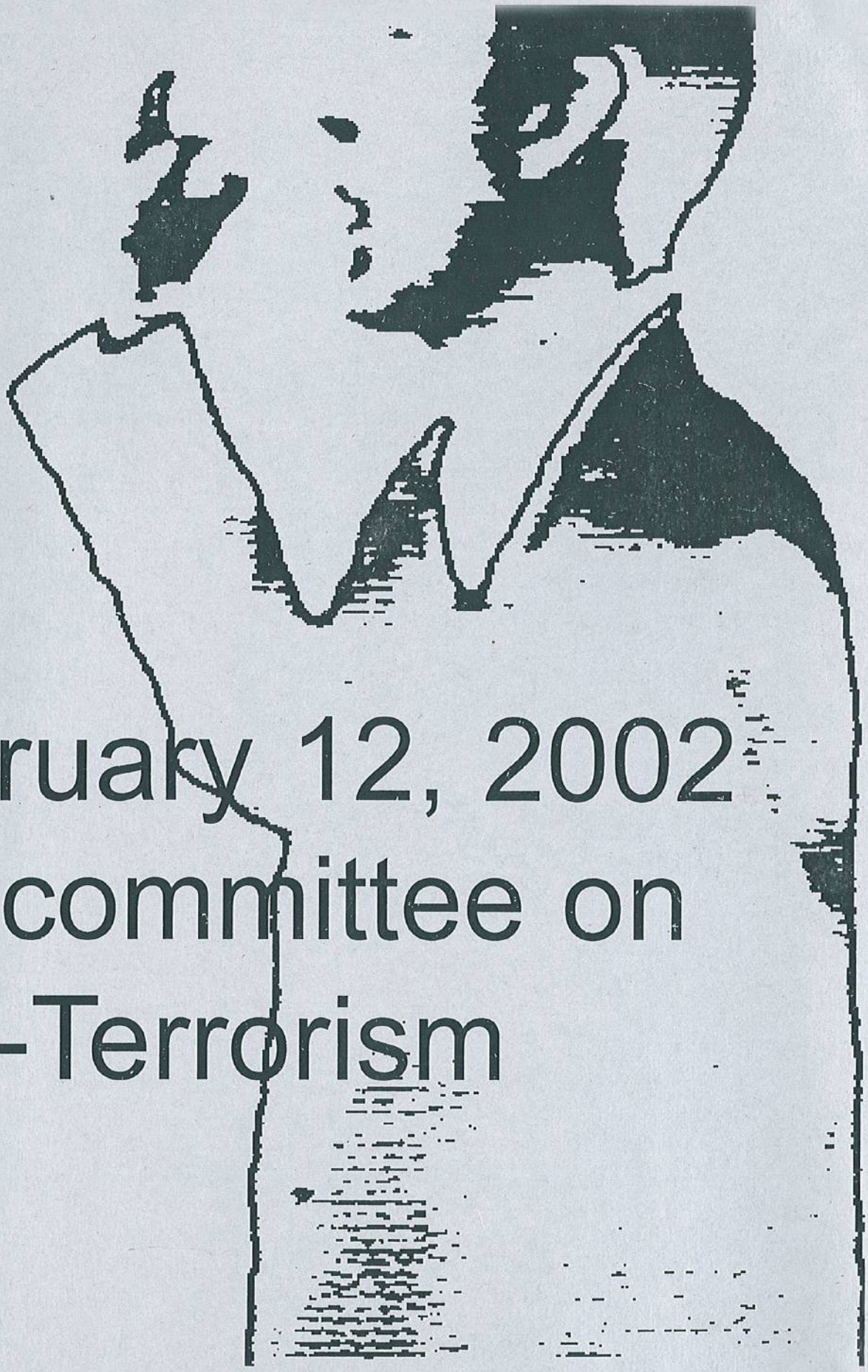


February 12, 2002 Subcommittee on Eco-Terrorism

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Former Spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front Press Office, Craig Rosebraugh, under force of subpoena at the Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health.

"There is no distinctly American criminal class except Congress."

~ Mark Twain

Craig Rosebraugh served as a spokesperson for the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office (NAELFPO) between spring of 2000, and September 5th of 2001. Prior to his official role in the NAELFPO, Rosebraugh served as an unofficial spokesperson for the underground Earth Liberation Front (ELF) since the organization released its first communiqué claiming responsibility for an arson at the Bureau of Land Management in Burns, Oregon on November 29th, 1997. Throughout this period (11/29/97 - 9/5/01) Rosebraugh relayed anonymous communiqués from the ELF to the public and worked to encourage ideological support for clandestine direct action, helping the movement gain international attention.

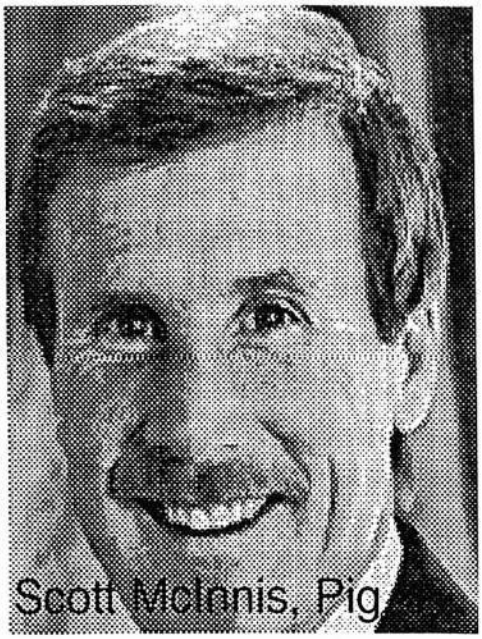
The Earth Liberation Front has been engaging itself in large scale acts of economic sabotage in North America since 1997, totaling over $40 million in damages to those who profit from the destruction and exploitation of the Earth and its peoples. The ELF realize that the Earth is being destroyed and the people are being oppressed because industries have been built around the commodification of life and will stop at nothing to further their economic agenda. Therefore, the ELF choose economic sabotage as a tactic to effectively eliminate the profit motive driving the destruction and exploitation of life on Earth.

More importantly, the ELF are part of a larger revolutionary movement that is struggling for fundamental change in the way we live our lives on Earth. The system represents and perpetrates a value structure that places profits and property above the people and the natural environment that sustains our life. The ELF is essentially a clandestine task force fighting back against the massive oppression resulting from this warped set of values. And it is for this reason that the system perceives the ELF and similar organizations as a threat.

Because of his outspoken support for the Earth Liberation Front, Rosebraugh has been victim to harassment from government agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), the Justice Department and several other federal, state and local authorities as well as pro-industry organizations. Prior to being subpoenaed to the Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health, Rosebraugh was subject to seven federal grand jury subpoenas regarding illegal activities of the ELF as well as two FBI/ATF raids.

The Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health, held on February 12th, 2002, was the first congressional hearing to specifically focus on the growing movement of economic sabotage taken in defense of the Earth and its peoples. The Subcommittee on Eco-Terrorism, as it's known, consisted of testimonies from different groups of individuals; members of congress arguing for further legislation against "eco-terrorism," individuals representing corporations that have been targets of the ELF, pro-industry representatives arguing for increased government action against "eco-terrorism," law enforcement agencies arguing for more funding with which to combat "eco-terrorism," and Craig Rosebraugh. Rosebraugh was the only individual in the hearing who even vaguely had an interest in preserving "forests and forest health" and also the only one there under force of subpoena.

The hearing was hosted by the Chairperson of the House Resources Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health, Scott McInnis, who serves Colorado's third district in the U.S. House of Representatives. McInnis, a former police officer, is a representative of the system and its twisted values. He, the members of congress and everyone else voluntarily participating at the subcommittee hearing for that matter, have built careers on shoving the american dream down the throats of not only everyone in the US, but everyone on Earth. The Subcommittee on Eco-terrorism is an attempt by the system to prevent the liberation of the Earth and its peoples from the greedy stranglehold of the system.


Scott McInnis, Pig

In condemnation of the hearing, Rosebraugh refused to cooperate with subcommittee's efforts to villainize and incarcerate this movement for liberation. When he first received a letter asking for his voluntary participation in the hearing he replied in refusal. At the hearing itself he evoked his fifth amendment right to remain silent for every question asked of him with the exception of two, one asking his citizenship and the other whether he submitted a written testimony.

It is important for everyone involved in the struggle for liberation to know what we're up against. To effectively fight the system we need to know what these motherfuckers with their boots on our throats are thinking, and what they're going to do next. Everyone voluntarily participating in the subcommittee is a pig, with a clear vested interest in the continuation of capitalist annihilation of life on Earth. By analyzing the questioning and testimonies given at the subcommittee and researching the true intentions and motivations behind the participants, we can begin to get a glimpse of the struggle to come.

Before his release from the Subcommittee on Eco-Terrorism, Rosebraugh was informed that he would be receiving further questions which he would be required to reply to in written format. Later it was announced that it was the intent of the subcommittee to charge Rosebraugh with Contempt of Congress.

As it stands of today, March 23rd, 2002, Rosebraugh has received and replied to the additional written questions and is yet to hear of the subcommittee's response.

Long Live the Earth Liberation Front! Long Live Liberation! Long Live Revolution! Down With this System that is Strangling the Earth and its Peoples!

Leslie James Pickering
Spokesperson,
North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office

Craig Rosebraugh
Former Spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front Press Office
Written Testimony to the Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health

"When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce [the people] under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."
"The oppressed should rebel, and they will continue to rebel and raise disturbance until their civil rights are fully restored to them and all partial distinctions, exclusions and incapacitations are removed."

~Thomas Jefferson, 1776

On April 15, 1972 I came into this world as a child of two wonderful parents living in Portland, Oregon. Growing up in the Pacific Northwestern region of the United States, I had the privilege of easy access to the natural world. Much of my childhood was spent in the fields and forested areas behind our home, playing and experiencing life in the time of innocence. I had no knowledge of societal problems, especially those pertaining to the natural environment.

Throughout my childhood and adolescent years, the education I received from my parents, schools, popular media and culture gave me a pride in my country, for my government, and everything the United States represented. I was taught about the great American history, about our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, and our legacy of being at the forefront of democracy and freedom. I considered myself to be just an average boy taking an active part in the popular American pastimes of competitive sports, consumer culture, and existing within a classic representation of the standard middle class suburban lifestyle.

Upon graduating from high school, I became exposed to new forms of education and ideas. Resulting from my immersion into various subcultures, beginning college, and meeting new people, I found my horizons beginning to widen. For the first time in my life I was presented with the notion of political and social conflict and the various issues contained within both categories. It was alarming yet at the same time invigorating as I began to feel passion burn within me.

At this particular time, George Bush, Sr. had led the United States into what became known as the Gulf War. Now, as I was raised with a certain absolutist support of my country and government, my first inclination was to wave the stars and stripes and get behind this noble pursuit of "promoting democracy and freedom" in the "less fortunate" and "uncivilized" lands. Yet as I began to look into the matter further, I found myself asking questions such as Why are we there? Why are we killing civilians? What is the true motive behind the conflict? After a great deal of research, I came to the logical and truthful conclusion that resources and regional power were the primary motives.

As news from independent sources slowly filtered out, I became increasingly horrified at the slaughter of Iraqi civilians by the United States military. With NO WAR FOR OIL as my guiding personal statement, I joined the local antiwar protests and movement existing in Portland, Oregon. Little did I realize that this first political activity would lead me to a life of devotion, to true justice and real freedom.

While my antiwar involvement progressed I also began to understand the disastrous relationship that our modern society has with the many animal nations. Out of an interest inspired both by independent reading and through early college education, I became involved with a local animal advocacy organization. At first I largely attended meetings to hear the numerous arguments for the rights of animals and further my own education. The more I learned the more compelled I felt to involve myself in working for animal protection. My activities went from merely attending meetings, rallies and protests to organizing them. Of all the issues I had learned about during the six years I spent with that organization, I focused the majority of my time, research and interest on the use of animals in biomedical and scientific experimentation.

While a great percentage of the public in the United States had been convinced that animal research progressed and continues to improve human health, I soon realized that this myth was not only untruthful, but the work of a slick public relations campaign by the pharmaceutical industry in coordination with federal agencies such as the National Institutes of Health. I also learned that just like the factory farm industry, the use of animals for human entertainment, and for the fashion industry, animal experimentation was motivated first and foremost by profits. Furthermore, I learned how the government of the United States not only economically supports these various institutions of exploitation, but how it continues to perpetuate and politically support the dangerous lie that animal research saves human lives. My support for various governmental policies was slowly fading.

And then memories of innocence were torn away. In the early 1990s I received notice that the lush natural acreage I used to play in as a child had been sold to a development firm. They intended to bulldoze the entire area and create a virtual community of homes for the upper middle class to wealthy. Within a two year time period the land as I knew it was no more. The visual reminder I used to have access to, the one that would take me back to the years when the fields and trees were my playground, was stolen by a development corporation who saw more value in the land as luxurious houses than for its natural beauty and life.

I remember asking myself what would happen to the various wildlife that made the area home for so many years? Where would the deer, coyotes, skunks, wild cats, mice, raccoons, opossums and others go? It was obvious that these questions had not even been considered by the developers. Rather it appeared the main pursuit of the corporation was working towards building incredibly large homes as close as possible to one another for maximum financial gain.

As the 1990s progressed, I became more aware of the relationship between social and political problems in the United States. No one issue was truly independent but rather was affected by many others. In my work with the local animal advocacy organization, I realized that exploitation and destruction occurring from the human practice of domination over animals also involved much more. Economics, politics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, science, religion and other disciplines all played a major role in understanding this unhealthy relationship between humans and other animals. But by far the most important realization I made was that the problems facing animals, the problems facing the natural environment, and those affecting humans all came from a primary source. Understanding this crucial connection, I co-founded a non-profit organization in 1996 that was dedicated to educating the public on this fundamental realization.

During the mid-1990s I also, through continued formal and informal education, began to understand that the history I had learned growing up was only one story of many. I gained insight into the fact that everything I had learned about the origins of the United States of America had been purely from the viewpoint of the colonists and European settlers. Thus, the history I was taught was from the perspective of the privileged white man, which not only told a mere fraction of the story, but also provided an extreme amount of misinformation as well.

I was never taught that the origins of this country were based upon murder, exploitation and ultimate genocide. My teachers didn't seem to mention the fact that the white European settlers nearly annihilated the various indigenous nations that had existed on this land for ages. Instead I was taught about Thanksgiving and about Columbus Day. I bought into it so much that I vividly recall my excitement over creating a paper model of one of Columbus' ships years ago.

No one ever seemed to provide the insight to me that natives were immediately enslaved by the settlers upon their arrival, forced to work and assist the European powers in their quest for gold and spices. Likewise, I failed to ever have access to a true African American history that began when blacks were shipped as property to this land to work as slaves for white men.

While I was taught about the so-called "Great American Revolution," it was never mentioned that this war for independence against the European powers only served and benefited the privileged white male. Of course all white men were privileged to some degree, however many were enslaved initially just like the natives and blacks. Women, natives, blacks and poor whites to a limited degree were considered property, bought, sold, and owned by the white hierarchy.

In school, my teachers did explain to me the importance of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights and how our forefathers drew up these documents to serve the people. This I learned was the foundation of our supposed great democracy. Yet in reality these items were created by the white power structure and only served to benefit the respected members of white society. Women, blacks, natives, and poor white men still were not enfranchised nor had any accessibility to self-determination and freedom. Land ownership, a notion completely foreign and absurd to most of the indigenous, became a deciding factor of power and privilege for white men. Those without land lacked the opportunity for the vote, for ultimate power and respect.

As more and more settlers pushed westward through the country, the government committed endless treaty breaches and violations, stealing land that whites had allotted to the indigenous. Perhaps one of the most disturbing facts was that these original agreements made between various indigenous nations and the United States government were supposed to have international standing. Each of the indigenous populations were recognized at the time each document was signed as being a sovereign nation and yet the United States government still exerted its power and domination to steal land for eventual development and drainage of resources. This genocide against the varied Native American nations by the United States continues today with innocent people such as Leonard Peltier being imprisoned for years simply due to him being perceived as a political threat. Free Leonard Peltier!

On July 4 annually, United States citizens celebrate the founding of our country, most either blatantly forgetting or ignorant of the true issues surrounding that date. The fact that the United States as a nation systematically committed mass genocide against the indigenous of these lands, to catastrophic extremities, is certainly no cause for celebration. Rather it should be a time for mourning, for remembrance and most of all for education of our children so we are not doomed to repeat the mistakes of the past.

The plight of blacks and women throughout United States history, although perhaps not as overtly catastrophic, still constituted outright mass murder, enslavement, exploitation, and objectification. Early on, white European settlers found that natives were much more difficult to enslave and manage due to their ability to maintain at least partial elements of their cultures. When blacks began to first arrive on slave ships, chained in the darkness below the decks, white settlers theorized they would make better slaves because they would be so far removed from their cultures. Thus, the enslavement of blacks began in this land and would, in its overt form, last for a couple hundred years. During this time, and well beyond, blacks were considered property to be bought,

sold, used and disposed of at will.

Even after the abolitionist movement, which began in the 1820s and 1830s, blacks continued to be considered second-rate citizens restricted from voting and experiencing the free life of which whites were accustomed. When the modern United States civil rights movement began in the 1940s it took some twenty years of constant hardship and struggle to achieve some reform in the fascist policies of the United States. Even though afterwards blacks had the right to vote and exist in the desegregated zones, there still was no overall freedom, never any actual resemblance of equality. Today the saga continues. While African Americans have made incredible progress in obtaining certain rights and privileges, there continues to be a more hidden, underlying discrimination that is every bit as potent. A clear example can be seen by taking an honest look at the prison industrial complex and understanding who continues to be enslaved in mass to make that industry financially viable. Free Mumia Abu Jamal! Free the Move 9! Free all the political prisoners in the United States!

A similar and equally unfortunate history has and continues to haunt women in American society. Also once considered property, women were not even able to vote in this country until the 1920s. Even after, they continued to be faced with a patriarchal society consisting of white men in power. While women have made many wonderful advances for themselves, they still exist in the United States today under that same sexist and patriarchal society. A quick glance at the profiles of the federal government as well as top CEO's from United States corporations fully supports this reality.

When I co-founded the non-profit organization in Portland, Oregon in 1996 I was becoming more aware that the similarities in the human, environmental, and animal advocacy movements stemmed from this rich United States history not of glory, freedom and democracy, but of oppression in its sickest forms. I began to also come to the realization that just as the United States' white male power structure put itself on a pedestal above everyone else, it also maintained that attitude toward the natural environment and the various animal nations that exist within it. As a society, we have continuously acted towards these natural life forms as though we owned them and that therefore gave us the right to do whatever we wanted and could to them.

Particularly with the advent of the industrial revolution in the United States, the destruction of the natural world took a major turn for the worse. The attitude, more so than ever, turned to one of profits at any cost and a major shift from sustainable living to stockpiling for economic benefit. This focus on stockpiling and industrial productivity caused hardship on communities, forcing local crafters and laborers to be driven out of business by overly competitive industries. Additionally, with this new focus on sacrificing sustainable living for financial gain, natural resources became in more of a demand than ever. Semi-automatic to automatic machinery, production lines, the automobile, the roadway system, suburbs, and the breakup of small fairly self-sufficient communities all came about at least in part due to the industrial revolution. This unhealthy and deadly transgression of course was supported and promoted by the United States government, always eager to see growth in the domestic economy.

All of this set the stage for the threatening shortage of resources and the massive environmental pollution and destruction present today in the United States. In cities such as Los Angeles, Detroit, and Houston, the air and soil pollution levels are so extreme people have been and continue to suffer deadly health problems. Waterways throughout the country, including the Columbia Slough in my backyard, are so polluted it is recommended that humans don't even expose themselves to the moisture. The valuable and crucial forests of the Pacific Northwestern region of the country have been systematically destroyed by corporations such as Boise Cascade, Willamette Industries,

and others within the timber industry whose sole motive is profits regardless of the expense to the health of an ecosystem. In Northern California, the sacred old growths, dreamlike in appearance, taking your breath away at first glance, have been continuously threatened and cut by greedy corporations such as Pacific Lumber/Maxxam. The same has occurred and still is a reality in states like Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, and more.

The first National Forests were established in the United States over one hundred years ago. One hundred fifty five of them exist today spread across 191 million acres. Over the years the forest products industry has decimated publicly owned National Forests in this country, leaving a horrendous trail of clearcuts and logging roads. Commercial logging has been responsible for annihilating nearly all of the nation's old growth forests, draining nutrients from the soil, washing topsoil into streams, destroying wildlife habitat and creating an increase in the severity of forest fires. Only an estimated 4% of old growth forests in the United States are remaining.

The National Forests in the United States contain far more than just trees. In fact over 3,000 species of fish and wildlife, in addition to 10,000 plant species, have their habitat within the National Forests. This includes at least 230 endangered plant and animal species. All of these life forms create the rich and healthy ecosystems needed for life to exist on this planet.

The benefits to a healthy forest cannot be overrated. Healthy forests purify drinking water, provide fresh clean air to breathe, stabilize hillsides, and prevent floods. Hillsides that have been clearcut or destroyed by logging roads lose their ability to absorb heavy rainfall. If no trees exist to soak up moisture with roots to hold the soil, water flows freely down slopes, creating muddy streams, polluting drinking water, strengthening floods and causing dangerous mudslides. Instead of valuing trees and forests for being valuable providers of life, the U.S. Forest Service and commercial logging interests have decimated these precious ecosystems.

The timber corporations argue that today in the United States more forests exist than perhaps at any time in the last one hundred or more years. It doesn't take a forestry specialist to realize that monoculture tree farms - in which one species of tree, often times non-native to the area, is grown in mass in a small area for maximum production - do not equate to a healthy forest. Healthy forests are made up of diverse ecosystems consisting of many native plant and animal species. These healthy ecosystems are what provide humans and all other life forms on the planet with the ability to live. Without clean air, clean water and healthy soil, life on this planet will cease to exist. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence that indicates we are already well on our path toward massive planetary destruction.

The popular environmental movement in the United States, which arguably began in the 1960s, has failed to produce the necessary protection needed to ensure that life on this planet will continue to survive. This is largely due to the fact that the movement has primarily consisted of tactics sanctioned by the very power structure that is benefiting economically from the destruction of the natural world. While a few minor successes in the United States should be noted, the overwhelming constant trend has been the increasingly speedy liquidation of natural resources and annihilation of the environment.

The state sanctioned tactics, those approved of by the United States government and society and predominantly legal in nature, rarely if ever actually threaten or challenge the very entities that are responsible for oppression, exploitation, and in this case environmental destruction. Throughout the history of the United States, a striking amount of evidence indicates that it wasn't until efforts strayed beyond the state sanctioned that social change ever progressed. In the abolitionist movement, the Underground Railroad, public educational campaigns, in addition to the slave revolts forced the federal government to act. With the Suffragettes in the United States, individuals

such as Alice Paul acting with various forms of civil disobedience added to the more mainstream efforts to successfully demand the vote. Any labor historian can tell you that in addition to the organizing of the workplace, strikes, riots, and protests dramatically assisted in producing more tolerable work standards. The progress of the civil rights movement was primarily founded upon the massive illegal civil disobedience campaigns against segregation and disenfranchisement. Likewise, the true pressure from the Vietnam anti-war movement in this country only came after illegal activities such as civil disobedience and beyond were implemented. Perhaps the most obvious, yet often overlooked, historical example of this notion supporting the importance of illegal activity came just prior to our war for independence. Our educational systems in the United States glorify the Boston Tea Party while simultaneously failing to recognize and admit that the dumping of tea was perhaps one of the most famous early examples of politically motivated property destruction.

In the mid-1990s individuals, angry and disillusioned with the failing efforts to protect the natural environment through state sanctioned means, began taking illegal action. At first nonviolent civil disobedience was implemented and then sporadic cases of property destruction appeared. In November 1997, an anonymous communiqué was issued by a group called the Earth Liberation Front claiming responsibility for their first ever action in North America.

Immediately the label of ecoterrorism appeared in news stories describing the actions of the Earth Liberation Front. Where exactly this label originated is open for debate, but all indications point to the federal government of the United States in coordination with industry groups and sympathetic news media. Whatever the truth may be regarding the source of this term one thing is for certain, the decision was very conscious and deliberate to attach this label to illegal actions taken for environmental protection. Why? The power of propaganda and the need for the federal government in the United States to control public opinion to ensure an absence of threat is crucial. If information about illegal actions taken to protect the natural environment was presented openly to the public without interpretation, the opportunity would exist for citizens to make up their own minds about the legitimacy of the tactic, target, and movement. By attaching a label such as terrorism to the activities of groups such as the Earth Liberation Front, the American public is left with little choice but to give into their preconceived notions associated with that term. For many in this country, including me, information about terrorism came from schools and popular culture. Most often times the definition of terrorism was overtly racist associated frequently in movies and on television shows with Arabs and the others that our government told us were threatening. Terrorism usually is connected with violence, with politically motivated physical harm to humans.

Yet, in the history of the Earth Liberation Front both in North America and abroad in Europe no one has ever been injured by the group's many actions. This is not a mere coincidence but rather a deliberate decision that illustrates the true motivation behind the covert organization. The goal of the Earth Liberation Front is to save life, pure and simple. The group takes actions directly against the property of those who are engaged in massive planetary destruction in order for all of us to survive. This noble pursuit does not constitute terrorism, but rather seeks to abolish it.

A major hypocrisy exists when the United States government labels an organization such as the Earth Liberation Front a terrorist organization while simultaneously failing to acknowledge its own terrorist history. In fact the United States government by far has been the most extreme terrorist organization in planetary history. Some, but nowhere near all, of the examples of domestic terrorism were discussed earlier in this writing. Yet further proof can be found by taking a glimpse at the foreign policy record of the United States even as recently as from the 1950s.

In Guatemala (1953-1990s) the CIA organized a coup that overthrew the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz. This began some forty years of death squads, torture, disap-

pearances, mass executions, totaling well over 100,000 victims. The United States government apparently didn't want Guatemala's social democracy spreading to other countries in Latin America.

In the Middle East (1956-1958) the United States tried twice to overthrow the Syrian government. Additionally the United States government landed 14,000 troops to supposedly keep the peace in Lebanon and to stop any opposition to the U.S. supported Lebanese government. The United States government also conspired to overthrow or assassinate Nasser of Egypt.

During the same time in Indonesia (1957-1958) the CIA tried to fix elections and plotted the assassination of Sukarno - then the leader of Indonesia. The CIA also assisted in waging a full scale war against the government of Indonesia. All of this action was taken because Sukarno refused to take a hard line stand against communism.

From 1953 to 1964 the United States government targeted Cheddi Jagan, then the leader of British Guiana, out of a fear he might have built a successful example of an alternative to the capitalist model society. The United States government, with Britain, organized general strikes and spread disinformation finally forcing Jagan out of power in 1964.

In Cambodia (1955-1973) Prince Sihanouk was severely targeted by the United States government. This targeting included assassination attempts and the secret carpet bombings of 1969-1970. The United States government finally succeeded in overthrowing Sihanouk in a 1970 coup.

The examples continue. During 1960 through 1965 the United States intervened in Congo/Zaire. After Patrice Lumumba became Congo's first Prime Minister following the independence gained from Belgium, he was assassinated in 1961 at the request of Dwight Eisenhower. During the same time in Brazil (1961-1964), President Joao Goulart was overthrown in a military coup which involved the United States. Again the alleged reasoning amounted to a fear of communism, or more importantly anything that threatened the American way of life. In the Dominican Republic (1963-1966) the United States sent in 23,000 troops to help stop a coup which aimed at restoring power to Juan Bosch. This was an individual that the United States government feared had socialist leanings.

Of course no one should forget Cuba. When Fidel Castro came to power in 1959, the United States immediately sought to put another government in place. That prompted some forty years of terrorist attacks, bombings, a full-scale military invasion, sanctions, embargoes, isolations, and assassinations.

Back in Indonesia in 1965, fears of communism led the United States to back multiple coup attempts which resulted in a horrendous massacre against communists. During this time the United States embassy compiled lists of communist operatives, as many as 5,000 names, and turned them over to the Army. The Army would then hunt down and kill those on the list.

In Chile the United States government sabotaged Salvador Allende's electoral campaign in 1964. In 1970, the U.S. government failed to do so and tried for years later to destabilize the Allende government particularly by building up military hostility. In September 1973, the U.S. backed military overthrew the government with Allende dying in the process. Some 3,000 people were executed and thousands more were tortured or disappeared. In Greece during the same period (1964-1974) the United States backed a military coup that led to martial law, censorship, arrests, beatings, torture, and killings. In the first month over 8,000 people died. All of this was done with equipment supplied by the United States.

The United States government also has had its dirty hands connected to East Timor (1975 to present). In December 1975 Indonesia invaded East Timor using United States weapons. By 1989 Indonesia had slaughtered 200,000 people out of a population between 600,000-700,000.

In Nicaragua (1978-1989) when the Sandinistas overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in 1978,

the United States government immediately became involved. President Carter attempted diplomatic and economic forms of sabotage while President Reagan put the Contras to work. For eight years, backed by the United States, the Contra's waged war on the people of Nicaragua.

Continuing on with Grenada (1979-1984) the United States intervened to stop a 1979 coup led by Maurice Bishop and his followers. The United States invaded Grenada in October 1983 killing 400 citizens of Grenada and 84 Cubans. Of course the Libya example (1981-1989) must be mentioned. In the 1980s the United States shot down two Libyan planes in what Libya regarded as its air space. The United States also dropped bombs on the country killing at least forty people including Qaddafi's daughter. But that wasn't enough as the U.S. government engaged in other attempts to get Qaddafi. This included a fierce disinformation campaign, economic sanctions, and blaming Libya for being behind the Pan Am flight 103 bombing without any sound evidence. The United States government also in 1989 bombed Panama leaving some 15,000 people homeless in Panama City. Thousands of people died and even more were wounded.

In the early 1990s, the United States government continuously bombed Iraq for more than forty days and nights. One hundred seventy seven million pounds of bombs fell during this time period on the people of Iraq. The remaining uranium deposits from weapons resulted in massive birth defects and cancer. Between 1990 and 1995 the United States was directly responsible for killing over 500,000 Iraqi children under the age of five due to sanctions. Additionally, due to sanctions mixed with the continuous U.S. bombing that has occurred on Iraq since the Gulf War over 1.5 million innocent Iraqi people have been killed.

Prior to the October 7, 2001 invasion of Afghanistan by the United States, the U.S. government had intervened there before from 1979 to 1992. During the late 1970s and most of the 1980s, the United States government spent billions of dollars waging a war on a progressive Afghanistan government just because that government was backed by the Soviet Union. Over one million people died, three million were disabled, and five million became refugees.

In El Salvador (1980-1992) the United States supported the government which engaged in electoral fraud and the murder of hundreds of protesters and strikers. These dissidents who had been trying to work within the system took to using guns and declared a civil war in 1980. The United States government played an active role in trying to stop the uprising. When it was over in 1992, 75,000 civilians had been killed and the United States had spent six billion dollars.

In Haiti, from 1987 through 1994, the United States supported the Duvalier family dictatorship. During this time period the CIA worked intimately with death squads, torturers, and drug traffickers. Yugoslavia must also be mentioned, as no one should ever forget the United States being responsible for bombing that country into annihilation.

These few examples since 1950 of U.S. sponsored and organized terrorism are horrendous and unfortunately these massive murderous tactics continue today. On October 7, 2001 the United States government began a full scale military invasion of Afghanistan without even providing a shred of factual evidence linking Osama Bin Laden or Al Qaida to the attacks on September 11. To date, well over 4,000 innocent Afghani civilians have been killed by the United States government in this massive genocidal campaign. All along the United States claimed to have concrete evidence proving the guilt of both Bin Laden and Al Qaida but said they could not release it as it may endanger the lives of U.S military personnel. This simply makes no sense as there could not be any justifiable threat to U.S. personnel if they weren't already in inexcusable violating positions.

The Taliban, which the United States help put in power in 1994, stated repeatedly to the United States government and the world that they would hand over Bin Laden to an international court if the U.S. provided proof of his guilt. The U.S. refused and instead claimed the Taliban was

not cooperating and was therefore harboring terrorists.

Can you imagine just what would have happened if prior to September 11, 2001 a structure in Kabul was bombed and the Taliban immediately suspected CIA director George Tenet as the prime suspect? Would the United States hand over Tenet to the Taliban if requested if there was not substantial evidence provided of his guilt? Even if the Taliban provided any shred of evidence the United States still would not hand over Tenet or any privileged citizen to an international court because the United States does not abide by them or agree to them. But the United States government thinks that it is justified to provide no evidence to the Taliban or the world before beginning a massive genocidal campaign against Afghanistan civilians.

The true motives and the identities of those involved both in September 11, 2001 and October 7, 2001 are only known to a select few in power. However, evidence does exist in media sources as mainstream as the BBC (September 18, 2001) that suggests the United States government was planning as early as March 2001 a military invasion of Afghanistan to oust the Taliban. Furthermore the intended deadline for the invasion was set for not later than October of the same year. The October 7, 2001 invasion by the United States into Afghanistan appears to have been right on schedule.

This war against terrorism, otherwise known as Operation Enduring Freedom, is the latest example of United States based terrorism and imperialism. It is clear that the events of September 11, 2001 were used as an opportunity for the United States government to invade Afghanistan, attempting to increase U.S. regional and global power in addition to opening up the much sought after oil reserves in the Middle East and Central Asia. The bonus of course was that this mission has given the United States the opportunity to target and attempt to annihilate any anti-U.S. sentiment within that region. As the war against terrorism expands so does the possibility of more United States military bases and more security for the global economic powers.

If the United States government is truly concerned with eradicating terrorism in the world, then that effort must begin with abolishing United States imperialism. Members of this governing body, both in the House and Senate as well as those who hold positions in the executive branch, constitute the largest group of terrorists and terrorist representatives currently threatening life on this planet. The only true service this horrific organization supplies is to the upper classes and corporate elite.

As an innocent child, I used to have faith in my government and pride in my country. Today I have no pride, no faith, only embarrassment, anger, and frustration. There are definite reasons why the United States government is not only disliked but also hated by populations in many nations around the globe. The outrage and anger is justified due to the history of United States domestic and foreign policies.

At home in the United States, the growth of the empire, of capitalism and industry, has meant greater discrepancies between the wealthy and poor, a continued rise in the number of those considered to be a threat to the system, as well as irreversible harm done to the environment and life on the planet. Corporations in the United States literally get away with murder facing little or no repercussions due to their legal structures. The U.S. government, which sleeps in the same bed as U.S. corporations, serves to ensure that the business as usual policies of imperialism continue with as little friction as possible. Anyone questioning the mere logic of this genocidal culture and governing policy is considered a dissident and, more often than not, shipped off to one of the fastest growing industries of all, the prison industrial complex.

Internationally, United States policies have amounted to the same, often times worse, forms of violence. As I demonstrated with the provided examples since 1950, the foreign policy track

record has included genocide, assassinations, exploitation, military action, and destruction. Disguised as promoting or protecting freedom and democracy, United States foreign policies aim to directly control, to conquer, and gain power, finances, and resources.

United States imperialism is a disease, one that continues to grow and become more powerful and dangerous. It needs to be stopped. One of the chief weapons used by those protecting the imperialist policies of the United States is a slick, believable propaganda campaign designed to ensure United States citizens do not question or threaten the "American way of life." Perhaps the strongest factor in this campaign is the phenomenon of consumerism. By creating a consumer demand for products, corporations, greatly aided by the United States government, can effectively influence people's dreams, desires, wants, and life plans. The very American Dream promoted throughout the world is that anyone can come to the United States, work hard and become happy and financially secure. Through the use of the propaganda campaign designed, promoted, and transmitted by the U.S. ruling class, people are nearly forced into adopting unhealthy desires for, often times, unreachable, unneeded, and dangerous consumer goods. Through impressive societal mind control, the belief that obtaining consumer products will equal security and happiness has spread across the United States, and much of the planet at this point, like some extreme plague. The fact that the policies of the United States murder people on a daily basis is unseen, forgotten, or ignored as every effort is made by people to fit into the artificial model life manufactured by the ruling elite.

A universal effort needs to be made to understand the importance of abolishing United States imperialism. This by no way refers to simply engaging in reformist efforts but rather a complete societal and political revolution will need to occur before real justice and freedom become a reality. The answer does not lie in trying to fix one specific problem or work on one individual issue, but rather the entire pie needs to be targeted, every last piece looked upon as a mere representation of the whole.

If the people of the United States, who the government is supposed to represent, are actually serious about creating a nation of peace, of freedom, and justice then there must be a serious effort made, by any means necessary, to abolish imperialism and United States governmental terrorism. The daily murder and destruction caused by this political organization is very real and so the campaign by the people to stop it must be equally as potent.

I have been told my many people in the United States to love America or leave it. I love this land and the truly compassionate people within it. I therefore feel I not only have a right, but also an obligation to stay within this land and work for positive societal and political change for all.

Now I was asked originally if I would voluntarily testify before the House Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health at a hearing focused on ecoterrorism. I declined in a written statement, calling members of Congress some of the worst terrorists in history. United States Marshals then subpoenaed me on October 31, 2001 to testify at this hearing on February 12, 2002 against my will. Is this hearing an attempt to discuss the threats facing the health of the natural environment, specifically the forests? No, clearly there is not even the remotest interest in this subject from the United States government or industry. The goal of this hearing is to discuss methodologies to improve the failed attempts law enforcement have made since the mid 1990s in catching and prosecuting individuals and organizations who take illegal direct action to stop the destruction of the natural environment. I have no interest in this cause or this hearing. In fact I fully support those individuals that take direct action, by any means necessary, to stop the destruction of the natural world and threats to all life. For they are the heroes, risking their freedom and lives so that we as a species and all life forms can continue to exist on the planet. In a country so fixated on monetary wealth and

power, these brave environmental advocates are engaging in some of the most selfless activities possible.

It is my sincere desire that organizations such as the Earth Liberation Front continue to grow and prosper in the United States. In fact more organizations, using similar tactics and strategies, need to be established to directly focus on U.S. imperialism and the United States government itself. For as long as the quest for monetary gain continues to be the predominant value within U.S. society, human, animal, and environmental exploitation, destruction, and murder will continue to be a reality. This drive for profits at any cost needs to be fiercely targeted and those responsible for the massive injustices punished. If there is any real concern for justice, freedom, and at least a resemblance of a true democracy, this revolutionary ideal must become a reality. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. LONG LOVE THE EARTH LIBERATION FRONT. LONG LIVE THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT. LONG LIVE ALL THE SPARKS ATTEMPTING TO IGNITE THE REVOLUTION. SOONER OR LATER THE SPARKS WILL TURN INTO A FLAME!

Darlene Hooley
5th Congressional District of Oregon
February 12, 2002


Darlene Hooley, Pig

Thank you Mr. Chairman:

It is very appropriate that we are gathered here today on the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, one of our country's greatest leaders. His career -- and the turbulent times he brought the nation through -- exemplify the need to foreswear violence in the name of political causes and abide by the rule of law.

In the wake of an 1837 mob lynching of an anti-slavery newspaper editor, Lincoln urged his fellow Americans to "let reverence for the laws . . . become the political religion of the nation," to let legislatures and judges chosen by the people, rather than lynch-mobs motivated by passion and hatred, decide matters.

In the end, Lincoln's philosophy was vindicated. Our nation remains united, and we are committed to the rule of law.

But as is always the case, there is a minority of Americans who refuse to abide by this covenant.

They believe the rule of law does not apply to them, and in the forests and communities of Oregon and the Western United States, their actions are a rapidly growing problem.

Violence or intimidation directed against a Forest Service employee -- or arson in the name of protecting the environment -- are not lawful acts. They are crimes -- and their perpetrators should be apprehended and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

Obviously, there are laws in place prohibiting assault or threatening harm against any individual, whether he or she is an environmental activist or a Forest Service employee. It is inexcusable that a Park Service ranger would have to live in fear of having their home or office bombed, or that someone monitoring water quality on public land could be beaten and left for dead.

These are just some of the crimes on federal land which have occurred in the past few years.

As such, I strongly urge the members of the Committee to ensure that our local, state, and federal law enforcement officials are effectively upholding the law in this regard.

That said, eco-terrorism poses additional challenges for the law enforcement community.

It is a well-know fact that very few eco-terrorists, especially E-L-F representatives, have been caught. These groups have no formal organization, and act in small terrorist cells which are autonomous from one another. Because these crimes are investigated with limited resources and manpower, local law enforcement officials have little success in successfully closing these cases.

Along with my colleague from Oregon, Congressman Greg Walden, I have sought to reverse the current situation by sponsoring H.R. 2583, the Environmental Terrorism Reduction Act. This bill would provide federal assistance where it is needed most, at the local level.

H.R. 2583 would first require the Attorney General to establish a national clearinghouse for information on incidents of eco-terrorism, with the hope that investigators stay ahead of the curve in preventing additional acts of terror.

It should be noted the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) already maintains a

data-base of information on every explosive device found or triggered in the United States. As we consider moving this bill forward, it should be perfected to ensure the clearing house contain input from ATF so as not to reinvent the wheel.

In addition, H.R. 2583 would establish the Environmental Terrorism Reduction Program in the Department of Justice.

This program would authorize the Attorney General, upon consultation with the heads of Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies and the Governor of each applicable State, to designate any area as a high intensity environmental terrorism area. After making such a designation local law enforcement agencies could access federal funding to assist them in solving and preventing these types of crimes in the future.

This program is similar to the Department of Justice's High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area program (HIDTA), which has been extraordinarily useful in Oregon and other states in helping make our communities better places to live.

Mr. Chairman and Mr. Ranking Member, thank you again for the opportunity to appear before the Committee. I would urge you and entire panel to co-sponsor H.R. 2583, and assist Congressman Walden and I in getting this legislation approved by the Judiciary Committee.

George R. Nethercutt, Jr.
5th Congressional District of Washington
February 12, 2002



Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and the ranking member for taking the initiative to conduct this hearing today. Agroterrorism and the reprehensible actions of radical environmentalists have for too long been perceived as local concerns, concentrated in particular geographic regions. The sheer scope of this criminal activity escapes the focus it deserves, with arson, vandalism and intimidation often occurring in rural areas, with limited press coverage. We are left with anecdotal evidence and little sense of the vast criminal conspiracy that connects the members of organizations such as the Animal and Earth Liberation Fronts.

I would ask to include in the record three items which I believe may be helpful to the Subcommittee in considering this issue. The first item is a letter to me from the National Center for Public Policy Research, along with copies of correspondence exchanged with national environmental groups about their positions on violent activism. Second, I am providing a Department of Agriculture report on the extent of animal and plant terrorism incidents at USDA funded facilities, with recommendations for improving security. This report responds to a requirement I sponsored in FY01, and represents only the very first tentative efforts by Federal agencies to grapple with this problem. Third, I am providing the 2001 Year-End Direct Action Report from the Animal Liberation Front.

I represent Washington state, which is blessed with rich natural resources and a vibrant biotechnology industry. Agriculture, forestry and science have been under assault by radicals for years in our state, and constituents have long expressed their concerns with criminal activity that threatens both their lives and their livelihood.

I met with one scientist who told me that she has been physically threatened by radicals and fears for her safety. "Yet, all I want to do is cure breast cancer," she says. Another scientist, from my district, fled with his family to Australia for a year after receiving death threats. These are people who want to make our lives better, cure diseases, make agriculture more sustainable and less ecologically damaging. But organizations like the Earth Liberation Front have put a bulls-eye on them.

In May of 2001, I finally had enough. At 3am on May 21, 2001, the University of Washington Center for Urban Horticulture was burned to the ground. In the twisted logic of the eco-terrorists, the Horticulture Center had done wrong by seeking to advance the protection and hardiness of urban forests and wetlands. The results of that crime are evident in this display. This facility suffered $5.3 million in physical damage -- some faculty members lost a lifetime of work that day, and that cost is inestimable. That same day, a poplar tree farm in Oregon was firebombed with almost identical incendiary devices. The interstate connections were made perfectly clear by that simultaneous action, and persuaded me that a strong federal response was required to contain this terrorism.

I will be eager to hear from Mr. Rosebraugh later this afternoon. Too many members of his organization lurk in the shadows, unwilling to engage in honest debate, but all to willing to resort to arson. I suspect that the purported intellectual underpinnings of this radicalism are insufficiently developed to weather the public condemnation that must accompany the associated violence. But

before we go further, it may be helpful to have at least some sense of the ALF/ELF mind set.

In recent and telling magazine interview, Mr. Rosebraugh showed his sympathy with the victims of September 11, noting: "Anyone in their right mind would realize the United States had it coming." One of his ELF associates was more direct: "I cheered when the plan hit the Pentagon. Those people are in the business of killing people. It was like, Sorry, [expletive] happens." The connection with September 11 is not unwarranted, for like the murders in New York and Pennsylvania, members of these shadowy organizations have no respect for human life and will stop at nothing in pursuit of their dark vision of the future.

How best to deal with this home-grown brand of Al Qaeda? I propose that we use the model that has worked so well in Afghanistan. Improve our intelligence. Free the hands of law enforcement authorities. Isolate terrorists from allies and assistance. Cut off their funding. Give them no rest and no quarter.

National environmental groups need to know, you are either with us or against us. You need to choose which side you are on, and know we will be watching. Financing and harboring terrorists is no different from directly committing the acts. These dangerous and misguided zealots must be left without aid or comfort. This is the moral framework.

I have introduced legislation, H.R. 2795, the Agroterrorism Prevention Act, which would provide the necessary legal framework. I must here acknowledge the unflinching support of the lead cosponsors on this bill, Duke Cunningham and Saxby Chambliss. Our bill would broaden current definitions to protect all plant and animal research, enhance penalties for animal or plant enterprise terrorism, allow the FBI to investigate crimes under the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organizations Act, and establish an incident clearinghouse to strengthen local law enforcement efforts. The bill would also establish a research security program to extend technical assistance, threat and risk assessments to research universities.

Current law provides federal protection for some animal research, but H.R. 2795 would also include all plant research, including advanced genetic techniques, increasingly the targets of terror. We seek to broaden protection for facilities presently covered by the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act, to include any commercial or academic enterprise that uses plants or animals. The ALF would now violate this section of federal law by bombing a livestock research lab, but not the Cattlemen's Association office down the street. We seek to end that inconsistency and would also expand the threshold for triggering violation of the act by recognizing ancillary economic damages.

Penalties for violations would be increased from one year to five years, and a new penalty is added for the use of explosives or arson, recognizing that firebombing is the preferred tactic of these groups. We expand restitution requirements and allow a possible death penalty sentence for violations resulting in a death. Firebombing is not a precise science, and I fear it is only a matter of time before a botanist is in the wrong place at the wrong time. This activity should be made a RICO predicate to give the FBI the tools it needs to unravel the web of criminal conspiracy. A information clearinghouse, administered by the FBI, would enhance Federal, state and local law enforcement efforts to draw connections from fragmentary evidence.

For too long, agroterrorism has been the stuff of anecdotes - short stories in the local paper, with no clear pattern or sense of the true scope of the activity. Yet, as this next chart makes clear, agroterrorism is a vast national problem. Each dot on this map represents one self-reported incident by the ALF/ELF during 2001.

Finally, H.R. 2795 would provide authorization for the National Science Foundation to provide competitively awarded grants to colleges and universities. We have a responsibility to protect our public investment in research, and this authorization would provide some initial "lessons

learned" to educate the hardening of public research facilities.

Ultimately, the physical damage is secondary to the threat to innovation and scientific discovery. The academic disciplines that seek to improve human health, our food supply, and the environment are at greatest risk. Intimidation and violence have a predictable and unwelcome result, a chilling effect on scientific investigation and an impediment to discoveries that will improve our lives.

I would like to close with a few select words attributed to the ALF, following an attack on the property of a Michigan veterinarian working with fur farmers:

"We must all act our consciousness and inflict economic harm upon all of those who are responsible for the destruction of the earth and its inhabitants. We encourage others to find a local Earth raper and make them pay . .. The only language these people understand is money. We must inflict economic sabotage on all Earth rapers if we are ever to stop the madness we live in. To do so is not a crime, it is a necessity."

Mr. Chairman, thank you again for holding this hearing and for supporting efforts to drain this fetid swamp of extremism.

Greg Walden
Second Congressional District of Oregon
February 12, 2002:


Greg Walden, Pig

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your efforts to investigate the issues of eco-terrorism and lawlessness on our national forests. Let me say at the outset that regardless of which side of the political spectrum you reside on, breaking the law to further your views is wrong.

I represent the people in a district larger than any state east of the Mississippi with more than half of the lands controlled by the government. Too often the men and women in the federal service have been the targets of intimidation, ridicule and abuse by those who blame them for the federal policies they are paid to implement. They and their families deserve better than to live in fear because of the uniform they wear or the color of the truck they drive. We do not tolerate acts of violence against them. Just as we must speak out against acts of intimidation against Native Americans whose ancestral rights are in dispute.

But today I focus my attention on the eco-terrorism of two organizations which often jointly claim credit for acts of incredible destruction in my state. Lets call ELF and ALF what they truly are TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. Their combatants wear no uniform. They blend with the civilian population. They destroy private and government property. They teach others how to conduct dangerous and illegal acts. And they try to intimidate those who speak against them. Both Congresswoman Hooley and I are now featured on their affiliates website.

I am sure some may question my inclusion of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) in my testimony. However, several terrorist acts nationwide and within my district have been jointly claimed by both groups spokespersons. When Mr. Rosebraugh stepped down as the ELF spokesperson, David Barbarsh, the spokesperson for ALF, filled the void from his location in Vancouver, British Columbia. Two of the three specific acts I will be referring to today were jointly claimed by ELF/ALF.

Mr. Chairman, my district has seen three acts of terrorism committed by ELF or ELF/ALF in recent years. Numerous other acts of violence and destruction of private property remain un-claimed, but appear in the recent ALF 2001 Year-End Direct Action Report.

On July 21, 1997 an arson fire at Cavel West meatpacking plant in Redmond, Oregon resulted in $1.4-million in damage, a jointly claimed act. According to Captain Wayne Shortreed of the Redmond Police Department, at one point the blaze was so hot that it threatened a propane storage facility approximately 100 yards away in a densely populated area.

Four months later, this firebombing was followed by a November 29, 1997 jointly claimed attack on several BLM horse corrals in Burns, Oregon, also in my district. This direct action resulted in over $450,000 in damage and the release of 539 horses and burros. It also resulted in the scuttling of a planned adoption of 100 wild horses and 40 burros that had been scheduled to take place on December 6-7, 1997.

And on December 27, 1998 ELF firebombed the U.S. Forest Industries headquarters in Medford, Oregon causing more than $900,000 in damage. It is this last attack on U.S. Forest Industries, claimed only by ELF, that I'd like to focus on in my testimony.

On the morning of December 28, 1998, the employees of U.S. Forest Industries arrived at

work to find their offices smoldering. The scene is reminiscent of what we saw of the damaged part of the Pentagon after September 11th. It didn't take a jetliner to destroy this office; an ELF firebomb did the job. And while fortunately there was no loss of life, the destruction was just as severe.
As pictures speak louder than words, I thought it might be helpful to see the damage inflicted on U.S. Forest Industries. This first picture you see shows the aftermath of the firebomb on the exterior of the building with the yellow, crime-scene tape. In this second picture you see the interior devastation from the attack, though it's hard to see because the intensity of the fire has blackened the walls. Company files, office equipment, all destroyed to further someone's political agenda.

Amazingly, Mr. Chairman, and by sheer force of will, U.S. Forest Industries operations were shut down for only four hours on Monday, December 28, because the company was able to relocate its 15 employees to its mill operations plant in White City, Oregon. In the words of U.S. Forest Industries President, Jerry Bramwell, We didn't want to give ELF the satisfaction of putting us out of business.

It didn't take long for ELF to claim responsibility for this attack as this January 16, 1999 ALF press release illustrates. We had to delete the expletives used in the ALF press release; as such language is not appropriate for this hearing. I would like to read some excerpts from this release. In the second paragraph the press release states:

To celebrate the holidays we decided on a bonfire. Unfortunately for US Forest Industries it was at their corporate office headquarters in Medford, Oregon.

The press release then states in the fourth paragraph: This was done in retribution for all the wild forests and animals lost to feed the wallets of greedy (expletive deleted) f--ks, like Jerry Bramwell, U.S.F.I President. The attack was not because USFI was harvesting timber from public lands. No, they were harvesting timber off of private lands in Colorado. The so-called communiqué continued, and I quote: This action is payback and it is a warning to all others responsible, we do not sleep and we wont quit. End quote. Clearly, Mr. Chairman, the threat remains.

Mr. Chairman, if there are still some out there who feel that these acts by ELF/ALF should not be classified as terrorist acts, perhaps this next poster will sway their opinion.

This is an enlargement of a page taken straight from ELF's website (www.earthliberationfront.com). As you can see, the title of the page is Setting Fires with Electrical Timers: An Earth Liberation Front Guide. I think the intent of the guide is dramatically and blatantly clear. They're actively enlisting and training others to carry out additional attacks in our country.

Now, ELF and ALF's claim that no human or non-human animal will be hurt by their attacks. But this assertion is incredulous in light of the severity and violent nature of many attacks perpetrated over the last four years. I think an editorial in the January 24, 1999, edition of the Oregonian said it best when it stated ...ELF's followers think they have the power to plan their violence so that no ["human or non-human animal"] will ever be hurt. What are they going to say if man, woman or child just happens to be in the wrong place when ELF makes its next statement by fire. There is no sense in what ELF offers to the world and no honor.

Mr. Chairman, I couldn't agree more with the words expressed in this editorial. It is only a matter of time before an innocent life is lost in a future ELF/ALF attack. That is why it is imperative to treat all acts of terrorism equally. The terrorists behind the attacks of September 11, 2001, and December 27, 1998, both used terror and destruction to further their cause.

Terrorism is terrorism whether it is international, domestic, economic, religious, social or environmental. I call on our Justice Department to redouble its efforts to track down, apprehend and convict those responsible for these acts. Its time to break up this terrorist network, too.

Mr. Chairman, I commend you once again for holding this hearing and I yield back the bal-

ance of my time.

QUESTIONS ASKED TO CRAIG ROSEBRAUGH AT THE FEBRUARY 12, 2002 SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING ON ECO-TERRORISM

Chairman Scott McInnis:
Are you currently affiliated with the ELF?

Did you play any role in the making of the ELF "training film?"

Is that your voice on the film?

Who paid your attorney fees?

Are your attorney fees being paid for by the ELF?

(Referring to the danger of fires spreading to unintended targets) Did you say "they are always dangerous"?

Do the ELF and ELF Press Office have tax status?

Are they non-profits?

Did the ELF Press Office receive outside donations for costs, legal expenses, etc.?

What are sources of money?

Has the North American ELF Press Office ever received financial support from animal rights groups?

Do you know Michael Conn?

Have you ever been arrested for trespassing at the Oregon Regional Primate Research Center?

Why was there a card with Michael Conn^(1)s address in your house?

Was the ELF/ALF planning an act against Conn?

Are the ELF planning future acts?

Do you know Leslie James Pickering?

Is Leslie James Pickering the new spokesperson for the ELF?

Do you know if he has ever taken part in an ELF/ALF action?

Mr Islee:

Noted that witness had filed written testimony and asked if he had thus waved his fifth amendment rights.

Mr. McInnis:

Stated that council is not allowed to testify, can only advise client.

On September 7, 2001, the Associated Press quoted you in reference to this committee, "These people are trying to stop the work of the ELF" Do you have information that can lead to the capture of the ELF?

Are you aware that your answer could lead to the incarceration of the ELF?

Quoted contempt code then asked, "Do you still wish to take the fifth amendment?"

Mr. Islee:

Asked again for the fifth amendment issue to be addressed. Then reads Martin Luther King quote, "Riots can not win and their participants know that".

Do you agree with that statement?

"Are you familiar with a group"... Talked about a group that could have chosen to blow something up or to do things another way and ended up passing an anti-trapping initiative in Oregon.

Are you going to take the fifth amendment on everything?

Mr. Holt:

"It would not be productive to ask questions at this time"

Ms. ?:

Did you submit this document? (holds up testimony) (Craig answered that he submitted testimony but does not know if that is it).

Read quote from p. 5 of testimony, second to last paragraph, "by any means necessary" and last paragraph, "It's my sincere desire..."

Mr Soler:

Statement about right and wrong way to do things, legal/ illegal and stated that environmental extremists have hurt working people.

Suggested we move on to "legitimate witnesses" who have the "guts and courage not to hide behind the fifth amendment"

Mr. Inslee:

Statement about this type of action damaging to those of us working on environmental law, damages cause by forcing them to focus on these acts instead of focusing on legislation.

Mr. Simpson:

"Nice to have a witness so proud of the work he does he's afraid to talk about it"

Mr. Tancredo:

Would you take this opportunity to ask these groups to stop what they are doing?

Mr. ?:

Read from testimony "All power to the people..."
Is this a call to revolutionary action?

Do you believe arson and violence are reasonable acts in a free society?

Quoted Mark Sands who was convicted of eco-arson, "..no environmental or religious excuse for terrorism of any kind"

Comment about the irony of taking the fifth amendment, "if one has the courage of ones convictions, shouldn't they have the courage to risk conviction?"

Mr. McInnis:

Commented referring to fifth amendment issue, "We do intend to take full course on this matter".

Mr. Walden

Comment ed that taking the fifth seems uncommitted to the cause, "...run and hide behind the laws

of the constitution... there is no commitment there".

Are you related to Ken Lay?

You say protections for the environment are not provided by the government, what protections are needed?

Is there something in that answer that could incriminate you?

What evidence do you have that the national forests are decimated?

Do you think science provides any thing positive to society?

Are you familiar with the communiqué about the St. Paul arson?

Are you familiar with the communiqués bearing your name?

Have you ever given an interview regarding the ELF?

Read last sentence of testimony again. Is that your testimony?

You indicated that you submitted the testimony and now you won't answer?

Stated "I see no further point in proceeding with this witness at this time"

Mr. Nethercutt:

"Mr Rosebraugh, are you a citizen of the United States of America?"

Mr. McInnis:

Request s that Stuart Sugarman (Rosebraugh's legal counsel) instruct his client about his behavior and that "we will pursue this"

Commented that this is the kind of forum to express your opinions, hoped we could have a civil debate.

Mr. Nethercutt:

"Are you a citizen of the United States of America?"

Is the U.S. Constitution the law of the land?

Mr. McInnis:

Obviously the witness has no intention of cooperating, there will be consequences.

Stated that they will submit written questions, if he refuses we will resubmit, then if he refuses we will proceed with contempt of congress.

Commented that there are a few people that "you probably know" who were just sentenced, reads quotes expressing regrets and adds, "One of yours has now come across", and expresses hope that Craig will come across, I look forward to the day that you "cross that line" and become constructive and contribute to the environmental cause.

Stated that within next 5 days they will submit questions to sort out which fall out of fifth amendment privilege, then he will ask for a vote of contempt of congress.

James F. Jarboe
Domestic Terrorism Section Chief,
Counterterrorism Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation
February 12, 2002



Good morning chairman Mcinnis, vice-chairman Peterson, congressman Inslee and members of the subcommittee. I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear before you and discuss the threat posed by eco-terrorism, as well as the measures being taken by the fbi and our law enforcement partners to address this threat.

The FBI divides the terrorist threat facing the united states into two broad categories, international and domestic. International terrorism involves violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the united states or any state, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the united states or any state. Acts of international terrorism are intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government, or affect the conduct of a government. These acts transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate, or the locale in which perpetrators operate.

Domestic terrorism is 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, committed against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

During the past decade we have witnessed dramatic changes in the nature of the terrorist threat. in the 1990s, right-wing extremism overtook left-wing terrorism as the most dangerous domestic terrorist threat to the country. During the past several years, special interest extremism, as characterized by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), has emerged as a serious terrorist threat. Generally, extremist groups engage in much 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. The FBI estimates that the ALF/ELF have committed more than 600 criminal acts in the united states since 1996, resulting in damages in excess of 43 million dollars.

Special interest terrorism differs from traditional right-wing and left-wing terrorism in that extremist special interest groups seek to resolve specific issues, rather than effect widespread political change. special interest extremists continue to conduct acts of politically motivated violence to force segments of society, including the general public, to change attitudes about issues considered important to their causes. These groups occupy the extreme fringes of animal rights, pro-life, environmental, anti nuclear, and other movements. Some special interest extremists--most notably within the animal rights and environmental movements--have turned increasingly toward vandalism and terrorist activity in attempts to further their causes.

Since 1977, when disaffected members of the ecological preservation group Greenpeace formed the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society and attacked commercial fishing operations by cut-

ting drift nets, acts of "eco-terrorism" have occurred around the globe. The FBI defines eco-terrorism as the use or threatened use of violence of a criminal nature against innocent victims or property by an environmentally oriented, subnational group for environmental-political reasons, or aimed at an audience beyond the target, often of a symbolic nature.

In recent years, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) has become one of the most active extremist elements in the united states. Despite the destructive aspects of ALF's operations, its operational philosophy discourages acts that harm "any animal, human and nonhuman." Animal rights groups in the united states, including the ALF, have generally adhered to this mandate. The ALF, established in great britain in the mid-1970s, is a loosely organized movement committed to ending the abuse and exploitation of animals. The american branch of the ALF began its operations in the late 1970s. individuals become members of the ALF not by filing paperwork or paying dues, but simply by engaging in "direct action" against companies or individuals who utilize animals for research or economic gain. "Direct action" generally occurs in the form of criminal activity to cause economic loss or to destroy the victims' company operations. The ALF activists have engaged in a steadily growing campaign of illegal activity against fur companies, mink farms, restaurants, and animal research laboratories.

Estimates of damage and destruction in the United States claimed by the ALF during the past ten years, as compiled by national organizations such as the Fur Commission and the National Association for Biomedical Research (NABR), put the fur industry and medical research losses at more than 45 million dollars. The ALF is considered a terrorist group, whose purpose is to bring about social and political change through the use of force and violence.

Disaffected environmentalists, in 1980, formed a radical group called "Earth First!" and engaged in a series of protests and civil disobedience events. In 1984, however, members introduced "tree spiking" (insertion of metal or ceramic spikes in trees in an effort to damage saws) as a tactic to thwart logging. In 1992, the ELF was founded in Brighton, england by Earth First! members who refused to abandon criminal acts as a tactic when others wished to mainstream Earth First!. In 1993, the ELF was listed for the first time along with the ALF in a communiqué declaring solidarity in actions between the two groups. This unity continues today with a crossover of leadership and membership. It is not uncommon for the ALF and the ELF to post joint declarations of responsibility for criminal actions on their web-sites. In 1994, founders of the San Francisco branch of Earth First! published in the Earth First! Journal a recommendation that earth first! mainstream itself in the United States, leaving criminal acts other than unlawful protests to the ELF.

The ELF advocates "monkeywrenching," a euphemism for acts of sabotage and property destruction against industries and other entities perceived to be damaging to the natural environment. "Monkeywrenching" includes tree spiking, arson, sabotage of logging or construction equipment, and other types of property destruction. Speeches given by Jonathan Paul and Craig Rosebraugh at the 1998 national animal rights conference held at the University of Oregon, promoted the unity of both the ELF and the ALF movements. The ELF posted information on the ALF website until it began its own website in january 2001, and is listed in the same underground activist publications as the ALF.

The most destructive practice of the ALF/ELF is arson. The ALF/ELF members consistently use improvised incendiary devices equipped with crude but effective timing mechanisms. These incendiary devices are often constructed based upon instructions found on the ALF/ELF websites. The ALF/ELF criminal incidents often involve pre-activity surveillance and well-planned operations. Members are believed to engage in significant intelligence gathering against potential targets, including the review of industry/trade publications, photographic/video surveillance of potential tar-

gets, and posting details about potential targets on the internet.

The ALF and the ELF have jointly claimed credit for several raids including A november 1997 attack of the Bureau of Land Management wild horse corrals near Burns, Oregon where arson destroyed the entire complex resulting in damages in excess of four hundred and fifty thousand dollars and the June 1998 arson attack of a U.S. Department of Agriculture Animal Damage Control building near Olympia, Washington, in which damages exceeded two million dollars. The ELF claimed sole credit for the October 1998, arson of a Vail, Colorado, ski facility in which four ski lifts, a restaurant, a picnic facility and a utility building were destroyed. Damage exceeded twelve million dollars. On 12/27/1998, the ELF claimed responsibility for the arson at the U.S. Forest Industries office in Medford, Oregon, where damages exceeded five hundred thousand dollars. Other arsons in Oregon,New York, Washington, Michigan and Indiana have been claimed by the ELF. Recently, the ELF has also claimed attacks on genetically engineered crops and trees. The ELF claims these attacks have totaled close to $40 million in damages.

The name of a group called the Coalition to Save the Preserves (CSP), surfaced in relation to a series of arsons that occurred in the Phoenix, Arizona area. These arsons targeted several new homes under construction near the North Phoenix Mountain Preserves. No direct connection was established between the csp and ALF/ELF. However, the stated goal of CSP to stop development of previously undeveloped lands, is similar to that of the ELF. The property damage associated with the arsons has been estimated to be in excess of $5 million.

The FBI has developed a strong response to the threats posed by domestic and international terrorism. Between fiscal years 1993 and 2003, the number of special agents dedicated to the FBI's counterterrorism programs grew by approximately 224 percent (to 1,669--nearly 16 percent of all FBI special agents). In recent years, the FBI has strengthened its counterterrorism program to enhance its abilities to carry out these objectives.

Cooperation among law enforcement agencies at all levels represents an important component of a comprehensive response to terrorism. This cooperation assumes its most tangible operational form in the Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs) that are established in 44 cities across the nation. These task forces are particularly well-suited to responding to terrorism because they combine the national and international investigative resources of the FBI with the street-level expertise of local law enforcement agencies. Given the success of the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) concept, the FBI has established 15 new JTTFs since the end of 1999. By the end of 2003 the FBI plans to have established JTTFs in each of its 56 field offices. By integrating the investigative abilities of the FBI and local law enforcement agencies, these task forces represent an effective response to the threats posed to u.s. communities by domestic and international terrorists.

The FBI and our law enforcement partners have made a number of arrests of individuals alleged to have perpetrated acts of eco-terrorism. Several of these individuals have been successfully prosecuted. Following the investigation of the Phoenix, Arizona arsons noted earlier, Mark Warren Sands was indicted and arrested on 6/14/2001. On 11/07/2001, Sands pleaded guilty to ten counts of extortion and using fire in the commission of a federal felony.

In February 2001, teenagers Jared McIntyre, Matthew Rammelkamp, and George Mashkow all pleaded guilty, as adults, to title 18 U.S.C. 844(i), arson, and 844(n), arson conspiracy. These charges pertain to a series of arsons and attempted arsons of new home construction sites in Long Island, NY. An adult, Connor Cash, was also arrested on February 15, 2001, and charged under the same federal statutes. Jared McIntrye stated that these acts were committed in sympathy of the ELF movement. The New York Joint Terrorism Task Force played a significant role in the arrest and prosecution of these individuals.

On 1/23/2001, Frank Ambrose was arrested by officers of the Department of Natural Resources with assistance from the Indianapolis JTTF, on a local warrant out of Monroe County Circuit Court, Bloomington, Indiana, charging Ambrose with timber spiking. Ambrose is suspected of involvement in the spiking of approximately 150 trees in Indiana state forests. The ELF claimed responsibility for these incidents.

On September 16, 1998, a federal grand jury in the western district of Wisconsin indicted Peter Young and Justin Samuel for Hobbs Act violations as well as for Animal Enterprise Terrorism. Samuel was apprehended in Belgium, and was subsequently extradited to the United States. On August 30, 2000, Samuel pleaded guilty to two counts of Animal Enterprise Terrorism and was sentenced on November 3, 2000, to two years in prison, two years probation, and ordered to pay $364,106 in restitution. Samuel's prosecution arose out of his involvement in mink releases in Wisconsin in 1997. This incident was claimed by the ALF. The investigation and arrest of Justin Samuel were the result of a joint effort by federal, state and local agencies.

On April 20, 1997, Douglas Joshua Ellerman turned himself in and admitted on videotape to purchasing, constructing, and transporting five pipe bombs to the scene of the March 11, 1997 arson at the Fur Breeders Agricultural Co-op in Sandy, Utah. Ellerman also admitted setting fire to the facility. Ellerman was indicted on june 19, 1997 on 16 counts, and eventually pleaded guilty to three. He was sentenced to seven years in prison and restitution of approximately $750,000. Though this incident was not officially claimed by ALF, Ellerman indicated during an interview subsequent to his arrest that he was a member of ALF. This incident was investigated jointly by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF).

Rodney Adam Coronado was convicted for his role in the February 2, 1992, arson at an animal research laboratory on the campus of Michigan State University. Damage estimates, according to public sources, approached $200,000 and included the destruction of research records. On July 3, 1995, Coronado pled guilty for his role in the arson and was sentenced to 57 months in federal prison, three years probation, and restitution of more than $2 million. This incident was claimed by ALF. the FBI, BATF and the Michigan State University Police played a significant role in the investigation, arrest, and prosecution.

Marc Leslie Davis, Margaret Katherine Millet, Marc Andre Baker, and Ilse Washington Asplund were all members of the self-proclaimed "Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy" (EMETIC). EMETIC was formed to engage in eco-terrorism against nuclear power plants and ski resorts in the southwestern united states. In November 1987, the group claimed responsibility for damage to a chairlift at the Fairfield Snow Bowl ski resort near Flagstaff, Arizona. Davis, Millet, and Baker were arrested in May 1989 on charges relating to the Fairfield Snow Bowl incident and planned incidents at the Central Arizona Project and Palo Verde nuclear generating stations in Arizona; the Diablo Canyon nuclear facility in California; and the Rocky Flats nuclear facility in Colorado. All pleaded guilty and were sentenced in September 1991. Davis was sentenced to six years in federal prison, and restitution to the Fairfield Snow Bowl ski resort in the amount of $19,821. Millet was sentenced to three years in federal prison, and restitution to Fairfield in the amount of $19,821. Baker was sentenced to one year in federal prison, five months probation, a $5,000 fine, and 100 hours of community service. Asplund was also charged and was sentenced to one year in federal prison, five years probation, a $2,000 fine, and 100 hours of community service.

Currently, more than 26 FBI field offices have pending investigations associated with ALF/ELF activities. Despite all of our efforts (increased resources allocated, JTTFs, successful arrests and prosecutions), law enforcement has a long way to go to adequately address the problem of eco-terrorism. Groups such as the ALF and the ELF present unique challenges. There is little if

any hierarchal structure to such entities. Eco-terrorists are unlike traditional criminal enterprises which are often structured and organized.

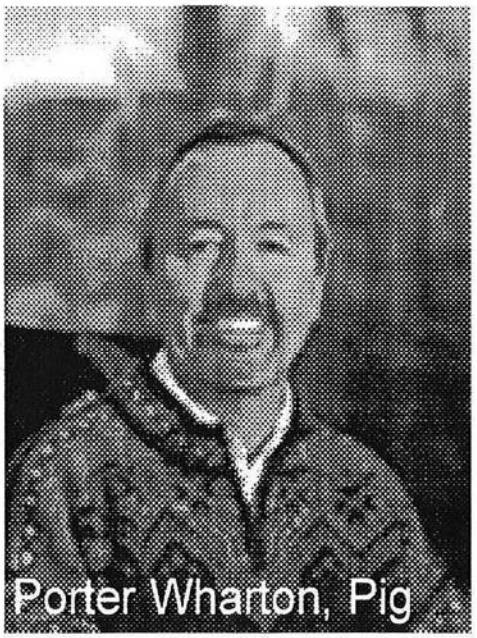
The difficulty investigating such groups is demonstrated by the fact that law enforcement has thus far been unable to effect the arrests of anyone for some recent criminal activity directed at federal land managers or their offices. However, there are several ongoing investigations regarding such acts. Current investigations include the 10/14/2001 arson at the Bureau of Land Management wild horse and burro corral in Litchfield, California, the 7/20/2000 destruction of trees and damage to vehicles at the U.S. Forestry science laboratory in Rhinelander, Wisconsin, and the 11/29/1997 arson at the Bureau of Land Management corral in Burns, Oregon.

Before closing, I would like to acknowledge the cooperation and assistance rendered by the U.S. Forest Service in investigating incidents of eco-terrorism. Specifically, I would like to recognize the assistance that the forest service is providing with regard to the ongoing investigation of the 7/20/2000 incident of vandalism and destruction that occurred at the U.S. Forestry Science Laboratory in Rhinelander, Wisconsin.

The FBI and all of our federal, state and local law enforcement partners will continue to strive to address the difficult and unique challenges posed by eco-terrorists. Despite the recent focus on international terrorism, we remain fully cognizant of the full range of threats that confront the United States.

Chairman McInnis and members of the subcommittee, this concludes my prepared remarks. I would like to express appreciation for your concentration on the issue of eco-terrorism and I look forward to responding to any questions

Porter Wharton, III
Sr. Vice President of Public Affairs
Vail Resorts, Inc.
February 12, 2002


Porter Wharton, Pig

On the morning of October 19, 1998, at approximately 3:30 a.m., the first of eight fires were set. At 4:00 a.m., the first alarms came into Vail dispatch and by 4:20 a.m., the first firefighters were on their way up the dirt road to the 11,200 foot ridgeline where the fires raged at two locations a mile and a half apart.

By 4:40 a.m., the first firefighters were on the scene. What they were confronted with was five buildings and three ski lifts engulfed in flames. Hampered by a lack of water on the ridgeline, six inches of fresh snow and fires that by that time had almost an hour's head start, their task was virtually impossible.

Eventually 195 firefighters from 11 fire departments and our company were engaged throughout the night and into the day. They came from six counties and stayed for over eight hours engaged in the battle.

When the morning sun rose over the Gore Range, it illuminated a shocking amount of damage. Foremost was the complete loss of the resort's flagship on-mountain restaurant, Two Elk. A 24, 000 square foot majestic log structure, with seating for 550.

Four additional buildings housing dining and ski patrol functions were also totally consumed. Three chairlifts were damaged. The total value of lost assets was over $12 Million, making this the most costly act of eco-terrorism in this country's history.

Most fortunately, only one of the almost 200 firefighters involved was injured. And a hunter who had left his friends at their nearby campsite to sleep in a small restroom building for warmth awoke to find himself in the only structure not engulfed in flames. As one witness to the carnage said later, "The only thing we can be thankful for is that we aren't having services."

Former Colorado Governor Romer was the first to call the fires an act of terrorism. Then, on Wednesday October 21st, two days after the fires, an e-mail was received by Colorado Public Radio

The e-mail, purportedly sent by ELF, the Earth Liberation Front, an eco-terrorist group responsible for tens of millions of dollars of destruction across Europe and the United States, claimed responsibility for the fires.

Why had Vail drawn the attention of ELF? Three days before the fires, a federal court had given final approval for the construction of the Category III expansion of the ski area. The expansion had been controversial, with some environmentalists opposing it for reasons including possible impacts to Canadian Lynx habitat - even though no lynx had been seen in the area since 1973.

The expansion had been contemplated since the resort's founding in 1962. It was desired by our guests and supported by an overwhelming majority of our community. The approval process took over seven years and five million dollars in expenditures by our company. It was the most scrutinized ski area expansion in history with over 65 studies conducted on soil, air, wildlife and water issues. Two administrative reviews and three court challenges all supported the expansion. It was approved by four federal agencies, one state agency and two local governments.

But ELF did not accept the results of this exhaustive process. The ELF communiqué stated the fires had been set, "... on behalf of the lynx. Putting profits ahead of Colorado's wildlife will not be tolerated. This action is just a warning." And then our guests were warned, "For your safety and convenience, we strongly advise skiers to choose other destinations."

The property damage has now been repaired. But the scars on our community and our company remain. A former Vail mayor said at the time, "This was not only an attack against Vail Resorts, this was an attack against the people who live and work in Eagle County." It is the wealthy visitors to Vail that are a part of it's image, but when the guests are gone, there are 30,000 hard-working very normal people that remain in the valley they call home. Those are the people ELF terrorized. The sense of violation and the feelings of outrage remain.

The investigation is still open. No arrests have been made ELF boasts it is above the laws of this country and claimed they were, "... effecting social change." And that, "... decreasing profits by destroying property has been very effective." But let's call it what it really is. No matter what the supposed justification, this was terrorism. This is a fringe group saying in essence that they are more important than the laws that are the foundation of this society and this country. Any effort on the part of this administration and this Congress to assure homeland security must include a response to domestic environmental terrorism. These faceless, cowardly criminals must be stopped. If they are not, more property will be destroyed. More threats of extortion and worse will be issued. More law-abiding citizens will live in fear. And eventually, inevitably there will be a loss of life. It's a miracle it hasn't happened already.

Michael S. Hicks
Northwest Oregon Area Logging Manager
Boise Cascade Corporation
February 12, 2002

Mr. Chairman and committee members:

I am Michael S. Hicks, Northwest Oregon Area Logging Manager for Boise Cascade Corporation. Boise Cascade owns or controls over 2.3 million acres of forest land using science based, state-of-the-art forestry practices. In addition to being a major distributor of office products and building products, Boise Cascade also manufactures building products and paper products to meet the demands of the American public. Over 19,000 people work for Boise Cascade in the United States.

My area in Monmouth, Oregon is part of the Western Oregon Region with the regional office located in Medford Oregon. In my position as Logging Manager, I am responsible for obtaining a reliable source of log supply for our three Northwest Oregon veneer mills. The logs are obtained from our own lands, from contracts sold by a number of government and private sellers, and from open market log deliveries. My responsibilities also include the management of 160,000 acres of timberland and management of a staff of 25 to 30 professional foresters and biologists. Our office is a field office, primarily housing field foresters, engineers, field biologists, and administrative support staff.

Thank you for allowing me to provide my testimony on domestic terrorism. The title of this hearing is Ecoterrorism and Lawlessness on National Forests. However, from my perspective, we are dealing with just plain TERRORISM AND LAWLESSNESS. It really does not matter what the cause is, or how one's actions are justified. There is no prefix anyone can put before the word terrorism that justifies a cause. We are a nation of laws and due process. Terrorism is terrorism, plain and simple.

I am here today to relate my experience with domestic terrorism, as I call the activities that were carried out against our company. It was Christmas morning, 1999 and this was to be the first time my wife and I would enjoy the chance to sleep in on Christmas morning since the 1970's. However, the phone rang at about 5:15 A.M. It was our local Boise Cascade Employee Relations Manager telling me our office was on fire.

Needless to say, my string of early awakenings on Christmas morning remained intact. This time, however, it wasn't because of kids or grandkids running around to see what Santa and his elves had brought. As we found out a few days later, it was elves of a different stripe. The evil and cowardly elves of the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) had brought their gift of terror to our lives. ELF, through their spokesperson at the time, Craig Rosebraugh, claimed responsibility for the fire. Their claim was verified by ATF and FBI investigators.

That Christmas morning was cold and dry, made even colder by a stiff wind from the north. ELF could not have had better conditions to start a fire. When I arrived about 25 minutes after receiving the call, the fire had been burning for over an hour. The roof had caved in and the firefighters were busy trying to put out several hot spots. Incendiary devices placed on opposite sides of the building by the arsonists, presumably for maximum effect, had ignited the arson fire. Our office was

primarily wood construction with many interior walls lined with cedar. The office was built in 1978 and the construction was meant to display the wood products industry. The alcoves in the front and rear provided corners for maximum ignition heat and the vents above the ignition point allowed the fumes and flames to carry throughout the dry, wood framed attic. It was clear that ELF had sized up our facility and had known their standard fire setting practices would cause the office to burn easily, once ignited.

There were at least three alarms called during the fire, with many firefighters working several sides of the 7500 square foot structure. After a quick look, I called my boss to give him an update and then started to call all my staff. One by one, the staff--and in many cases their families--came in during the morning, interrupting their holiday festivities. We all stared in disbelief and wandered around as close as the firefighters dared to let us. The fire departments were concerned about our safety as we instinctively moved closer and closer, driven by the need to save what we could. Throughout the early morning we comforted each other and tried to comprehend what was happening. At the time, we did not know it was an arson fire. As we gazed at the smoldering rubble, we all wondered what we could have done to prevent it. The fire department kept us from entering the perimeter, but I was able to engage a fireman on the periphery about how things were going and when they thought it would be contained and finally extinguished. As I was discussing the situation with the firefighter, I noticed one area containing all our easements, lease documents, real estate papers, rights-of-way files and other important files. It was not heavily damaged by the fire, but was getting a lot of water going in and around it. I asked the fireman if there was any way we could get a tarp over the file cabinets to protect them from water damage. We broke out the remaining glass of the window and crawled in to the office and draped a tarp over the cabinet. We were very fortunate that the fire originated well away from this area. With the exception of a little water in the file cabinets, these files were saved from fire or water damage. I wish we could have done the same for many others.

Several hot spots were particularly difficult to extinguish. The firefighters, many of them volunteers, had to separate the outside wall from the building to extinguish the fire. It was difficult and dangerous work. They were trying to pull the wall down while preventing the firemen from getting trapped by the falling wall. They pulled an exterior wall down in at least two locations. After seeing all the dangers up close, I remember thinking that morning about all the hazards the firemen endured. We gained a renewed appreciation for the dedication and bravery of our firefighters on that chilly Christmas morning.

By late morning the fire was declared out. The fire marshal indicated he wanted us to stay away from an area he thought might have been the source of the fire, the copy machine room. With the caution to stay clear of this area, we were allowed to enter and retrieve what we could salvage. Because safety is one of our company's core values, we held a safety meeting before we embarked on the salvage project. One of the first things I brought out was a display case with a folded American flag from the office of Sergeant Major Rudy Frazzini, one of our foresters, who is also a Gulf War veteran and active in the Marine Reserves. This was the flag that had draped his father's coffin, and I knew how important this was to Rudy and the rest of us. I made sure it was safe in the seat of my pickup.

Many of the staff had to postpone their Christmas activities to spend the day salvaging all the items they could. It was especially tough on four of my grandchildren because we were due to open presents with them at 10:00 A.M. in the morning and they had to wait until I arrived that evening. The fire was on a Saturday and we were expecting rain by the following Monday. We knew we had to get everything under cover by then. We worked all day Saturday and came back on

Sunday to move as much as we could to our mill site. Our goal was to salvage the files and what we could for our temporary quarters. I recall pulling out file drawers that were still smoldering and attempting to extinguish the embers so that we could salvage the files. We filled a large room (approximately 2000 square feet) in the nearby veneer mill with file drawers, computers in varying degrees of meltdown, and other office equipment that we thought we could salvage. There were many hazards associated with salvaging all the usable remains of a fire. We had to contend with broken glass, floors that gave way, and overhead ceilings that had caved in and were resting on file cabinets. We contended with the ever-present tangle of wires, debris and remnants of the ceiling and roof trusses. The conditions were difficult for salvaging, but we worked cautiously and had a good share of the salvageable material removed by Sunday evening.

On Monday our access to the office and its contents was cut off completely by investigators from the FBI and ATF, as well as the Oregon State Police. Not only could we not get close to the rubble, we could not even talk to any of the investigators. The Federal folks were quite focused and extremely professional in their investigation. The evidence gathered and the fine work by the Federal agencies eventually led to confirmation that ELF did, in fact, start the fire. As noted earlier, ELF, through their spokesman, Craig Rosebraugh, claimed responsibility for the fire, and their claim was independently confirmed by Federal investigators.

When you think about losing your home to fire, what is the first thing you wish you could save, assuming all the family members and pets are out? In my house, my first concern would be the irreplaceable art work, family heirlooms, and of course, all the photos and slides of family and friends. Our offices are very much like our homes. Many of us spend as much time in our office as we do our home. We have collectibles, art and other individual items that reflect ourselves. The very personal nature of our offices being destroyed by a cowardly arson attack has as much of an emotional impact as losing one's home. That may sound too strong, but the point is we all lost personal items that were important to our professional lives that make us balanced and productive contributors to our society.

In my case, I lost a whole file drawer of photographs and slides taken over a 25-year career. These pictures were a great treasure to me and I was able to salvage little of that precious drawer. I clearly remember welling up with tears, looking at the fused mass of pictures and shriveled slides, thinking that this history of my work life, much like a daily journal, is gone. I had intended to use these pictures to write my professional history when I retired. I just do not think about it any more because I get depressed. In addition, I was very proud of my contributions to various boards and organizations. The certificates recognizing those contributions were hanging on my wall, as I am sure they do in many of your offices. They were all incinerated into a pile of ash and rubble. I did manage to salvage one thing I treasured and brought it with me today to the hearing on Ecoterrorism and Lawlessness in National Forests. I hold a copy of the proceedings on hearings of the sale of timber from Federal lands held in the spring of 1979. I was able to testify at a similar Congressional hearing and was given a copy of those proceedings. It is a little worse for wear, but that was one little treasure I did get to keep.

Other colleagues have similar stories, such as one who lost the only photo he has of his two very pregnant daughters posing tummy to tummy. Another person lost a one-of-a-kind map of the original railroad route that accessed the heart of our forest lands during the times when the only access was by railroad. One person lost the picture of his father dressed in his army uniform, and a diploma with the summa cum laude banner was damaged. Numerous family pictures and small mementos were lost. This was not just an attack on a corporate entity; it was an attack on all the individuals who called our office home for 40 to 60 hours a week. Our personal possessions were

destroyed. Our lives were severely disrupted.

As far as the corporation was concerned, the attack did not alter our business strategy. We were up and running within a week, on the first operating day in January, with all new copies of contracts, an office, phones, and all the office equipment necessary to keep us in business. It did, however, change how we view security. We take our security much more seriously than we did before December 25, 1999. Our new office contains state-of-the-art security measures inside and out. We all have a heightened sense of awareness. We lost our sense of security and became more keenly aware of the risks we have on our lands, at our mills, and around our equipment. The timber industry is a proud and industrious segment of society. Even though the industry has been battered on many fronts, it is still relatively strong and viable with an incredible will to survive. A few terrorists will not stop our efforts to be good stewards of the land, or stop us from providing quality products the public demands. The domestic terrorists have only strengthened our resolve to remain a strong, viable part of the U.S. economy.

To replace the office, we went through months of analysis, negotiations, and internal discussions before we settled on a structure that was very much the same floor layout as before, but very different in building design. Since ELF attacked our facility, security has become a huge factor in how we site, secure and manage our facilities. Existing streets, access, cooperation of local government, and current zoning of adjacent properties all played into our decision to relocate in the same spot as before. In the end, we were not going to allow terrorists to dictate where we conduct business.

The company spent approximately $1.5 million dollars replacing the office and contents. A significant portion of that cost was expended on internal and external security. Boise Cascade has been a target once; we felt we could once again be in someone's cross hairs. As a result of the arson fire, the company chose to build using more materials such as concrete, steel, and aluminum, which are non-flammable and non-renewable energy consuming. Ironically, when the effects of the air pollution from the fire are added to the use of energy consuming non-renewable building products, the effects on the ecosystem are doubled. ELF impacted our lives, as well as our office building, and now we are more cautious. Life goes on and we are continuing to harvest, plant and nurture our forests for future generations. Our mills continue to make and distribute high quality forest products that we all use. After such an event, we look at life differently, but we must continue managing our forest lands. After all, they are not going anywhere.

We also manage our timber sales differently, as this 1999 arson was not our company's first experience with lawless behavior by radical activists. For example, our company has experienced these negative effects on our operation in southern Oregon in the early 1990s with the Sugarloaf timber sale on the Siskiyou National Forest. During logging operations we hired extra security and our operations were delayed. We even had protesters force one of our contractor's log trucks to come to a halt so an accomplice could lock himself underneath the truck. Trees were spiked with metal spikes. We have seen the results of lawless activities in the National Forests firsthand. From our perspective, purchasing timber from the National Forests has increased Boise Cascade's risk of being targeted by organizations like ELF.

In summary, ELF burned our office building. It was reported on December 31, 1999 by the Oregonian newspaper that Craig Rosebraugh received the ELF communiqué and that "he was pleased with the arson." ELF is a terrorist organization willing to break laws that we all live and work by. Boise Cascade lost little time getting back to the business of growing, harvesting, planting, and nurturing the forests in our charge. It did not change the company's desire to meet our customer's wood, paper and office products needs in the market place.

The terrorists did have an impact on how we view the world from a security perspective. And it also cost the company $1.5 million. The primary impact of burning our office was on the personal lives of our staff. However, it also placed my staff, the firefighters, and me in harm's way, and it is only a matter of time before someone is seriously injured or killed. We have biologists who frequented that office at all hours of the night, coming or going on their rounds to survey for Spotted Owls and Marbled Murrelets. Any one of those workers could have been present, and injured or killed by ELF's terrorist activities.

Our personal and professional losses cannot be measured, so we are moving on. We only hope the cowards are caught and held accountable for the terror and destruction they have caused. Congress and others should recognize that these groups are terrorists and these group should be sought out and prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on such an important and timely topic.

Richard B. Berman
Executive Director
The Center for Consumer Freedom
February 12, 2002



ECO-TERRORISM, ITS CONNECTIONS TO ANIMAL-RIGHTS TERRORISM, AND THEIR COMMON ABOVE-GROUND SUPPORT SYSTEM

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee, my name is Richard Berman. I am the Executive Director of the Center for Consumer Freedom, a nonprofit organization based in Washington, DC. The Center does not accept and has never received government funds.

On behalf of American restaurant operators and food producers, I would like to thank you for holding this hearing today. Eco-terrorism is indeed alive and well in the United States of America, and it shares a common heritage with violent animal-rights extremism. These radical movements have been responsible for well over 1,000 documented criminal acts in the U.S., most of which would be prosecuted as felonies if the perpetrators could be brought to justice.

I am not talking about peaceful protest, pickets, sign waving, slogan chanting, or forms of civil disobedience that are protected by the First Amendment. Rather, America's present environmental and animal-rights terrorists have committed arsons, assaults, vandalism on a massive scale, and a host of other property crimes that cripple food producers and resource providers, and occasionally lay waste to entire restaurants.

On September 11th of last year, on the very day America mourned the loss of thousands of lives to foreign terrorists, our own home-grown version (the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front, known as "ELF" and "ALF") took joint credit for firebombing a McDonald's restaurant in Tucson, Arizona.

There is no doubt now, and the FBI concurs, that the Earth Liberation Front is associated with the Animal Liberation Front. Special Agent David Szady (now the U.S. counterintelligence executive) has told CNN that "by any sense or any definition, this is a true domestic terrorism group, that uses criminal activity to further their political agenda."

During the past three years alone, ELF and ALF have claimed responsibility for smashing bank windows, torching a chicken feed truck, burning a horse corral at a Bureau of Land Management facility, firebombing dealer lots full of sport utility vehicles, destroying valuable scientific laboratory equipment and many years worth of irreplaceable research documents, "spiking" trees in the Pacific Northwest, and even setting bombs under meat delivery trucks. There should be no sympathy for intentionally committed felonies of this magnitude. Eco-terror and animal-rights crimes have become everyday events in America, yet they are among our most under-reported and least-punished offenses.

Members of the Subcommittee, on rare occasions the criminals responsible for these violent and unlawful acts are captured. Just two weeks ago a pair of animal-rights terrorists were sentenced to prison terms for attempting to blow up a dairy truck near San Jose, California. They were caught

red-handed, with home-made bombs just as deadly as those being exploded by other terrorists in the Middle East. But the vast majority of crimes like these go unpunished. The underground ELF and ALF even have the gall to brag publicly about their felonies. ALF actually released a report in January, claiming responsibility for 137 crimes in 2001, and causing an estimated $17.3 million in damage.

ALF and ELF won't stop with damage to people and businesses with whom they disagree. Rather, they are aggressively recruiting new criminals to their vicious gang. Incredibly, the group's leaders have begun to distribute "how-to" manuals on the Internet, describing how to build bombs and incendiary devices, how to destroy fields of genetically-engineered food crops, and how to commit "arson," "thievery," and other felonies without leaving clues at the crime scene. There is even a volume on the easiest way to sink a ship.

Any 10-year-old with a computer can download much of this reading material. For a few dollars and the cost of postage, ALF "spokesperson" David Barbarash will mail the rest of the materials to anyone who asks. Mr. Chairman, I have submitted a copy of Mr. Barbarash's disturbing catalog for the record.

Equally troubling is the extent to which some eco-terrorists and animal-rights criminals have managed to garner support, both philosophical and financial, from above-ground activist organizations, including those that enjoy the same tax benefits as our nation's churches and universities.

Between 1994 and 1995, for instance, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals gave over $70,000 to an Animal Liberation Front criminal named Rodney Coronado, who was convicted of arson, a felony, in connection with the $1.7 million firebombing of a Michigan State University research facility. This amount, by the way, is more than ten times the total that the same organization (PETA) devoted to animal shelters during those two years. In addition, both PETA and its president, Ingrid Newkirk, are acknowledged financial supporters of an organization called No Compromise, which operates on behalf of, and for the "underground" supporters of the Animal Liberation Front.

PETA raised over $15 million last year from the general public, all of it tax-exempt. When will PETA be held accountable?

Another eco-criminal, Dave Foreman, pled guilty in 1991 to felony conspiracy in a plot to blow up the power lines of three nuclear power generating stations. Mr. Foreman was a co-founder of the radical "Earth First!" organization, the group from which the Earth Liberation Front split during a 1992 meeting in the United Kingdom. Among its other claims to fame, Earth First! actually published the newsletter articles (in the Earth First! Journal) from which "Unabomber" Ted Kaczinsky chose his last two victims.

An organization called the Ruckus Society was started by another Earth First! co-founder named Mike Roselle. This group was largely responsible for the 1999 anti-WTO protests in Seattle, which ended in mass rioting and the destruction of Starbucks and McDonald's restaurants. The Ruckus Society trains young activists in the techniques of "monkeywrenching" which, when applied, result in property crimes of enormous financial cost.

The Ruckus Society and the Rainforest Action Network (another outfit founded by Mr. Roselle) are tax-exempt organization that have enjoyed contributions from such mainstream sources as Ted Turner and Ben & Jerry's. When will this breeding ground for environmental criminals be held accountable?

Ruckus, by the way, also gets funding from a San Francisco outfit called the Tides Foundation, which distributes other foundations' money while shielding the identity of the actual donors. Our tax law permits this sort of money-laundering. If the public is prevented from learning

where a tax-exempt organization like the Ruckus Society gets their money, then the legal loopholes that permit foundations like Tides to operate as it does should be closed.

Mr. Chairman, these are all serious charges that I am making, and I urge this Committee to fully investigate the damage that ALF, ELF, and other like-minded terrorist groups have caused to American businesses, American livelihoods, and the American psyche. I would also urge the appropriate Congressional committee to explore the tax-exempt status of groups that have helped to fund - directly or indirectly - these domestic terrorists.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing.

WILLIAM F. WASLEY
DIRECTOR,LAW ENFORCEMENT AND INVESTIGATIONS (LEI) FOREST SERVICE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
February 12, 2002

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

My name is Bill Wasley, and I am the Director of the Forest Service Law Enforcement and Investigations (LEI) program. Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss eco-terrorism acts on Forest Service facilities and how the Agency is addressing employee safety.

The Forest Service manages approximately 192 million acres of land in the United States. Protecting people and natural resources is part of our mission. This mission has become more difficult over the years as crimes occurring on national forests and to federal property have increased, especially criminal acts against research projects and government facilities. LEI is responsible for protecting and serving the public and agency employees; protecting natural resources and other property under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service; and cooperating with other law enforcement agencies.

Escalation of Incidents

Over the past 10 years, destructive civil disobedience and destructive criminal acts have increased, damaging resources and placing people in harm's way. Destructive criminal acts have primarily been related to protests against commercial logging activity on National Forest System (NFS) lands. These acts have included the illegal occupation of NFS lands and roads that place protesters at great risk; spiking trees designated for cutting; damaging or destroying natural resources, public roads, and facilities; damaging private property; and threatening and interfering with timber sale purchasers and timber operators. Since 1998, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) has claimed responsibility for at least five such acts to Forest Service resources, facilities, or vehicles.

Forest Service research programs have also been the targets of recent criminal acts. The Agency has an extensive research and development program that conducts basic and applied research on an array of subjects that complement the diverse mission of the Agency, including research on biological pathogens or forest genetics. In FY 2000, two acts of vandalism resulted in damages to the Forest Service Research facilities in Minnesota and Wisconsin, estimated at over $1.3 million. Over 850 pine and broadleaf trees, and saplings from "superior" tree stock and cross-pollination research were cut down, ring-barked and trampled. ELF claimed responsibility for this act. In November of 2001, two explosive arson devices were planted near university and Forest Service research buildings at Michigan Technical University, but fortunately were located by security personnel prior to detonation. No one has yet been charged with this crime.

Prevention is critical to the Agency's action plan against destructive criminal acts. Currently, the Forest Service is conducting facility security assessments to identify those facilities that are vulnerable. These assessments will address employee, facility, asset, transportation, special use permitting, and resource protection concerns.

Safety in the Workplace

Since the mid 1990's, the number of threats and attacks on Forest Service employees have increased. Examples of these attacks include the bombing of an employee's residence and the complete destruction by arson of two Forest Service offices. These attacks have raised fears and concern among Agency employees for their personal safety. The Agency is addressing these concerns by securing government facilities; producing and distributing safety pamphlets, brochures, and videos; holding safety meetings; providing information to employees on steps that are being implemented to improve employee security; and providing violence awareness training. The Forest Service has an agreement with the Office of Inspector General (OIG) regarding investigations dealing with employee safety. The safety of Agency employees and the public on Forest Service lands is the top priority for the Forest Service.

Efforts to Ensure Coordinated Security

In cases of domestic terrorism the FBI has primary jurisdiction. LEI assist the FBI by serving on the joint task force investigating domestic terrorism acts.

Agency law enforcement officers and criminal investigators coordinate closely with line and staff officers to provide and implement security procedures for Forest Service facilities, resources, employees, and the public. Security measures undertaken by LEI include: conducting threat assessments; providing personnel and facility security details during protests or high risk events, providing first responders to incidents; responding to protest and civil disobedience activities; investigating criminal acts; conducting search and rescues; responding to shooting incidents and drug and alcohol possession and use problems; and responding and investigating all reported instances of intimidation, threat, or assault against agency employees.

In investigating criminal acts, LEI has developed many cooperative agreements with other Federal, State, and local agencies for performance of routine law enforcement patrols, drug enforcement, timber theft investigations, and coordination of other enforcement activities. LEI participate in many task forces, particularly the FBI's counterterrorism taskforce mentioned above and the Office of National Drug Control Policy's (ONDCP) High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) program.

Conclusion

The Forest Service is committed to work with the FBI to combat acts of domestic terrorism. We also are committed to ensuring safety and security of the public and our employees. The job is immense, but we will continue to work at providing these services and expend resources consistent with this priority.

This concludes my statement, I would be happy to answer any questions you or Members of the Subcommittee might have.

Gloria Flora
Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility
February 12, 2002


Gloria Flora, Pig

On behalf of Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility Before the House Resources Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health Hearing on "Eco-Terrorism and Lawlessness on National Forests" February 12, 2002

To spread their message and inflate their importance, "eco-terrorism" groups must command a prominent public stage. Unfortunately, this subcommittee hearing is aiding these so-called eco-terrorists by giving them the United States Congress as a forum.

This craving for attention is illustrated in a recent self-promoting report on the exploits of eco-terrorists that seeks to magnify the number and impact of their activities. This hearing serves the media agenda of these groups by assigning a greater importance to their role and by attempting to falsely suggest that they are a major force on the vast public lands within the National Forest System.

If you ask Forest Service employees to rank the problems they must confront daily, "eco-terrorism" would not even make the chart. I know because for over 22 years, I was a Forest Service employee and have worked in national forests throughout the West.

My name is Gloria Flora and, in my career in public service, I have occupied many positions including Forest Supervisor on the Lewis and Clark National Forest in north-central Montana and on the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest in Nevada and eastern California. I resigned from the Forest Service in 2000 specifically to call attention to the far greater threat of harassment, intimidation and lawlessness that haunts Forest Service employees. I have started a non-profit organization, Sustainable Obtainable Solutions, dedicated to ensuring sustainability of public lands and the communities that depend on them.

I am here today testifying on behalf of Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility or PEER. PEER is a national service organization for the scientists, land managers and law enforcement officers working on our state and federal public lands. Speaking on behalf of the organization, PEER condemns terrorism in any form as do I.

There is a problem of lawlessness facing Forest Service employees and the citizens who visit, work within or live near national forests -- but it has little to do with eco-terrorism. This afternoon I would like to discuss the nature and extent of these challenges, outline the causative factors and conclude with steps we all need to take together toward solutions.

Conflicts over public land management continue to escalate and challenge even the most innovative land stewards and community members. When values collide, the first casualty is the ability to communicate our views with civility and respect. Sometimes, and with a seemingly growing frequency, violence, or threats thereof results. Federal agents across the West deal with hostile, even dangerous working conditions fanned by the flames of anti-government sentiment.

Each winter, California's Imperial Valley swarms with off road vehicle riders on long holiday

weekends. As Bureau of Land Management agents struggle to mitigate the environmental damage caused by thousands of vehicles, more and more, they are forced to protect themselves from the ever-increasing incidents of violence against their ranks. In recent years, rangers have been attacked by mobs, run down by vehicles and assaulted with weapons by off-roaders yelling anti-government epithets.

This past Thanksgiving a record crowd of 200,000 off-roaders descended on the desert wilderness. By the end of the weekend, BLM agents had dealt with two deaths, 220 medical emergencies, 50 arrests, nearly one thousand citations, several shootings, and one ranger run over by an angry 3-wheeler.

As reported in the New York Times on January 2nd, Forest Service managers voiced doubts about the safety of sending their own law enforcement personnel into certain areas of these public lands because the danger is too extreme. Internal agency memos describe the situation as near-riot conditions.

Federal agents are often targets because it is their job to enforce environmental policies. In the California desert, some off-roaders resent federal decisions to close portions of the desert to vehicle use to allow the land to recover and protect the habitat of the threatened desert tortoise. As I have witnessed in other parts of the country, some people extend their anger about federal policy into violence against federal employees.

While this annual chaos in the California desert is a dramatic example, it is certainly not an isolated case. According to agency records collected and tabulated by PEER, beatings, shootings, threats and other incidents of violence against federal resource managers, primarily in the West, rose sharply in 2000, and have risen in all but one year since the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995.

Overall, attacks aimed at U.S. Forest Service employees and facilities rose by more than 20% in 2000, the latest year for which we have statistics. Incidents at Fish & Wildlife Service rose by half, while incidents at the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) rose by a third. For all three agencies combined, serious incidents rose by nearly a third in 2000. Number of Reported Incidents Year Bureau of Land Management U.S. Forest Service Fish and Wildlife Service 1995 8 34 No data 1996 13 (+61%) 42 (+24%) No data 1997 24 (+85%) 44 (+20%) No data 1998 42 (+75%) 53 (+5%) No data 1999 21 (-50%) 27 (-49%) 6 2000 28 (+33%) 33 (+22%) 9 (+50%) (Percentage change relative to preceding year.) PEER assembles these numbers because the U.S. Department of Justice has yet to implement statutory requirements that it compile and report on attacks against government workers. PEER has established its own database on violence against federal resource agency employees using the Freedom of Information Act to collect incident reports.

These numbers, however, do not begin to tell the story. Employees have reported to PEER many incidents not reflected in the official counts. The agencies have no incentive to aggressively monitor employees' working conditions. To some large extent, agencies often reflect a "no news is good news" attitude with regard to these incidents. As a result, PEER believes that the official numbers significantly understate the true number of events.

Moreover, the bare numbers do not convey the impact even one incident can have on affected employees, agency operations and public perceptions. Take one case: Guy Pence who, until his transfer, was district ranger of the Carson District on the Toiyabe National Forest (before it was combined with the Humboldt National Forest), which includes Nye County, Nevada, the heart of the anti-environmental "wise use" movement.

A Forest Service employee since he graduated college more than 25 years ago, Pence started working on the Toiyabe in 1984, and he developed a reputation as a no-nonsense manager. He suspended or canceled the permits of grazers, loggers and miners who violated permit condi-

tions and environmental laws. One of the users Pence cited for violation was Dick Carver, a Nye County commissioner, private rancher and an outspoken "wise use" leader. Carver gained national attention (including the cover photo of Time magazine) in the mid-90s when he drove a bulldozer towards Forest Service rangers in an attempt to open a road that had been closed by the agency. This act added to an already alarming level of tension surrounding public land management issues in Nevada.

A few weeks before the tragedy in Oklahoma City, a bomb exploded at the Carson City ranger station. Fortunately, no one was in the office at the time. The bomb was set outside Guy Pence's office sending a clear signal as to who was the target. No suspects were ever arrested, and no group claimed responsibility.

In August 1995 a bomb exploded under Pence's personal vehicle, which was parked in his driveway. Miraculously, no one was hurt. The blast destroyed the family van and blew out the front windows of the Pence home. Luckily, Pence's wife and daughters had just left the living room. Again, no arrests were ever made and the case remains unsolved.

The Forest Service transferred Guy Pence to its Boise office where his new duties include aviation, fire, and law enforcement. The Forest Service says Pence's transfer was not a demotion, and it maintains that it did not move Pence out of fear. Most people, however, can read between the lines.

Since Pence's transfer, the Boise office has been evacuated several times due to bomb threats. And the employees on the Carson District still fear another attack. They implemented security measures that are now commonplace for protection from terrorist attack.

No matter where they are or how far they go, neither Pence, nor his family, will ever be able to forget what happened in Nevada. While Pence admits that the safety issue looms large, he is much more concerned about his family's safety than his own. He is worried more about the effect the move to Idaho has had on his wife and three daughters. His wife had to give up her teaching job, and his daughters, who grew up in Carson City, have lost life-long friendships. Pence said, "The bombings really made us take stock of our life. Things that seemed routine or normal now seem so fragile and more precious than ever. Actions are so interconnected and their impact can ripple out to affect everyone involved."

The legacy of the Guy Pence was still very much alive when I became the Supervisor of the now-combined Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest in 1998. By the end of 1999, I resigned my position as Forest Supervisor in protest of the pervasive and escalating intimidation and harassment of Forest Service employees. Let me be clear that I did not allege that there were prosecutable threats of direct violence that were being ignored. In the previous 18 months, there were none of which I was aware. Rather it was the insidious and increasing acts of hostilities, fueled by media sensationalism, private vendettas and political posturing which made life extremely difficult for many Forest Service employees and their families... 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

Instead, the legacy of the previous incidents contributed to something almost more insidious: a syndrome I came to call "Fed-bashing." Fed-bashing is a tough phrase. I define it as destructive actions or words meant to hurt and belittle federal employees, personally and/or collectively. It is not much different than racism. You pick a class of people, you decide they are the source of your problems and you proceed to systematically make them unwelcome in your community. I do not begrudge anyone for being upset with certain federal laws or policies but how we handle that dislike is measure of our own personal integrity and ultimately, the yardstick of a community. Because I resent a tax, I do not have the right to personally vilify the tax collector or members of his family.

Some say that I over-reacted. In an atmosphere of hostility, how do you decide when your

employees are truly at risk? How do you calculate how many insults, personal attacks in the media, refusal of service in public establishments, are "acceptable" and how many equal a precursor to violence? When actively hostile citizens threaten to break the law using "Remember Waco" as a rallying cry and the local sheriff, the FBI and the Justice Department warn you and your employees to stay 100 miles away instead of doing your job... is that the warning salvo that violence is just around the corner? The last time someone "remembered Waco" in a very visible manner, over 180 people lost their lives in Oklahoma City. None of them reported a "prosecutable threat" prior to losing their lives.

My point is simple. More than overt acts of violence should be of concern. When frustrations grow and dialogue becomes uncivil, nasty and personally demeaning toward individuals of a certain group of people, an unsavory element is attracted to the fray, like sharks to the smell of blood. There are far too many boastful threats about armed insurrection and civil uprising in the rural West to be sanguine about this situation.

Perhaps my biggest frustration was the behavior of many public officials at all levels who either turn their backs or openly condone such behavior. In response to my expressed concerns about the treatment of my employees and their families in Nevada, a member of Congress, casually quipped, "You're federal employees: What do you expect?"

This phenomenon of elected officials egging on the tensions is certainly not confined to Nevada. Recently, an elected official in Montana likened a Forest Service manager to a Nazi for not openly opposing the roadless initiative.

To evoke the image of fascism and compare it to contemporary public land management in America is at best delusional and, at worst, a disgrace to the memories of those who suffered unimaginable terror at the hands of the Nazi regime. Try to convince the relatives of millions of people who lost their lives that the situations that we face in the rural West are comparable.

To my knowledge, all elected officials, as well as Forest Service employees sign an oath of office to uphold the Constitution and the laws of the United States. That oath should not be taken lightly. Those who wish to selectively support the laws, that is, only the ones that please them personally, should recognize that they are violating their oath of office and are doing a disservice to the public.

No matter how disturbing, these events are only the symptoms of deeper causes. Federal resource employees are targeted because of conflicts surrounding those resources. While the acreage within the National Forest System is vast, the natural resources contained within it are finite.

In many places, public lands are degraded: non-functioning, denuded riparian areas, dropping water tables, degraded water quality, sediment in streams, excessive fuel build-up, loss of biodiversity, and species heading towards extinction confront us. There are still hundreds of abandoned mines leaking acidic water with a pH of 2 and poisoning ground water, despite billions of dollars spent on clean up.

Look at the cattle industry on public land, for example. Public land grazing is a struggling industry that produces less than 4% of the nation's beef supply. In many areas, the public range can no longer sustain traditional levels of grazing. Plant species are lost, riparian areas shrink. When the lands suffer from overgrazing, people get alarmed and demand that basic stewardship be enforced. The Forest Service re-evaluates the allotment management plan and reduces allowable numbers in some places. The result is that the range con and district ranger are cast as villains attacking custom and culture. Wrong. What is the real story?

The real story is economic and social. The market for beef does not keep pace with infla-

tion, production costs rise, and middlemen profit while price on-the-hoof plummets. Trade policies loosen. Cheap, subsidized beef from other countries flood the borders. People have grown concerned about their health; they no longer trust chemicals, they want less fat in their diet. Although they buy significantly less red meat, they are willing to pay more for chemical free, low-fat beef. In reality, these changes in public taste, market forces and international trade agreements affect ranchers' livelihood far more than the laws of Congress or Forest Service policies.

Some ranchers understand that the Forest Service is not the enemy. Rather than attacking the Forest Service, ranchers figure out how they can use the research capabilities of the government and universities to help determine better techniques to graze cattle, improving weight gain while maintaining habitat diversity. They switch to lower fat breeds, and stop using chemicals. They find a niche market for the product in demand, sell directly to the retailer and get twice the price. These folks work with the agencies and organizations to develop a certification program for beef raised in environmentally sustainable methods, creating a cache for concerned consumers and higher demand. They sell a conservation easement on the ranch and keep it in the family. They thrive, the community thrives and so do their cattle and the wildlife.

By contrast, some of their neighbors try a different approach. These ranchers make sure everyone in the community knows what "those Forest Service bastards" have done to them. They violate the commitments they signed off on in their grazing permit, overgraze the land and their cattle do not thrive. They mortgage the ranch to sue the Forest Service based on what they believe is a constitutional right to run as many cattle as they want, wherever they want on public land, because their grandfather did. They refuse to change. They lose the suit and the ranch is subdivided. They suffer and the community suffers. Whose fault is it?

When seeking the roots of complex natural resource problems, I find it worthwhile to step back and look at the larger context. This often helps us to understand why we are where we find ourselves. We must look at local and regional history, social trends, and environmental changes, while examining the national and global trends that affect us.

Looking at the social situation in the rural west, the operative word here is change. Life as we know it has changed dramatically and the pace continues to accelerate with every new technological development. Even during the recent period of broad national economic prosperity, there are plenty of pockets within the rural west with lots of folks still struggling to get by. The "have's" are getting richer while the "have not's" see their buying power and political influence waning.

A shift in demographics is also evident; geography for many is no longer essential to job. Many people can work anywhere, and you know exactly the places they want to live-- where the air is cleaner, and the mountains tower majestically over their new home in the last, best place. Indeed local culture is changing: name a town that does not have at least one place to buy espresso.

The population is shifting and growing. This requires a greater degree of tolerance and sharing; a greater degree of tempering individual demands for the sake of community. This means getting along with others by working out equitable solutions for sharing public resources.

History is replete with examples of civilizations having to share or lose their "traditional" uses. It has only been a little more than 100 years since this society appropriated all resources from the First Americans. Now, a century later, we are again thrusting massive change upon the western landscape, its people and what our culture considers "traditional use" communities. There is much to value in these hard-working decent communities and much we can do to ensure these communities continue to be viable.

Any conservation plan or policy for public lands that does not consider the economic health of both the rural communities of the intermountain west and struggling tribal nations is woefully inad-

equate. It is not too much to ask for the world's wealthiest nation to have a sound economic transition strategy when we change the way we value and manage the resources on public land. We cannot throw people out of work with just a shrug and a brief apology. However neither can citizens expect that their chosen way of life is an inherent right that all others must protect regardless of the consequences.

Life has never been easy for those who choose to make their living off the land. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the vast majority of the population depended directly on natural resources for their livelihood. Since the Industrial Revolution, labor related to natural resources has been steadily declining. Now basic extractive industries account for less than 5% of our gross national product.

This shift means that life keeps getting tougher for those who want to continue to make their living off the land while contesting the changes that society mandates. This shift is just as inevitable as the massive societal transformation of the industrial revolution, the invention of the computer and introduction of mass communication. We have accelerated the rate of change--change that is inevitable.

It is not my intention to be harsh or cavalier. I have worked in small communities for over twenty years; I know how badly these dislocations can hurt. It is how we manage that change is critical for both the rural communities in the West and the surrounding landscapes. We, as a nation, cannot consume and waste, populate and communicate at this rate and expect that the rural west will be just like it was when we were growing up. There is no going back.

So, what are the solutions? Civil discourse is step one. There is no bogeyman out there. We are all in this together, like it or not. Respectful civil dialogue is an essential tool in establishing and reaching long-term goals for the preservation of our nation's natural treasures. In my opinion, this approach is essential in convincing the American public that an investment in the health of their children's inheritance is wise -- a sound fiscal strategy. Such an investment in restoration and natural wealth accumulation will also bring a sustainable prosperity to the communities previously dependent solely on extraction.

The time is right for the nation and especially the Intermountain West to adopt a new strategy in the management of public lands through civil discourse because the alternative is a widening chasm between the majority of Americans and a shrinking but steadily more extreme collection of groups fighting to maintain a fading status quo of resource extraction at the expense of clean water, productive soil and vibrant wildlife.

I recently read that a Montanan proclaimed that "we, the people, will decide" what uses will be permitted in a heated protest against the roadless initiative. He promised armed conflict and bloodshed if uses were restricted. He is right on the first item, the people will decide. And most of you know that "We, the People..." are the first words in the Constitution. It applies to all Americans. All the Americans who have been paying for the care and maintenance of the national forests, and subsidizing every use for more than 100 years will decide what we leave for the future.

We are facing predicaments that can only be resolved by civil discourse. Through a series of events, natural and social, we are trying to make the land do more than it is capable of in terms of supporting us for the next hundred years.

Clearly one of the least effective ways of seeking resolution is to vilify the federal employees who are stewards of this land we all share. What sense does it make to shoot the messengers?

The second essential step is to end the Fed-bashing. Public officials at all levels need to provide moral and political support for the district ranger, field biologist, range conservationists and other professional struggling to faithfully execute the law and serve the public in trying circumstances.

Politicians must resist the natural urge to "pile on" when the mob demands "heads should roll." We need more rare acts of courage when public officials are willing to stake their own careers on telling people what is right when it is not popular. We need more leaders willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with embattled public servants, to let them know they are not alone and that someone in the public they serve appreciates the struggle.

In my Forest Service career I met too few real leaders. In Nevada, when my staff really needed support from higher-ups in state and federal government, there was precious little. I resigned to draw attention to that lack of support and, in that I succeeded.

What concerns me is what happens the next time? Will lessons have been learned? Are my successors in the Forest Service doomed to walk the same path, share the same frustrations and meet the same fate? I see signs and fervently hope that collaborative solutions are emerging not just on the Humboldt-Toiyabe but on the other challenging resource faults lines in national forests throughout the West.

The final step is to look to the future. We cannot lose sight of our responsibility to leave a quality environment for the future. The superfund sites and abandoned mines that we spend billions on to stabilize and prevent further damage are perfect examples of waiting until the damage is done to face the issue -- and then shifting the higher cost to the taxpayer and the legacy of pollution to our children.

I do not mean to over-simplify, there are fundamental problems that even the hardest-working folks cannot easily overcome. One is the lack of market incentives to help transition to sustainable methods in industries. Shifting from dependence on non-renewable energy sources is one area that shows promise: fuel cell technology and solar advancements are emerging methods of providing energy, while reducing demand for a non-renewable resources, reducing air pollution and ultimately global warming, as well as providing jobs that can be located in rural areas. Organic agricultural products reduce ground and water pollution, bring higher prices and can be an economical small business in rural areas. There are many deteriorated landscapes and areas of poor forest health. Restoration using the equipment and skills of forest workers is a very viable idea that needs an influx of money and a change of perspective.

A paradigm shift is required in the political leadership of the rural West. In making decisions, local leaders need to take natural capital, i.e., the real dollar value or replacement value for the goods and services that we get from the land, into account. The cost of restoring degraded landscapes frequently far exceeds the value of what has been extracted. But, a plan for managing public land as a long-term trust, ensuring we are living off the interest and not depleting the capital, is possible only with the willing, civil participation of all interested parties.

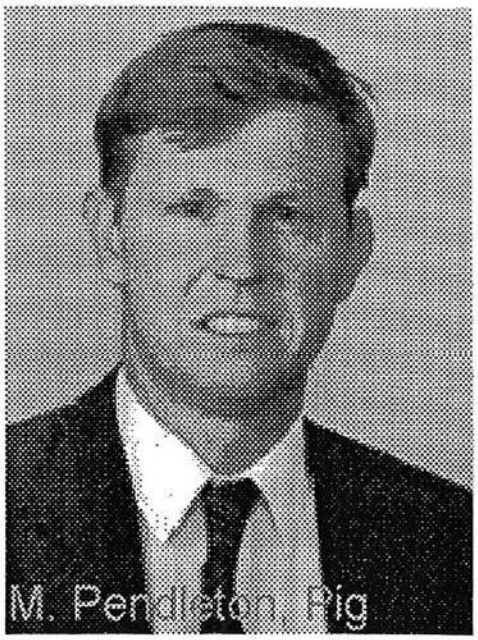
We need to be willing to collaborate on solutions rather than wanting to overpower and win. Freedom to share and hear all viewpoints was clearly seen by the crafters of the Constitution as an imperative. We need to accept the fact that we do not know everything. There is a golden opportunity to learn from our neighbors and for us to share with them our experience and knowledge. The bottom line is showing respect and civility towards others despite what you think about their opinion or in how they express their relationship with their landscape.

I suggest that our personal relationship with the land is an excellent barometer of how we relate to other people. I believe there are different levels of maturity in land relationships. A child-like attitude may lead one to take the land and its resources for granted, as if it will always be there and it will meet all of your needs. A mature attitude recognizes that you are much more transient than the land. With maturity comes the understanding that you must give and sacrifice for the sake of the relationship. What you take must be returned and never take more than you absolutely need for the

sake of those who come after you. Solutions are tough. We need to recognize that no one is going to win it all. But I remind you, this is not about winning, it is about finding balance through sustainable practices. We are in this for the long-run.

Demeaning each other will not bring about solutions, nor will it suggest to the rest of the nation that we in the West are thoughtful, reflective, inclusive individuals; people who can be trusted to make good choices and therefore deserve greater local control. If we can demonstrate to the rest of the nation that we collectively are far-sighted, cooperative stewards, we will gain the support of the rest of the nation in our efforts to reach sustainable solutions to our considerable natural resource challenges...civilly.

Michael Roy Pendleton Ph.D.
Government Accountability Project
February 12, 2002



Representing My Role As A Social Scientist And The Research I conducted While A Professor At The University Of Washington

Thank you Mr. Chairman and committee members for inviting me here today. My name is Michael Pendleton and I am representing my work as a social scientist while at the University of Washington, and specifically my published research on forest based crime, enforcement, lawlessness and timber theft. I would like to add, however, that my testimony also reflects my experience as the grandson of a legendary North West Logger, whose small logging business was bankrupted by strategic vandalism of his equipment, and my service as a working police officer in the State of Oregon where the importance of real enforcement were made apparent. This is my testimony.

The hundreds of hours that I have spent in patrol trucks with land management enforcement officers strongly indicates that public policy on these matters would be greatly enhanced were we to broaden our understanding of crime and terrorism in our national forests. It isn't that your concern with "eco-terrorism" is wrong. Rather, it is incomplete. What I know and every "on the ground" forest officer will tell you is that the vast majority of property crime and violent acts are committed not by "eco-terrorist", but by a relatively small but known group of local residents that subscribe to a twisted view of wisdom and use. The drive-by shooting of a ranger station where the offenders emptied their automatic weapons only to stop and reload for a second pass was explained by the offenders, upon arrest, as their answer to federal management of forest and parklands. In effect those inside the ranger station nearly gave their lives for performing their jobs. The drive-by shooting is but one among many examples of blown gates, car bombings and arsons where land management employees and federal property are the clear targets of violence. The examples I cite are not, however, the work of eco-terrorists but crimes committed to service a radical right philosophy that clearly advances the "take over" of national lands from federal management and the American people. I would submit that such a view is at least as worthy of a public policy response as the one advanced by eco-terrorists.

In spite of these well known, and documented cases of domestic terrorism, little has been done to address these concerns. In fact, in the wake of the Oklahoma bombings, federal legislators actually advanced legislation to disarm land management officers to include Forest Service Law Enforcement Officers. In my article concerning crime, criminals and guns in these settings, I point out the nonsensical nature of this proposed policy. Documented crime in these settings has been escalating since 1990. During my research, 255 known offenders were identified of which 85% lived in close proximity to the National Forest under study. Forest Law Enforcement Officers, on average, contacted at least one individual during their daily patrol that was visibly armed. Of all the people encountered during this research by Forest Law Enforcement Officers, 37% were visibly armed. Criminal history research on weapons offenders encountered in natural settings reveal an astonishing profile where, on average, these offenders have 7.8 prior offenses of which half were felonies. One individual in this research accounted for 48 prior offenses. To actually suggest disarming Law

Enforcement Officers in the face of this reality sent a strong message to those charged with land management.

Other, very strong signals have been sent to Forest Service Law Enforcement Officers to suggest that addressing forest crime in a meaningful way will not be rewarded. While the $40 million dollars of damage attributed to eco-terrorist groups such as the Earth Liberation Front is clearly unacceptable and should be addressed, it pales in comparison to the $100 million dollar annual loss attributed to timber theft from National Forests. Yet in spite of this chronic and well documented property crime, efforts to address this loss by Forest Service Enforcement Officers have been overtly stopped. The disbandment of the Forest Service Timber Theft Investigations Branch in 1995, and the retaliation against its whistle blowers, was perhaps the most visible effort to stifle meaningful enforcement. But others exist as well such as the systematic dismissal of large timber theft cases, and the recent presidential pardon of a convicted timber theft offender.

Even more profound efforts to limit a law enforcement response to timber theft occur as part of a complicated system of internal Forest Service practices based on the view that timber theft is nothing but a folk crime committed by basically good people. Such a view empowers organizational practices that encourage officers to "look the other way" or face real organizational pressures to conform or get out. Law enforcement officers consistently pointed to such practices as a 10% over-cut provision in timber sale contracts, known monetary thresholds of $50 thousand dollars below which there would be no follow-up investigation by central office investigators, and fatal flaws in the handling of cases submitted to law enforcement officers thus preventing prosecution. When combined with poorly equipped and funded enforcement programs these operational practices effectively discouraged meaningful pursuit of timber thieves.

The effect of systematically ignoring timber theft has been to create an uneven playing field in the timber industry for those that choose to play within the rules. More importantly to systematically ignore the theft of trees worth millions of dollars each year is as blatantly wrong and immoral as looking the other way while a corporation fix's the price of electricity as it is also stealing its employee's retirement. In both cases greed promises to bankrupt the future lives of those to follow. If there is doubt about this, all one has to do is compare the impact of unsustained forests on a displaced logger, with the views of a 59 1/2 year old Enron employee.

Based upon my research and experience it seems clear to me that meaningful policy to address the full range of crime, terrorism and lawlessness is long overdue in America's forests. The first step is to empower and fully fund meaningful law enforcement in the National Forests. The core of this effort should be built around the policy of "blind justice". This policy would simply require the full and effective enforcement of the law against ALL who choose to offend regardless of where on the political spectrum one might shop for their justification. Specifically, terrorists who offend in the name of the environmental protection or terrorist who offend in the name of the wise use movement should be found and prosecuted to the fullest. Criminals who steal trees should be treated in the same way as those criminals who destroy property. They are both crimes and those who do those things are criminals.

Anything short of the policy of blind justice will reveal a policy that is at a minimum based upon a distorted view of crime and lawlessness in our nations forests. It follows that these distortions will promote irrelevant means to manage the full array of crime that exists, often vilifying some to the exclusion of others. At its worst, anything short of a policy of blind justice will lay transparent the bias's it serves and further undermine Americans respect and confidence in the rule of law and the commitment to doing the right thing. I urge you to adopt and fully fund a policy of "blind justice" in our nations forests.

In support of my testimony I have requested that three of my articles be placed in the record. These articles are entitled: 1) "Crime, Criminals and Guns in Natural Settings: Exploring the Basis for Disarming Federal Rangers", American Journal of Police, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1996. 2) "Looking the Other Way: The Institutional Accommodation of Tree Theft", Qualitative Sociology, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1997. 3) "Taking the Forest: The Shared Meaning of Tree Theft", Society and Natural Resources, Vol. 11, 1998.

Thank you for your attention to this most important issue.

The following statement and responses were sent to Congress on March 15, 2002. Included are the 54 questions sent to Rosebraugh by Rep. Scott Mcinnis on March 1, 2002. McInnis had demanded that Rosebraugh respond by March 15. The response was sent as follows:

These are Craig Rosebraugh's responses to questions posed on 3/1/2 by a person or persons unknown. In the event any response is deemed non-responsive, Mr. Rosebraugh asserts the following objections, rights, and privileges in declining to answer all questions posed at the 12 February 2002 Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health hearing and to all questions posed by a person or persons unknown by mail and facsimile on 1 March 2002:

Mr. Rosebraugh asserts his right to have the subcommittee's clearcut ruling on all objections interposed.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. First Amendment to U.S. Constitution.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Milita, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. Fifth Amendment to U.S. Constitution.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. Ninth Amendment to U.S. Constitution.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or the people. Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

A committee of Congress can have no general powers to probe the affairs of the citizen.

The penumbral constitutional right to privacy.

The question is double and/or complex, please rephrase it.

The question is asked for an improper purpose, and/or is prejudicial and/or is designed to make witness commit perjury, contempt, or state untruths.

Mr. Rosebraugh is entitled to a transcript of the 12 February 2002 hearing, and to any other statements made on the record under oath by Mr. Rosebraugh to avoid inconsistent testimony under

oath.

The question is not pertinent or relevant to an authorized subject matter of the hearing.

The bounds of the power of the committee have been exceeded. The subcommittee, committee, or the House of Representatives are not authorized to conduct this hearing or conduct this investigation.

House rules and committee rules do not authorize these questions.

The subcommittee has failed to properly apply the House Rule XI(k)(5) to the effect that it shall investigate the witness in executive session if a public hearing might unjustly injure the reputation of a witness.

No probable cause existed for the issuance of the subpoena.

The question is unnecessary for the investigation.

1) Do you view violence against individuals, organizations and other enterprises that work and play on the national forests as a legitimate means of seeking public policy change, specifically with respect to management of the nation's forests?

Yes.

2) Do you believe that destroying Forest Service property is a legitimate means of pursuing public policy change?

Yes.

3) You claim to have never had any role in an ELF related attack, and yet you loudly proclaim the virtues of "direct action" against government and industry. If you believe so deeply in ELF's cause, so much that you encourage and recruit others to partake in that cause, why aren't you willing to engage in the acts of environmentally motivated aggression yourself?

I do not adopt any factual assumptions made in the preamble to your question. I would not be effective as a spokesperson if I were so involved.

4) There is a widely held belief that, if ELF's attacks continue to increase in frequency and magnitude as they have in recent years on the national forests and other places, it is very likely only a matter of time before human life is lost. The FBI has said this, as have many others. Do you share in the view that it's just a matter of time before someone is badly hurt or killed by the ELF?

I do not adopt any factual assumptions made in the preamble to your question. I do not know.

5) Do you still agree with this statement attributed to you in The Bear Deluxe Magazine? "If you are talking about fires, and the use of incendiary devices, there is the danger of people being near or

inside that building, or the fire could spread to another building. There are always dangers."

I do not adopt any factual assumptions made in your question. Yes.

6) In late October 1996, a Forest Service truck was firebombed, and an incendiary device that failed to detonate was found planted atop the roof of the Willamette National Forest Building. Fortunately, the device was located and removed and no one was injured. Are you familiar with this attack on the Willamette National Forest? You claim that ELF seeks to protect all life on earth, yet if this device had detonated, it is possible - indeed probable - that someone could have been seriously injured or killed. How can ELF reasonably claim to defend all life, and yet so routinely and recklessly endanger it?

I do not adopt any factual assumptions made in the preamble to your question. See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

7) Do you find it disconcerting that, when ELF firebombed forestry research labs at the Universities of Washington and Minnesota in 2001 and 2002 respectively, the fire quickly spread to other areas on both campuses, potentially endangering lives in buildings not targeted by ELF? In the case of the University of Washington, the fire spread to an adjacent library. And in the case of the University of Minnesota, the man-made fire spread to a soils testing center in the near vicinity.

I do not find it disconcerting that ELF firebombed, without physically harming anyone, research into genetic modification of our natural world for profit. Genetic engineering is a threat to life on this planet. As to the other factual allegations, I do not know whether or not they are true, so I do not feel comfortable commenting on them.

8) Are you personally concerned that one day an ELF or ALF perpetrated attack will wind up killing or wounding someone?

No, I am more concerned with massive numbers of people dying at the hands of greedy capitalists if such actions are not taken.

9) Do the Earth Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front's North American Press Office have a tax status? Are they non-profits?

9a) I do not know. Can't you ask the IRS?
9b) I do not know. Can't you ask the Oregon Secretary of State?

10) Do the Earth Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front North American Press Office receive outside donations that fund operations, income for ELF press office employs, travel expenses, legal expenses or other incidental costs? IF so, what are the sources of these donations?

I do not know.

11) Has the North American Earth Liberation Front ever received direct financial support from any

animal rights or environmental groups to support program activities?

I do not know.

12) Has the Earth Liberation Front Press Office ever received contributions from the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals? Did you ever sign, endorse, cash or deposit a check from PETA on behalf of the Earth Liberation Front Press Office?

I do not recall.

13) To the best of your knowledge, has the Earth Liberation Front or the Earth Liberation Front North American Press Office ever filed income tax returns with the IRS?

I do not know.

14) Did you have any prior knowledge whatsoever that the Earth Liberation Front intended to destroy the Vail lodge with fire?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

15) Subsequent to the attacks, have you had any conversations, received any written or electronic communications, or acquired any first or second hand information through any means identifying the perpetrators of the Vail arson?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

16) Hypothetically, if you would have had prior knowledge or after the fact knowledge about the Vail arson, or any other ELF attack, would you report it to the authorities?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

17) Do you know who Michael Conn is?

Michael Conn is a researcher at the Oregon Regional Primate Research Center in Beaverton, Oregon. Conn wastes hundreds of thousands of federal taxdollars torturing and killing monkeys, a practice which has in no way benefited human health.

18) Were you ever arrested for trespassing on the Oregon Regional Primate Center where Mr. Conn works?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

19) Why was there an index card with Mr. Conn's name and home address in your residence? Was either ELF or ALF planning to take "direct action" against Mr. Conn or his property? If not, why was Mr. Conn's name and address in your possession?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

20) Leslie James Pickering is the new spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front. To the best of your knowledge, has Mr. Pickering ever been involved in, had prior knowledge about, aided, abetted or in any way assisted in the commission of an ELF or ALF attack?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

21) David Barbarash is the spokesperson for ELF's sister organization, the Animal Liberation Front. To the best of your knowledge, has Mr. Barbarash ever been involved in, had prior knowledge about, aided, abetted or in any way assisted in the commission of an ELF or ALF attack?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

22) Rodney Adam Coronado was convicted for his role in a 1992 arson at Michigan State University. To the best of your knowledge, has Mr. Coronado been involved in, had prior knowledge about, aided, abetted or in any way assisted in the commission of an ELF or ALF attack since 1992?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

23) In a September 7, 2001 AP story you said of the February 12 hearing: "These people are trying to stop the work of the Earth Liberation Front. I'm not going to participate in any effort that is going to incarcerate any of the people involved in the ELF or stop their work." Do you have specific information that might lead to the incarceration of members of the Earth Liberation Front? If not, why are you afraid of saying something that might lead to the incarceration of ELF members? Is this the reason you chose to repeatedly plead the 5th Amendment in response to questions offered by Members of Congress during the February 12th hearing?

a) No
b) I do not accept your factual assumption in this question. It is clear you want to incarcerate ELF members. I was stating that I was uninterested in helping you.
c) I do not recall.

24) As you know, several members of this Committee wrote a number of national environmental groups, urging them to publicly condemn eco-terrorism, ELF, and, by extension, you. As you also know, all of the organizations did. Does this lack of support among national environmental groups frustrate you? What would you say in response to their condemnations of ELF and ALF?

Are you asking what I know or telling me? Did you really ask them to condemn me or did your letter not even mention me? Are you sure all of the organizations did, or are you exaggerating? Did you select only groups which must rely on the good graces of Congress for "success?"
a) No
b) Throughout the history of social movements globally,

struggles have relied upon a variety of tactics, both legal and illegal in nature. I would hope that if those groups are actually concerned with stopping the destruction of the natural environment, they would understand and support this diversity.

25) In your press statement about the Vail lodge firebombing, you said that the area slated for ski-area expansion was some of the last, best lynx habitat in North America. Do you know how long it has been since anyone - environmentalists, biologists, wildlife enthusiasts - has seen a lynx in the area that you called some of the last, best habitat for the lynx in North America?

No I do not, but that is irrelevant to the fact that the area is some of the last, best Lynx habitat in North America.

26) What role if any did you play in creating, writing and speaking in the Earth Liberation Front training video "Igniting the Revolution?" Who paid the production costs? What was the underlying purpose of this video?

a) I spoke in it.
b) I do not recall.
c) Educating the public

27) In that video, and in a number of interviews and other written accounts, you talk about how ELF prefers arson to all other forms of "direct action" because it inflicts maximum economic and symbolic damage on the target. Please elaborate on this.

I think this is accurate. I have no further elaboration to offer.

28) In the ELF's recruitment video and in other public documents, you also talk about the need to attack symbols of corporate capitalism that promote the spread of what you call "the destructive American Dream." Is this correct?

Yes.

29) When you were still serving as the Earth Liberation Front's Spokesperson, a Q & A page appeared on ELF's website called "Frequently Asked Questions About the ELF." Is this document familiar to you? Did you write this? If not, do you know who did?

I do not recall.

30) In the "Frequently Asked Questions" piece the authors listed Mt. Rushmore, the Statue of Liberty and Wall Street on a short list of "forms and symbols of capitalism [that] can be targeted successfully to greatly influence the impact the capitalist state has on life." Remember, in your video and in other places you have frequently said that firebombing is the best tactic to use in a direct action. Taken together, aren't you encouraging ELF's cronies to go out and firebomb the Statue of Liberty? Since ELF has shown no signs of slowing down since 9-11, do you still think that, on an abstract

level, it would be a good or desirable thing for the ELF to attack other symbols of capitalism in New York City, like Wall Street offices?

a) I don't know.
b) Yes.

31) Ted Kazcinski, the Unabomber, admitted in Court that he located his last two murder victims on published Earth First! hit lists. Kazcinski is now listed on an Earth Liberation Front related Website (www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk/elf.htm) as a "Prisoner of War." Do you consider Kazcinski a "Prisoner of War" and a comrade-in-arms in the struggle against corporate capitalism?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

32) In your opinion, is Kazcinski a member of the Earth Liberation Front?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

33) How do you explain this quote taken directly from an ELF-related website (www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk/elf.htm)? "Donations of support (for Kazcinsky) are needed and sincerely appreciated. If you'd like to send support funds, please write Dr. Kazcinski (if you'd like to include a few blank sheets of lines writing paper, NO stamps, it would help him avoid other bureaucratic hassles as well). Thereafter please send donations as a postal money order, blank cheque, etc. (including his name and ID number), DIRECTLY to the address listed below."

My explanation is that there is an attempt to raise donations for Dr. Kazcinski.

34) How long has ELF asked its membership to write and make donations to Kazcinski? How does this support for the Unabomber square with ELF's purported adherence to non-violence toward humans?

a) I am not aware of the ELF asking its membership to make donations to Dr. Kazcinski.
b) I don't know.

35) The Oregonian reported recently that you are attending school at Goddard College and that your master's thesis is "Rethinking Nonviolence: Arguing for the Legitimacy of Armed Struggle." With regard to your thesis, what do you mean by "armed struggle?" "Armed" in what way? In your thesis, will you argue that the time has come for armed resistance against the U.S. government?

a) a movement involving political violence.
b) I am not arguing for one specific sort of political violence.
c) I don't know, it's still a work in progress.

36) Jeffrey Luers was sentenced last year to 23 years in prison on ecoterrorism-related charges. Have you ever met or had any direct or indirect contact with Mr. Luers? What advice would you give this young man as he wastes away in prison for the next 2-plus decades? Are you at all concerned

that your fate may be the same as Mr. Luers?

a) See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.
b) I don't know.
c) no.

37) When Luers was asked how he first became involved in eco-terrorism in a recent interview conducted by EarthFirst! Journal, he responded: "I was radicalized by anti-authoritarian, anarchist beliefs as well as animal rights. I got involved first in 1997 working for CalPIRG and canvassing for the Sierra Club... Power cedes nothing without demand. The only way to bring about change is to fight for it... Using fire does two things. It destroys 'the targets,' which not only stops the destructive practice they are engaged in, but also causes severe economic damage to those responsible. It also receives media attention. Nothing is more effective at drawing attention to an issue than violence... The mainstream media has been all over it, and sympathetic. I've been given a forum to radicalize other people." Do you share these sentiments?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

38) On January 29, 2002, ELF took credit for firebombing the University of Minnesota's Microbial and Plant Genomics Research Center, which at the time was under construction. According to the Dean of the University's College of Biological Sciences, the building was being built to house genomics research focused on "finding ways to reduce use of pesticides and fertilizers in agriculture, find renewable alternatives to fossil fuels, identify new strategies for cleaning the environment, and preserve ecosystems." In what way is reducing reliance on pesticides and looking for clean energy alternatives bad for the environment?

I don't know how those objectives would be bad, but I don't take the dean's words as gospel.

39) What gives the ELF the right to impose its incredibly narrow view of environmentalism on researchers at the University of Minnesota who have literally spent their lives searching for ways to keep our environment safe, clean and healthy? What's more, what gives ELF's henchman the right to firebomb another person's property based on differences of opinion about what constitutes "true environmentalism?"

a) I do not agree with your factual assumptions and biased opinions. I am not convinced that researchers at the U of Minnesota have literally spent their lives searching for ways to keep our environment safe, clean, and healthy. I believe the ELF has the right to uphold natural law, protecting those substances which allow all of us to survive on the planet - clean air, clean water, and clean, healthy soil.
b) see answer to 39a.

40) The Southern Poverty Law Center, a renowned organization dedicated to the preservation and enhancement of civil rights, had this to say about the Earth Liberation Front in its Summer 2001

Intelligence Report: "...ELF's use of underground violence strongly resembles ex-Klansman Louis Beam's concept of 'leaderless resistance.' The ELF is composed of autonomous and secretive 'cells' that initiate terrorist acts independently, and do not communicate with or even know one another... like most groups on the radical right today, the ELF sees global capitalism as the enemy... There is an obvious ideological gulf separating the radical right, with its racist and fascist appeals, from the left-wing, environmentalist Earth Liberation Front, which advocates 'equality, social justice and... compassion for all life.' But when it comes to the current economic and political system, the two groups increasingly find themselves on the same side." How do you feel about ELF being compared to the Klu Klux Klan? IS this an accurate comparison? Do you feel a kinship of cause with "racists and fascists," as the Southern Poverty Law Center contends?

A) That is ridiculous and insulting. I would expect the Southern Poverty Law Center to have more intelligence than that.
B) No.
C) No.

41) Please define "direct action."

An action that is direct. Something done or accomplished without intermediary agents or conditions.

42) Do acts of eco-terrorism typically follow after a call for "direct action?"

I don't know.

43) When the ELF called for "direct action" to protest this hearing, and included the photos, names, and addresses of Members of Congress on the same website (www.protectcivilliberties.com), what was its purpose? Were they seeking to intimidate the Members of this Subcommittee and the witnesses?

A) I was not aware that the ELF "called for 'direct action' to protest this hearing."
B) I do not know.

44) Did you play any role in the construction of the aforementioned website calling for "direct action" in conjunction with this hearing? Did you ever have a conversation with anyone regarding the construction of www.protectcivilliberties.com?

A) yes.
B) I don't recall.

45) You claim that our environment has gotten progressively dirtier over the years. But the facts don't support that. The facts tell us that air quality has improved by 64% from 1970-2000, toxins released have declined by 45% between 1988 and 1998, and erosion was reduced 32% between 1982 and 1997. Presently, few trees are harvested off the National Forests than has been the case in a very, very long time. Isn't it true that ELF's rationale for firebombing homes and schools and government buildings is grounded in lies and self-serving propaganda rather than in facts?

No. I question the truth of the above stated "facts."

46) In an ABC News interview last year, you said that "every single social movement that has actually gained success has used a variety of tactics." In your mind, then, is ELF's relationship with mainstream environmental groups akin to a one-two punch? If so, what is your response to the countless environmental organizations who condemned ELF, and by extension you, prior to the February 12 hearing? Do you feel any disdain for mainstream environmentalists based on their unwillingness to take direct action to protect the environment?

A) No.
B) I am not aware of countless environmental organizations condemning me and ELF prior to the February 12 hearing. I prefer to respond to groups after I know what they have said. Can you please send me each organization's response?
C) No.

47) An Indiana based Internet news-service (Nuvo.net) ran a story on ELF following an April 30, 1999 ELF attack on construction and logging equipment associated with a highway expansion project near Bloomington, Indiana. The story featured the comments of an individual associated with an environmental group called Valley Watch. With regard to ELF's attack on the construction site, he said" "As a non-violent environmental activist, I can tell you that's not my style. But we're all upping our pressure these days, and I can certainly understand the frustration that leads someone to take these kinds of actions... I'm not going to condone ELF, but I'm not going to condemn them either. After all, violence against property is not violence against people." Publicly, the vast majority of mainstream environmental groups have condemned ELF, and you personally for that matter. Do you think a lot of mainstream above ground environmental groups share the sentiments of this individual from Valley Watch, public condemnations notwithstanding?

I have no idea.

48) On April 30, 2000 ELF, through you Mr. Rosebraugh, took credit for sabotaging construction and logging equipment used for a highway expansion project 45 miles from Indianapolis, Indiana. Do you remember issuing a statement of credit for ELF in conjunction with the Indiana attack?

I don't recall.

49) In an interview with an Indiana Internet news provider (www.nuvo.net) following the aforementioned attack, you went beyond merely admitting that ELF was responsible for the April 30 siege. You told the news outlet this: "I wouldn't be surprised to see more ELF direct action in the future over there." Those comments are interesting because exactly two months later, on June 30, ELF took part in a large-scale tree spiking in the same great State of Indiana, just as you had forecasted. Your prediction of additional attacks on April 30 was one of three things: (1) an incredibly good guess; (2) a prescient moment on your part; or (3) the product of direct knowledge that ELF would attack again in the area. Which one was it: a good guess, a prescient moment or direct knowledge?

A good guess.

50) Who first contacted you about serving as the spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front? How did he/she contact you?

a) Jesus Christ
b) It was a spiritual sort of thing.

51) During the time you served as spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front, how did you support yourself?

muffins.

52) During your time with the Earth Liberation Front Press Office, how large was the staff? If there were other staff, were they volunteers or working on a paid basis?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

53) Why did you resign as a spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front?

To step back from the spotlight and allow others to come forward and demonstrate their ideological and philosophical support of the ELF.

54) Do you still communicate with the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front Press Offices? If so, how often?

See all objections, rights, and privileges asserted above.

"The number-one priority of the domestic terrorism program, which I run, is ALF/ELF."

~James F. Jarboe
Domestic Terrorism Section Chief,
Counterterrorism Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation

This booklet contains all testimonies and relevant information relating to the February 12, 2002 Congressional Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health, in chronological order.

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