin, August 1971
- Department of Corrections in Albany, NY, for the murder and assault against the prisoners of Attica, September 1971
- 103rd Precinct of the New York City police, for the murder of 10-year-old Clifford Clover, May 1973
- Harvard War research Center for International Affairs, October 1970
- U.S. Capitol, after the invasion of Laos, March 1971
- MIT Research Center, William Bundy's office, October 1971
- The Pentagon, after the bombing of Hanoi and mining of the

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002

harbors of North Vietnam, May 1972

- Draft and recruiting centers
- ROTC buildings
- ITT Latin America Headquarters, following the fascist revolution in Chile, September 1973
- National Guard Headquarters, Washington, D.C., after the murders at Jackson State and Kent State, May 1970
- Presidio Army Base and MP Station, San Francisco, July 26, 1970
- -Federal Offices of HEW (Health, Education, and Welfare), San Francisco, March 1974
- Liberation of Timothy Leary from California Men's Colony, San Luis Obispo, September 1970

The above actions are presented here to demonstrate the possibilities of direct action against the idea of desire. The Luddites and the Weather Underground are just two examples of earlier organizations targeting capitalism and industrialization through direct action.

The thought behind all of this is not to get discouraged but rather encouraged to get active and stay active in a way that will produce results. If the goal is to end environmental destruction and the suffering and murder of life on this planet, then a clear look must be taken at the real enemy. Whether the group is the Earth Liberation Front or some new organization, the importance lies in rethinking targets and choosing those that will produce the greatest success and damage. In either case the actions must not only become more strategic and of an intensified scale but they must also occur with a much greater frequency.