

Q: How does a Green Anarchist change a light bulb?

A: *With a sling shot.*

Q: How does a Primitivist change a light bulb?

A: *With an atlatl.*

Q: How many hippies does it take to screw in a light bulb?

A: *Hippies don't screw in light bulbs. They screw in dirty sleeping bags.*

Q: How many Marxists does it take to change a lightbulb?

A: *None. The light bulb's own internal contradictions will inevitably lead to revolution.*

Q: Why do Canadian anarchists like donuts?

A: *...cause they're a circle, eh.*

Q: How many lawyers does it take to change a light bulb?

A: *How many can you afford?*

Q: If a green anarchist and a red anarchist are in the back of a car, who's in front?

A: *A cop.*

Q: An apartment building in Minneapolis has a Wobbly living on the first floor, a primitivist on the second, and a hippy on the third. A big fire burns the building to the ground. Who survived?

A: *The Wobbly. He was the only one at work.*

Q: How does an anarchist change a light bulb?

A: *By any means necessary.*

Q: How many feminists does it take to change a lightbulb?

A: *That's not funny.*

Q: How does a CrimethInc kid change a light bulb?

A: *First, we walked out into the cold, dark night and asked ourselves, "Are we the last people on earth, or the first?" Then we broke into an abandoned building like we broke into our own hearts. We climbed up onto the roof. Looked at the horizon, and we knew, we could change that lightbulb.*

Q: How many Minneapolis cops does it take to push a guy down the stairs.

A: *None. He fell.*



Earth Warriors are OK!
a resource guide for combating
the Midwest Green Scare
and Other State Repression

Acronyms Referenced

ABC: *Anarchist Black Cross*

AIM: *American Indian Movement*

ALF: *Animal Liberation Front*

COINTELPRO: *Counterintelligence Program*

DHS: *Department of Homeland Security*

ELF: *Earth Liberation Front*

EWOK!: *Earth Warriors are O.K!*

FBI: *Federal Bureau of Investigation*

FCI: *Federal Correctional Institution*

FOIA: *Freedom of Information Act*

JTTF: *Joint Terrorism Task Force*

MOVE: *Not an acronym. Just looks like it.*

NLG: *National Lawyers' Guild*

BPP: *Black Panther Party*

SHAC: *Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty*

TCEPSC: *Twin Cities Eco-Prisoner Support Committee*

Who We Are

EWOK! (Earth Warriors are OK!) is the group formerly known as TCEPSC (Twin Cities Eco-Prisoner Support Committee). The name change was due to the harsh consonant sounds in the pronunciation of TCEPSC, along with its overall boringness. The group was formed in the fall of 2006 to address concerns held throughout the Twin Cities about government repression of those who have taken radical action on behalf of the earth and environment. EWOK! has hosted a number of events in the Twin Cities, including letter writing nights, film showings, dinners, and speaking engagements by Ramona Africa, Peter Young, Will Potter, Leslie James Pickering, and Rod Coronado. Money raised by the group is sent mainly to support funds for Earth Warriors (they're OK!) facing repression.

Our website is: www.midwestgreenscare.org
We can be contacted via: fightthegreenscare@riseup.net.



FOR THOSE WHO CAME IN LATE...

Note: The text below, excerpted from, *CrimethInc. Special Report: Preliminary Lessons of the Green Scare*, was written in February 2008. We include it here not out of laziness (well, maybe a little...) but because it provides a good, concise rundown of the Green Scare as of early 2008. Since then, however, Briana Waters' trial has concluded with a guilty verdict, though she maintains her innocence; she is currently serving a six-year prison sentence. Eric McDavid is serving a 17-year prison sentence. Andy Stepanian was recently released, making 2 SHAC defendants back on the streets. Rod Coronado is on supervised release in Michigan, and has nearly completed his sentence. And the FBI's "poking around" the Midwest has resulted in federal convictions of eight individuals for a variety of ELF actions throughout the region. Onto the excerpt...

At the end of 2005, the FBI opened a new phase of its assault on earth and animal liberation movements with the arrests and indictments of several current and former activists. This offensive, dubbed Operation Backfire, was intended to obtain convictions for many of the unsolved Earth Liberation Front arsons of the preceding ten years. Of those subpoenaed and charged, eight ultimately cooperated with the government and informed on others in hopes of reduced sentences: Stanislas Meyerhoff, Kevin Tubbs, Chelsea Dawn Gerlach, Suzanne Savoie, Kendall Tankersley, Jennifer Kolar, Lacey Phillabaum, and Darren Thurston. Four held out through a terrifying year, during which it seemed certain they would end up serving decades in prison, until they were able to broker plea deals in which they could claim responsibility for their actions without providing information about others: Daniel McGowan, Jonathan Paul, Exile (aka Nathan Block), and Sadie (aka Joyanna Zacher). Briana Waters is standing trial as this goes to print, while Joseph Dibee, Josephine Overaker, Rebecca Rubin, and Justin Solondz have been charged but not found. One more defendant, William Rodgers (aka Avalon), tragically passed away in an alleged suicide while in custody shortly after his arrest.

The months following the launch of Operation Backfire saw an unprecedented increase in government repression of anarchist environmental activists, which came to be known as the Green Scare. Longtime animal liberation activist Rod Coronado was charged with a felony for answering a question during a speaking appearance, and faced potentially decades in prison. Six animal rights activists associated with SHAC, the campaign against animal testing corporation Huntingdon Life Sciences, were sentenced to several years in prison, essentially for running a website. Animal liberationist Peter Young, who had spent seven years on the run from the FBI, had finally been captured and was being threatened with double jeopardy. Tre Arrow, famous for surviving a 100-foot fall when police and loggers forced him out of a forest occupation, was fighting extradition from Canada to the United States to face arson charges. Innumerable people were subpoenaed to grand juries, and some did jail time for refusing to cooperate. Perhaps most ominously of all, three young people were set up by an agent provocateur and arrested on conspiracy charges without having actually done anything at all. Two of them, Zachary Jenson and Lauren Weiner, pled guilty and became government informants; the third, Eric McDavid, who has contracted life-threatening health problems as a consequence of being denied vegan food by his jailers, was recently found guilty and awaits sentencing.

This phase of the Green Scare seems to be drawing to a close. Most of those apprehended in Operation Backfire are now serving their sentences. The first of the SHAC defendants has been released from prison. Peter Young has been out of prison for a year and is doing speaking tours. Rod Coronado's trial ended in a deadlock, and he took a plea in return for a short sentence when the government threatened to bring further charges against him. It's been months now since a new high profile felony case was brought against an environmental activist, though federal agents have been poking around in the Midwest. It's time to begin deriving lessons from the past two years of government repression, to equip the next generation that will take the front lines in the struggle to defend life on earth.



9. **Connect!** If you find basic agreement with ideas put forward in the New Draft Proposal, and you would like to affiliate yourself as an individual, an existing or new Anarchist Black Cross collective or existing formation/organization, please drop an email to abc-net@anarchistblackcross.org with a little about yourself/group, current activities (and if you'd like those listed online), whether you want to be listed online or printed materials as part of the network and a way other collectives can contact you. If there is already an affiliated group in your city, you are welcome to start another affiliate or get in touch with the existing affiliate. ABC Network affiliation is consensus-based, if there are concerns about a particular group affiliating, those will/should be discussed. Note the ABC Network is intended to connect autonomous (i.e. non-federated) ABC groups and other autonomous groups, organizers and supporters. This is because there has been no expressly stated network uniting autonomous anti-statist, anti-prison efforts for some time
10. **Get active locally.** This is a good way to inform people about issues. Here are a few ideas that ABCs have tried over the years.
- o **Political film showings.** A biweekly or monthly film showing can be done anywhere there's a TV and VCR and films can be theatrical (i.e. in The Name of the Father) or documentaries. (from Independent Media Center films to those from AK Press to Cascadia Media Collective to even a bookseller). Some good films that can be purchased online or swapped with another ABC: *Passin' It On*, speeches by Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Zap!istal*, *US Off the Planet: An Evening in Eugene* with Ward Churchill and Chellis Glendinning, *A Year in The Streets*, *The FBI's War on Black America* and *Slam!* You'd be amazed how well these can go. Films should always be free, but accept donations by all means. A good fundraiser! You can also team up with other local groups (thereby doubling your promotional help) to use these as joint fundraisers.
 - o **Poetry Not Prisons.** Gather up some local poets and musicians for verse on creating a better world.
 - o **Benefit shows.** A good opportunity to educate and entertain.
 - o **Letterwriting Party.** Invite people out for a night of music, coffee and writing letters for emergency actions.
 - o **Teach-In.** Invite a speaker to come address your group on a given issue.
 - o **Build a common front.** Groups like Food Not Bombs, Anti-Racist Action and other street level groups are addressing symptoms of criminalization. Where can you unite? Network and get connected.
 - o **Reading groups.** Pick pamphlets to read with others and discuss how they apply to your work.
 - o **Protests.** For March 15's international day against police brutality, Prison Reform Unity Day or other special date. Make it a festival or a music benefit!
 - o **Support other work locally.** Can your ABC group unite with an area grassroots anti-poverty organization? Or a prisoners' families support group? Or an indigenous/Third World solidarity group? How can your group support and ally with that effort?



Items

All of these items are needed by prisoner support groups. You should stock up when possible.

- o office supplies (pens, envelopes, pads)
- o computers
- o postage
- o photocopiers
- o free copies
- o translation skills (Spanish, English, German, Castellan, Italian, Mandarin and others)
- o people to organize benefit shows, and bands to play
- o artists to create graphics
- o skills contributions (websites, posterimg, etc.)



Practical Tips for Starting an ABC group

Starting ABC groups is not an easy task. You will no doubt be asked for a lot of things by prisoners, other groups and local supporters. And the last thing you'll want to do is start up, only to shut down six months later, leaving prisoners and others in lurch. So, think carefully about starting a group. Here are a few pointers to help you go through the process you should go through to get off the ground. Good luck!

1. **Check your schedule.** Ask yourself some questions before you start and make sure you have time to make the efforts.

- a. **Do I have the self-discipline/commitment to do this?** Be totally honest here. There's nothing wrong with not being the type who writes letters, organizes stuff, visits prisoners, etc. But it'll be a headache for you and people you come in contact with if you start out with a lot of good intentions and don't follow through or drop out of it in six months. It doesn't take a special person to start an ABC group, but it does take some self-discipline occasionally to get things done.
- b. **Do I have the time?** Lots of folks interested in activism tend to be involved in lots of things. If you want to start an ABC group, do you have the time to follow through on it? How many hours a week can you realistically spend on ABC work? It doesn't have to be lots of time, but if the answer is "none," there might be a small problem! Particularly as letters from prisoners in your region seeking help pour in, it's easy to get overwhelmed. However, remember that if you ever feel like you need help keeping up with letters, you can always ask others in the ABC Network to help you write prisoners or for a hand in anything.
- c. **Do I understand the issues?** The "tough questions" regarding criminalization are never easy. And there are so many issues that are interrelated. Of course, you can learn as you go along, but make sure you have time to do so.



2. **Pace yourself.** You do not want to overextend yourself in a blaze of glory, only to burn out in six months. Think carefully about how you're going to schedule activism into your daily routine so that it will become a part of your life and not an intrusion. Think realistically about how you're going to fit activism into your life. You may have a full-time job and may have to juggle time with family and friends.
3. **Choose issues?** Some activists find it easier to choose one to four issues to focus their efforts around, while doing occasional work on others. Of course, ABC work is anti-prison and aimed at challenging the state, but maybe that's broad to you, or an issue like refugee/immigrant rights, police brutality, poverty, private prisons or women prisoners more your passion or is relevant to your community. Think about choosing the issues that mean the most to you. Your energy and enthusiasm around topics you have the most interest in will show.
4. **Educate yourself.** Writers like Christian Parenti, Ward Churchill, Angela Davis, Marilyn Buck and many others have written extensively on relevant topics. Learn about the issues and stay informed on current news via the web or papers.
5. **Learn about your area.** Become familiar with the people and facilities in your area. As you compile facts, resource and other materials, set up a filing system to keep your information organized. Get a list of local media from an area Society for Professional Journalists; you can usually put your name on file there if you're prepared to speak to the media about issues. File important or useful newspaper clippings according to the issues they concern. Keep the names and addresses of good resources for easy reference.
6. **Get a way to contact you.** Get a post office box and a voicemail. These are helpful from a security as well as communications standpoint -- you want people to be able to contact you, of course. Post office boxes run from \$30/year on up, so shop around and be mindful of hours, box accessibility and cost. Can you check mail 24 hours a day or can you only come at certain times and similar questions should be asked. Make sure to put your ABC group on the contact card of the box. Voicemail runs at various rates. If you're okay with having a local number that allows you an extension, www.onebox.com offers free voicemail and covers many cities. An email address is also good, but make sure you can check it weekly!
7. **Get a computer as soon as you can afford it, or ask groups or supporters to donate one.** This should be one of your earliest priorities, because using a computer makes it so easy to get -- and stay -- organized.
8. **Public or closed?** Some ABC groups prefer to be closed membership groups of one to four members, while others prefer to do public outreach, meetings, etc. Choose the one that works for you. If you do public meetings, try not to be too discouraged if the gatherings are small; this happens! If you are closed, consider making sure others learn how the group runs so, if you move, someone is there to continue on.

The first step in recognizing security risks in a community is working towards creating a security culture. Below we have compiled some relevant materials and links that should be used in conducting security workshops and educating activists that you work with.

As our direct action movement becomes more effective, government harassment will only increase. To minimize the destructiveness of this government harassment, it is imperative that we create a "security culture" within our movement. Violations of security culture include behavior is inappropriate because it intensifies government harassment, jeopardizes the freedom of other activists, and destroys the trust within the movement.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AND STATE REPRESSION

It was not that long ago that discussions about security culture were seen as not relevant to the vast majority of community organizers. As long as one didn't "break the law" it was assumed that social freedoms in North America and Europe would allow for the expression of dissent without a rise in repression. A number of events have conspired since the late nineties to change the landscape of organizing considerably.

New legislation - the PATRIOT Act in the US and Bill C-36 in Canada - which have been sold to the public as required to fight the spectre of terrorism in a post-911 world, serve double-duty in giving the state new laws with which to crack down on internal dissent. A rise in state-hyped racist hysteria, has made community organizers from middle eastern origins (or other "suspicious" backgrounds), increasingly targets of incarceration without cause, and other abuse at the hands of governments eager to deflect attention from the real issues of failing economies and unpopular wars. In many countries, governments have enacted laws to make it illegal to work with overseas organizations now declared "terrorist" - putting at risk communities who have worked to support liberation fighters around the world.

It follows that those who fight to change the world will be met with resistance by those who do not want it changed. One does not have to participate in extralegal activities to raise the interest of state security forces (whether those be local, regional or national agencies). Security culture must no longer be thought of as merely the domain of those who might break unjust laws - but as something that is part of the organizing toolbox as a mechanism for community self-defense.

The guidelines presented here are designed to enhance your personal safety as well as the overall effectiveness of our movements. By adopting a security culture, we can limit or neutralize counterintelligence operations meant to disrupt our political organizing, be it mainstream or underground.

TOWARDS AN EXPANDED DEFINITION OF SECURITY CULTURE

Creating secure communities is about more than being educated about the state and its security forces. Fundamentally, it means creating working dynamics of respect, education and inclusion in all our work. Building strong communities that act in solidarity with one another is the best protection against infiltration, disruption and other conditions of repression.

So what is a security culture? It's a culture where the people know their rights and, more importantly, assert them in all situations. Those who belong to a security culture also know what behaviour compromises security and are quick to work with people who exhibit insecure or oppressive behaviour. Security consciousness becomes a culture when a community as a whole adopts this awareness and demonstrates that those behaviours which violate security are unacceptable.

SECURITY CULTURE MEANS CHALLENGING OPPRESSION

Security culture is about more than just targeting specific behaviours in individuals such as bragging, gossiping or lying. It is also about checking movement behaviours and practices as a whole to ensure that oppressive practices aren't feeding into intelligence operations being carried out against our community.

Within the histories of groups targeted by COINTELPRO (such as AIM and the BPP), and certainly within the animal rights and environmental movements, there are many example of how oppressive behaviours created conditions ripe for FBI manipulation.

Underlying sexism in some groups has meant that women trying to raise security concerns are not taken seriously, or (on the other end), are not suspected as informers simply because they are women. A tokenistic approach to recruitment has lead socialist organizations to bring in new members who fit their 'ideal' of what the working class should be - only have them to later turn out working for the British Home Office.

Racism, sexism and homophobia in the movement spread division that create overall weaknesses and create openings easily manipulatable by state operatives. Exclusion can make those people who feel marginalized by group practices more open to infiltrators.

Obviously, our movements still have a lot of work to do before we have satisfactorily addressed issues of oppression - but what is important here is a recognition that oppressive behaviours feed into poor community security.

(IN)SECURE PRACTICES

The following section was originally written for an audience engaged, or on the periphery of extralegal activity, and so focuses on "underground" groups. We would like to add that the same rules apply to discussions about individuals involved in or providing support groups considered "terrorist" by western governments (but who are in actual fact, liberation fighters at odds with US foreign policy). It is generally good practice to limit discussion about movement individuals where you are unsure what information about them is "public" knowledge.

As community organizers, a lot of activists like to verbally engage with each other and have no trouble spending hours discussing theory, tactics, and strategy. This is an essential part of building our analysis and work, but in some cases this can put ourselves or others in jeopardy.

WHAT NOT TO SAY

To begin with, there are certain things that are inappropriate to discuss. These things include:

- your own or someone else's involvement with an underground group
- someone else's desire to get involved with such a group
- asking others if they are a member of an underground group
- your own or someone else's participation in any action that was illegal
- someone else's advocacy for such actions
- your plans or someone else's plans for a future action

Essentially, it is a bad idea to speak about an individual's involvement (past, present or future) with illegal activities, or with activities that may raise the interest of the state (such as advocacy of certain groups or tactics). These are unacceptable topics of discussion regardless of whether they are rumor, speculation or personal knowledge.

Please note: this is not to say that it is incorrect to speak about direct action in general terms - just be sure that you don't link individual activists to specific actions or groups. It is perfectly legal, secure and desirable that people speak out in support of all forms of resistance (though if you're involved with illegal activity, it is probably best that you don't openly advocate for breaking the law as that alone can raise state interest in your life).

THREE EXCEPTIONS

There are only three times that it is acceptable to speak about specific actions that may be against the law. These are the only situations when it is appropriate to speak about your own or someone else's involvement or intent to commit an illegal act.

- The first situation would be if you were planning an action with other members of your small group (your "cell" or "affinity group"). These discussions should never take place over the Internet (e-mail), phone line, through the mail, or in an activist's home or car, as these places and forms of communication are frequently monitored. The only people who should hear this discussion would include those who are actively participating in the action. Anyone who is not involved does not need to know and, therefore, should not know.
- The second exception occurs after an activist has been arrested and brought to trial. If s/he is found guilty, this activist can freely speak of the actions for which s/he was convicted. However, s/he must never give information that would help the authorities determine who else participated in illegal activities.
- The third exception is for anonymous letters and interviews with the media. This must be done carefully and without compromising security. Advice on secure communication techniques can be found at elsewhere on this site.

BOTTOM LINE SECURITY

If you are engaged in activity that is considered illegal, it is best to take a lesson from veteran activists of the direct action movements and only allow a select few to know about your activity. Those few people should consist of only the individuals who you are doing work and actions with and AND NO ONE ELSE!

The reason for these security precautions is obvious: if people don't know anything, they can't talk about it. When activists who do not share the same serious consequences know who did an illegal direct action, they are far more likely to talk after being harassed and intimidated by the authorities, because they are not the ones who will go to jail. Even those people who are trustworthy can often be tricked by the authorities into revealing damaging and incriminating information. It is safest for all cell members to keep their involvement in the group amongst themselves. The fewer people who know, the less evidence there is in the long run.

SECURITY VIOLATING BEHAVIOURS

In an attempt to impress others, activists may behave in ways that compromise security. Some people do this frequently - they are habitually gossiping and bragging. Some activists say inappropriate things only when they consume alcohol. Many activists make occasional breaches of security because there was a momentary temptation to say something or hint at something that shouldn't have been said or implied. In most every situation, the desire to be accepted is the root cause.

Those people who tend to be the greatest security risks are those activists who have low self-esteem and strongly desire the approval of their peers. Certainly it is natural to seek friendship and recognition for our efforts, but it is imperative that we keep these desires in check so we do not jeopardize the safety of other activists or ourselves. People who place their desire for friendship over the importance of the cause can do serious damage to our security.

The following are examples of security-violating behaviours:

- Lying: To impress others, liars claim to have done illegal actions. Such lies not only compromise the person's security -- as cops will not take what is said as a lie-- but also hinders solidarity and trust.
- Gossip & Rumors: Some people think they can win friends because they are privy to special information. These gossips will tell others about who did what action or, if they don't know who did it, guess at who they think did what actions or just spread rumors about who did it. This sort of talk is very damaging. People need to remember that rumors are all that are needed to instigate an investigation, or even lay charges. New anti-terrorist law in both Canada and the United States allows state security forces to carry out raids on individuals based on nothing more than hearsay evidence.
- Bragging: Some people who partake in illegal direct action might be tempted to brag about it to their friends. This not only jeopardizes the bragger's security, but also that of the other people involved

Do be patient. Prisoners may not write back or may take awhile. They may occasionally sound cynical, angry or disinterested in their words -- keep in mind many "supporters" or people who've written before may have stopped writing them, made promises/pled to them, or they just had a rough day and they're venting that on paper. Responding to an angry letter with more anger is not helpful.

Do deal with the right channels. If a prisoner wants you to send a book, ask what channels their institution requires for that, or refer them to a Book-to-Prisoners project near their unit. If a prisoner is getting out in the next few weeks, do not offer your place to stay (no matter how desperate they sound) unless you have corresponded for a significant amount of time and are in contact with both a parole officer and a prison intermediary (e.g. prison chaplain). Even in cases like this, it is far more helpful to a prisoner to help them secure employment and develop a support base (whether that is through her/his church/mosque, family, friends, etc.) than to Chances are, there's a legal process to be dealt with in cases like this and they need to be followed by both you and the prisoner. However, use your head and don't land in a bad situation or one that will land the prisoner back in jail.

Don'ts

Do not make promises. Many well-meaning people write letters offering support to a prisoner, or make offers for help out of good will. Unfortunately, most never follow through and build false hope in a prisoner. This is not fair to them. If you're writing, don't make promises. Don't offer to do a support campaign if you can't make that time. Don't offer to send items when you can't afford it. Be honest. It's best to start writing and keep it that way, at least until a relationship is established.

Do not romanticize prisons or prisoners. Many activists have ideas about who prisoners are, why they're locked up, the system, etc. While it's correct to have political clarity about incarceration and the nature of the criminal justice system, it is not correct to romanticize a prisoner, anything they might be locked up for (especially a "social crime") and their lives. They're people just like you, and have strengths and weaknesses. It is dangerous to assume that anyone (free or jailed) is able to overcome all their personal weaknesses, or be completely truthful, or are not dealing with the stressful situation they're in in negative ways. Some are estranged from their families as a direct result of their own actions. Some may have learned manipulative behaviors over the years. Prisoners are people like you.

Do not discuss potentially illegal political action with a prisoner. Again, this is for your security and theirs. Prisoners have and can be implicated for outside action that violates the law and you should be mindful that, if authorities even find such information in the hands of prisoners, prisoners can face added time and harsh treatment.

Do not attempt to place political judgments on prisoners' experiences. Some prisoners, out of desperation, write publications to get pen pals and may not agree completely with the views of the paper, but read it for information. Some prisoners have been converted to Christianity or are Muslims. Some have views that may be somewhat backward. Rather than attack a prisoner, it's best to be polite, but firm, if there's something you'd rather not discuss or find objectionable. Do not attack or insult a prisoner because of their religions, preferences or experiences. If the prisoner declares her/himself a white supremacist, you are well within your rights to explain your disagreements, encourage them to reconsider their views and discontinue the relationship; please be aware that several white supremacist gangs have ties to the outside from prison and it is smart not to get into insults or threats against such prisoners. Don't send literature unless requested and be aware you don't have to go with every request.

Good luck!

Focus: Criticism/Self Criticism & Praise

Criticism and self-criticism (C/C) is a feedback mechanism to help us constantly improve our work and relationships. In the dominant society, criticism is made within a legalistic framework: certain things are against the rules and if you can prove that someone broke a rule you've won a case and they should be punished (feel bad?). How a person makes you feel doesn't matter; anything more subtle than physical harm doesn't constitute a problem; your needs will be considered if and when they start to affect your performance.

We want to create a place where people can be happy with their work and each other. That means getting away from laying blame. If one person has a problem, that's a collective problem. Everyone to different degrees shares most common problems anyway. The purpose of a criticism is to find the happiest possible resolution to the problem. A problem is a problem when one person says it is. And that's not making accusations, so there's no need to hold back, there's no harm in bringing something up. And we want to be as honest as possible, develop our perception of our own feelings and the dynamics between people; to be good at saying what the real problem is. That means legitimizing such things as "I don't feel like you're concerned about my welfare." or "Such and such a thing you do makes me uncomfortable."

It's incredibly easy to not make criticisms. On the contrary, it takes energy to keep them going on the best road. It's too easy to assume that if someone did something you don't like that they must have bad intentions, and then assume that if you do anything anyone else doesn't like they'll assume it's an honest mistake and bring it up. Our lack of skill in resolving such problems leads us to look for easy answers, and the easiest one is "they just don't want to listen." It's essential to realize how difficult this task is, and quit blaming each other when things aren't easy.

Guides for Making Criticism

- o Make the criticism at the time unless you have a good reason to wait. Don't let bad feelings build up.
- o Don't be legalistic. Criticize or discuss what really bothers you.
- o Take responsibility for your feelings (usually by stating them)
- o Enter into joint decision making (i.e., don't dump the problem on them)
- o Assume they have good reasons for what they do.
- o Take the time to formulate the clearest statement you can of the problem. This is most important for heavy, or fundamental criticisms. Specific incidents tend to be better handled right at the time, with the best off-the-top-of-your-head approach you can come up with.

Guides for Receiving Criticism

- o Look for the truth in what the person is saying.
- o Try to account for the person's feelings or perceptions.
- o You don't have to accept a criticism you don't really think is right. Don't think you've gotten to the bottom of it when you can say, "I was wrong."
- o Try not to feel persecuted or otherwise take the criticism negatively. If you do feel this way, take responsibility for it by stating your feelings and trying to deal with the criticism independently of them.
- o Understand the criticism before you decide whether you reject it or not (take responsibility for your feelings usually by stating them).
- o If you accept the criticism, make it a self-criticism. Follow through towards change.
- o If you accept the criticism but don't want to change, say so.

Excerpted from: <http://groundwork.ucsd.edu/criticism.html>

Research

People should know as much as possible about prisoners they are considering supporting. But, prisoners may not always be able to speak freely about activities they have been involved in, or cases that may still be pending.

- o Ask them for documents regarding their case.
- o Talk to people who have supported them or worked with them in the past.
- o Ask other prisoners about them.
- o Talk to prisoner support groups about the way that they do research.

Correspondence

- o Date all of your letters.
- o Make a note in the letter of all enclosures (stamps, photocopies, etc) so that the prisoner can make sure they all make it through.
- o If the prisoner tells you that anything was not received, write a letter appealing the confiscation, usually to the warden.
- o Send postage stamps to help cover the costs of correspondence. [Note: some prisoners cannot receive stamps and require a money order instead to cover the stamps. Check the prison's regulations first.]
- o Either send promptly to the prisoner, or let the prisoner know that you can't send, any items requested.
- o Note if you receive a letter later than you should have.

Visits

- o Check with the prisoner beforehand about the date.
- o Know the visiting rules and regulations (write to or call the prison for a written list of regulations or ask the prisoner for one), dress code and acceptable forms of ID are two main considerations.
- o Be on time.

Items Sent into the Prison

- o Find out what the prisoner wants/likes.
- o Know the prison's regulations (get a written copy) about what is allowed in and how much.
- o Help the prisoner find out what kinds of things are available to them for free (several publications are, for example).

In General

- o Be consistent.
- o Know as much as you can about the prison regulations.
- o Know that prison workers will arbitrarily lie to you.
- o Learn from the prisoner, who knows a lot about the prison bureaucracy.
- o Be clear with the prisoner about what you can and are willing to do.
- o Be open and direct with the prisoner about any concerns you have.
- o Be aware that all correspondence and interactions that you have with the prisoner are monitored by prison officials, or that you may attract attention from other state agencies.
- o Do not pass on correspondence or packages unless you are fully aware of the contents.
- o Know the phone numbers and addresses of the prison administrators so you can harass them about problems (when mail isn't received, when the prisoner is harassed).
- o Respond quickly to any situations that arise.
- o Discuss with the prisoner any actions that you take; the prisoner will often know the best way to respond, and should be involved anyway.

A Few Do's and Don'ts in Correspondence

A few dos and don'ts on writing prisoners whose backgrounds/politics you may not know.

Dos

Do use common sense. Use a "neutral" address, such as a Post Office Box, for correspondence. Do not divulge sensitive personal information (i.e. your home address, phone number, credit card and bank details, people's full names, etc.) to a prisoner, particularly one you have never dealt with before. This is for your security and that of the prisoner. Be aware that authorities often read these letters and sensitive information can get into the wrong hands. Occasionally, prisoners have misused this information as well. Do not send money or honor immediate requests for money.

Do think ahead. Research local prison regulations. Learn about the prisoner before writing. Make sure to put a return address on your envelope. When first writing to an incarcerated person make sure you ask them specifically what the rules are for writing letters, and make a careful note of them. No one under eighteen years of age should be writing a prisoner -- again, this is for the prisoner's security as well as the writer's.

Do be forward and clear in your letter as well as your intentions. Say who you are, and it's relevant that you're with an organization. Be upfront about your politics and say where you heard about the prisoners and her/his case. If you are interested in starting a pen-pal relationship and that is all, say so. Ask if they would like to correspond and if they'd like to discuss any topics, as well as what topics they don't wish to discuss. Keep your first letter reasonably short and to the point.



with the action (as they may be suspected by association). As well the people who s/he told can be charged as accessories after the fact.

- Indirect-Bragging: Indirect braggers are people who make a big production on how they want to remain anonymous, avoid protests, and stay "underground." They might not come out and say that they do illegal direct action, but they make sure everyone within earshot knows they are up to something. They are no better than braggers, but they try to be more sophisticated about it by pretending to maintain security. However, if they were serious about security, they would just make up a good excuse as to why they are not as active, or why they can't make it to the protest. Concealing sensitive information from even trusted comrades is far better than jeopardizing underground work.

SELF-EDUCATION TOWARDS LIBERATION

With the above information about security, it should be easier to spot those activists who compromise our movement's security. So what do we do with people who display these behaviours? Do we shun or expel them from our groups and projects? Actually, no - not for the first security violation, at least.

The unfortunate truth is there are some security-ignorant people in the movement and others who have possibly been raised in a "scene" that thrives on bragging and gossiping. It doesn't mean these people are bad, but it does mean they need to inform themselves and learn about personal and group security. Even seasoned activists make mistakes when there is a general lack of security consciousness in our groups. And that's where those of you reading this can help. We must ALWAYS act to inform persons whose behaviour breaches security. If someone you know is bragging about doing an action or spreading security-compromising gossip, it is your responsibility to explain to her or him why that sort of talk violates security and is inappropriate.

You should strive to share this knowledge in a manner that encourages the person's understanding and changes her/his behaviour. It should be done without damaging the person's pride. Show your sincere interest in helping him/her to become a more effective activist. Keep your humility and avoid presenting a superior, "holier than-thou" attitude. Such an attitude can raise an individual's defenses and prevent them from listening to and using the advice offered. The goal of addressing these issues with others is to reduce insecure behaviour, rather than showing how much more security-conscious you are.

Share your concerns and knowledge in private, so that the person does not feel as if they are being publicly humiliated. Addressing the person as soon as possible after the security violation increases effectiveness.

If each of us remains responsible for discussing security information with people who slip up, we can dramatically improve security in our groups and activities. When people recognize that lying, gossiping, bragging, and inappropriate debriefing damages both themselves and others, these behaviours will soon end. By developing a culture where breaches of security are pointed out and discouraged, all sincere activists will quickly understand.

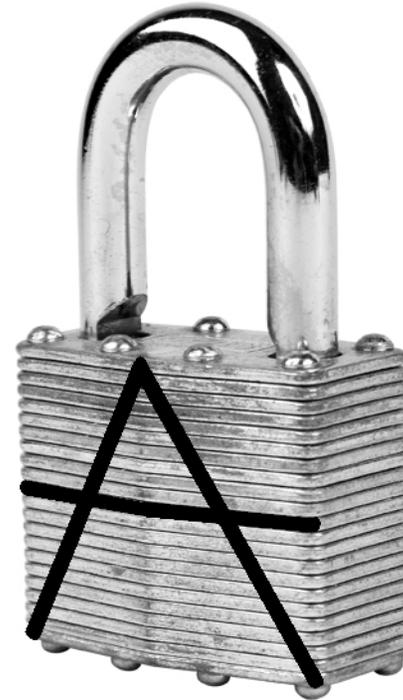
DEALING WITH CHRONIC SECURITY PROBLEMS

So what do we do with activists who repeatedly violate security precautions even after being informed several times? Unfortunately for them, the best thing to do is to cut them loose. Discuss the issue openly and ask them to leave your meetings, basecamps and organizations. With law enforcement budgets on the increase and with courts handing down long sentences for political "crimes", the stakes are too high to allow chronic security offenders to work among us.

By creating a security culture, we have an effective defense against informers and agents who try to infiltrate groups. Imagine an informer who, every time they ask another activist about their activities, receives information about security. It would frustrate the informer's work. When other activists discovered that she/he continued to violate security precautions after being repeatedly informed, there would be grounds for isolating the person from our groups. And that would be one less informer for us to deal with!

ADOPT A SECURITY CULTURE NOW!

Activists are restless and resistance is on the rise. Some people are adopting radical and confrontational tactics. The more we organize and are effective, the more police forces continue to escalate their activities against us. For direct action movements to continue, we need to consider our security more seriously. Good security should be made one of our strengths.



Dealing with Government Harassment and Intimidation: Know Your Rights!

1. You do not have to talk to FBI agents, police or other investigators. You do not have to talk to them in your house, on the street, if you've been arrested or even in jail. Only a court or grand jury has legal authority to compel testimony.
2. You don't have to let the FBI or police into your house or office unless they show you an arrest or search warrant which authorizes them to enter that specific place.
3. If they do present a warrant, you do not have to tell them anything other than your name and address. You have a right to observe what they do. Make written notes, including the agents' names, agency and badge numbers. Try to have other people present as witnesses and have them make written notes too. [ed. note: by observing them and writing down everything they touch and do, it helps prevent them from planting incriminating evidence.]
4. Anything you say to an FBI agent or other law enforcement officer may be used against you or other people.
5. Giving the FBI or police information may mean that you will have to testify to the same information at a trial or before a grand jury.
6. Lying to an FBI agent or other federal investigator is a crime.
7. The best advice, if the FBI or police try to question you or to enter your home or office without a warrant, is to JUST SAY NO. FBI agents have a job to do and they are highly skilled at it. Attempting to outwit them is very risky. You can never tell how a seemingly harmless bit of information can help them hurt you or someone else.
8. The FBI or police may threaten you with a grand jury subpoena if you don't give them information. But you may get one anyway, and anything you've already told them will be the basis for more detailed questioning under oath.
9. They may try to threaten or intimidate you by pretending to have information about you: "We know what you have been doing, but if you cooperate it will be all right." If they had the evidence against you, they wouldn't want to talk with you, they would just arrest you. However, by talking to them, you would open yourself up to giving them incriminating information about you or others.
10. If you are nervous about simply refusing to talk, you may find it easier to tell them to contact your lawyer. Once a lawyer is involved, the FBI and police usually pull back since they have lost their power to intimidate.

DIRTY TRICKS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT TACTICS TO WATCH OUT FOR

In the book *Agents of Repression*, Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall successfully argue that the Federal Bureau of Investigation's crime-fighting activities serve as a calculated ruse to cover-up and divert public attention from their true purpose, which is maintaining the status quo by disrupting and crushing grassroots movements for social justice. They base this conclusion on the thousands of pages of classified files that a group calling itself the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI liberated from the FBI's Media, Pennsylvania office in March 8, 1971.

These documents included internal memos about Counter Intelligence Programs -- or COINTELPROs -- designed to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" the leaders and groups of social justice causes. From these files, activists have gained insight on what types of activities the Feds -- in conjunction with local police units and reactionary "private" groups -- carry out against those of us trying to change society for the better.

Below is a list of their tactics so you can prepare for, identify, and lessen their impact when they are being used against you or other activists. This information is excerpted from the book *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret War Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall.

Eavesdropping: A massive program of surveillance was carried out against organizations and individuals via wiretaps, surreptitious entries and burglaries, electronic devices, live "tails" and mail tampering. The purpose of such activities was never intelligence gathering per se, but rather the inducement of "paranoia" among those targeted by making them aware they'd been selected for special treatment and that there was "an FBI agent behind every mailbox."

Bogus Mail Fabrication: of correspondence between members of targeted groups, or between groups, was designed to foster "splits" within or between organizations; these efforts were continued -- and in many cases intensified -- when it became apparent that the resulting tension was sufficient to cause physical violence among group members.

"Black Propaganda" Operations: "Black Propaganda" refers to the fabrication and distribution of publications "in behalf of" targeted organizations/individuals designed to misrepresent their positions, goals or objectives in such a way as to publicly discredit them and foster intra/inter-group tensions.

Disinformation or "Gray Propaganda": The FBI systematically releases disinformation to the press and electronic media concerning groups and individuals, designed to discredit them and foster tensions. This was also seen as an expedient means of conditioning public sentiment to accept Bureau/police/vigilante "excesses" aimed at targeting organizations/individuals and to facilitate the conviction of those brought to trial, even on conspicuously flimsy evidence.

Harassment Arrests: The repeated arrests of targeted individuals and organization members on spurious charges was carried out, not with any real hope of obtaining convictions (although there was always that possibility, assuming public sentiment had been sufficiently inflamed), but to simply harass, increase paranoia, tie up activists in a series of pre-arraignment incarcerations and preliminary courtroom procedures, and deplete their resources through the posting of numerous bail bonds (as well as the retention of attorneys). Again this was so pervasive a tactic that it is impossible

• PRISONER SUPPORT.

Some Prisoner Support Guidelines

Support prisoners and people facing imprisonment (and their choices) unconditionally
Barring a major transgression such as snitching on a co-defendant or other individuals, those facing heavy sentences for actions need to be fully supported and without the "carrot and stick" approach that some prisoner supporters use. For example, lets say that a well-known activist gets busted for a number of different actions and is approached by supporters who want to help with her legal situation. When the activist decides that she knows what is best for herself and wants to take a plea bargain, she is attacked as not being worthy of support or righteous enough. This dynamic, albeit exaggerated (not by much), has played itself out before between people being held in jail and others who claim to want to lend assistance. People need assistance about legal options but do not need to be told what to do nor how revolutionary their choice is. When it comes down to it, they have to deal with being in a cage, not you.

Drop your lifestyle issues

One thing we need to get past regarding supporting prisoners is the focus on issues relating to the prisoner's lifestyle whether before their arrest, on the run or while in jail. For example, the ALF Support Group has a policy of only recognizing a prisoner as an Animal Liberation Front member/prisoner if they fulfill clause #3-"one must be vegan or vegetarian." This archaic clause (written presumably by the people who started the ALF in England) creates a really absurd basis of support. What if a person eats meat but decides that they are going to destroy 12 vivisection labs, liberate 5,000 mink, spike a few timber sales and sab hunts? If they get nicked, who will be lifestyleist enough to tell them "No, sorry. You are most definitely NOT a member of the ALF and will not receive ALF prisoner support. Please refer to clause 3". This sounds exaggerated like other examples previously used but it really isn't too far from an actual example and could happen again in the future. If we are going to enter into relationships with prisoners, we need to understand that they are not going to be carbon copies of ourselves. They will eat things we don't like, do things we don't like and we may even have enough time sitting around to endlessly dissect the merits of their action. Those items are irrelevant when it comes to providing principled and strong support for prisoners. On that note, I would strongly suggest that the ALF support group (in every country it exists in) drop that clause as a basis of their support.

For more information on how to support Earth and animal liberation prisoners, for a copy of our newsletter, *Spirit of Freedom*, or if you know about a Earth and Animal liberation prisoner that needs help, contact us at:

North American Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network
P.O. Box 11331
Eugene, OR 97440
naelpsn@iaa.ca
<http://www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk>



Supporting Prisoners: Some Practical Suggestions

by *Nightcrawlers ABC*

[Republished from "Anarchist Black Cross Information and Resources, Second Edition," December 1993, by *Nightcrawlers ABC* (now disbanded)]

In supporting prisoners, we try to achieve several things. These people are locked in cages and are often kept in control units where they spend most of their time in isolation. We must not allow the state to cut them off from the continuing struggle. We keep prisoners informed about and involved in the struggles going on through correspondence and visits. This also does a lot to help lessen their isolation. Besides this, through dialogue you can learn a lot from the prisoner. Supporting prisoners also involves providing them with material aid, such as food packages, clothing, stamps, etc. The prison system exploits the prisoners and makes it difficult for them to get decent food and other things that seem basic to us. We must also act to help defend them against the brutality of the prison officials. When they are harassed we must be prepared to harass back, to let the prison administration know that there are people watching. These are the goals we have in mind when we do prisoner support work.

These guidelines were written with the idea of making it easier to get around the maze of the prison bureaucracy and preparing people for some of the obstacles that we've encountered. A lot of them are very basic but can make your work much easier.

Of course, all of the issues that will come up are not covered here, this is simply what we have learned in the time we have been doing support work. Supporting comrades who have been locked up can be difficult. You should find out about groups in your area that have experience with this kind of work and ask for help if you need it. People are generally very willing to help.

Although "Green Scare" refers to a round of indictments- aka "Operation Backfire"- that came down in late 2005/early 2006, evidence suggests that was only the beginning. The subsequent three years have seen more indictments and convictions relating to ELF actions not encompassed by Round One, many of which took place in the Midwestern United States. Court documents suggest that investigations into some of these actions owe their success to those individuals who turned informant under Operation Backfire, and also give us reason to believe that despite further indictments the investigations continue.

MINNESOTA

For several years here in Minneapolis, we've been hearing about Green Scare-related visits by our friendly local Joint Terrorism Task Force in which specific individuals, ELF and ALF actions are referenced. In fall of 2007, two individuals were subpoenaed to a grand jury- they refused to cooperate, and their depositions were canceled. Since then, we've confirmed that there is, indeed, an 18-month grand jury active in Minneapolis, which we believe to have begun no later than summer of 2007. In September of 2008, known snitch Ian Wallace took a cooperating plea agreement in which he admitted his involvement in two acts of eco-sabotage in Minnesota- one at a U.S. Forest Service Research Station in St. Paul in 2000, and another at a University of Minnesota research building in 2002- with a promise of non-prosecution in exchange for his cooperation with the government. At this time, no other individuals have been indicted for these actions.

WISCONSIN

In June of 2008, ELF prisoner Daniel McGowan was moved from FCI Sandstone in Minnesota to Madison, WI, to testify before a Grand Jury relating to a 2000 ELF action at a U.S. Forest Service Research Facility in Rhinelander, WI, where genetic research was being conducted on trees. He gave his name and- in keeping with a non-cooperating plea agreement for previous ELF convictions- confirmed facts regarding his own involvement in the action, but refused to cooperate further or give information that would implicate anyone else. He was held in contempt of court for a couple weeks before being transferred back to prison to resume the federal sentence he is currently serving. In July of 2008, Bryan Lefey (aka Bryan Rivera, aka Rat Dog), Katherine Christianson, and Aaron Ellringer were all indicted as co-conspirators in the action. Known FBI snitch Ian Wallace was also named in the indictment, and admitted his involvement in a September 2008 plea agreement, with a promise of non-prosecution in exchange for his cooperation with the government. The indictment states that other persons "known and unknown to the grand jury" were involved, as well, but no other individuals have been charged in the incident. In October of 2008, Aaron Ellringer took a cooperating plea agreement in which he plead guilty to a misdemeanor of trespassing and agreed to cooperate in the prosecution of his co-defendants. In December of 2008, he was sentenced to four days in jail. In November of 2008, Bryan Lefey and Katherine Christianson took plea agreements as well. Lefey's does not appear to involve cooperation with the State, though Christianson's clearly does. Both are due to be sentenced in February of 2009.

MICHIGAN

In the early months of 2008, four individuals- Marie Mason, Stephanie Lynne Fultz, Aren Burthwick, and government informant Frank Ambrose- were indicted for ELF actions that occurred in Michigan in 1999 and 2000. Snitch Frank Ambrose took a cooperating plea agreement in March of 2008. After months of heavy-handed government repression- including Marie's release on \$75,000 non-secured bond and her eventual remand into custody while awaiting sentencing, as well as numerous raids and arrests sustained by relatives and supporters- Marie Mason eventually plead guilty in September of 2008 to three of the four charges she faced. She took a non-cooperating plea agreement wherein she acknowledged the involvement of herself and snitch Frank Ambrose in the acts he had already plead guilty to, but she refused to name any other individuals involved in the actions, or cooperate in any way with the prosecution. Had she taken her case to trial, she would have faced several consecutive life sentences and the threat of additional indictments in other districts. She is awaiting a sentencing hearing, where the prosecution will ask for a sentence of 15-20 years. Snitch Frank Ambrose was sentenced to nine years and a lifetime of supervised release, more than what the prosecution asked for. Both Stephanie Lynne Fultz and Aren Burthwick have plead guilty to lesser charges, and await sentencing as well.

In a separate case, in September of 2008 snitch Ian Wallace plead guilty to his involvement in an attempted ELF arson at Michigan Tech University in 2001. In the cooperating plea agreement, Wallace also admits to his involvement in three other acts of eco-sabotage which took place in Minnesota and Wisconsin between 2000 and 2002.

GOVERNMENT INFORMANTS

These two individuals are cooperating with the government in the political persecution and prosecution of their comrades. Beware of these known snitches—they are NOT TO BE TRUSTED under any circumstances, and they present a great danger to any spaces or communities they are in. We do not and will not ever support individuals who cooperate with the State, as our movement simply cannot afford to do so.

left: FRANK AMBROSE

right: IAN WALLACE



For updates since this printing, check the EWOK! website, <http://www.midwestgreenscare.org>.

to give a comprehensive summary of its use during the 1960s.

Infiltrators and Agents Provocateurs: This widely used tactic involved the infiltration of targeted organizations with informers and agents provocateurs, the latter expressly for the purpose of fomenting or engaging in illegal activities which could then be attributed to key organizational members and/or the organization as a whole. Agents provocateurs were also routinely assigned to disrupt the internal functioning of targeted groups and to assist in the spread of disinformation.

"Pseudo-Gangs": There is some indication that the Bureau had begun to spawn "pseudo-gangs", phony organizations designed to "confuse, divide and undermine" as well as do outright battle with authentic dissident groups by the end of the COINTELPRO era.

Bad-Jacketing: "Snitch-jacketing" or "bad-jacketing" refers to the practice of creating suspicion -- through the spread of rumors, manufacture of evidence, etc. -- that bona fide organizational members, usually in key positions, are FBI/police informers, guilty of such offenses as skimming organizational funds and the like. The purpose of this tactic was to "isolate and eliminate" organizational leadership; such efforts were continued -- and in some instances accelerated -- when it became known that the likely outcome would be extreme physical violence visited upon the "jacketed" individual(s).

Fabrication of Evidence: A widely used FBI tactic has been the fabrication of evidence for criminal prosecution of key individuals and the withholding of exculpatory evidence which might serve to block conviction of these individuals. This includes the intimidation of witnesses and use of coercion to obtain false testimony.

Assassinations: The bureau has been implicated as cooperating in the outright physical elimination -- assassination -- of selected political leaders, either for "exemplary" reasons or after other attempts at destroying their effectiveness had failed. The Bureau almost always used surrogates to perform such functions but can repeatedly be demonstrated as having provided the basic intelligence, logistics or other ingredients requisite to "successful" operations in this regard.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

1. Check out the authenticity of any disturbing letter, rumor, phone call or other communication before acting on it. Ask the supposed source if she or he is responsible.
2. Keep records of incidents which appear to reflect COINTELPRO-type activity. Also, report your experiences to EWOK! and other groups that document repression.
3. Deal openly and honestly with the differences within our movements (race, gender, class, age, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, personality, experience, physical and intellectual capacities, etc.) before the FBI and police can exploit them.
4. Don't try to expose a suspected agent or informer without solid proof. Purges based on mere suspicion only help the FBI and police create distrust and paranoia. It generally works better to criticize what a disruptive person says and does, without speculating as to why.
5. Support all movement activists who come under government attack. Don't be put off by political slander, such as recent attempts to smear some militant opponents of government policy as "terrorists". Organize public opposition to all FBI witchhunts, grand jury subpoenas, political trials and other forms of government and right-wing harassment.
6. Cultivate relationships with sympathetic journalists who seem willing to investigate and publicize domestic covert operations. Let them know when you are harassed. Since the FBI and police thrive on secrecy, public exposure can undermine their ability to subvert our work.
7. Don't tough it out alone. Don't let others fret and suffer by themselves. Make sure that activists who are under extreme stress get the help they need (someone to talk with, rest, therapy, etc.). It is crucial that we build support networks and take care of one another.
8. Above all, do not let our movements be diverted from their main goals. Our most powerful weapon against political repression is effective organizing around the needs and issues which directly affect people's lives [and the lives of animals and the environment too!].



Do you have an FBI file?

You can find out by filing a FOIA request. Go to <http://www.getmyfbifile.com/> to get started. To get your DHS Travel Dossier, go to <http://www.unsecureflight.com>.

The Green Scare and Grand Juries

In the last few years, Grand Juries have been used more frequently to seek indictments for unsolved acts of property destruction against targets that were chosen for their negative environmental impact. Since federal investigators have little evidence to bring anyone to trial, Grand Juries became a tool to hunt for suspects by subpoenaing individuals in the environmental movement. They hope to turn their "guesswork into possible evidence" by subpoenaing vulnerable people like single mothers who cannot risk being taken from their children. Grand Juries can also be used as a form of harassment as in the case of former Earth Liberation Front spokesperson Craig Rosebraugh who has been subpoenaed eight times to Grand Juries since 1997.

From May through November of 2006, Jeff Hogg was detained in prison for refusing to cooperate with a federal Grand Jury probably relating to the FBI's Operation Backfire. The Grand Jury was originally set to expire on September 30, 2006, but a motion for his release was denied and a motion to extend the grand jury until March was passed. He was released soon after several Operation Backfire defendants who turned police informant negotiated plea agreements with federal prosecutors.

No one currently knows how many grand juries are open and how many people have been subpoenaed to appear, but there were at least four grand juries open on the west coast in the last few months. One which includes Jeff Hogg and at least five other individuals relating to Operation Backfire. A second in San Francisco where 10 people, ranging from animal and environmental activists to independent media members and progressives, were served in late-spring, 2005, with subpoenas to appear before a federal grand jury. This grand jury is viewed by these activists as an attempt to frighten activists and disable the animal rights and other movements.

Grand juries are the first step in sending down indictments - you are not allowed to have a lawyer present inside the room at a grand jury, and can be kept in jail for months at a time for refusing to testify. If you know ANYONE who has been subpoenaed, or have heard anything about the situation, please share that information. There is nothing to be gained by keeping quiet, and a lot of people's safety, comfort and freedom are on the line.

If you are approached by authorities, know that you DO NOT have to say anything, and that there are people and lawyers ready to support you. Even the most seemingly-innocuous statements can have negative effects and answering questions only opens you up to further harassment.

GRAND JURY 101

Grand juries were originally formed to create a filter to stop unjustified felony cases at an early stage. Unlike a trial jury, which decides whether a suspect is guilty, a grand jury merely decides whether there's probable cause to prosecute. Unfortunately, somewhere along the way, it all went very wrong.

Grand juries actually function as modern-day inquisitions, and can include the following: detention and interrogation without probable cause; suspension of 1st, 4th, 5th (through forced immunity), and 6th amendments of the Bill of Rights; a defense attorney's presence is forbidden; no judge is present; and the jury is not screened for bias. Those subpoenaed to testify are pressured under threat of imprisonment for the duration of the grand jury (usually a maximum of 18 months) if they decline. Any line of questioning can be pursued—regardless of its relevance to the indictment. Grand juries are used by prosecutors to cast a wide net into an entire community—gathering names, contact information, associations, personal history, romantic interests—in short, anything that can be used against activists and their community.

A common association with the word "indictment" is "guilty". The Oxford American Dictionary's two definitions explain why: "Indictment (n)—(1) a formal charge or accusation of a serious crime; (2) something which illustrates that a system or situation is bad and deserves to be condemned." Thus, a contradiction exists within the word itself—one who is indicted is both "accused" and "guilty". Thus, the vilification of a grand jury indictment, in effect, denies the accused their right to a presumption of innocence until a trial.

SO WHAT HAPPENS IN A GRAND JURY?

The process begins with the service of a subpoena. It must be handed to you or, if you refuse to accept it, placed near you. A subpoena duces tecum directs you to appear and produce a physical object.

If you fail to appear as directed, you can be arrested and held until your testimony. Whether you actually get arrested will depend on how badly they want you, and how easy you are to find.

If served with a subpoena duces tecum, file a written motion to quash the subpoena, especially where it directs you to produce privileged material or is unduly burdensome or harassing.

When it is a regular subpoena, unless you are asked to travel, it may be best not to file a motion to quash, since at least one federal circuit court has decided that any objections not litigated in the motion to quash are waived. Besides, most, if not all, objections you have to testifying cannot be dealt with except on a question-by-question basis.

If you appear, you will be taken into the grand jury room, which will have one or more prosecutors, a court reporter, and 16-23 grand jurors. Do not be intimidated. Grand jurors are simply citizens who have been selected for (grand) jury duty.

Begin writing down every question. You will be given an oath and first asked your name and address. Thereafter, if you have an attorney, most courts follow the rule that you may consult with your attorney after every question (though a couple courts have said after every few questions), although the prosecutor or grand jury may try to scare you into believing otherwise. Beginning with the first question, and every question thereafter, state, "I invoke my Fifth Amendment privilege." And while there is no court decision stating that any other objections not raised are waived, it may be a good idea to add, ". . . and reserve all other objections, privileges, and immunities." You don't want to be the first victim of a conservative judge bent on setting a precedent on the issue.

After raising your Fifth Amendment privilege a few times, the prosecutor will probably ask you if you intend to invoke your Fifth Amendment privilege to all questions. You can either say, "yes," or you can say that you cannot know if you will answer a question until you hear it. At this stage, you may be excused.

FBI Seeks Informants in Twin Cities

Following is a statement from a person known to EWOK!, who was approached by the local JTTF and offered the possibility of being a paid informant in the spring of 2008. The individual has rejected the offer, gone public with the incident, and now has an NLG lawyer. His statement should both inspire us for his refusal to cooperate, and remind us that he is probably not the only person solicited by the government in such a way and, unfortunately, we have to assume that some people will cooperate. Note that the information from the cards referenced in this story is copied below.

As I was biking back from court, my phone rang. I let it go to answering machine and checked it when I was off my bike. It was the police officer who I talked to about my graffiti. It said something like, "This isn't graffiti related but I need your help with something. You're not in trouble, give me a call." I give him a call. Something like this:

"I'd like to meet with you today. It's not about graffiti." "I'm not going to rat anyone out, what do you want." "Don't really know why I said that. I was nervous, I suppose." "Twenty minutes of your time. Where do you want to meet?" "I don't know, Eric, where do you want to meet? And can you tell me what this is about?" "I'll explain it when we meet. How about Espresso Expose?" "Sure." "When's good?" "How about 12:30."

So now I'm antsy and confused. I get there fifteen minutes early and then he comes a bit late. He says, "This is my partner," and he referred to the woman next to him. They both got coffee, leaving me in my shaky, dumbfounded mental state even longer. Then we sat down and she flashes an FBI badge. Seeing my nerves they reassured me again that I was safe and not guilty of anything. Then for twenty minutes they flatter me about how my personality and appearance are perfect matches for what is required in some espionage dealio. They wanted me to crash vegan potluck parties and get into the inner circle of terrorists because supposedly terrorists are trusting and I'm "trustable, easy going, funny," and a bunch of other flattery. Every time they said "vegan potluck" I chuckled, but their faces showed they weren't kidding. They said "vegan potluck" half a dozen times. They really feared vegans and their violent conspiracies to blow up buildings in protest to the republican national convention. So after twenty minutes of bewildering suckups, they ask me if I'm in. They say there's compensation if I assist in someone's arrest. I say "ummmmmmm I'll pass." She says, "That was the fastest anyone has ever rejected me," and then tried for ten more minutes to get me to change her mind before saying, "Really: think about it. We could really use you." Then she gave me a business card. On the back she wrote me her cell phone number. I said "you have very legible handwriting," and they both had themselves a hearty laugh. "Call if you change your mind. Don't tell any of your friends about this and don't show anyone this card." We said our goodbyes and I haven't heard from either of them since.



V E G A N



University of Minnesota Police Twin Cities Campus

Erik Swanson
Police Sergeant, Investigations
Joint Terrorism Task Force

UMPD
511 Washington Ave. E.E.
Minneapolis, MN 55455
Internet: www.umn.edu/police
E-mail: swans078@umn.edu
Office: 612-624-9560
Cell: 612-290-4688
Fax: 612-626-0534

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Maureen E. Mazzola
Special Agent

111 Washington Ave. South
Suite 1100
Minneapolis, MN 55401
Telephone: 612-376-3200
Fax: 612-376-3444
Cell: 612-490-7447 (written very legibly on back)

Meet the Minnesota Joint Terrorism Task Force!

The JTTF was formed in the wake of 9/11; they are a coalition of federal, state and local law enforcement agencies whose official job description is to prevent terrorism. Members of the JTTF include representatives from federal agencies including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), US Marshals, Federal Air Marshals, and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). State and local representatives include the Minnesota State Patrol, Minneapolis Police Department, Saint Paul Police Department, Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA), Minneapolis / Saint Paul Airport Police, Hennepin County Sheriff's Office, Ramsey County Sheriff's Office, and the Sioux Falls, South Dakota Police Department.

In 2002, the Justice Department eliminated regulations put in place after the Church Commission hearings in the 1970s, which disclosed evidence of politically motivated spying and obstruction of first amendments rights by the FBI's COINTELPRO division. The JTTF carries COINTELPRO's work on.

In Minnesota, they are particularly (in)famous for declaring that the ALF and ELF are "more dangerous than Al Qaida" and for declaring groups such as Food Not Bombs, Students Against War and Arise! Bookstore "terrorist organizations." They have also been responsible for harassing activists for years, particularly these two:

Erik Swanson is a University of Minnesota police officer (his business card reads Erik Swanson, Police Sergeant, Investigations, Joint Terrorism Task Force, University of Minnesota Police, Twin Cities Campus). His job description includes "Assistant Division Commander, general investigations, intelligence coordinator, executive protection supervisor, etc."

He is a balding, tall, burly white man who, frankly, looks like a cop.

Millicent "Millie" Tompa and Maureen Mazzola have each, individually, often accompanied him on visits. They are both female agents of the FBI.

These two pairs (Erik/Millie, Erik/Maureen) have visited activists across the country at their houses, places of employment, and local businesses such as coffee shops. They have also harassed people's parents, activists, and employers.

If you see them separately or together, or any other law enforcement officer, give them no information, do not let them into your house or consent to any search without a warrant, and publicize their activities immediately!



Or, the prosecutor may seek to give you immunity, which must be approved by a judge. (Immunity could have been granted before you even got to court.) You will be taken before a judge for an immunity hearing, and the judge will likely rubber-stamp the request.

Thereafter, you cannot invoke your Fifth Amendment privilege because it will be moot. Except, when they start asking about other people you know, try asserting your Fifth Amendment privilege on the basis that the granting of immunity cannot protect you, because if such persons are charged with some sort of conspiracy in another case, admitting you know those persons could lead to your getting named as a defendant in such case.



Other bases for either objecting and/or refusing to answer any individual question, despite having been given immunity, include but are not limited to the following:

- The question violates your First Amendment right to privacy of association and belief.
- The purpose of the question is to harass you on the basis of your protected political and moral beliefs.
- The question violates your constitutional right to privacy.
- The purpose of the question is to gather intelligence, not to investigate or indict a potential crime.
- You cannot answer the question because the question is ambiguous, complex and/or confusing, and any answer you give would tend to be confusing or misleading.
- You cannot answer the question, as the question makes assumptions that might appear to be admitted no matter how you answer the question.
- The question was derived from an illegal wiretap.

You can refuse to answer on the ground that the purpose of the proceedings is not to investigate or indict a potential crime, but to gather intelligence, to harass you, and to terrorize and fragment the environmental rights community.

You might also add: "I request that the grand jury be instructed that they have the power to dismiss the subpoena, and that they do so." Check the prosecutor's reaction to that one.

If the prosecutor wants to compel an answer, he or she will first have to take you before a judge for a hearing. Argue initially that you need more time and/or you want to brief the issue. Assuming that request is denied and your objections are overruled, the judge will order you to answer the question(s), and you will be taken back to the grand jury room.

At this point you have to decide whether to answer. Failure to answer will result in contempt, and you can be held until the end of the grand jury's term (up to 18 mos., depending on when they started; a "special" grand jury can get up to three 6-mo. extensions). Periodically thereafter, you can file a Grumbles motion (named after a court case), arguing that you will never answer their questions, and therefore your incarceration has become punitive and you should be released.

If you decide to answer questions, you may become so stressed and rattled that you may suffer stress-induced amnesia, such that your answer to most, if not all, questions will be, "I don't know" or "I can't remember." You might even ask to see a doctor. Don't be alarmed. This condition should pass after you leave the grand jury room. Resist the Grand Jury: It works!

In a September 2004 law enforcement analysis, authors Randy Borum of the University of South Florida and Chuck Tilby of the Eugene, OR Police Department admit: "Although Grand Jury investigations are routinely

successful against criminals, they have been less successful against activists and 'true believers.' The criminal is generally motivated solely by his or her own self-interest, whereas activists are often more concerned with their beliefs and the effects their actions may have on others and on the movement more generally."

Former Black Panthers Ray Boudreaux, John Bowman, Richard Brown, Hank Jones, and Harold Taylor, were subpoenaed to the SF Grand Jury in October 2005, but refused to cooperate. In an attempt to coerce testimony, the government then imprisoned the five in Bay Area jails for the life of the Grand Jury. However, they all remained strong, resistant, and non-cooperative throughout, and all were released the next month.

The best tactic to take when facing a grand jury is to refuse to answer any and all questions about yourself or others in the movement. Any answers you do give a grand jury will be used to harass and subpoena other activists. Make your position clear to others in the activist community and to the media (to draw attention to the unjust system that Grand Jury proceedings represent).

Be aware, if you do refuse to testify at a Grand Jury, you can expect jail time (especially if they grant you immunity at the proceedings). Given the current climate, jail time for those refusing to participate in these proceedings has actually been relatively short (3-6 weeks). This is a small price to pay to protect yourself and your fellow activists from further prosecution.

WHAT TO DO IF THE FBI KNOCKS ON YOUR DOOR...

...to "just ask a few questions"

- Remember the magic words: "I am going to remain silent. I would like to see a lawyer". If your memory is prone to failure, attorney and anti-nuclear activist, Katya Komisaruk, recommends tattooing this mantra on a visible body part.
- Take notes: time & date of visit; any information you have (name; physical descriptions; car make, model, color, license plate); anything about how the conversation went. Ask for name and number of the agents who visit you.
- Immediately contact your local support group. In the Twin Cities, that group is: EWOK! fightthegreenscare@riseup.net or <http://www.midwestgreenscare.org>.

...with a Subpoena

- You are not required to open your door for anyone. The server is legally required to hand it to you, or can throw it at your feet if you are in the same room.
- If you are served with a subpoena, you should immediately call 888-NLG-ECOL
- Tell your friends and movement groups about the subpoena and discuss how to respond to it. Do not try to deal with this alone.

...if they ask to search your home, car or belongings

- Ask for a Search Warrant and ensure it explicitly matches their search. If they do not have a warrant or there is a mistake on it, say: "I do not consent to a search."
- If they have a legitimate Search Warrant, you are required to cooperate, but still have the right to remain silent (remember the tattoo).



to profiling activists.

Within hours of that incident, the couple previously mentioned who had the new born back in 2001 were visited again. They had since moved to a different house in Minneapolis. After opening the door to a knock, two white males in suits asked for him and his partner by name and identified themselves as FBI. They requested to enter so they could ask a few questions. He quickly and decisively replied, "No, I have nothing to say to you," shut the door immediately and locked it. They left without further incident.

Within twenty four hours another Minneapolis resident was visited by an FBI Agent Robert Canada, twice. During the first visit, no one was home so he left his business card in the door. The following morning, Agent Canada followed up and attempted to interview the Minneapolis man. He informed the agent that he had no interest in speaking to him about anything.

That week alone, at least six other activists were contacted by the FBI, all of whom refused to speak to them. They FBI left messages with parents of activists, visited their work to try and interview them and in one instance Robert P. Canada and Officer Jonathan Gullickson left their cards with the parents of an individual with only the words, "please call (your son)."

During the beginning of March, 2003, the JTTF had contacted over a dozen people, almost all of whom exercised their right to say nothing. Within a week, the visits stopped happening.

Until Friday, October 24th of that year.

The FBI sunk to some of the lowest of levels on that day. They tried to use the recent suicide of Minnesota woman Angela Davis as a tool to get their foot in the door and talk to Minneapolis activists. At approximately 11:20am, Angela Davis' ex-partner of eight years and father of her child received a visit from FBI agent Millicent Tompa (female) and Officer Erik Swanson of the U of M PD at his work. They explained to him that they needed to talk to him in regards to the investigations surrounding the death of his ex-partner. He had been a target of FBI harassment in the past and knew the best way to prevent the FBI from harassing activists is to not speak nor cooperate with them in any way. This time, it seemed, things were different. He was told that they were there specifically to talk about Angie, so he agreed to answer some questions. They spent the first five to seven minutes asking a questions regarding Angie. Instantly, the interview went sour. They literally went from asking about details of his relationship to his philosophical and political opinions and about any involvement with animal rights organizations. He immediately terminated the interview, and was so hit by the betrayal that he left work early, so grief stricken and upset about his ex-partner's recent death that he was unable to concentrate on work.

Not even twenty minutes later, the same two agents appeared on the front porch of another Minneapolis resident's house who was also a friend of the late Angela Davis. They came to the door and without knocking, the resident had noticed two individuals fitting the description of Agent Tompa and Officer Swanson by looking through his peep hole on his porch door. The two agents in turn heard him at the door and ordered, "This is the police! Open up!" He kept the door closed and locked it. (It wasn't locked at the time). After getting the badge number from Officer Swanson, he explained to them, "I have nothing to say to you," and further demanded that they leave his property,



"Immediately!" The two agents conferred with each other on the porch and then responded with, "What did you say? I can't hear you. You need to open the door." Again he refused to open the door and explained to them that he wouldn't unless they had a signed warrant to enter his residence, repeating his demand that they "immediately" leave his property. Ignoring his second demand to leave his property, they hesitated. Agent Tompa responded "I just want you know that we are here to talk to you about Angie Davis before we go." The game was over as far as he was concerned. They had just met with his friend at work with the same story and his friend had just called him about the incident minutes before the two agents arrived at his door step. He too was upset about Angie's recent death and the callous attempt the FBI made to trivialize their relationship and use it to get an interview

with him. He responded, "I know your tricks and I'm not interested in playing your games of deception. If, in fact, you are seriously investigating Angie's death, then I advise you to talk to my attorney." Again, they refused to take any info on his attorney and left.

The FBI, ATF and City and County Police Agencies in the JTTF have been actively attempting to interview and profile individuals and groups around the Twin Cities as well as around the country. These accounts are only a snapshot of encounters that have occurred in the past five years; many other occurrences similar to these have happened since then. Sometimes the encounters have taken place in seemingly random coffee shops while student activists were holding study group sessions. Other encounters include calculated attempts by the police to compile a list of activists and pull their vehicles over to attempt a vehicle search if they drive on campus. Knowing this, we have a responsibility to ourselves and our community to stand up in the face of these intimidating tactics and say it's not okay. Remember that this is what they do. They are trained to use coercion, threats of arrest and even force to get their job done. They have no interest in serving or protecting the community they work for. If you are visited by the police, do not panic. Tell them to leave (if they don't have a warrant) and most importantly say nothing. They mean it when they say, "Anything you say can and will be used against you." What they don't mention is that they'll also use it against anyone you speak for or speak about...

The FBI in Minneapolis: a Partial Rundown of Visits Since 2001

The FBI and other government police agencies have a long, calculated history of infiltrating, disrupting and harassing both individuals who are politically active or who are involved or perceived to be associated with social justice organizations and/or causes in the United States.

In Minneapolis, the story is no different. It is important to realize this fact and to exercise good judgment by refusing to cooperate with the police in every situation. Talking to the police is dangerous. If you are ever approached by the police, remain silent. It is your right. Especially if you believe you have nothing to hide. People often make the mistake of believing they have done nothing wrong and therefore have no reason to not to talk to the police. Once you open the door to an officer of the law you give them consent to enter your house.

The tactics used by the Police to interview activists and profile them vary in degrees. It can start with seemingly harmless banter and unexpected visits to the work place, or even appear in the form of forceful knocks with threats of arrest through locked doors.

The day after New Years Day in 2001, two Minneapolis residents had spent their first night at home with their newborn baby. They awoke to two F.B.I. agents pounding on the door repeatedly until one of the residents walked to the living room door, verified the door was locked and requested to know who was at the door. The agents continued to forcefully and loudly pound on the door and demand that she open up or they would have her arrested for "obstruction of justice." She spoke to them through the closed door and inquired as to whether the agents had any arrest or search warrant on them. They continued to pound on the door, but would not verify they had any warrants. Instead they demanded to speak with her partner (they identified her and her partner by name while yelling through the locked door). They continued and said they would not stop pounding on the door until they spoke with him. Meanwhile, her partner was in the bedroom. Hearing the loud commotion from the living room he dialed his attorney's phone number. His attorney explained to him that he should not open the door and instructed him to give the police his attorney's number to be contacted. With this information he went into the living room with his partner and explained to the FBI agents that he would not open the door. He informed them that he had nothing to say to the agents and instructed them to contact his attorney. The FBI agents refused to take down the attorney's number. They said they would sit outside the door until he came out and talked to them. They even had the audacity to ask, "Why won't you come out to talk to us? We only want to help you further your cause!" Even after the couples' Midwife showed up for their babies first well baby check up after returning from the hospital, the FBI continued to wait outside the door. It wasn't until twenty minutes later that the FBI agents left the scene and the couple allowed their Midwife in for the appointment.

In March of 2003, the FBI and other government agencies affiliated with the U of M Police Department as well as the ATF joined forces and created what is known as the JTTF (Joint Terrorism Task Force). The newly formed JTTF started to target individuals as well as groups. One of its first known visits was an appearance at an Animal Rights Meeting at the U of M. They handed out fliers with the subject heading, 1999 University of Minnesota Burglary/Vandalism, and explained that during the investigation for the burglary the animal rights group's name "just happened to come up somehow," saying they were investigating some new evidence on the case. They wanted a list naming every person who ever attended the group's meeting since 1999 and the mailing list. They even asked for the names and birthdates of everybody attending the meeting so they "could have a record of who [they'd] talked to." An individual in the group asked them to leave and no one gave them information. The following day a U of M police officer named Erik Swanson sent an email to the person who requested they leave the meeting. He wanted to meet in person and further discuss the details from the flier the police gave to the group. The individual refused to meet with him.

That following week multiple people were approached or contacted, sometimes within hours of each other, by the different police agencies working through the JTTF. In one instance, the police extended their attempts over several days by leaving messages on a Minneapolis resident's voice mail stating, "you were a witness to something at the U in 1999 and 'we'd like to ask you questions.'" He was concerned about the message because it implied he was a witness to something illegal, and he had not been a witness to anything illegal as far as he knew. After returning the calls to several different messages he had multiple short conversations with the police. After a few days of short conversations followed up with a lot of phone tag, he decided to exercise his right not meet with them or talk to them any more. The police, instead of leaving this individual alone, decided to leave more phone messages accompanied with multiple visits to his front door. At one point they did both. When knocking at his front door and noticing he was home and not opening the door for them, the left one final message on his machine, "please let us in, we're at your front door." He didn't. He received one final call from an FBI office in Atlanta, GA. They explained they would be sending him a subpoena related to an entirely different matter and nothing ever came of it.

Not even a day later the two police agents identified as Detective Richard Greelis from the City Of Bloomington and Detective Dave Giguere from the Hennepin County Sheriff's office visited an animal rights activist at his parents' house. Not having a say in telling them to leave, his parents let them in. He was busy working with another person in the basement of his parents' house who volunteered with an animal rights group at the time. He was curious as to what the agents were discussing with his parents, so he went upstairs. They asked him approximately twenty questions, mostly regarding vandalism and burglary at the U of M in years past, but they also asked him questions pertaining to his opinions regarding non-violence and other personal beliefs. They eventually left without incident, however, after the whole interview was complete, he posted a very thorough documentation of the incident on the internet to multiple boards and websites detailing the questions they asked him. He took notes during the interview, but most importantly, he came to the conclusion that "what I did was wrong and I regret it. I should have immediately told them to talk to my lawyer" and advised people to do the same if the police ever visits them. He was worried because during the interview he mentioned someone he knew by name, but he didn't believe there would be any reason for his friends to be targeted by the JTTF. Sure enough, she ended up on the list that the JTTF uses to profile activists. She received a visit from the JTTF a few days later. There's no way to determine if this interview was the sole reason for these people to receive visits by the JTTF, but it's probable considering the history police agencies have when it comes

Raids

Anytime law enforcement officers show up at your residence, or the residence of someone's home who you happen to be at, NEVER OPEN THE DOOR. Instead, tell them you will not talk to them and to go away. Unless the officers present a search warrant, you do not have to talk to them or let them in. Be firm about this. If they say that they have search warrant, make them show you the document through a window or peak hole. Never even crack the door. Once inside, officers can stay and search the immediate area. Excuses such as "there has been a death threat made against your life, we can protect you" to "we just want to clear a few things up" have been used. Never fall for these or other justifications.

WHAT IS A RAID?

Raids essentially give law enforcement the ability to search your residence or car without your consent. Before this can happen, a judge must grant approval to the law enforcement agency. This approval comes in the form of a search warrant. Search warrants are typically tied in one way or another to an investigation. However, just like the majority of investigations, they can be used as fishing expeditions. Things such as DNA evidence (hair samples from brushes, etc.), phone books and contact lists, political materials, and electronic devices (computers, cell phones, etc.) are typically seized. Raids are one of the most deeply disturbing forms of government oppression and can do a lot of damage to political organizing activities due to the loss of expensive computer equipment, literature and other materials. While raids do not take place as frequently as other forms of government surveillance and harassment, you can still never be too prepared. There are things you can and should do now to protect yourself, your family and friends, and your movement.

PREPARING FOR RAIDS

- Use scenarios to strategize: Only you know the work that you do and what specifics would be impacted in a search and seizure operation. Build scenarios for yourself - what do you need to access daily that could be seized, what is your strategy for dealing with that? Do you have other illegal items (such as drugs) that could be used to bolster police criminalization of you - do you care about things like this? Walk yourself through what you would do from the moment that the police show up with a search warrant, who you would call, what you would do immediately following the raid to inform people (if you weren't arrested). Scenario building helps you to mentally and physically prepare for an event like this - though you will never be fully ready for an invasion of this scale.
- Encrypt and wipe: All files (not just those that are sensitive) on your computer hard drive should be encrypted using a program such as PGP disk (available at www.pgpi.org). This includes cache files, email (your whole email program should be set up on an encrypted partition), image archives and text documents. Wipe all free space on your hard drive weekly using a program such as PGP or Burn (for Macs), this makes retrieving data from your drives difficult if not impossible. See <http://security.resist.ca> for more information on file security. Along those lines, DELETE OLD E-MAILS! They can be accessed by authorities or subpoenaed.
- Backups, backups, backups: If you lost all your data tomorrow - how would you function? Your best strategy for getting back to work (and thwarting organizational disruption), is making regular backups and storing them with a trusted friend, or in a safety deposit box not connected to you. You don't want it to be common knowledge who keeps your backups for you - as police could obtain a warrant to search that person's home for materials belonging to you as well. Don't just back-up your computer files, but make copies of any paper files that you could not live without and store them in a sealed envelope in a safe place.
- Clean up your desktop and filing cabinets: Ever write down a password on a piece of paper and then shove it into a file? Ever write down a phone number of a person you don't want to be officially connected to? All those little bits of paper start to add up to a lot of information after awhile, especially if cleaning office isn't your strong point. Go through all the paper bits on your desk and transfer that data into a secure place (like an encrypted disk or file), and then securely dispose of the paper. Likewise, go through filing cabinets once every few months and pull out old phone lists, research that is no longer useful or needed, and anything else



When an Agent Knocks, Talk About It



you don't want the police to get their hands on.

- Know your home and contents: Had a lot of roommates or traveling friends over the years? That means that there is a good chance that things you are unaware of have been left behind in closets. Clean up after someone stays or moves out, so you aren't storing items you don't want to be. No one wants to get caught with someone else's stolen goods or incriminating evidence - so keeping a clean house is essential.
- Your PDA and Cell Phone: Are all your phone numbers stored on your cell phone or palm pilot? Where would you get that info if the police had a warrant to seize those items as well? A back-up zip disk containing important information of this type (encrypted) should go along with your computer backups.
- Emergency numbers & Support: Keep a lawyer's number on hand, as well as the numbers of any people who would support you during and after a raid. Make sure that the people you live with know where they can get that info if necessary, and also that they know what to do in case of a raid. If you live in a house with other activists, you should all participate in planning your security strategy and know what to do, and how to get in touch with other housemates if they aren't home.

WHAT HAPPENS DURING A RAID?

- Raids vary greatly depending on the investigation and individuals being targeted. Typically, victims will either receive a phone call from authorities telling them that they have a matter of minutes to leave the property because "the area must be secured," or agents will simply come to the door with the search warrant. Either way, at this point, do not resist. Resisting can only legally complicate your situation and, considering the brutality of authorities, endanger you physically.
- The search warrant will be presented. Contained in the search warrant will be a list of items that can be seized. Make sure to get a copy of this document and study it. Sometimes, search warrants can be as broad as: all documents or materials relating to political activity, or as narrow as: all computer equipment and electronic devices.
- Once the search warrant is presented, non-resident occupants will be forced to leave the location. Sometimes, occupants can remain inside the location but will be confined to a particular room. You have the right to observe what is going on and what is being taken.
- If confined inside the property, you might not be able to make phone calls. Keep asking and keep trying. If someone is allowed to leave, the first thing they should do is contact people on your emergency list for support and advice. Try to get witnesses there to watch, document and offer support. They should have cameras and note-pads to collect as much information as possible.
- Those targeted for the search should also try to get the names and agencies of as many officers as possible.
- During the raid agents will cover the entire property, this can last for hours. The process of watching your home get torn through can be horrific, understand that this potential comes with the territory.
- DO NOT help agents open anything or search anything. You do not have to do this.
- If you are allowed to stay inside, try as best as you can to watch what's happening. Take notes. Where are they focusing? What are they taking? Are they staying within the limits of the search warrant? BUT NOT DO TALK TO AUTHORITIES! You are only required to present the information on your drivers license.

WHAT TO DO AFTER THE RAID IS OVER

- Once the raid has commenced, you will be presented with a document listing "everything" that was seized at your property and/or from within your vehicle. It is generally not a good idea to sign this document. You will generally find the list to be vague and overly broad. References to "political pamphlets" or "computer disks" are routinely used. When you sign this form, you are stating that you agree that these and only these materials were seized. Here's where the problems can occur: they seized something that was not on that list, you now have very little legal recourse for getting that particular part of your property back; you signed agreeing that "political pamphlets" were seized, the government then takes a doctored bomb-making zine and shoves it into the "political pamphlets" stack- you've just agreed that was seized at your property.
- Once officers leave, you will find your residence to be an absolute disaster. They will not, in any way, attempt to clean up or be orderly about searching your property. Keep this in mind during the raid and be prepared for the shock. Destroying your sense of order and upsetting you are side benefits for authorities in conducting raids.
- If you do not have support people there, call them immediately for support, help with the clean up and to assist with documentation.
- Before any clean up begins, two things need to happen: take pictures of everything and document, as best as possible, what was taken.
- Clean up and in the process, prepare for any additional visits by authorities.
- Add all information gathered to your existing personal file detailing your experiences with authorities.

Often, when folks find themselves having been visited or otherwise solicited for information by law enforcement, their reaction is to keep the fact that they've been targeted for government harassment quiet. In reality, however, the worst thing (next to cooperating!) that you can do in this situation is to keep it to yourself. In doing so, you deprive yourself of community support at a time that may be stressful and even terrifying and, simultaneously, you help the government maintain a veil of secrecy around the harassment and surveillance they use to destroy resistance movements.

Many people who've been harassed by law enforcement officers report having been threatened with negative consequences should they choose to go public about the incident. This, like so much of what they'll tell you, is utter and complete bullshit. YOU ARE NOT LEGALLY BOUND TO KEEP THEIR SECRETS, and the fact that they often lie and try to convince you that you are only speaks to the fact that doing so benefits them, while spreading the word benefits us. Part of their strategy for repressing dissent is to quietly isolate individuals from their communities and terrorize them into cooperating in their efforts. If we expose what they're doing every time they do it, we strip them of the freedom and protection that secrecy offers- think of it as a little counter-counter-insurgency tactic.

Publicizing government harassment is a protective measure. As we build a culture where people talk about and prepare for government repression, and support those facing it, we reduce the number of people who will turn on their comrades to save their own asses. If you come from a community where everyone is informed about incidents of harassment and knows how to deal with them calmly and effectively, and where not cooperating is the norm, you'll be better equipped to deal with more serious situations as they arise. Whether or not you ever have been or ever will be involved in illegal activity, it's possible that you, or someone you care about, or someone they care about, will at some point find themselves sitting in a jail cell being given the option of cooperating in exchange for some sort of leniency in charges or sentencing. And even if you don't support ELF actions or other things that people are being indicted for these days, the old adage holds true with law enforcement: "give 'em an inch, and they'll take down every poor fucker they can get their hands on." That is, acquiescing to law enforcement demands that we remain silent about the things they do is just like giving a mouse a vegan cookie- who wants just one vegan cookie, after all?

Lastly, letting your community know that you've been visited is important because law enforcement visits are dangerous for everyone, not just the particular person who's been visited, and you owe your community any information that may keep them safer. You don't and can't necessarily know exactly who may be endangered by government activity, but you can be sure that making it possible for those people it may affect to find out about it will help them. When you get visited, you may not have any idea why they're asking what they're asking- this could be because they're wacked out creepers who don't know what they're talking about, or it could be that their asking about things that you had no involvement in. It's not uncommon for visits to be made in a desperate attempt to find any in into radical circles that may, eventually, lead to a suspect. Thus, it's important to be cautious about acting rashly and publicizing details (e.g., names mentioned, actions, etc.) of a visit in a way that will only incite open and potentially incriminating speculation in your community, and to balance that against the need to get as much information as possible out into the public realm so that people who it may affect can take appropriate actions to protect themselves. So, while there's no doubt that you should go public immediately with your experience of government harassment, you should also take the time to consult with trusted friends and support networks to determine the best way to do so and still avoid unwittingly getting others in trouble.