RESISTANCE

ECOLOGY

Preliminary Sample Issue #1



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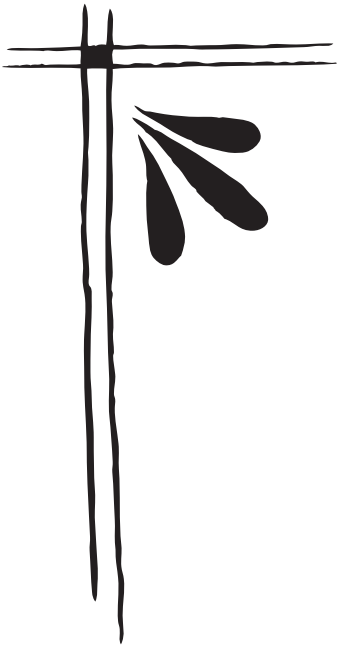
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Dear Reader,

What you hold in your hands is the preliminary copy of Resistance Ecology, the publication of the organization Resistance Ecology, based in Portland, OR. This project is meant to serve as a means of intra and inter-movement discourse & dialectic, constructive critique, and augmentation & interruption. It is oriented towards the general public and those earnestly engaged in movement building, struggle, conflict, and dissent in all of its forms, from the modest to the grandiose.

What follows is a great collection of articles and pieces written previously by friends and cohorts, who have allowed us to re-publish for our uses here. Because of financial limitations, as well as difficulties making timely, adequate appeals for original submissions, we chose to re-publish significant articles and interviews with the permission of the authors. We chose these particular pieces because we believe that they provide an accurate expression of Resistance Ecology, its analysis and its vision.

MOVEMENT BUILDING, STRUGGLE, CONFLICT, AND DISSENT IN ALL OF ITS FORMS, FROM THE MODEST TO THE GRANDIOSE

What ties this publication and all future ones together thematically is a sense that power is not located at a singular, extant origin or as the phenomena of a single, material history. Power is complex. Power is sophisticated. Power is maintained through the relationships and at the intersections of biology, species, age, race, class, gender, sex, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, economy, religion, politics, geography, and culture. Power is maintained through a system of methodical functions, like a living ecosystem. There is an ecology to power. And there must be an ecology to resisting it.

This preliminary issue is by no means a finished example of our future publications. In the future, we hope to compile original articles, campaign updates, action reports, news and analysis from you, the reader. This publication will serve as a vehicle for communication and debate. This project will be driven by the voices of the people that make up our collective movements. We hope that after reading, you will muse on the subject matter therein and feel inspired to elaborate or critique, praise or lambaste, comment on another's writing or submit an original piece. Our sincerest goal with this project is that it will stimulate engagement of the movement across geographic or ideological boundaries, catalyze dialogue on our historical and contemporary limitations, and incite discourse on the path to novel ideas, strategies, and actions for the future.

Join the conversation.

Resistance Ecology



What is "Resistance Ecology"?

Resistance Ecology is a soon to be 501(c)3 nonprofit organization based in Portland, OR. Our history stems from the ashes of the Portland Animal Defense League, a local grassroots animal rights organization. After years working on local campaigns, we set our sights on new tasks and goals. It seems to us that there is a certain division and isolation within the movement. Rather than sit idly by and continue to ignore it, we decided we would act.

We are pulling resources together into a national organization to focus on education and analysis, networking and resource sharing, opening and maintaining channels of communication, identifying strategic movement-wide targets and campaigns, and most importantly sustaining relationships *within and between* movements. Ultimately, we want to build a new movement from the ground up, one in which "animal rights" and "environmentalism" become synonymous with social justice and revolutionary politics.

Domination, hierarchy, and power originate in various complex histories, tied to various events and developments in human life. "Ecology" is used as an analogy to highlight the history and dynamics of relationships between institutions of power and those that they subject. For example: mutualism, competition, growth, parasitism, predation, commensalism, sociological functionalism as analogous to natural selection, production, energy and resource flow within the system, variation and diversity as stabilizers of power. This constitutes an "ecology of domination." Although this includes in a literal sense the derivation of power from local ecologies (resource scarcity as a fundamental underpinning of inequality in early human societies) and the ecological destruction that is a result of human imperialism, that is only a small fraction of our analysis.

Just as "ecology" is used as a framework for understanding the emergence of power, it is used as a framework for understanding how to resist it. This is where, "Resistance Ecology" as a name derives from. As a matter of course, we strive for inter-movement and intra-movement critique, dialogue and an evolving dialectic so we can better appreciate and recognize the complexity of social change. With regards to the animal liberation and radical ecology movements in the United States, this is where we want to start. Critique. Scrutiny. Innovation. Our entire goal with this organization and its projects is to begin movement building from this foundation, from an "*ecology of resistance.*"

Our Projects

Resistance Ecology has identified **four** key projects that are *prerequisites* to movement building and campaign development. That is not to say we will not be involved in campaign development and active confrontation of targets, to the contrary, these projects must be started and maintained *in order to produce* action and campaigns with the full force and foundation that they deserve:

National Conference. Although there exist several national animal rights conferences, there still lacks considerable insight into self-critique, movement development and innovation, and the politics of intersectionality. We want to provide a forum for this dialogue to take place, a place for face-to-face interaction and relationships to develop, and a place for concerted action to derive from.

Movement Publication. There was once a time where cafés, infoshops, bookstores, movement houses, and mailboxes were flooded with diverse publications. *No Compromise, Archangel, Bite Back, Earth First! Journal, Slingshot, The Beast, Live Wild Or Die, Underground, Resistance*, among many others have all played crucial roles of information spreading, maintaining communication channels, and recruitment. Decades prior, *The Black Panther*, the *SDS Bulletin*, *Osawatomie* (the Weather Underground newsletter), *The Student Voice* (the newsletter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and countless others served the same function. We wish to bring this back to the movement now. Our publication will serve as a means of discourse & dialectic, constructive critique, augmentation & interruption, and development of action.

Interactive News Website and Online Publication. As a necessary supplement to a printed publication and an annual conference, we are creating an online publication and news website. This would serve as a "central clearing house" of information and ideas, much in same, but fitted to a modern and fast-paced society. This would allow us to update and spread information more readily, as it develops, allow for a strong video component, and allow us to recruit a variety of bloggers to catalyze online communication.

Organizing Tours. The Internet alone cannot build the bridges necessary for sustainable social change. For that, we need face-to-face communication. But we also must meet people where they are at, in their own setting. That involves going beyond recruiting attendees to a stationary conference. We are planning to design tours around the country, region by region, to meet people, to address issues facing organizations, communities, and individuals and discuss the politics of Resistance Ecology. Through these efforts we hope to establish a network and lay the foundation for a cohesive, diverse, and synergistic movement that can act together as more than the sum of its parts.

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RESISTANCE ECOLOGY

A Critique of Consumption-Centered Veganism

by Adam Weitzenfeld

from* H.E.A.L.T.H. *website: eco-health.blogspot.com

INTRODUCTION: The mainstream discourse and practice of veganism as an individual's (abstention from) the consumption of animal products, I believe, is problematic in three interrelated ways: practically as an economic boycott, socially as a privileged consumerism, and philosophically as an equivocation with a vegetarian lifestyle. I propose a new understanding of veganism as a social modality with and in regard to animal others which can be distinguished from and exist independently of vegetarian consumption. However, this distinction does not so much as invalidate vegetarian consumption so much as place it in a dialectic relationship with veganism, in which it can be regarded as a valuable means, but not an end.

PRACTICALLY, positioning veganism as an economic boycott is a very limited tactic given the prevalence of global capitalism. Mainstream veganism only addresses the content (i.e. animal products) and not the form/structure (i.e. capitalism) of the global market that facilitates the exploitation of animals as commodities and obstructs people from transforming society. This is evident in several ways.

First, many mainstream vegans tend to regard the very culprits of animal exploitation as the remedy. Veganism is now sold to people in the form of products (sometimes explicitly labeled "vegan") by the very corporations (i.e. Kraft, Dean, Con-Agra, Burger King, etc.) that exist and profit off the exploitation of animals. While the availability and convenience of these products is celebrated as "victories," their support only sediments the control these corporations have over the market and government. These agri-businesses that own, produce, and distribute most of our food supply have tremendous political power winning government subsidies and combating policy changes that would abolish animal exploitation practices..

Second, even if consumer vegans extend their boycott from the individual product consumed to the company who profits from it, without also challenging the present political-economic order of capitalism in which the interests of corporations persistently trump the interests of the general public, vegans remain complicit in the system that entitles businesses to exploit animal others (and human others as well).

Besides, it's not as if animal agribusiness is an isolated phenomenon; it is sustained by what Barbara Noske calls "the animal industrial complex"—an amalgamation of feed and chemical companies, the pharmaceutical industry, representatives and officers in government, public research and educational institutions etc. that are all mutually dependent upon one another through capital. Animal agribusiness will not be overthrown until these regimes and what gives them power are transformed. Even if consumer vegans were able to make significant dents in the national market, all this will be reversed by the rise of the affluent animal-eating class in the developing world to whom animals raised nationally will be exported, or—in "a race to the bottom"— to where the industry will be exported—displacing farmers and wildlife and externalizing production costs upon their communities.

Third, veganism as an economic boycott does not even universally enable people to practice veganism. Since wholesome food is regarded as a commodity rather than a socio-political right, large populations of disadvantaged people have little to no financial and/or market access to vegetarian food and goods, and thus are severely disadvantaged from living a secure vegan life. Food will continue to be grown for profits before people's needs and preferences so long as food remains a commodity. A vegan world will not be brought about by the asocial, amoral market but by people in what Vandana Shiva calls "food democracy"—when food production and access is determined by people, not the imperialism of the market. In sum, mainstream vegan discourse and activism's focus on economic boycott is problematic primarily because, not because it is ineffective, but because it is insufficient. Without challenging the political, economic, and social structure of society, veganism as a movement will make little progress reducing and abolishing animal exploitation.

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SOCIALLY, what is so troublesome about understanding veganism as primarily an abstention from the consumption of animal products is that it facilitates a number of objectionable social practices: self-righteousness, identity politics, militancy, colonialism, classism, and privileged consumerism. These objections to veganism, however, are not universal to all vegan practices. That veganism has been a medium for such unfavorable sociality is due to veganism

being understood as a single-issue to which all other social movements are subordinated, backgrounded, or separated. Mainstream vegans like to practice veganism as only a matter of what people do to nonhuman animal bodies (i.e. whether they kill, consume, or exploit them) and insist that veganism has nothing to do with what people say or do to other people and their bodies. For instance, consumer vegans are often content calling their food or products "cruelty-free," even as human animals are exploited and tormented during the production.

While I do think most mainstream vegans have very good intentions, the effects of some of their actions and discourse alienate potential allies. Many potential allies dismiss veganism as a middle-class white people's preoccupation with exercising their privilege through being humanitarians for "voiceless," defenseless, and innocent animals without ever having to address their privilege that comes at the expense people of color and the working class. Examples of class privilege are popular vegan sound bites like "every time you sit down to eat, you can choose cruelty over compassion" and "vote with your dollars/fork." In the former, one assumes one has any choice in what one eats. In the latter, consumption and purchasing power are equated with political power (and vice versa), which suggest those with less purchasing power do not (and cannot) exercise as much political power.



The consequences of this discourse becomes evident when mainstream vegans alienate people because they cannot afford to pay for dinner or a drink at a meetup, or when they judge others for using animal products they received for free in a precarious financial situation. (The same can be said about vegans traveling abroad and those who believe they must consume animal products for their health, like pregnant vegans). Mainstream vegan privilege leads some to interpret others' imperfect vegan consumption habits as demonstrating a lack of commitment to animals, as not exercising personal moral responsibility. Although, "abolitionists" believe consumption-based veganism is the "moral baseline"—the minimal obligation one has toward animals—, I wonder how often they assist underserved people achieve their "moral baseline" than judging them for failing to meet it on their own. If vegans are sincere about creating a vegan society, veganism ought to be a social space to which people are generously provided access. Veganism will have limited success so long as it remains a luxury reserved for those with privilege, independent of human liberation movements.

PHILOSOPHICALLY, when veganism is reduced to personal consumption or political action it becomes an instrument of morality rather than an ethics itself. If veganism is primarily a lifestyle that concerns nothing other than (an abstention from) consumption, then veganism is nothing more than a proper extension of or purification of vegetarianism: veganism is simply a vegetarian lifestyle. It logically follows that, if veganism is the moral baseline, that one's consumption is the only qualification for being vegan, then one can very well be a speciesist vegan. This may sound peculiar because it is. The reason is that veganism is not merely a lifestyle or tactic, but a theoretical practice.

According to Ida Hammer, veganism is no "accident." Veganism is a revolutionary praxis: "an anti-oppression framework that views the abolition of animal exploitation as part of a wider struggle for social justice" and "leads to a way of life (or lifestyle) that is based on noncooperation with, and divestment from, exploitation."

Hammer's liberation and anti-oppression discourse is notably different from Francione and Singer's discourse on suffering and equality. While veganism, was "itself the principle, from which certain practices logically follow" for Leslie Cross, an original member of the Vegan Society, Francione "replaces veganism as the reason for these practices with what he calls 'the rights position.'" Francione fails to recognize how the principles and rights he advocates have not even stopped humans from being oppressed. For instance, Afro-Americans may have been emancipated from slavery, however a new institution was created, the prison-industrial-complex, to place them back into bondage. Hammer explains that "[t]he property status of other animals… is just one piece of the structure of human supremacy, just as human slavery was just one piece of the structure of White supremacy."

The theoretical discrepancies and historical failure of these principles can be traversed by focusing on renouncing human privilege and the corresponding institution of speciesism. "[S]ince speciesism is an ideology of oppression that legitimates the existing social order, we need to see veganism as a counter-ideology of liberation." Removing the "-ism" from veganism, risks alienating veganism—an anti-oppression framework—from being a vegan, a "consumptive pattern that is increasingly self-interested and individualized" in contemporary discourse. Actions may "speak louder than words," but veganism cannot be reduced to one's (consumptive) actions alone.The fetishization of consumption practices misplaces the potential of veganism as a transformative social and ecological justice practice.

Hammer excellently articulates the problem of consumption-based vegan identity her latest essay, "Abolition, Liberation, and Veganism:"

> [A]bolition in a negative sense is limited and destine for failure...we must also create a transformative shift towards non-exploitative institutions in order to achieved any sort of comprehensive abolition — institutions that are also socially and environmentally equitable...I'm talking about collective and institutional change on a structural level, not individual or consumer change. Adding animal-free alternatives to the already existing consumer market will not bring about comprehensive abolition. Comprehensive abolition will require revolutionary shifts in our existing social structures, which, I believe, would necessitate a restructuring of global economy away from exploitative, capitalist-based consumer markets. [my emphasis] •

Adam is the creator of H.E.A.L.T.H. (Humans, Earth, and Animals Living Together Harmoniously), a website addressing the connections of oppression in food from production to consumption. He is also the film review editor of Journal for Critical Animal Studies.



One step beyond Animal Liberation. An interview with Assoziation Dämmerung

by Marco Maurizi *from Asignus Novas website*

Founded in the summer of 2011 in Hamburg, Germany, Assoziation Dämmerung focuses their work and criticisms toward the captialist society, especially its relationship to nature and animals. They organize lectures and discussions and also work to develop anti-capitalist practice through policy interventions and working alliance.

1. Last summer, Tierrechtsaktion-Nord has changed its name in Assoziation Daemmerung. In your "manifesto" you say you made a step "outside" the animal liberation movement "without breaking with it". Can you give us a picture of the animal liberation movement in Germany and tell us why did you make such a step?

Well, Tierrechts-Aktion-Nord (TAN) was the oldest leftwing animal rights and then animal liberation group in Germany. At our transformation point at the beginning of the last year it had a history of 25 years of struggle against animal exploitation and oppression. A lot of experience had been accumulated in all these years regarding the political positions of the different groups, of the various currents, of the whole range of actions which had been applied by the movement and so on. The most important thing was, and still is, that the group knew the political development and theoretical horizon of the movement by participating in the process of making its history. And the outcome of our analysis of all these various aspects was the following: we had to take the next step in our own development, a step we had discussed internally before eventually transforming the group in a longer process until finally publishing our manifesto[1].

As in lots of other countries there are three main currents in the animal rights movement in Germany: animal welfarism, animal rights activism and militant approaches which act in favor of animal liberation. TAN started as an animal rights group at the end of the 1980s and transformed itself into an animal liberation group. We have been sharing most of the criticism of the animal liberation movement regarding the two other currents for years – roughly summarized in the argument that both remain bourgeois in theory and praxis, i.e. they help to improve the capitalist society and do not realize that it is the root of oppression and exploitation of animals today, and therefore must be abolished

to liberate humans and animals. But we have been missing self-critique of the animal liberationists for years. Especially autonomist leftwing animal liberationists, who dominate the animal liberation faction in Germany, share some of the metaphysical anti-speciesism which they presumably oppose and which is hegemonic for the whole animal rights movement, across all factions. Additionally, they adopted a type of radical leftwing liberalism we do not agree with. We do not think that the liberation of animals can be achieved by „veganizing" people individually in the first instance. It is not progressive to reiterate anti-communism and anti-collectivism, which are currently resurrected in Europe. We understand the need for vegan counterculture but it is not the central purpose of our politics. In Germany, animal liberation activism has broadly become a part of an autonomist, self-referential consumerist lifestyle for middle class students living up to their dream of rebellion. Their is no adequate theory – just vulgar post-structuralism retelling old ethical narratives, despite the readily availability of good critiques and the rich history of materialistic social theory beginning with Marx and Engels but also including Luxemburg, Gramsci or, above all, the Frankfurt School with the magnificent works of Marcuse, Adorno and Horkheimer. There has been no connection between animal liberation and other social struggles, neither in the animal rights nor in the animal liberation movement, although animal liberationists always affirm that they strive for the liberation of animals and humans.

These are not problems of the animal liberation movement alone. Feminists, anti-racists and others have made the same experience. But since we always have been active members and observers of the animal liberation movement we noticed that these problems are interwoven in the matrix of our movement today. So we tried to address these problems in various forms: discussions, events, workshops, texts and so on. But in the end we concluded that we need a new framework to overcome these fundamental obstacles and to live up to the slogan One struggle – One fight. So the core of the whole process in our group was the transformation of a single-issue animal liberation group into a radical leftwing group working on the basis of a historical materialist approach to social relations which integrates animal liberation on a theoretical as well as on a practical level. We still adhere to animal liberation as one decisive issue of today's collective revolutionary struggle but the forms in which we have been active, in which we thought and worked are not appropriate anymore. We have to work together with other progressive groups, organisations and activists to form a front of those who are still convinced that we need a movement that ends the terrible social relations that dominate society today in all its aspects. So, our transformation does not only include a step out of the animal rights/liberation movement as it is today, but also a proposal for new politics, new coalitions,

new networks and new ways to promote animal liberation as a part of an anti-capitalist revolutionary process.

2. Marxist politics has always pitched the concreteness of revolutionary politics (base) against the abstractness of bourgeois ethics (superstructure). From the other side, the anti-speciesist movement believes that the moral struggle for animal equality goes far deeper than humanist politics, since it attacks the very roots of power and property relations. So it seems quite difficult to combine them. How do you deal with that problem?

First, one has to state that the dialectics between base and superstructure has been misused historically – by Marxists and by Anti-Marxists. One neither can claim that the base determines all that is happening in the superstructure (vulgar materialism) nor can we conceptualize the superstructure as a completely independent authority (philosophical idealism). Both are relatively independent, and work on the basis of partly autonomous mechanisms. But secondly, we have to begin our analysis of the relationship between human and animals in the capitalist class society with its material relations, i.e. the relations of production. There is a „materialist primacy" or an „anti-idealist reservation" in social theory that guarantees us that our analysis does not fall back into idealist or metaphysical philosophical constructions. Therefore it is – third – an illusion, a mistake and ideological to argue that the moral struggle for animal equality moves far beyond the materialist critique of power and property relations. It's the other way around. We have to look at the capitalist relations of production to understand e.g. the bourgeois moral/ethics of Jeremy Bentham, Peter Singer and other Utilitarian philosophers, and to understand the role animals play against their will in the praxis of capitalist societies. Nevertheless, we have to analyze and criticize the various ideologies, including e.g. the dichotomy of animals and humans, to fully understand why it is possible that animals are systematically tortured and killed. Therefore, we – fourth – can conclude the following: We start our analysis of the social and historical specific relations between animals and humans with an examination of the economic and political praxis in a given society to explore the reasons why and how animals are mistreated, enslaved, tortured and killed. And then we find out by which ideologies theses practices are legitimized, obscured and conveyed. Finally, we look for the reciprocal influences and interconnections.

3. What do you think of the generation of anti-speciesist philosophers (Singer, Regan ecc.) that has been for decades the theoretical bible of the animal liberation movement? And how do you think one should philosophically ground the struggle for animal freedom?

Peter Singer and Tom Regan historically have some undeniable merits, particularly in the Anglophone world. They popularized the case of animal rights in the academic discourse even though

they did it in a completely bourgeois way. They gave the animal rights movement an academic and audible voice in two of the politically and economically most important countries (the US and Great Britain). Nearly all leftwing intellectuals abstained from intervening in the young movement although there were some important thoughts in the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor W. Adorno's writings, which could have been a useful start for the movement. Even in the Works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, that have been harshly criticized for being Promethean, one finds very important hints to conceptualize a critical theory that includes the roles of animals and to develop political standpoints for a then still inexperienced political movement. And finally, Singer – especially in Animal Liberation and Practical Ethics – shows the double standards of anthropocentric and speciest thinking which lots of people – even progressive ones – repeat every time they talk frankly about animals rights.

So, Singer and Regan were important for the development of the animal rights movement in the US and in Great Britain, but their influence has constantly diminished over the decades, since traditional anarchists', Post-structuralists' and finally Marxists' begun to gain space. And today there are fortunately some currents even in the animals rights movement that do not refer to Singer's and Regan's approaches any more. In Germany, Singer and Regan were not really important since their discourse was too radical for the animal welfarists and too bourgeois for the animal rights and liberation movement, although there were German philosophers, e.g. Ursula Wolf, who taught their ethical principals.

We think that the works of Singer and Regan have never been useful to ground a theory of animal liberation or to design a truly critical thinking in favor of animal liberation because they are bourgeois moralists who do not understand the barriers of ethics or positive moral philosophy. These approaches rely on a methodological individualism – a core feature of bourgeois thinking – , abstract, i.e. unhistorical assumptions about humans and human-animal relations, and they abstract from concrete material social structures and so on. So their works are based on a kind of philosophy that was radically criticized and disproved by a lot of leftist theorists throughout the middle of the 19th century, beginning with Marx and Engels. For example, Marx' critique of Jeremy Bentham in Capital is still valid for utilitarian philosophies today, regardless of the specific current they belong to. Marx polemicises against Bentham by saying that Bentham is the "soberly pedantic and heavy-footed oracle of the 'common sense' of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie" (Capital Vol. I: 758), who assumes "with the naïveté (…) that the petty bourgeois (…) is the normal man" (Capital Vol. I: 759) on whom he can ground his theory. One could conclude that Singer plays the same role in the post-war period of the 20th century.

On the contrary, one should ground the political struggle for animal liberation in a critical social theory, beginning with Marx and Engels and including the critique of ideology of the Frankfurt School and other insights by critical thinkers. Rosa Luxemburg's notion of imperialism, for example, can be very useful to understand the commodification of animals and the rest of nature under capitalism to accumulate capital and to expand the areas of investment of finance capital. And her wonderful materialist understanding of suffering that binds the liberation of humans and non-human animals together is absolutely overwhelming. These are the sources out of which radical and critical thinking pours.

4. Marx' analysis of capitalism seems to have no room for the exploitation of animals. Do you think it should be "updated" in some way?

Yes and no. It is wrong to say that Marx and Engels developed a complete or coherent critique of all the destructive tendencies capitalism develops, especially with regard to the damages the capitalist relations of production inflict upon nature and particularly upon animals. But the critique of political economy is the basis on which we can rest a historical materialist critique of their exploitation and domination. For example, take the two following sentences which make clear why one can say without any difficulty that Marx was the first ecologist and has at least a partial understanding of the dialectical difference between humans and non-human animals:

1. "Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life." (CW, Vol. V, The German Ideology)

2. "The capitalist production (…) only develops the techniques and the degree of combination of the social process of production by simultaneously undermining the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the worker." (Capital, Vol. I, 638)

The first tells us that we cannot distinguish man and animals by abstract features like reason, philosophical categories, language etc., but by the process of organizing the social production and reproduction, i.e. by the historical specific form of social work. The second phrase tells us – still in a very abstract way – that the very fundamental process of capitalist accumulation leads to a rising destruction of nature including animals.

Finally, Marx shows us a way how to exit the dilemma of social reproduction and destruction of nature. He writes "that cultivation — when it proceeds in natural growth and is not consciously

controlled (…) — leaves deserts behind it" (MEW 32: 53). Thus, referring to Marx, we can built a "solidarity of life" (Max Horkheimer) only by organizing an anti-capitalist transformation of the existing social relations.

These insights alone show sufficiently how important Marx and Engels' works are for a critical social theory of animal liberation.

5. Do you believe that a true revolution in human-animal relations can only take place inside the political frame of a global anti-capitalist movement? Don't you think that the animal interests will be "swallowed" by it? That every time it comes to choose between human and animal freedom you will be obliged to choose the first for the sake of unity?

We think that a reconciliation of nature and man is only feasible by the real movement that abolishes the present state of things, i.e. the capitalist social formation including all instances of capitalist society ranging from the economy to culture industry.

And yes, on the one hand there is a danger that a wide-ranging anti-capitalist movement absorbs the case of animal liberation. But on the other hand, there is also the danger of being absorbed by bourgeois movements that try to reform capitalism on behalf of exploited and oppressed animals without ever abolishing violence against them and by integrating the next oppositional movement to capitalism – comparable to other green movements. Finally, these problems can only be solved by political struggles against both tendencies by applying Rosa Luxemburg's strategy of Revolutionary Realpolitik to the struggle for animal and human liberation.•

[1]Assoziation Dämmerung's manefesto can be found at: http://www.assoziation-daemmerung.de/social-theory-ideology-critique-and-class-struggle/

Shadowboxing: An Animal Liberationist Perspective on the Conservative Administration, The Commercial Seal Hunt, and #InuitCounterProtest

by Dylan Powell ***-from* Live Free Collective *website***

Summary
What I put forward below is my sincere belief that the Conservative administration is using the Seal Hunt as manufactured wedge between Inuit communities and Animal Rights activists. What follows is an animal liberationist perspective - a perspective grounded in the knowledge that the liberation of other animal species from human society cannot be achieved in isolation of other forms of oppression, power and domination. Shadowboxing has a dual meaning here - in that the Conservative Administration is pretending to fight on behalf of Inuit communities and as such pitting Inuit communities vs. Animal Rights activists in a fight where no such opponent exists. It is my hope that this will provide a critical counter to the intentions and motivations of the Conservative Administration, lead to direct consultation on the issue between communities and foster a demand for critical understanding of treaty rights, hunting rights, whiteness and settler colonialism within the animal rights movement.

Background
Before I get into the heart of the issue I want to steal something from a friend who I saw talk recently. That talk was about revolution, and specifically, revolution before our countries become "revolt proof" through hyper technological forms of surveillance and repression. Before he got into that talk he gave a background on the his own experience with state repression, his experience in prisons and his organizing. The thinking was that if people are going to speak on serious topics, topics as serious as revolution, then they need to at least be upfront about what gives them the legitimacy to speak on that issue.

I grew up on the Haldimand Tract, in Dunnville, O(N) (Port Maitland to be more specific). I grew up in a family that had generations of business relationships and friendships with Haudenosaunee of the Grand River folks (Six Nations).

My grandfather would sell fish and trade in hunted animals with friends on the reserve and this relationship was carried on by my father. In both instances it drew ire from other local business leaders and settler community members. My fathers small business has proudly flown the Unity flag, hired consistently from the Reserve and done so even in the face of serious business consequences. In turn, the relationships he has developed have been there when called on to help mitigate and stop property disputes, illegal development and counter attempts by the Canadian Government to tax my father's waterfront business (he runs a small shipyard). I was raised with the knowledge that I am a settler. That I am obligated to respect the Haudenosaunne and to respect treaty rights if I am to share this land and that I am to do this not just when convenient.

As I got older I began to act on these issues locally by organizing film screenings of the documentary Six Miles Deep - a chronicle of the reclamation of Douglas Creek Estates, now known as Kanonhstaton "The Protected Place." I screened the film numerous times in Dunnville - which is in the Six Miles area that was granted to the Haudenosaunee. I was not connected to an academic institution, or union, or even solidarity group or collective. I did this, along with another local friend Eric Smith, because we realized our position on stolen land. A while longer after these screenings Eric and I both got involved in solidarity organizing at Kanonhstaton, through the more established solidarity networks. Since that time I have been involved in organizing the April 28th Coalition march, doing court support and fundraising for Haudenosaunee Land Defenders, organizing speaking events for Haudenosaunee activists, organizing marches, answering the call out for allies as much as possible at bridge closures, school supply demos and work site shut downs and also tried to do what I can to provide direct support for folks like providing transport for folks back and forth across the Border. I don't mention these things to gain credit, or because I feel like I should be complimented, but to hopefully illustrate that I am drawn to these issues not as an academic drive by ethnographer, or as some passing activist fad, but out of a life long commitment to recognizing my position as a settler and my obligation to honouring the Guswenta (Two Row Wampum). I also do not want to convey that these communities are homogeneous - they are not. Solidarity organizing will look radically different within each community, and obligations to enter a relationship will be different. I have not organized directly, or indirectly, with Inuit folks in Northern communities affected by the seal hunt. I give this background to hopefully illustrate that if I err I am earnest in trying to understand treaty rights, respect autonomy and sovereignty. I take these issues extremely seriously.

Aside from this organizing, my primary organizing has been in the animal and

earth liberation movements. Aside from my experiences I have spent a good amount of time trying to learn the history of those movements. I know that these are movements that are largely acritical of whiteness, privilege, and devoid of a larger critique of power and domination. I know that many experiences that folks have had with members of my community have not been positive. In doing solidarity organizing I have made bringing these issues into these movements a priority - physically bringing vegans and animal liberationists to Kanonhstaton, site shut downs, the Cayuga Courthouse, and bringing Haudenosaunee folks up to this community to do speaking events and shows. I do not particularly enjoy online writing, but I have tried my best in those situations to chart a new course as well and have always tried to use the Guswenta as a guide. Many of the animal liberation folks in my community have a synthetic felt Guswenta sewed onto their jackets and through this organizing my community in Niagara has developed a reputation for having a broad based critique of power and domination and also for walking the talk.

When #IdleNoMore took off we called on animal liberationists to support; when the local Sun Media paper tried to create a settler panic in response to a traditional Haudenosaunee hunt we responded with a statement and we joined with others and marched a Giant Two Row through the largest downtown in the Niagara Region.

The relationships have not been without a share of blowback - everything from dismissive settler allies (settler leftists who are uncomfortable and incapable of understanding of other animals as living, breathing, sentient creatures), to folks on all sides falsely assuming we are “pro-life” or that we will betray them whenever an issue concerning animal use arises. Solidarity is built over the span of decades, and destroyed and built anew each and every night. We recognize this.

Correcting the past behaviors and mistakes of a movement with no critique of settler colonialism, erasure, and genocide, is not going to happen overnight but through acknowledging the land we are on and working in solidarity as a condition of our participation as allies to other animal species also on this land.

We have experienced something extremely powerful in both communities finding common ground. Many Onkwehonwe communities have a traditional critique of capitalism and the commodification of other animals species (or nations). “All my relations.” Where many vegans and “animal rights” activists focus on domesticated farmed animals, many Onkwehonwe communities have a much stronger critique of habitat destruction and the real drivers for the destruction of animals and wildlife. There is immense power in these communities understanding the specificity of each issue - and also

the ways in which these issues intersect (more on that later).

The Conservative Agenda

The Conservative Administration has been long focused on a strategy of leveraging the well-being of Inuit hunting communities in response to the European Union Commercial Seal Hunt Ban. Since the passing off the ban in 2010, the Conservative Government and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans have presented Inuit Hunters as a face for the issue, even though the EU ban makes an exemption for traditional Inuit hunting as well as commercial Inuit use. Inuit hunters themselves represent 3% of the seal hunt market, and similar to other "resource extraction" that percentage is largely at the kill level - far removed from the mark-up and profit of industries farther along the product chain.

The Conservatives have spent large sums of money attempting to introduce seal meat (for the first time) into the Chinese market, fighting the EU ban at the WTO, monitoring seal hunt opposition, as well as using advertising and online disruption. These strategies have also been used by this administration to disrupt opposition to the Tar Sands, and for example by Immigration Minister Jason Kenney to do damage control for his retrograde immigration policies. In this instance, the Conservatives have been more successful in their strategy of 'divide and conquer' - presenting the Inuit Hunt (which is not banned) as the face of the issue and pitting Inuit vs. "Animal Rights" activists. This was highlighted when earlier this week the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) - which supports the EU ban, cancelled their "International Day of Action for Seals" event when an #InuitCounterProtest event was organized. The March 16 event, which was to be held on what is typically the International Day of Action for Seals, was intended to be a family-friendly event in celebration of seals and to show support for the citizens of the European Union and their ban on the sale of commercial seal products and the Atlantic settler commercial industry. IFAW organized and intended it to be a peaceful and positive show of support – not a protest. However, this planned "counter-protest" was intended, by its very nature, to be confrontational.

I have also witnessed intense blowback against animal rights activists on social media and on list-serves. This blowback has conflated opposition to the Commercial Settler Atlantic Seal Trade with opposition to Inuit traditions. What is missing is that animal rights organizations involved in opposing the Commerical Settler Atlantic Seal Trade purposefully do not target or focus or criticize the Inuit Hunt and treaty rights. When pressed, all of the folks pushing the blowback are either incapable of providing examples, relate back to the overall inability of the animal rights movement to broadly respect treaty rights, or simply ignore the request.

One particular list serve email called the anti-sealing movement a "purely colonial enterprise" and went on to list numerous instances where the

Canadian state has used other animal species as a way to inflict damage on Inuit communities. It is completely lost on this person, and many others, that the Conservative administration is, at best, leveraging Inuit communities to shield and support the settler hunt, and at the worst purely posturing and shadowboxing - pretending to fight hard on the issue for political capital and using AR communities as a scapegoat to wedge.

The United States banned Commercial Seal Hunt products back in 1972. Many countries have enacted bans since. The Conservative administration, and many others, have seen the writing on the wall on this issue for some time. The commercial seal hunt is in collapse. The EU ban, if fought and won at the WTO, will be brought forward again with language that will pass any legal challenge. Also, there is no proposed new golden market in China. The Conservative Government has knowingly misrepresented this industry to communities in order to extract political capital - electoral votes on the East Coast and leverage in Northern Communities. Their shadowboxing allowed them to gain this political capital - while focusing the fall out and backlash on the collapse on animal rights activists and organizations. They have known, for at least three years at this point, that this industry's demand has dried up completely.

They have done nothing substantive to transition or ensure alternative economic options for folks on the East Coast, or for Inuit communities in the North. With all of the development projects currently slated for the resource rich North, the collapse on the Inuit seal hunt industry is political gold for the Conservatives. If they can collapse the economy, pit traditional communities against environmentalists and animal rights activists, and walk away looking like the good guy they have pulled off a major political victory. With the latest flare up, these interests are using the power of #idlenomore to push the issue - playing off of the grassroots groundswell and the historic inability of these communities and movements to find a solid coalition politic.

Four main lies uphold this work 1) that the AR movement and groups like IFAW do or have ever campaigned against Inuit hunts for seals 2) that the EU seal ban is an attack on Inuit traditional way of life 3) that if Inuit folks fight hard enough against these groups the market will return, and that 4) the Conservatives are doing "everything they can" to ensure the long term economic sustainability of Northern and Atlantic communities. That so many solid and critical folks on the left have accepted these lies and acritically adopted the Conservative administration strategy is terrifying and has extreme long term implications for two communities who need to work together.

A Coalition Politic

More work needs to be done, at a rapid pace, in animal advocacy at the global

and grassroots level to understand treaty rights, settler colonialism, and how whiteness and privilege surround issues of animal use. I am committed to this work no matter how the successful the Conservatives are at pitting these communities against each other. More work also needs to happen in regards to direct consultation. These groups need to be talking to each other directly, not through the Conservative administration, the press or social media. It is not enough for AR groups to merely point out that their position, and the position of these bans, makes explicit exception for the Inuit Hunt.

Members of those Inuit communities understand the importance of the Hunt on their local economy and do not trust the intentions of an animal rights movement that they have felt to be at best unresponsive and at worst overtly racist. However, it will be impossible to stop the Conservative administration from wedging this issue if we don't build relationships. The long term implications of an outright split could be disastrous to confronting large scale resource extraction in the North and transition for Northern (and even Atlantic Settler) communities dealing with the fall-out from the commercial seal hunt collapse.

As the larger #idlenomore movement makes this issue a focus, the wedge is driven further between communities who should be organizing together against environmental racism, factory farms, pollution, habitat destruction, capitalism and more.

A similar process is playing out right now in the migrant justice community as the Kenney administration is pitting the labour movement against the migrant worker community and elements of the Canadian labour movement are taking the bait. It should come as no surprise that the Conservative administration intends to create wedges to isolate and focus different social justice communities against each other. We should be highly critical and suspicious when our own organizing matches their policies and objectives. Are we to really believe that the Conservative administration takes Inuit treaty and hunting rights seriously? If we don't at least ask that question we are walking down a very dangerous path. •

Dylan Powell is an organizer in St. Catharines, Ont. Co-Founder of Marineland Animal Defense, Niagara Animal Defense League and the Live Free Collective, Dylan is active in the animal and earth liberation movement, as well as involved in solidarity organizing with the Haudenosaunee of the Grand River and migrant justice advocacy.

Healthy Food as Self–Defense

by lauren Ornelas ***from* Appetite For Justice *website***

> **"We thought if we gave the people food, they might want clothing. If we gave them clothing, they might want housing. If we gave them housing, they might want land, and if they had land, they might want some abstract thing called freedom."**
> **—Elaine Brown, 1992**

Last year, my huband and I attended an event with some of the leading food justice advocates in the Bay Area, including one of the founding members of the Black Panther Party (BPP), David Hilliard. The event took place in Vallejo and encouraged people to get involved with food justice in the community.

After the event, I contacted David as I wanted to share with him the work Food Empowerment Project had done on access issues in Santa Clara County, and I was interested in learning more about the food programs organized by the BPP in the 1960s and '70s.

During this meeting, David asked if we would work with him and the Intercommunal Institute for Research and Social Change (IIRSC - a project of the Huey P. Newton Foundation, which he is the director of) on access issues in Vallejo.

Since then we have been busy doing research on Vallejo and updating our tools with the volunteer help of our intern from Stanford, Emily Alsentzer, and sociologist Dr. Carol Glasser.

David and I have also had some enriching conversations about activism and what the BPP stood for, and so much of it is truly relevant today.

But what has also come out of this is a better understanding of the BPP and Huey P. Newton. I have been incredibly lucky to sit with David and watch old TV interviews of Huey as well as listen to interviews of him. His integrity was something I feel so many leaders lack today. In one of the interviews he is asked his opinion of someone (whom the interviewer knew he was not fond of), and Huey stated that he was not going to say anything publically against this person as he had not said anything publically against him.

And for those of you who know me and how I feel about similar issues in the animals rights movement, I particularly liked this statement by him: "Too many so-called leaders of the movement have



been made into celebrities and their revolutionary fervor destroyed by the mass media… The task is to transform society; only the people can do that – not heroes, not celebrities, not stars."

And as incredible as it is to hear the interviews and be blown away by this articulate, holistic and humble man's insights, it is tough to realize that, in some ways, very little has changed.

What the BPP is mostly known for today is arming themselves for self-protection.

And yet, rarely discussed is their full Ten Point Program approach to self defense "in terms of political empowerment, encompassing protection against joblessness and the circumstances that excluded blacks from equal employment opportunities, against predatory business practices intended to exploit the needs of the poor; against homelessness and inferior housing conditions; against educational systems that denigrate and miscast the histories of oppressed peoples; against a prejudiced judiciary that convicts African Americans and other people of color by all-white juries; and finally, against the lawlessness of law enforcement agencies that harass, abuse and murder black with impunity."

I would argue (if I even needed to) that all of the issues listed above are still, unfortunately, real concerns facing communities of color in the US.

In his introduction to The Huey P. Newton Reader, David goes on to say, "Still, it was the police patrols and not our work on behalf of jobs and housing that won the Black Panthers immediate notoriety."

And yet, some of the lasting impact of the Black Panther Party is their work on food issues.

In January 1969, the Panthers would cook and serve breakfast to poor inner city youth in the area – it started in Oakland and they were eventually set up in cities across the country. The program fed thousands of kids across the US. According to the Panthers, "Children cannot reach their full academic potential if they have empty stomachs."

Hmm….it seems they knew a long time ago what researchers are still working out: students perform better when they are well-nourished.This and their free grocery giveaways were part of their Survival Programs.

Food Empowerment Project, which in comparison is a very young organization, is honored to continue our work on food justice with members of the IRRC, who have been pioneers in looking out for the people.•

lauren Ornelas is the founder/director of the all-volunteer Food Empowerment Project, a vegan food justice nonprofit seeking to create a more just world by helping consumers recognize the power of their food choices. They work in solidarity with farm workers, advocate for slave-free chocolate and focus on access to healthy foods in communities of color and low-income communities.

"Poverty to Prison Pipeline"

by Josh Harper

After I was convicted in the SHAC 7 case I spent several months on house arrest awaiting sentencing. Staring down the barrel of who-knows-how-long in prison gave new meaning to anxiety. In an effort to prepare myself I tried to learn what I could about the "criminals" I would soon be housed with.

Everything I read about federal prisons reassured me that I would be meeting "a different class of criminal." These were the big timers with a mind for crime, the men who crossed state lines in the course of their violations or while fleeing afterwords. I should ready myself, the books said, to be held alongside people who committed complex fraud and white collar thievery, bank robbers, and so on. These assertions, almost without exception, were nonsense.

When I turned myself into the Federal Detention Center at Sheridan, Oregon in 2006 the men I met were not the movers and shakers of the underworld. By and large they were poor people who had committed small scale crime to fund their drug habits. Their imprisonment meant nothing in terms of slowing the supply of narcotics to those who seek them, and they would receive nothing inside that would lead to them changing their lives upon release- not education, not job training, nothing. It quickly became clear to me that the real purpose of the war on drugs is a steady supply of raw human material to fill the needs of the prison industrial complex. The people at the top of the drug pyramid are left alone to make sure the supply never ends. Those men own airplanes and boats, they worked with bankers who laundered the money, and they had lawyers and out-of-country vacation homes that kept them safe from the short arm of the law. It is only the pawns who end up behind bars, and that suits the system fine.

movement for animal liberation should not mirror the war on drugs

It is often said that the war on drugs is a failure, and unless you are one of the people whose income is reliant upon that war the statement is true. (If you are the head of a prison guards union, you might think

otherwise.) But this isn't an article about that: this is an article about slaughterhouse workers.

In 2012 Mercy for Animals released horrifying undercover footage of workers inside a Butterball factory in North Carolina brutalizing birds. Surprisingly, local prosecutors brought charges. Unsurprisingly, the charges were not brought against management, owners, or executives in the company. All of those who were indicted were among the working poor. I can not forgive the cruelty of these people, but I do know enough that their imprisonment will mean nothing for animals for the same reasons that the war on drugs means little to communities afflicted by by drug related violence. The people at the top of Butterball are still at the top, and they are the ones who own the slaughterhouses, the advertising budgets which create demand, the refrigerated trucks and distribution networks, and so. The murder of these birds will continue, and so long as capitalism reigns there will always be desperate, impoverished people to fill the roles left behind by those sent to jail for the cruelty their bosses demand.

While I am sure that Mercy for Animals has the best of intentions, I also know how non-profit corporations work. When these men were sent to jail for brutalizing birds, MFA press released each new sentencing as a victory for the animals. (Those turkeys who were still being killed would probably be confused by this news.) Each time these press releases are sent, they will likely be followed by fundraising appeals. My fear is that imprisoning and scapegoating the poor will become profitable, and worse, will distract otherwise good organizations from targeting the people who actually control the industries that oppress non-humans.

The movement for animal liberation should not mirror the war on drugs. We need to have tactics and strategies in place that name, target, and defeat our real opponents rather than simply creating another poverty-to-prison pipeline.•

Josh Harper is a long time animal liberationist hailing from the northwest. His activism and advocacy for direct action have gained him federal attention far too many times, including multiple grand jury subpoenas, arrests, house raids, and eventually 3 years in prison as one of the SHAC 7. Since his release he has focused on preserving the history of militant earth and animal liberation movements.

Prisoner Support List: a work in progress

Supporting prisoners is a process of learning. The list below is by no means complete, information changes rapidly, and the Bureau of Prisons is not a model of transparency. This list reflects only a small fragment of the extensive scale of political imprisonment. Those prisoners listed below do not necessarily reflect the ideology or perspective of Resistance Ecology, and Resistance Ecology does not necessarily support the actions that they are being accused of. Nevertheless, it is necessary that we persist in our efforts to support those incarcerated as products of systematic repression and the Prison Industrial Complex.

We encourage the reader to research these prisoners' cases to learn about the history of their respective movements and the context of their captivity. We also encourage the reader to draw parallels, whenever appropriate, across those listed as a testament to the interlocking relationships among diverse movements and struggles.

Abdullah, Haki Malik (s/n Michael Green) # C-56123
PO Box 3456, Corcoran, CA 93212

Abu-Jamal, Mumia #AM 8335
SCI-Mahanoy, 301 Morea Rd., Frackville, PA 17932
Birthday: April 24, 1954

Acoli, Sundiata (Squire) #39794-066
FCI Cumberland, P.O. Box 1000, Cumberland, MD 21501
Birthday: January 14, 1937

Africa, Charles Simms #AM4975
SCI Retreat, 660 State Route 11, Hunlock Creek, PA 18621
Birthday: April 7, 1956

Africa, Debbie Sims #006307
451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238
Birthday: August 4, 1956

Africa, Delbert Orr #AM4985
SCI Dallas Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612
Birthday: April 7

Africa, Edward Goodman #AM4974
301 Morea Road, Frackville, PA 17932
Birthday: October 21, 1949

Africa, Janet Holloway #006308
451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238
Birthday: April 13, 1951

Africa, Janine Phillips #006309
451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238
Birthday: April 25, 1956

Africa, Michael Davis #AM4973
SCI Graterford, Box 244, Graterford, PA 19426-0244
Birthday: October 6, 1955

Africa, William Phillips #AM4984
SCI Dallas Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612
Birthday: May 12, 1956

Al-Amin, Jamil Abdullah # 99974-555
USP Florence ADMAX, P.O. Box 8500, Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: October 4, 1943

Azania, Zolo #4969
Indiana State Prison, 1 Park Row, Michigan City, IN 46360
Birthday: December 12, 1954

Bell, Herman #79C0262
Great Meadow Correctional Facility 11739 State Route 22, P.O. Box 51, Comstock, NY 12821-0051
Birthday: January 14, 1948

Bomani Sababu, Kojo (Grailing Brown) #39384-066
USP McCreary, P.O. Box 3000, Pine Knot, KY 42635

Bottom, Anthony Jalil #77A4283
Attica Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 149, Attica NY 14011-0149
Birthday: October 18, 1951

Bowen, Joseph AM-4272,
1 Kelley Drive, Coal Township, PA 17866-1021
Birthday: January 15, 1948

Bowers, Veronza #35316-136
USP Atlanta, P.O. Box 150160, Atlanta, GA 30315
Birthday: February 4

Burton, Fred "Muhammad" AF 3896
SCI Somerset, 1590 Walters Mill Rd,
Somerset, PA 15510
Birthday: December 15, 1946

Campa, Rubén #58733-004
(envelope addessed to Rubén Campa,
letter addressed to Fernando Gonzáles)
F.C.I. Safford, P.O. Box 9000, Safford,
AZ 85548
Birthday: August 18, 1963

Chubbuck, Byron Shane (Oso Blanco)
#07909-051
USP Florence - High, P.O. Box 7000,
Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: February 26, 1967

Conway, Marshall Eddie #116469
Patuxent Institution, P.O Box 700,
Jessup, MD 20794
Birthday: April 23, 1946

Dunne, Bill #10916-086
USP Pollock, P.O. Box 2099, Pollock,
LA 71467
Birthday: August 3

Fitzgerald, Romaine "Chip" #B-27527
Kern Valley State Prison, A-5-110
P.O. Box 5101, Delano, California
93216
http://www.freechip.org/
Birthday: April 11, 1949

Ford, Patrice Lumumba #96639-011
USP Pollock, P.O. Box 2099, Pollock,
LA 71467

Gilbert, David #83A6158
Auburn Correctional Facility, P.O. Box
618, Auburn, NY 13021-0618
Birthday: October 6, 1944

González Claudio, Avelino
#09873-000
FCI Ashland, P.O. Box 6001, Ashland,
KY 41105

Gonzalez Claudio, Norberto
#09864-000
Unit G Room 15 DWWDF
950 High St. Central Fall, RI 02863
Birthday: May 27, 1945

Guerrero, Antonio #58741-004
FCI Marianna, P.O. Box 7007,
Marianna, FL 32447
Birthday: October 18, 1958

Hammond, Jeremy #18729-424
MCC New York, 150 Park Row, New
York, NY 10007
Birthday: January 1985

Hayes, Robert Seth #74-A-2280
Sullivan Correctional Facility, P.O. Box
116, Fallsburg, NY 12733-0116
Birthday: October 15, 1948

Hernández, Alvaro Luna #255735
Hughes Unit, Rt. 2, Box 4400,
Gatesville, TX 76597
Birthday: May 12, 1952

Hernández, Gerardo #58739-004
USP Victorville, P.O. Box 3900,
Adelanto, CA 92301
Birthday: June 4, 1965

Hilton, Freddie (Kamau Sadiki)
#0001150688
Augusta State Medical Prison, Bldg
23A-2
3001 Gordon Highway, Grovetown,
GA 30813
Birthday: February 19

Hoover, Larry #86063-024
Florence ADMAX, P.O. Box 8500,
Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: November 30, 1950

Ka'bah, Abdullah Malik (aka Jeff Fort)
#92298-024
USP Florence ADMAX, P.O. Box 8500,
Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: February 20, 1947

Kambui, Sekou (William Turk)
#113058
(envelope addressed to William Turk,
letter to Sekou)
Bibb County Correctional Facility Unit
A1-25A
565 Bibb Lane, Brent, AL 35034
Birthday: September 6, 1948

Khabir, Maumin (aka Melvin Mayes)
#09891-000
MCFP Springfield, P.O. Box 4000,
Springfield, MO 65801
Birthday: September 15

Koti, Mohamman Geuka 80-A-0808
Mohawk Correctional Facility,
P.O. Box 8451, Rome, New York
13440-8451
Birthday: October 11, 1926

Laaman, Jaan Karl #10372-016
USP Tucson, P.O. Box 24550, Tucson,
AZ 85734
Birthday: March 21, 1948

Lake, Richard Mafundi #079972
Donaldson CF, 100 Warrior Lane,
Bessemer, AL 35023-7299
Birthday: March 1, 1940

Langa, Mondo We (David Rice)
#27768,
Nebraska State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 2500, Lincoln, NE 68542
Birthday: May 21, 1947

Latine, Maliki Shakur # 81-A-4469
Clinton Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 2001, Dannemora, NY 12929

López Rivera, Oscar #87651-024
FCI Terre Haute, P.O. Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808
Birthday: January 6, 1943

Magee, Ruchell Cinque # A92051
Calif. State Prison D-5 #113
P.O. Box 4670, Los Angeles County, Lancaster, CA 93539
Birthday: March 17

Majid, Abdul (Anthony Laborde)
#83-A-0483
Elmira Correctional Facility
PO Box 500, 1879 Davis St, Elmira, New York 14902-0500
Birthday: June 25, 1949

Manning, Bradley Commander,
HHC USAG
Attn: PFC Bradley Manning
239 Sheridan Ave, Bldg 417
JBM-HH, VA 22211

Manning, Thomas #10373-016
FMC Butner, P.O. Box 1600, Butner, NC 27509
Birthday: June 28, 1946

Mason, Marie Jeanette #04672-061
FMC Carswell, P.O. Box 27137, Fort Worth, TX 76127
Birthday: January 26, 1962

McDavid, Eric #16209-097
FCI Terminal Island, P.O. Box 3007, San Pedro, CA 90731
Birthday: October 7

Medina, Luís #58734-004
(envelope is addressed to Luis Medina, letter to Ramón Labañino)
USP Atlanta, P.O. Box 150160, Atlanta, GA 30315
Birthday: June 9, 1963

Odinga, Sekou #09A3775
Clinton Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 2001, Dannemora, NY 12929
Birthday: June 17, 1944

Peltier, Leonard #89637-132
USP Coleman I, P.O. Box 1033, Coleman, Fl 33521
Birthday: September 12, 1944

Pinell, Hugo "Dahariki" # A88401
SHU D3-221, P.O. Box 7500, Crescent City, CA 95531-7500
Birthday: March 10, 1945

Poindexter, Ed # 27767
Nebraska State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 2500, Lincoln, NE 68542
Birthday: November 1, 1944

Powell, Reverend Joy #07G0632
Bedford Hills CF, P.O. Box 1000, Bedford Hills, NY 10507-2499

Rodríguez, Luis V. # C33000
Salinas Valley State Prison, P.O. Box 1020
Soledad, California 93960

Shabazz Bey, Hanif (Beaumont Gereau)
Golden Grove Prison, RR1, P.O. Box 9955, Kingshill, St. Croix, V.I. 00850
Birthday: August 16, 1950

Shakur, Mutulu #83205-012
Federal Correctional Complex, P.O. Box 3900, Adelanto, CA 92301
Birthday: August 8, 1950

Shoats, Russell Maroon #AF-3855
SCI-Mahanoy, 301 Morea Rd., Frackville, PA 17932
Birthday: August 23, 1943

Stewart, Lynne #53504-054
FMC Carswell, P.O. Box 27137, Fort Worth, TX 76127
Birthday: October 8

Tyler, Gary # 84156
Louisiana State Penitentiary, ASH-4, Angola LA 70712

Wallace, Herman #76759
Elayn Hunt Correctional Center, CCR-B-#6,
P.O. Box 174, St Gabriel LA 70776
Birthday: October 13, 1941

Watson, Gary #098990
Unit SHU17, Delaware Correctional Center,
1181 Paddock Road, Smyrna, DE 19977

Woodfox, Albert #72148
David Wade Correctional Center, N1A
670 Bell Hill Rd., Homer, LA 71040
Birthday: February 19, 1947

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Dear friends, allies, and supporters,

We would like to formally ask for your help and participation in building this movement. There are several ways that you can help.

Contributors

We need contributors of writings, articles, position papers, essays, media reviews, artwork for future issues of this publication project. We anticipate publishing on a tri-annual schedule, at least for the first several issues. Any work submitted to Resistance Ecology for publication will not be used in any other way except with permission of the owner.

We would appreciate any and all proposals of content for this publication. Below is a list of topics that we would be interested in publishing.

Donations

In addition, any monetary donations made to us would be gratefully appreciated. This publication is one of several projects that we are trying to start and maintain as essential components of movement building, and we face a lot of costs. We are in the process of filing for 501(c)3 status with IRS, and any donations made to us in the interim are considered tax-exempt. If you are able, anything helps. Please email us for further information about how to make a donation. Also, if you would like to take out ad space in future issues of the publication, please contact us and we can discuss details.

Network

Lastly, we are in the process of compiling information to build a network and map of grassroots organizations around the United States and Canada. We are trying to publish this to serve as a means of opening communication and shedding light on our collective existence. We hope it will be used as organizing and network building tool. If you are a organizer or member, or know of a particular organization that you think should be listed, please send us an email with the contact information of the group in question.

Thank you for your support,

Resistance Ecology

RESISTANCEECOLOGY@GMAIL.COM

Suggested Topics for Contribution

- Perspectives on the "state of the movement"
- The "activist" identity & designation and its consequences
- Highlights from the work that you are a part of
- Reports from a particular action or ongoing campaign
- Stories from your activist or revolutionary history and past.
- Global movement news
- "How to" and "hands on" articles
- Organizing methodologies
- Decolonization of internal movement dynamics
- Historical & personal trauma and the revolutionary lifestyle
- Resisting political repression
- Class in social movements
- Gender in social movements
- Sexuality in social movements
- Identity in social movements
- Race & ethnicity and the animal rights and ecology movements of the US
- "Whiteness" and veganism
- Masculinity and animal rights
- Masculinity and ecology
- Eco-feminist theory
- The political economy of dissent
- Education & pedagogy as components of revolution
- Technology & liberation
- Security culture, critique & praxis
- Social networking, the internet, and its consequences.
- Creative, avant-garde, and novel ideas for creating coalescence and revolution.
- Perspectives on political violence: ethical, strategic, & tactical.
- Anarchism as hegemony in the political left.
- Moving beyond single political identifiers
- Political prisoners and prisoners of war
- Decolonization as ecological liberation
- Feminist interruptions of movement history and dynamics
- Intersectional theory and history
- Notions on the origins of power
- "Biopower" and ecological domination
- Critical theory, animal liberation, and radical ecology
- Perspectives on movement "ecologies": deep, social, political, geographic, biologic
- Species and the construction of power

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