

Many callers spoke directly to Bari, thanking her for her work and praising her courage, strength, leadership, intelligence, and hilarious sense of humor.

One caller, former Representative Dan Hamburg, said, "She's feared by those in authority . . . But, Judi, you're feared by those people because you're truly a revolutionary. You see with your vision a different kind of world: a world where connections are made between the global economy and poverty and environmental deterioration. You understand what the connections are between the big picture and the little picture."

Judi Bari died peacefully March 2, 1997, at home in her mountain cabin in Willits. She wanted obituaries to list her occupation as "revolutionary" and asked people to remember what labor union martyr Joe Hill said just before he was executed in 1915: "Don't mourn. Organize!"

She asked that her friends gather for a "party" in her memory. More than a thousand people gathered in Willits March 9 to celebrate her life. It began outdoors in a tree-shaded city park with speakers, musicians, and potluck food. As dusk approached, a kilted bagpiper and a contingent of hand drummers led a procession several blocks to a community hall.

The evening featured a slide show by Judi's sister Martha, showing Judi's life from infancy through childhood, adolescence, college and early adulthood. The slide show ended with a shot showing Judi looking back, smiling and waving goodbye to her family as she drove away to California and all that was to follow in the life of a truly remarkable woman.

FURTHER INFORMATION

The official Judi Bari website is at <http://www.monitor.net/~bari>

Bari's 1994 book *Timber Wars* is a compilation of her articles, essays, and speeches, including her first person account of the car bombing and its aftermath, as well as her analyses of the issues which concerned her. *Timber Wars* is available through most bookstores, from the publisher, Common Courage Press, or directly from Redwood Summer Justice Project, \$15.95 postpaid (California residents add 7.5% sales tax), P.O. Box 14720, Santa Rosa CA 95402.

Further information about Judi Bari and Earth First! can be had by phoning the Mendocino Environmental Center at 707-468-1660.

DONATIONS

Children of Judi Bari Fund
P.O. Box 2517
Sebastopol CA 95473

The Redwood Justice Fund
(in support of Bari/Cherney lawsuit)
P.O. Box 14720
Santa Rosa CA 95402

Mendo Earth First!
106 East Standley St.
Ukiah, CA, 95482

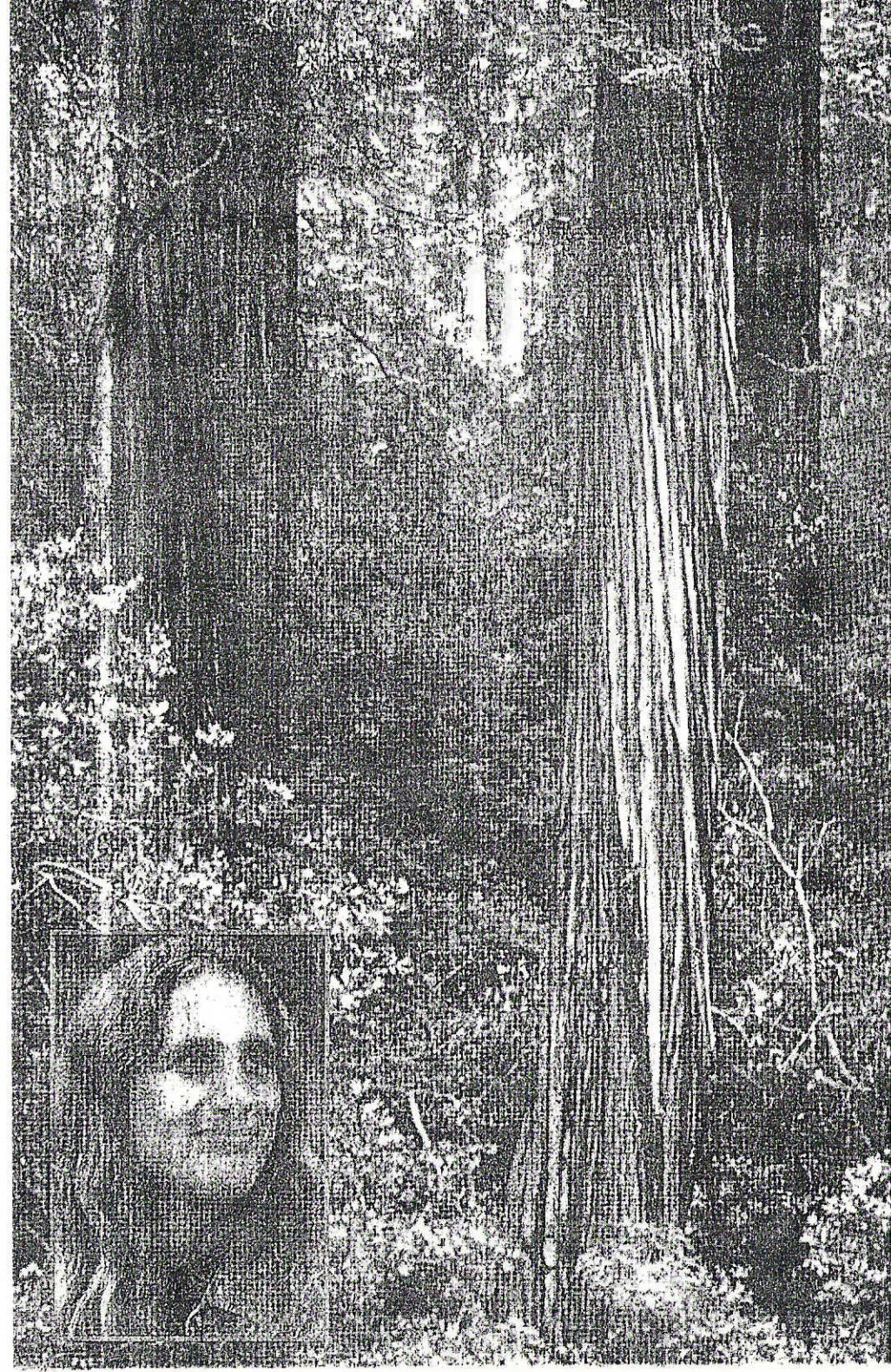
Northcoast Earth First!
PO Box 28
Arcata, CA, 95518

REVOLUTIONARY ECOLOGY

biocentrism & deep ecology

by

JUDI BARI



in the press. "We're not suing them for failing to catch the real bombers," Judi said in a November 1996 interview. "We're suing them for not even looking for the real bombers."

JUDI'S ACTIVISM CONTINUES

Determination, intelligence, and an ever-present sense of humor were among the traits often cited in describing Judi. When someone remarked about her ability to continue her activism despite her injuries, she quipped, "They bombed the wrong end of me." Though handicapped and in constant pain from her injuries, Judi continued to organize non-violent direct action protests, including sustained efforts against logging giants Louisiana-Pacific and Pacific Lumber/Maxxam Corp.

In a December 1996 interview in the *San Francisco Examiner*, Judi said timber workers no longer agree with the argument that environmentalism is the main threat to their jobs. "They're not stupid," she said. "In Mendocino County since 1990, Louisiana-Pacific laid off more than two-thirds of its workers and closed five of its seven mills. What we've been saying is true: It is corporations versus the rural community. We've never said no to logging. We just want sustainable logging."

In a 1992 dispute at Enchanted Meadow, along Mendocino County's coastal Albion River, Judi and Darryl helped residents of the "Albion Nation" mount a determined two-month struggle featuring tree-sitters, road blockades, people chaining themselves to equipment, and almost-daily public rallies. The logging by Louisiana-Pacific was eventually halted by court order. When Louisiana-

Pacific filed a SLAPP suit against Judi and scores of other demonstrators for trespassing and interfering with business, she brought in Dennis Cunningham, lead attorney in her suit against the FBI, to defend them, and eventually negotiated a painless settlement of the suit.

Judi was a principal organizer behind the large-scale rallies and civil disobedience actions that helped bring Headwaters Forest to national attention. She was the first of hundreds to be peacefully arrested at the September 1995 rally for Headwaters. A year later at the same place, Judi was one of the primary organizers and speakers. That day, more than a thousand people crossed over the Pacific Lumber property line to be arrested, including former Congressman Dan Hamburg, singer Bonnie Raitt, and Sierra Club president Adam Werbach.

THE LAST DAYS

Tragedy struck in October 1996 when a biopsy of a breast lump revealed Judi had breast cancer which had already advanced to her liver. The cancer spread quickly through her already fragile body. Refusing hospitalization and chemotherapy, Judi courageously chose to spend her last days at home with her family.

Through the end of January, she continued to host her popular weekly public affairs radio show, "Punch & Judi," on Mendocino County public radio station KZYX. On February 21, nine days before her death, the station broadcast a special call-in tribute program during her regular time slot. Letting listeners know that Judi would be listening from home, the host asked them to share stories and memories about her.

linked to making the bomb by physical evidence. But in fact, as FBI agents later testified under oath, no evidence whatsoever connecting Judi or Darryl to the bomb was ever found.

No charges were ever filed against either Judi or Darryl. The FBI delayed its arraignment repeatedly, asking the court for more time to gather evidence. Finally, two months after the bombing, the Alameda County District Attorney declined to press any charges because there was no evidence. No other suspects have ever been identified by police or FBI, and both have continued to insist that Judi and Darryl were their only suspects.

THE LAWSUIT: JUDI BARI VS. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In May 1991, a year after the bomb blast, Judi and Darryl filed a federal civil rights lawsuit against the FBI and individual agents, and against the Oakland Police and individual officers. The suit filed with the 9th Circuit court, charges that Judi and Darryl were falsely arrested by the Oakland Police, at the "illegal, politically-motivated instigation of the FBI."

After a court hearing in the case just two days before Judi's death, Bill Simpich, co-counsel for the two, made a public appeal for U. S. Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint a Special Prosecutor to investigate the FBI's role in the bombing and the alleged cover-up. Simpich accused the FBI of suppressing exonerating evidence, ignoring obvious evidence indicating Judi was the victim of attempted murder, making false and defamatory statements to the press and the courts, deliberately failing to investigate physical evidence such as death-

threat letters; stonewalling demands for other evidence through the lawsuit, and covering up its own role in the matter.

Richard Held was the FBI Special Agent in charge of the San Francisco office at the time of the bombing. Shortly after the lawsuit forced the disclosure of police photos of Judi's bombed car, Held resigned from the FBI. The photos clearly showed that the bomb was directly under her seat, rather than on the back seat floorboard as police and FBI had told the press. Held had also headed FBI operations to disrupt the Black Panther Party and American Indian Movement (AIM) under the FBI code name "COINTELPRO" (Counter Intelligence Program) in the '60s and '70s. These operations were the ones that resulted in the imprisonment of Black Panther leader Geronimo Ji-Jaga (Pratt) and AIM activist Leonard Peltier, both of whom are widely considered political prisoners framed for crimes they did not commit.

In the most recent development in the suit, Judi and Darryl's lawyers have filed a massive "preemptive strike" motion the size of a big city phone book. The brief summarizes some 14,000 pages of evidence against the FBI and police, and seeks to end a long series of delaying actions the defendants have used to keep the case from coming to trial. The motion asks the court to certify that the defendants have no "qualified immunity," which they have claimed protects them from being sued for mistakes in the line of duty. The evidence shows that defendants accused Judi and Darryl of guilt for the bombing while knowing full well they were the victims, and that there was no evidence to support arresting them, searching their homes and property, or smearing them



I was a social justice activist for many years before I ever heard of

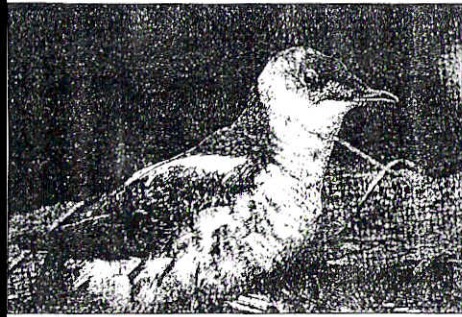
Earth First! So it came as a surprise to me, when I joined Earth First! in the 1980s, to find that the radical movement paid little attention to the social causes of ecological destruction. Similarly, the urban-based social justice movement seems to have a hard time admitting the importance of biological issues, often dismissing all but "environmental racism" as trivial. Yet in order to effectively respond to the crises of today, I believe we must merge these two issues.

Starting from the very reasonable but unfortunately revolutionary concept that social practices which threaten the continuation of life on Earth must be changed, we need a theory of revolutionary ecology that will encompass social and biological issues, class strug-

gle, and a recognition of the role of global corporate capitalism in the oppression of peoples and the destruction of nature.

I believe we already have such a theory. It is called **deep ecology**, and it is the core belief of the radical environmental movement. The problem is that, in the early stages of this debate, deep ecology was falsely associated with such right-wing notions as sealing the borders, applauding AIDS as a population control mechanism, and encouraging Ethiopians to starve. This sent the social ecologists justifiably scurrying to dissociate. And I believe it has muddied the waters of our movement's attempt to define itself and unite behind a common philosophy.

So in this article, I will try to explain, from my perspective as an unabashed leftist, why I think deep ecology is a revolutionary world view. I am not



Marbled Murrelet, an endangered redwood species

trying to proclaim that my ideas are the Absolute Truth, or even that they represent a finished thought process in my own mind. These are just some ideas I have on the subject, and I hope that by airing them, it will spark more debate and advance the discussion.

Biocentrism

Deep Ecology, or biocentrism, is the belief that nature does not exist to serve humans. Rather, humans are a part of nature, one species among many. All species have a right to exist for their own sake, regardless of their usefulness to humans. And biodiversity is a value in itself, essential for the flourishing of both human and non-human life.

These principles, I believe, are not just another political theory. Biocentrism is a law of nature that exists independently of whether humans recognize it or not. It doesn't matter whether we view the world in a human-centered way. Nature still operates in a biocentric way. And the failure of modern society to acknowledge this – as we attempt to subordinate all of nature to human use – has led us to the brink of collapse of the Earth's life support systems. Biocentrism is not a new theory, and it wasn't invented by Dave Foreman or Arne Naess. It is ancient native wisdom,

expressed in such sayings as "The Earth does not belong to us. We belong to the Earth." But in the context of today's industrial society, biocentrism is profoundly revolutionary, challenging the system to its core.

Biocentrism Contradicts Capitalism

The capitalist system is in direct conflict with the natural laws of biocentrism. Capitalism, first of all, is based on the principle of private property – of certain humans "owning" the Earth for the purpose of exploiting it for profit. At an earlier stage, capitalists even believed they could own other humans. But just as slavery has been discredited in the mores of today's dominant world view, so do the principles of biocentrism discredit the concept that humans can own the Earth.

How can corporate raider Charles Hurwitz claim to "own" the 2000-year-old redwoods of Headwaters Forest, just because he signed a few papers to trade them for a junk bond debt? This concept is absurd. Hurwitz is a mere blip in the lives of these ancient trees.

Although he may have the power to destroy them, he does not have the right.

One of the best weapons of US environmentalists in our battle to save places like Headwaters Forest is the (now itself endangered) Endangered Species Act. This law, and other laws that recognize public trust values such as clean air, clean water, and protection of threatened species, are essentially admissions that the laws of private property do not correspond to the laws of nature. You cannot do whatever you

by the Mississippi Summer civil rights campaign of the early '60s. The purpose of the Redwood Summer campaign was, as Bari put it later, to try to make sure there were still some forests left to preserve if and when the Forests Forever initiative passed.

Timber companies joined forces to defeat the initiative. They hired public relations firms (including the infamous Hill & Knowlton) to whip up opposition to Forests Forever. The consultants coined the term "eco-terrorists" to discredit Earth First! and labeled Prop. 130 "the Earth First! initiative." They manufactured phony Earth First! press releases advocating tree-spiking, logging equipment sabotage, and violence in order to create a public perception of Earth First! as violent extremists. The fake press releases were circulated to workers and to the press by Pacific Lumber and Louisiana-Pacific, among others in the timber industry. A Pacific Lumber inter-office memo, which surfaced later under subpoena, showed the company knew the press release was fake even before they distributed it.

Death threats aimed at Judi, Darryl and other activists began arriving. They came by mail and telephone, and one was left on the door of the Mendocino Environmental Center. This last one consisted of a photo of Judi clipped from the local newspaper with a telescopic gun sight drawn over her face. She described this as a classic right-wing extremist death threat. Attached to it was a yellow ribbon, the symbol used by the corporate-sponsored timber industry support groups. When Judi reported the threats to police she was dismissed by Mendocino County Sheriff's Sergeant Satterwhite. "We don't have the manpower to investigate. If

you turn up dead, then we'll investigate," he told her, according to Judi's 1994 book, *Timber Wars*.

It was in the resulting climate of polarization, tension, and fear that Judi and Darryl were traveling to college campuses, recruiting support for Redwood Summer.

THE BOMB EXPLODES

As the two were driving in Oakland, California, May 24, 1990, a powerful bomb exploded under Judi's driver's seat, nearly killing her. Oakland Police and FBI terrorist squad members were quickly on the scene. Within three hours, they placed Judi and Darryl under arrest. Police told the press the two were the only suspects, and that they were eco-terrorists injured by the accidental explosion of a bomb they were knowingly transporting. Their bail was set at \$100,000 each, even though Judi was in intensive care.

Judi barely survived the bomb blast, which fractured her pelvis in several places, pulverized her tailbone, and caused extensive tissue and nerve damage. She was crippled and in constant pain for the rest of her life. Darryl suffered lesser injuries, including a facial cut and ruptured eardrums.

National and international media carried headline stories about the bombing and police accusations against Judi and Darryl. The sensational stories were kept going for weeks by a series of statements from police and FBI claiming to have found incriminating evidence in Judi's car and in two searches of her house, allegedly proving she was involved in making the bomb. These reports persuaded many people then, and some even today, that she was

JUDI BARI DIES BUT HER SPIRIT LIVES ON

Judith Beatrice Bari — November 7, 1949 — March 2, 1997

by Nicholas Wilson

Judi Bari was no ordinary person. A gifted and inspiring speaker, Judi was widely regarded as the principal leader of the Earth First! movement in Northern California. She led Earth First! in her region to embrace the use of non-violent direct action and to renounce tree-spiking, or any other tactic that could lead to injuries to timber and mill workers. Coming from a labor organizing background, Judi was quick to point out that it was not the workers but the giant corporations who should be the target of environmental reformers.

Her name was etched into the nation's consciousness in 1990 when she was bombed in Oakland, California, while organizing for that year's Redwood Summer logging protests. She was nearly killed when a powerful motion-triggered bomb exploded under her driver's seat, shattering her pelvis and leaving her disabled and in pain for the rest of her life.

Police and the FBI accused her of knowingly transporting the bomb, but no charges were ever filed in court due to lack of any evidence against her. The lawsuit she filed in 1991 against the FBI and Oakland police is still moving forward in federal court. She sued them for trying to frame her as a terrorist in order to discredit her and Earth First! in the public's mind, for fabricating evidence, and for failing to even look for the real bombers.

"She was a wonderful inspiration to all of us and a steadfast champion of our natural heritage," said Sen. Tom Hayden (Dem.-L.A.), Chair of the Senate Natural Resources Committee. At his request, the California State Senate adjourned in her honor the day after her death in 1997.

"She was instrumental in bringing the plight of the ancient redwood forests to national attention. We will sorely miss the energy she provided, particularly in negotiating the fog that envelopes the Headwaters Forest today, but she has left a legacy of dedicated activists who will carry her banner flying high," Hayden said.

Judi was a fighter and organizer for many social and environmental justice causes during her lifetime. Her indignation over injustice extended to issues of war, racism, sexism, political repression, economic exploitation, and the unnecessary destruction of ecosystems.

Born November 7, 1949, in Baltimore, Maryland, Judi began her activism in her college years. At the University of Maryland, which she attended for five years, she "majored in anti-Vietnam War rioting," as she put it.

When she got a job as a blue-collar worker, she quickly became involved in union organizing. As a clerk for a large grocery chain, she became the union shop steward in the early 70s. Later she broke a gender barrier by qualifying for a job at the U.S. Washington Bulk Mail

organizing human societies in a manner that is compatible with the way that nature is organized. And I believe the natural order of the Earth is bioregionalism, not statism.

Modern industrial society robs us of community with each other and community with the Earth. This creates a great longing inside us, which we are taught to fill with consumer goods. But consumer goods, beyond those needed for basic comfort and survival, are not really what we crave. So our appetite is insatiable, and we turn to more and more efficient and dehumanizing methods of production to make more and more goods that do not satisfy us. If workers really had control of the factories (and I say this as a former factory worker), they would start by smashing the machines and finding a more human way to decide what we need and how to produce it. So to the credo "production for use, not for profit," ecological socialism would add, "production for need, not for greed."

Biocentrism Contradicts Patriarchy

Patriarchy is one of the deepest and oldest forms of oppression in the world today. It is so deep that we are discouraged from even naming it. You can say you are against apartheid without offending progressive white people. But start talking about the patriarchy and you will run into howls of protest and ridicule from otherwise progressive men. Nonetheless, patriarchy needs to be

addressed by any truly revolutionary theory. In fact, the failure to address patriarchy is one of the great shortcomings of Marxism.

Ecofeminism points out that there is a parallel between the way this patriarchal society treats nature and the way it treats women. This is reflected in such expressions as "virgin redwoods" and "rape of the Earth." More important, however, ecofeminism holds that one of the reasons for the destruction of the Earth is that only the "masculine" traits of conquering and dominance are valued by this society, while the "feminine" traits of nurturing and life-giving are devalued and suppressed. Both men and women, by the way, possess both masculine and feminine traits. But feminine behavior is held in lower esteem no matter who is exhibiting it. The relationship between the suppression of women and the suppression of nature is particularly clear in Third World nations, where the colonial powers take over the land by forcibly removing peasant and tribal women from their traditional role as keepers of the forest and farmlands. The women's methods of interacting with the Earth are supplanted by men and machines, as logging and agribusiness replace their small-scale farming, ripping off nature's fertility rather than nurturing it. This is why Third World environmental move-

ments are often women's movements, such as those in India, Kenya, and Brazil.



Headwaters Grove

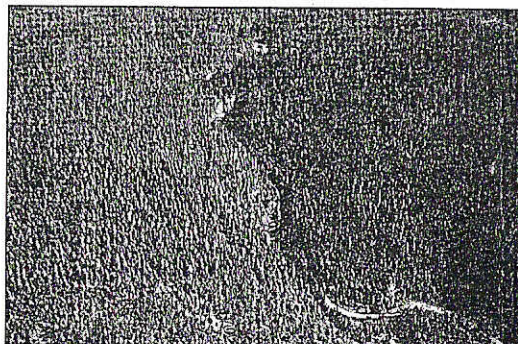
As anyone knows who has ever dealt with the Forest Service or the EPA, "science" is the ultimate authority used to justify this system's relentless assault on the Earth. Science is presented to us as neutral and objective, a path to Absolute Truth. But in fact, the type of science endorsed by the industrial patriarchy is not value-free. It is openly described by its founders as a masculine system of knowledge, based on the assumption that nature is separate from man, to be conquered and subdued by him. And, reflecting that separation, its methodology is based on reductionism, or breaking the whole into separate parts in order to study it. Reductionism leads to that incredible compartmentalization of the brain that allows such conclusions as (and I'm not making this up) clearcutting followed by single-species replanting is the most effective method of forest regeneration because, after five years, clearcut areas have more "stems growing" than select-cut areas.

Reductionist science has indeed created such wonders as nuclear bombs, plastic shrink-wrap, and Twinkies. But it has not resulted in a true understanding of the world, because nature's parts are not separate, they are interdependent. Thus, as pointed out by ecofeminist philosopher Vandana Shiva, reductionist science has given us antibiotics that create super bacteria and fertilizers that create barren soil.

Instead of this masculine system of separation and domination, ecofeminists seek to promote a science of nature. Nature is seen as holistic and interdependent, and humans as part of nature, our fates inseparable. Rather than con-

quering or subduing, ecofeminist science seeks to live within the pre-existing fertility cycles of nature, enhancing those fertility cycles through our informed interaction, but not interrupting or subverting them. This ecofeminist view of nature is perfectly consistent with biocentrism. In fact, it is another way of saying the same thing. So to embrace biocentrism is to challenge the masculine system of knowledge that underlies the destruction of the Earth.

Ecofeminism does not seek to dominate men, as women have been dominated under patriarchy. It seeks only to



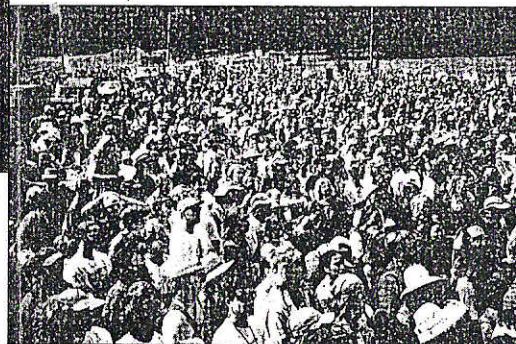
Allen Creek Grove in the Headwaters Forest

achieve a balance, as in nature. Of course, in this lopsided culture, achieving a balance would involve a tremendous rise of the feminine – both a rise of individual women and a rise in feminist values among both women and men. But without this balance, society cannot make the changes that we need to survive.

What This Means for the Movement

The fact that deep ecology is a revolutionary philosophy is one of the reasons Earth First! was targeted for disruption and annihilation by the FBI. The fact

that we did not recognize it as revolutionary is one of the reasons we were so unprepared for the magnitude of the attack. If we are to continue, not only Earth First! but the ecology movement must adjust our tactics to the profound changes that are needed to bring society into balance with nature. One way that we can do this is to broaden our focus. Of course, sacred places must be preserved, and it is entirely appropriate for an ecology movement to center on protecting irreplaceable wilderness areas. But to define our movement as being concerned with "wilderness only," as Earth First! did in the 1980s, is self-defeating. You cannot seriously address the destruction of wilderness without addressing the society that is destroying it. It's about time for the ecology movement (and I'm not just talking about Earth First! here) to stop considering



Crowd at Headwaters Forest rally

itself as separate from the social justice movement. The same power that manifests itself as resource extraction in the countryside manifests itself as racism, classism, and human exploitation in the city. The ecology movement must recognize that we are just one front in a long, proud, history of resistance.

A revolutionary ecology movement must also organize among poor and

working people. With the exception of the toxics movement and the native land rights movement, most US environmentalists are white and privileged. This group is too invested in the system to pose it much of a threat. A revolutionary ideology in the hands of privileged people can indeed bring about some disruption and change in the system. But a revolutionary ideology in the hands of working people can bring the system to a halt. For it is the working people who have their hands on the machinery. And only by stopping the machinery of destruction can we ever hope to stop this madness. How can it be that we have neighborhood movements focused on the disposal of toxic wastes, for example, but we don't have a workers' movement to stop the production of toxics? It is only when the factory workers refuse to make the stuff, it is only when the loggers refuse to cut ancient trees, that we can ever hope for real and lasting change. This system cannot be stopped by force. It is violent and ruthless beyond the capacity of any people's resistance movement. The only way I can even imagine stopping it is through massive noncooperation.

So let's keep blocking those bulldozers and hugging those trees. And let's focus our campaigns on the global corporations that are really at fault. But we have to begin placing our actions in a larger context. And we must continue this discussion to develop a workable theory of revolutionary ecology.