



NORTH AMERICAN ANIMAL LIBERATION PRESS OFFICE

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As this issue of the Animal Liberation Press Office Newsletter goes to print, amazing victories are being chalked up on behalf of the animals. Huntingdon Life Sciences (LSRI), a contract animal testing company that tortures and kills 500 innocent animals every day testing oven cleaners, pesticides and pharmaceuticals, has just lost their last market maker and been de-listed from the pink sheets of the stock market. LSRI has long been a target of a world-wide, vociferous campaign to stop the needless abuse of animals for profit (www.shac.net). Now it appears they may be on the verge of having to close, paving the way for the liberation of thousands of animals, and setting the tone for the closure of the next company that exploits, oppresses and kills animals in pursuit of fraudulent science and for the financial bottom line.

In addition, foie gras has been banned in the entire city of Chicago, after a victory last year that threatens to shutter the industry nationwide by banning the production of this cruel food product. In its production, ducks have long metal tubes inserted down their throats multiple times daily to force-feed them an unnatural diet, so that their livers will be grossly enlarged, thereby producing more profits for the "farmer".

The Press Office has been busier than ever, conducting dozens of interviews over the last 3 months, and providing the mainstream media with the animal's side of the story with every act of liberation. We hope you enjoy this newsletter, and look forward to hearing from you on how we can continue to fight for the lives of the tortured and the oppressed.

Press Office Directive: The North American Animal Liberation Press Office (NAALPO) was founded to communicate the actions, strategies, and philosophy of the animal liberation movement to the media and the public. Many of these actions are illegal under a current societal structure that fails to recognize the rights of non-human animals to live free of suffering, but validates and promotes the "right" of industries to do whatever they want to animals for profit or research. Within these conditions, those in the underground working for animal liberation often cannot speak out directly. Nevertheless, their actions and message is urgent and deserve to be heard and understood. Since animal liberation actions either go unreported in the media or are uncritically vilified as "violent" and as "terrorist" with no attention paid to the suffering that industries and individuals gratuitously inflict on animals, NAALPO seeks to clarify the motivation and nature of actions taken in defense of animals.

The Press Office also tries to provide a historical, social, and philosophical context for an objective understanding of the nature and motivation of illegal direct actions taken on behalf of captive animals.

If the animal rights movement in the privileged heart of America most responsible for such abuse truly believes in equal rights for all species as I surely do, discussions of tactics that include physical violence cannot be ignored. Limiting or preventing any discussion while others debate the best mode of resistance to the suffering of others is a betrayal to those we claim to represent and a betrayal to the heroic spirit of resistance that was emblazoned by John Brown, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, the French Resistance and the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto who all advocated the use of arms to achieve liberation.

I've always battled with my own hypocrisy, for if it was my own son in the clutches of HLS or some other corporate or governmental death chamber, not only would I employ every means available to rescue them, but do whatever was necessary to ensure that those responsible were forever unable to commit such atrocities ever again.

If nonviolent tactics do not put an end to such atrocities carried out in our name in our time, we are obligated as representatives of those suffering not only to abandon those tactics which have failed us, but also to explore other avenues of resistance which historically time and time again have proven to be what is necessary to stop such state-sponsored violence. —Rodney Coronado

A Critique of the Animal Liberation Press Office

Since its inception in November 2004, the North American Animal Liberation Press Office (NAALPO, www.animalliberationpressoffice.org) has enjoyed phenomenal success in getting the plight of long-suffering animals into the media and before the public. In the first two weeks of January 2006 alone, press officers were interviewed on five radio shows discussing what happens to animals in vivisection and on the ice flows in Eastern Canada, and were also interviewed on camera for CNN, Sky News and Fox News in which all three stations aired graphic footage of animals being used in vivisection and food production. However, a few individuals within the animal rights movement have felt compelled to critique the Press Office publicly, and so here we respond to their criticism.

We are animal rights activists because we are compassionate and kind-hearted. To be violent contradicts our fundamental nature. That is understandable and commendable. It is why, in a sense, acts of economic sabotage carried out by the Animal Liberation Front represent a welcome "middle ground"—a compromise, as it were—between the two extremes of passivity and violence. And to say that may even be disingenuous, because property damage is violent—but against inanimate objects. And even the latter can be further contested, because arson surely leaves dead mice, spiders, and possibly other beings in its wake. But economic sabotage is highly effective, because the only thing that matters to the abusers is money, and therefore the deaths of these innocent bystanders is tolerated as "collateral damage." The problem is a mathematical one: the ratio of abusers to activists is astronomical. The ALF simply can't strike often enough and fast enough to throw out an all-encompassing dragnet.

Even within the strict guidelines of the ALF, underground activists have now "progressed" far beyond the original strategies of liberations and minor sabotage such as spray-painting and lock-gluing. Not that those actions are to be disparaged—but some activists have upped the ante and breached that initial comfort zone to include arson as a legitimate tactic within the ALF framework. Rod Coronado was lambasted, at first, for introducing into the US—but it is now almost universally sanctioned among liberationists.

Many activists have begun, over the last several years, to talk openly about what has been discussed and debated privately for years—the topic of violence and its potential place and role in the animal liberation movement.



(Critique of the Press Office, Continued)

Some critical of the Press Office claim that Press Officers, as ALF "spokespersons," have a duty to refrain from endorsing the use of violence. It is important to remember not only that the Press Office speaks for ALL liberation groups at some time or another, but also that the ALF guidelines themselves have been altered and modified over the years--including condoning the use of arson. Here's what a couple of prominent ALF leaders and spokespersons have had to say in the past regarding violence:

"In a war, you have to take up arms--and people will get killed. I can support that kind of action by petrol bombing and bombs under cars--and, probably, at a later stage, the shooting of vivisectionists on their doorsteps. It's a war, and there's no other way you can stop vivisectionists." Tim Daley, British Animal Liberation Front Leader, BBC interview, 1987.

"I would be overjoyed when the first 'scientist' is killed by a liberation activist." Vivien Smith, Former ALF Spokesperson, USA Today, September 3, 1991

Violence against those who oppress, torture, and murder others has been universally accepted as a necessary component of any serious liberation struggle--and here is where some part company with the Press Office and the sizable activist community supporting its ideological stance. Some activists, especially in this country, shy away from embracing violence as an acceptable tactic because they fear for their own freedom, reputations, careers, and livelihoods. They neglect to consider adequately the fear of the animals, who continue to be tortured and killed in increasing numbers every year. Who among true liberationists really believes a caged, tortured animal sentenced to death for no reason other than species membership would object to the use of violence to free her?

Those critics who bemoan the prospect of increasing repression from law enforcement must come to realize that such is the result only of increased effectiveness. Through evolving tactics, activists have brought a monolithic corporate enterprise (HLS) to its knees. The movement has committed the most "egregious" crime of all: we've clobbered corporate coffers! To think that law enforcement wouldn't be breathing down the necks of activists is naive and to expect rain without thunder. The SHAC-7 have recently felt that repression as they were convicted on federal charges in February. They will ultimately prevail, and the campaign will succeed--because they will not let fear deter them from their goals.

There is certainly no reason to believe that the use of violence in defense of ourselves or the animals is the only path to liberation--but it is certainly a part of that path. To deny that is to condemn the actions of Dave Blenkinsop and the Chiron bombers--something most liberationists abroad refuse to do, even though they suffer more repression than we know here in the US. The Press Office wishes to be clear on this matter: we support all liberationists--from the graffiti artist and liberator of the ALF to the Justice Department, the Revolutionary Cells, and beyond. To do otherwise is to continue condemning countless non-human animals to agonized lives and brutal deaths. To do otherwise is to condone violence, but violence only against our animal brothers and sisters.

In conclusion, the Press Office, on behalf of much of the activist community, is exposing the hypocrisy of some in the liberation movement who would advocate violence on behalf of people but not animals; who would welcome arson and other techniques, but cower before the effective use of force. Press Officers have joined a growing contingent of activists world-wide saying that we need to take a non-prejudicial look at the ultimate ineffectiveness of pitting only passive strategies against the onslaught of escalating systematic abuse of innocent animals.

The animals are our constituents. We are their voices. Let us remind ourselves of one thing: The hand that rocks the cradle of violence belongs to the animal abuser. If we were alone in a cage, waiting to be electrocuted for our skin or tortured for experimental data, what would we want others to do? Stand peacefully outside and leaflet? Write respectful letters to Congress? Spray paint the building? Or might we just want--and deserve--"any means necessary"?

"IF IT AIN'T BROKE..."

by Asananda X

"...don't fix it." But it is broke. And all the covering bandages and numbing drugs may kid you into thinking that the problem is getting better and that you are doing the best you can do, but it is not and you are not.

Over ten months ago I was at an animal rights demonstration where I was shoved across a street by a cop [see "*The S.S. Persia—Ship or Nazi?*"] I was manhandled because I was offering educational material to people waiting on a line and because the cop's father didn't show him enough affection when he was growing up.

What is the recourse of someone whose rights are violated by the police? I was told that I could file a complaint with the Civilian Complaint Review Board, and that is what I did. I met with an agent and told her what had happened. I gave her the name of someone who gave testimony that she had witnessed what occurred. About ten months later I received a letter from the Civilian Complaint Review Board that said "Following a thorough and impartial investigation..." the Board found Officer Rafael Persia regarding threatening to arrest me for a made-up charge and using physical force against me for no reason "EXONERATED."

When looking at the accompanying sheet entitled "Explanation of Board Findings" I got a definition of *exonerated*:

Exonerated: The Board determined that although the act at issue occurred, the subject officer's actions were lawful and proper and within the scope of the subject officer's authority under Police Department guidelines.

I was stunned. I assumed we were going to be playing the "His Word Against Mine" game--well against mine and hers. Instead the determination basically said, "Yes, we acknowledge that he threatened to arrest you for acting within your civil liberties and yes, he did forcibly shove you across the street against your will, but the Police Handbook doesn't consider that improper."

The system is broken and all the apologetic animal rights activists standing with signs behind a fence created by this corrupt system think they are making a significant impact.

They're not. One animal rights "leader" whose group was denied their civil rights to peaceably demonstrate for made up or irrelevant reasons like, "That's private property," and "We don't have enough manpower," still insists that working within the system is the only way to get the job done. I was at this demonstration and told this "leader" to give me a sign and I'd hold it up, which he did, but took back as soon as the cop threatened to arrest me. Did he do this because he worried about my safety? No, he did this because he worried about his rapport with the very people that were denying him his First Amendment protected right to peaceably demonstrate. He went sniveling to his police department connection after this event, who gave him a hug and assured him this wouldn't happen again.

At the next demonstration he was told by a police officer that he would



(If it Ain't Broke- Continued)

At the next demonstration he was told by a police officer that he would have to stay within the set up barricade. He argued but then agreed to follow the system and after the demonstration again went back to his police department connection to complain. He was told this wouldn't happen again. At his next demonstration, his group was placed literally *around the corner and out of sight* of the protested event. Needless to say, he went to his buddy in the precinct afterwards and complained. How many times do you have to get kicked in the ass before you realize bending over isn't the best plan?

At a lecture by an author who wrote a book about effectively communicating as it applies to social activists, the room was filled with animal rights advocates who shared "war stories" of demonstrations where someone shouted something confrontational to a passerby wearing fur and how "This is bad for our image" and "gives a negative impression to the other people who walk by." The conclusion at the end of this meeting was that we all should wear three-piece suits and dresses and only speak loud enough so as not to offend anyone who doesn't want to hear about animal suffering. This apologetic activism is what has handcuffed activists, figuratively and literally; working within a corrupt system will not get you or the animals you purport to defend justice. On the positive side, the event had free vegan snacks.

For all the animal activists out there who claim that they believe in "animal rights"—the right of an animal to exist free of human abuse because it has an intrinsic right as a living being, regardless of its perceived value to humans—who are beyond believing that adding two inches to a small cage containing fifty crammed-in chickens is a victory, how can you stand smugly with your "COMPASSION IS THE FASHION" sign while a company like Huntington Life Science kills 500 beagles a day and the factory farming industry kills about 50,000 times as many animals daily?

I am all for pursuing legal means to change laws, calling and writing politicians, educating the children and adults who are willing to listen, but if you honestly believe that an animal has the right to live its life, a couple of follow-up question that are begging to be asked are: How valuable *is* their life? As valuable as a human's? How many have to sit on death row daily while you self-righteously hold up your sign and the next morning enjoy your Starbuck's double-latte and morning paper, ignoring the fact that these "inmates" are now dead?

There is an animal rights activist who sends out quick and easy emails to her list with the simple "click here to notify your senators" format. She told her mailing list to support a proposed bill that would phase out foie gras—the force-feeding of ducks with pipes shoved down their throats to cause them to develop enlarged livers—in *twelve years*. Israel accomplished the same thing within a year and yet approval of a 12-year plan here would be followed by a back-slapping victory party among activists.

During the Holocaust if we could have bombed the train tracks transporting the victims to the gas chambers resulting in the saving of thousands, even millions, of lives, how many of the apologists would have protested saying, "That is really destructive and will hurt *our image*"? I asked this same question to one of the heads of a large animal rights organization, a person who has written many articles putting down what is termed "direct action," actions that cause property destruction in order to rescue or dissuade businesses from pursuing their animal (or environmental) abuses. She seemed to give me the old, "only as a last resort" schpeel, but in the next breath, looking over her shoulder, acknowledged that maybe we are at that point of "last resort."

During the Civil Rights abuses of the 60's, how many blacks supported

writing their congressmen over taking action? If Martin Luther King Jr. had his people hold up signs saying, "BLACKS ARE PEOPLE TOO" and reacted to another forty years of more beatings and abuse by calling his demonstrations off each time there was the potential to upset someone, he would go down in history as one of the biggest cowards the world has ever seen. Martin Luther King, Jr. didn't let *the fear* of arrest, beatings or *public opinion* sway him from his mission. As Rosa Parks said, "...knowing what has to be done does away with fear."

The civil rights legislation of the 60's was an acknowledgment that, if given the choice, people will always choose what benefits themselves over what is right. These laws were in effect saying, "On your own you would continue to abuse blacks, so from now on we will punish you if you do so." Many are sitting around waiting for justice to magically spring forth from a system of law that is more interested in protecting corporate interests than those of living beings. If the system won't punish the abusers, who are we waiting to do it? God? Karma? Keanu Reeves?

There was a time when the Constitution actually meant something, but in today's environment the government has effectively used fear as a tactic for the Citizens to gleefully surrender all of their civil liberties. What makes this country great are the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, not our ability to start wars and cheerlead. The current administration has designated "free speech zones" where you have to go if you want to speak against the President when he is on tour, which violates the 1st Amendment protection of free speech and the right to peaceably assemble; Firearm confiscations have been initiated by local law enforcement agencies, in direct violation of the 2nd Amendment right to bear arms; we have seen bag checks in subways in New York which are ineffective and violate the 4th Amendment protection of privacy of your records and possessions; we are forced to fill out tax forms that require you to provide information that can be used against you in a criminal prosecution, which violates the 5th Amendment protected right of not being forced to be a witness against yourself in a criminal case; the (un)Patriot Act has given the government the ability to arrest someone *without even providing them the charge* and incarcerating them indefinitely without access to a lawyer or trial, which is in violation of the 5th Amendment (due process of law) and the 6th Amendment (the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted by witnesses against you, to be able to gather witnesses in your favor, and to have the assistance of counsel); and recently President Bush has admitted, after first having denied (in a good Christian manner, of course), that he has spied on private Citizens using wiretaps, despite the Congress having ruled this to be illegal.

We used to live in a country that felt civil liberties were so important that the law defended the right of *Nazis* to demonstrate in Skokie, Illinois—a highly Jewish community—over denying these rights, because we understood that if you prevented a group like them from demonstrating, the line in the sand could easily shift to preventing someone the government disagrees with from speaking, and we couldn't risk that. So the Supreme Court voted in favor of allowing this group—whose agenda is world domination and the destruction of the Jews—to demonstrate.

Today I hear police officers justifying shutting down Citizens' right to demonstrate with prevention as their mantra. "We don't want anyone throwing paint." While that tactic hasn't been used in the defense of animal rights in about ten years, the cops "preventative medicine" is still not how our system was designed to run. If someone breaks a law you arrest them, but you don't prevent them from exercising their rights because of the "possibility that something, on a slim chance, if the sun is setting just so, may occur." In today's climate of corporate protectionism, a Nazi running a Yom Kippur Day protest outside a Jewish temple would have a better chance at avoiding police harassment than a single animal rights demonstrator outside a fur store.



(If it Ain't Broke- Continued)

John F. Kennedy said, "If you make peaceful revolution impossible, you make violent revolution inevitable." If John F. were President today, leading a country made up of the wimpy cowards and sleepwalkers of present, his bold statement would have sounded something more like, "If you make peaceful revolution impossible, you are leaving people no option but to go home and do nothing about it." You see, John F. was living in different times. In the 60's people were fed up with the war in Vietnam and the civil rights abuses of blacks and because enough of them were smoking the good chronic they didn't give a shit anymore if the police said, "That action of yours will really hurt your group's image."

Today we are looking to leaders whose agents take pride in knocking down any nails that stand above the sleepy status quo and manage to convince themselves, with the same logic of Ann Couter calling anyone who doesn't give Stepford Wife support to the administration "unpatriotic," that they are doing something noble. We are looking to a system where it is the Congress's job to declare war and yet in the past sixty years we have fought in many wars and Congress has not declared war once. We are looking to a system where not one of the Congress, besides the two or three in the special committee that put it together, actually read the Patriot Act before voting approval for something which would change the face of America and affect all of her citizens. We are looking to a system where Republicans who, by definition, are supposed to have an agenda of less government involvement, are making it so you can't take a piss without a National I.D. card. We are looking to a system where the head strategist for the Republican party committed treason by outing a C.I.A. agent for spite and people in government have chosen loyalty to their party over loyalty to their country. We are living in a country where if fear is used as a tactic by the government to remove our civil liberties it is called "patriotism," but if the Citizens use the same tactics in the defense of living beings and the environment it is called "terrorism."

We are living in a country where a group like the SHAC 7 is going through a trial, not for committing any acts of violence in defense of animals, but because of having a webpage that seems to support such tactics, and most Americans don't care *because they don't see this as their issue*. I am surprised that white supremacist, black supremacist, and anti-gay groups aren't at least showing their support for the SHAC 7, extrapolating that if the government is going after a group that is trying to extend life, that maybe their groups with webpages that advocate condemning and taking the lives of individuals who are different than them may be next. Maybe they realize that because their hate groups don't pose a threat to corporate America they will never have the "T" word attached to them.

Non-violence tactics also have to be carried out in the right environment. If Gandhi tried his gig in Nazi Germany the resistance would have been over in a day because "Hitler don't play that." In this environment where "you are either with us or against us," I am not sure if non-violence would have a chance to work. But I would love to see it given the old college try, which doesn't mean being inebriated and waking up with someone who looked much better last night at the bar; it means with *full-commitment*.

I was, and still am, one who has always advocated non-violence. I've devoted my life to living the yogic way. But I am a yogi of truth, not a yogi of compassion. And the truth is, holding your protest signs ready to flee the first time any heat is applied is half-assed and ineffective and it's not enough—if you want to get the job done. If you are just interested in getting together once a month at the Animal Rights Meet-Up dinner to sit in a circle and stroke the back of the person to your right, then you're doing just fine.

But do realize that in the meantime while you are enjoying your tofu and broccoli, hundreds of thousands of animals are dying each day, and our environment is being polluted by big corporations who find it better business to pay some measly fine each year than to fix the problem.

The Indian mystic Osho said that a *revolution* never worked because it only involved replacing one group of people with another group of people and the corrupt system would bring out the same weaknesses and clamoring for power to which dysfunctional human nature is prone. He talked of *rebellion*, requiring a change in consciousness, which would result in a change in the whole system. While "the boy in the mirror" is a good place to start our work, waiting around until the image changes into one of a fully-conscious man won't protect the billions of animals each year who in the meantime are being disposed of in two kind of dumpsters—the ones outside of "science" research labs and the ones whose taste buds rule over compassion.

Don't get me wrong, as a yogi I believe consciousness is the only game in town. And I do believe if you open even a single mind to a different, more compassionate way of looking at a situation that this is a great thing. But when animal rights activists start bad mouthing other activists who stray from their apologetics, I don't care how supposedly noble the cause behind the unconsciousness; they need to be slapped out of their daydream where just punching the clock is enough. Because it's not.

I find it pathetic that we live in a world where there is probably an FBI agent reading this essay and marking down my name as an advocate of violence. I am not. I am an advocate of peace. The peace I talk about includes those of the animals and the environment. I have seen first-hand the pathetic, mostly useless effect of the predominant tactics used in the defense of animals and I am just shining a light on what most are too blind to honestly face. I am for using non-violent tactics but only with *total commitment*, where we are willing to go "the full Monty," and not where we are more focused on getting home in time for "Everybody Loves Raymond," where we are willing to sacrifice comfort, all the way down to the remote control, for what is right.

An ACTIVE-IST needs to keep challenging and be brave, whether his method is communicated through peaceful or violent means. Most "activists" today are really PASSIVE-ISTS, too stagnant and scared to challenge the system beyond the accepted level established by the system itself.

So who is to blame in this system? Most of the blame falls on you and me, the Citizen, because we are the ones who raise our voice in complaint one week and then next week are more concerned with the T.V. Guide than our corrupt leaders. We are the ones who are too weak to realize that if the system is "broke" then no amount of gaffer tape will be able to put Humpty-Dumpty back together again. We are the ones who are so ruled by our egos that we will give to a poor child overseas and ignore the needs of our next-door neighbor and pat ourselves on the back for our altruism. We are the ones who live in such fear of facing the ordinariness of who we really are that we take comfort in the accumulation of money and power, and it doesn't matter to us who we have to step on to get it. We are the ones who think that if we just work long enough within an obese system that cares more about feeding itself than it does her starving people, that God will smile at us when we walk through the Pearly Gates. Until we are willing to burn for eternity in Hell for a righteous cause and until we develop an attention span that lasts longer than yesterday's headlines, we have no right patting ourselves on the back for anything.

Asananda X does not advocate for violence or compassion—but truth. He can be contacted at AsanandaX@yahoo.com. He dedicates all his work to his blessed spiritual guru, Sri Baba Ganesh.



From Social-Democracy to Social-Fascism

BY TAKIS FOTOPOULOS

Once, in the founding years of the Second International, (social-democracy) was dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism. Then, it pursued partial reforms as gradual steps towards socialism. Finally, it settled for welfare and full employment within capitalism. If it now accepts a scaling down of one and giving up of the other, what kind of movement will it change into?

The answer to the above crucial question, raised about ten years ago by a distinguished member of the ex-“New Left”, has been given in practice by the policies of the social democratic parties that have been in power since then, and which – following in the footsteps of the British Labour party— everywhere, from Sweden to Germany, have been transformed into social-liberal parties. It seems, however, that their descent from social-democracy did not (and could not) end with social-liberalism. Today, the same Labour party pioneers a new route, this time towards social fascism. This development should not surprise anyone, given that the intensification of domestic and foreign economic suppression implied by neoliberal globalisation (of which the “new” Labour party is a fervent supporter)—has inevitably been leading to a corresponding political suppression, both in Britain and abroad.

Thus, on the pretext of the London bombings, this ex-socialdemocratic party has intensified its anti-terror campaign (although the Labour government had initiated a series of Draconian “anti-terror” measures long before the bombings), introducing several semi-fascist arrangements that would allow the arbitrary arrest and detention of any suspect for a period that could extend to three months –if the security services’ proposal is finally accepted, as seems likely at the moment. This, as Tim Owen wrote, “is calculated to destroy 800 years of respect for freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention”. At the same time, the electronic policing of everything that moves has reached new heights, while the security services have been given the right to ‘shoot-to-kill’ any suspected bomber – the first victim having already been mourned in the shanty towns of Brazil. No wonder that even the ex-head of Scotland Yard’s anti-terrorist squad during the anti-IRA campaign feels that Britain is “sinking into a police state”! Still, as if all this was not enough, the same “Labour” government has now surpassed itself by introducing new arrangements that penalise thought itself, completing the conversion of the birthplace of liberalism into a semi-fascist state similar to the regimes established by the Americans in post civil-war Greece and South Korea!

Specifically, the Home Office Secretary announced a broadening of his anti-terror powers on July 20th, which included the introduction of a list of “unacceptable behaviours”. This list “covers any non-UK citizen whether in the UK or abroad who uses any means or medium including writing, producing, publishing or distributing material, public speaking including preaching, running a website, using a position of responsibility such as teacher, community or youth leader”, in order to express views which the Government (i.e. Big Brother) considers to (among other things):

- Foment terrorism (as defined by Big Brother again) or seek to provoke others to commit terrorist acts
- Justify or glorify terrorism
- Foment other serious criminal activity or seek to provoke others to commit serious criminal acts
- Advocate violence in furtherance of particular beliefs

Thus, as ‘New’ Labour Government members have explicitly stated, the justification of “terrorist” violence (read resistance against occupying powers and their collaborators) in Iraq or even Palestine (the latter was added to the list of countries in which ‘terrorist’ acts take place after 9/11,

as a result of pressure from the Zionist faction of the transnational elite), constitutes a crime. This makes all those of us who have failed in the past to condemn the legitimate right of resistance to military occupation guilty! By analogy, according to these purely fascist arrangements similar to the ones introduced by the Nazi occupying authorities against those resisting them (whom, by coincidence, they also used to call ‘terrorists’!), one would have to classify as terrorists all those fighting colonialism by every means available to them, from Algeria to South Africa, and as collaborators all those writers who have failed to condemn them. Thus, the ‘communist miasmas’ and their ‘fellow-travellers’ of the recent past have been replaced by the ‘Islamofascist miasmas’ and their ‘fellow-travellers’ today.

Of course, the above arrangements are far from adequate for the reproduction of a semi-fascist regime. As in the pure fascist regimes of the past, mass popular support is needed— something that necessitates a perfected system of mind control. In other words, a system that will not only create a ‘truth’ that happens to coincide with what the system considers as such, but that will also cultivate fear and suspicion of one’s own neighbour or fellow passenger (particularly if s/he is not of the right skin colour!) as a potential ‘traitor’ collaborating with the external ‘enemy’—Orwell’s “1984” was prophetic in describing this mechanism, despite the fact that it missed the correct date. The BBC, for instance, which has always regarded itself as the flagship of ‘objective’ journalism (although it never failed, of course, to support the essential aims of the system itself) now plays a leading role in today’s witch-hunt. This is a witch-hunt in which a good Muslim is only seen as one who peacefully accepts the occupation of Iraq, Afghanistan or Palestine and who accepts the ‘peace’ procedures offered by the occupying force and its collaborators, in the hope of grabbing as many ‘concessions’ as the oppressor may be willing to offer. No wonder that in this climate of fear and suspicion cultivated by the mass media, almost three quarters of Britons are ready to sacrifice their civil liberties for the sake of ‘security’ (i.e. for the sake of being protected by Big Brother, who created the problem of security in the first instance!). Neither is it surprising, of course, that the meaning of ‘enemy’ is gradually being extended to include everybody whom the same Big Brother classifies as being a ‘terrorist’.

Thus, today, even activists of the Animal Liberation Front, who damage laboratories, farms, and research institutions in which animals are maltreated or even killed, often with no pure medical objective that could not be met with alternative means, are characterised as terrorists and are subjected to the corresponding treatment. The same applies to academics who “justify” this sort of “terrorism”. For instance, the entry to Britain of Steven Best, (a distinguished American academic, writer of several significant books on postmodernism and long-standing member of the Advisory Board of *Democracy & Nature* and *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*) was recently banned by the Home Office. This was on the grounds that he publicly expressed the view that, “we don’t want to reform them [vivisectors], we want to wipe them off the face of the earth”—making one wonder what the fate of Marx or Bakunin (who adopted the view that capitalists and their collaborators should also be wiped off the face of the earth) would have been at the hands of today’s social-fascists! Another charge raised against Best was that he did not regard attacks against inanimate objects in the form of vandalism, sabotage etc as violence. This means that, in today’s ‘democracy’, supporters of attacks against the assets of multinationals, including perhaps supporters of activists’ attacks in anti-globalisation demos against McDonalds and similar establishments, could be banned from Britain today and from the entire European Union tomorrow, if the present UK presidency has its way in passing similar semi-fascist legislation at the pan-European level!

In conclusion, it is becoming increasingly clear that the only way forward is for people to realise that it is not simply some ‘bad’ neo-cons under Bush Jr. et al who are creating the present semi-fascist barbarity, which



(From Social-Democracy to Social-Fascism- Continued)

is for people to realise that it is not simply some 'bad' neo-cons under Bush Jr. et al who are creating the present semi-fascist barbarity, which passes as democracy all over the world. **It is the entire system of the market economy and representative 'democracy' in its present neoliberal form --which is adopted with or without some variations by neoliberals, ex-social democrats, social-liberals and the reformist Left alike-- that is to be blamed for the present multi-dimensional, constantly deteriorating crisis. This is the first critical step towards the development of a new mass anti-systemic movement aimed at creating a genuine comprehensive democracy, an Inclusive Democracy, not just as a kind of utopia but also as, perhaps, the only way out of the present deep crisis.**

* *The above text is based on an article which was first published in the fortnightly column of Takis Fotopoulos in the mass circulation Athens daily Eleftherotypiaá on 3/9/2005*

¹"Introduction", in P. Anderson and P. Camiller, eds, *Mapping the West European Left*, (London: Verso, 1994), pp. 15-16.

²Tim Owen, «Clarke's folly», *Guardian*, 8/3/05

³Alan Travis, «Britain 'sliding into police state'», *Guardian*, 28/1/05

⁴Martin Bright, «Muslim leaders in feud with the BBC», *Observer*, 14/8/05, Faisal Bodi, «'Panorama' was a hatchet job on Muslims», *Independent*, 23/8/05

⁵Donald MacLeod, 'Britain uses hate law to ban animal rights campaigner', *Guardian*, 31/8/05

Gaps in Logic, Lapses in Politics: Critical Review of Joan Dunayer's *Speciesism*

by Steven Best

"We must eliminate false hopes, which blind us to real possibilities"
--Derrick Jensen

In her two key works, *Animal Equality* and *Speciesism*, Joan Dunayer has made crucial contributions to ethics and animal rights by uncovering the human biases and prejudices against other species such as are embedded throughout our language. What was done for racist and sexist language needs to be done for speciesist language, and Dunayer has arguably led the way in her books and articles. As she notes, "The way we speak about other animals is inseparable from the way we treat them. Along with our actions, our words must accord them full consideration and respect" (xiii). To call chickens and hens "poultry," for instance, connotes that they are not individuals to be respected but food items to be consumed.

Not content with criticism, Dunayer also suggests new ways of speaking that reflect respect for other species. She inspires readers of her work to become more aware of the politics of language and convincingly demonstrates the truth of the philosophical proposition that language matters, as it shapes our perception of the world and thereby conditions our thought, values, worldviews, cultures, and actions. As she makes clear, speciesism "is both an attitude and a form of oppression" (5); the theory informs the practices which involve endless and unspeakably cruel forms of torture and exploitation.

With philosopher Gary Francione, Dunayer stands out as one of the most radical champions of animal rights and abolitionism of all forms of animal

slavery. Just as Francione unmasked "new welfarists" who speak in the language of rights but advance welfarist policies in practice (such as PETA), Dunayer seeks to expose the "new speciesists" (including Francione himself!) who pretend to be anti-speciesist, but ultimately elevate human interests over nonhumans and thereby wrongly discriminate against other species.

Throughout *Speciesism*, Dunayer drives a rigorous line of reasoning that doesn't flinch from its logical consequences, such that the value of a mouse's life is exactly equal to that of a human, yet these conclusions often are problematic and flawed. Two key problems stand out. The first problem, philosophical in nature, arises from the logical incoherence of her radical egalitarianism that rejects any attempt to compare moral values among different life forms. The second problem, political in nature, stems from a naïve "legalism" that assumes abolitionist goals can be won through the corporate-dominated channels of the state, thereby failing to see the need to pursue illegal and far more forceful methods of struggle.

Although Dunayer follows Peter Singer, Tom Regan, Francione, and other key philosophers in rejecting speciesism as arbitrary and unjustifiable, she finds that ultimately they are all "new speciesists" who often violate the principle of equality by privileging humans over nonhumans.

On Singer's view, for instance, there is a *moral premium* on self-awareness and mental complexity to which one can appeal to weigh different values if necessary. For Singer, "it is not arbitrary to hold that the life of a self-aware being, capable of abstract thought, of planning for the future, of complex acts of communication, and so on, is more valuable than the life of a being without these capacities." Thus, for Singer, it is worse to cut short the life of a "normal" brain functioning human than a dog, as the human has a more complex form of "personhood," but it is wrong to favor a brain dead human over a dog for the same reason.

Dunayer, in bold contrast, vehemently rejects all appeals to cognitive complexities and existential differentiation to insist on the total equality of any form of sentient life. To her credit, Dunayer follows her logic and premises to their inexorable conclusions: "Am I saying that a firefly is as fully entitled to moral consideration as a rabbit or baboon? Yes. Am I saying that a spider has as much right to life as an egret or human? Yes. I see no logically consistent reason to say otherwise" (134).

As much as I admire her all-out assault on human supremacy, I submit that we do and must make choices between life forms all the time, and we thereby unavoidably judge and weigh relative life values. The criteria for such choices may often be tacit and unconscious, but it is necessary, and not necessarily speciesist, to attempt a rational formulation of these principles such as Singer, Regan, and others do.

Is it desirable or even possible in all cases not to operate without some hierarchical scheme? Can one ever be non-speciesist in the pure and total way Dunayer seeks? Isn't Dunayer, like everyone else, complicit in the destruction of life and doesn't she privilege herself, humans, or some animals over other animals all the time? If we want to take a walk in the park, for example, we will unavoidably step on and kill countless insects we do not see. We know this in advance, but take the walk anyway, so what makes our desire for a walk more important than the lives of insects we will unavoidably trample on? The same complexities face us when choosing among the lives of nonhuman animals. When we kill ticks and fleas that annoy and can sicken our cats and dogs, we value them over ticks and fleas. A choice has to be made, such that we will provide comfort to one life at the expense of another. To choose our beloved cats or dogs over fleas is discriminatory, but it is neither arbitrary nor wrong.

Dunayer's radical approach leads her into numerous inconsistencies and hypocrisies. She admits, for instance, that she would kill a bear in self-



(Gaps in Logic...continued)

to preserve her own existence. Self-defense is a legitimate reason for causing harm to another being, but her hypothetical action is inconsistent with her radical egalitarianism, for she is assuming that her life is more important than the life of a bear who needs food. But how can she conclude this if all beings and things are equal? She thus values her own life -- and perhaps human life in general in such cases -- over an animal's need to live by obtaining a tasty human meal. And suppose that the bear is an endangered species -- is it not infinitely more valuable, in the grand scheme of evolution and biodiversity, than Dunayer's life or the life of any human at all?

I appreciate the progressive spirit, moral generosity, and non-discriminatory egalitarianism in Dunayer's approach, but I find it too utopian, too divorced from the complexity, ambiguities, and painful choices we all face in the real world that unfolds beyond and without philosophy. *Existential differentiation* is not always or necessarily *moral discrimination*.

While we certainly can disagree about what criteria should be employed, we cannot avoid making choices, however we might try to deny them. To paraphrase Jean Paul Sartre, we are condemned to making ethical choices and arranging moral hierarchies. For every second we live in this world, we do harm to it, we favor our own existence over the lives of countless beings we inadvertently kill (whether we are vegans, freegans, or neo-primitivists), and non-violence is a position we can only strive for but never fully attain. The only justification we have for living is that we might do more good than harm in our brief time on this planet.

Given her radical philosophical commitment to egalitarianism, one would expect to see a parallel commitment to militant tactics and politics, but instead there is a major disjoint. While Dunayer sketches a general picture of what her version of authentic abolitionist campaigns would like in practice, the book is striking for (1) its naïve faith in capitalist "democracy" and (2) its failure to discuss the most controversial elements of animal rights politics, namely, the ever-growing use of illegal, direct action approaches, such as the rescues, raids, and sabotage associated with the Animal Liberation Front or the high-pressure tactics of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign. Demonized by corporations and governments as terrorists, these groups have rescued animals and shut down exploiters, *succeeding where legal tactics would fail*.

As militant liberation tactics have become increasingly prominent and controversial in the UK, US, and elsewhere, it is a glaring failure that Dunayer ignores and evades *the key struggles and debates of the present*, as ever more abolitionists see legislative tactics as futile and take extreme actions appropriate to the extreme situation of animal exploitation. Dunayer does discuss and endorse "open rescues" whereby activists free animals from cages and, unlike the "closed" approach of masked ALF activists, take full responsibility for violating the law. Plausibly enough, she contends that such rescues are just stopgap measures as they save relatively few animals and are easily replaced by others. Yet she assumes an all-or-nothing outlook, failing to see the open and closed rescues are crucial elements in a larger global struggle against animal slavery, and she shows no such skepticism of her favored legislative-based tactics.

Ultimately, Dunayer presents a staid defense of the political status quo as the solution to animal exploitation, thereby arriving at the same conclusions as the blatantly welfarist organizations she reviles, such as the Humane Society of the United States. Her abolitionism is based on a fundamental misconception of the state. The fundamental role of the capitalist state -- always has been, always will be -- is not to protect citizen rights and promote justice but rather to protect the profits and property of corporations.

Dunayer's modern-day version of abolitionism has little to do with the abolitionist movement of the 19th century, which was galvanized and advanced by widespread acts of sabotage, arson, and violence against slavemasters. Nat Turner, John Brown, and countless other abolitionists defended and/or employed sabotage, arson, and violence as necessary and legitimate tactics in the struggle to free black slaves. Why aren't these same tactics necessary and legitimate to use for rescuing animal slaves and stopping the animal slave trade?

Critics of illegal direct action tactics cite chapter and verse of King and Gandhi, but they labor with overly romanticized and idealistic views of human nature, believing that species supremacists can be converted through appeals to their compassion, humanity, religion, and reason. While a small minority of animal exploiters can be changed through education and moral persuasion, the vast majority are ideologically and economically wedded to violence against animals. Direct action critics rely on an equally naïve model of political struggle which assumes that "democratic" systems are sufficiently pluralistic and receptive to appeals for justice and rights that activists can defeat the economic and political monopolization of power held by corporations and powerful special interest groups. Amazingly, Dunayer and other self-proclaimed abolitionists continue to champion legalist methods in the aftermath of two stolen elections by George Bush and his cronies; in the repressive environment of the USA PATRIOT Act; from within a web of total surveillance of citizens and dissenters; in the face of encroaching fascism; and amidst the most cynical, corrupt, corporate-controlled, oppressive, and illegal political administration in US history.

Dunayer thinks there is a paradigm shift between welfarism and a genuine rights-based approach, *but the continuities are at least as significant as the discontinuities*. The main division in the animal advocacy movement is not between animal welfare and animal rights approaches, but rather between "*legalists*" who support change only in and through corporate-dominated political channels and direct action "*pluralists*" who acknowledge the value of education and legislation-based approaches, but also insist that sabotage, raids, and other illegal actions are necessary to free captive animals and to stop animal exploiters protected by the state.

In addition to sabotage, questions of the efficacy and legitimacy of violence must also be addressed not avoided. If animals are under violent attack and cannot defend themselves, if the state protects only their oppressors, and if animal rights activists are the only ones who can defend animals, do they not have the right to use sabotage and even violence against exploiters as proxy agents adhering to the principle I call "extensional self-defense"? Similarly, the principles of just war theory state that violence is morally justifiable if all nonviolent options of resistance or self-defense have been exhausted, and the minimal amount of violence needed to defeat injustice is used. Is just war theory not applicable to the war between animal exploiters and animal liberators and does it not justify the use of violence as all peaceful and legal measures have failed to stop the genocide? In addition, don't the precepts of "humanitarian war," a justification human rights hawk Bill Clinton used for bombings on Yugoslavia, apply to liberating animals with "forceful intervention" (to use Clinton's language) to prevent future harm? And isn't Bush's doctrine of "preemptive strikes" also available to abolitionists to justify violence against animal oppressors?

Societies like the US and UK defend and use violence against human beings all the time, such as blatantly evident in the current war against Iraq, but the cultures that support violence for human causes moralistically rejects it if used to defend animals. The contradiction is explained, of course, through the speciesist logic that views humans and animals as of unequal value, such that animals suffering the worst forms of living hell are somehow not worthy of a battering ram or bullet. One expects this hypocrisy in society in general, but it is particularly striking when self-professed animal advocates decry sabotage and violence against animal exploiters as morally wrong or too complex or controversial to even



(Gaps in Logic...continued)

discuss.

Enlightenment -- a precondition for legislative-based tactics -- is itself not enough for moral progress to advance; it never has been and never will be. Whether "enlightened" or not, the fact always has been that in most cases human beings seek to promote and defend their own interests. It is thus the case that throughout modern history, moral progress has occurred not through civilizing the elites who then voluntarily relinquish or broaden their power but rather through one kind of force or another -- protests, demonstrations, boycotts, property destruction, and, physical violence and armed struggle.

We must not only educate, we must become a social movement. The challenge of animal rights also is our challenge, for animal rights must not only be an idea but a social movement for the liberation of the world's most oppressed beings, both in terms of numbers and in the severity of their pain. As with all revolutions, animals will not gain rights because oppressors suddenly see the light, but rather because enough people become enlightened and learn how to rock the structures of power, to shake them until new social arrangements emerge.

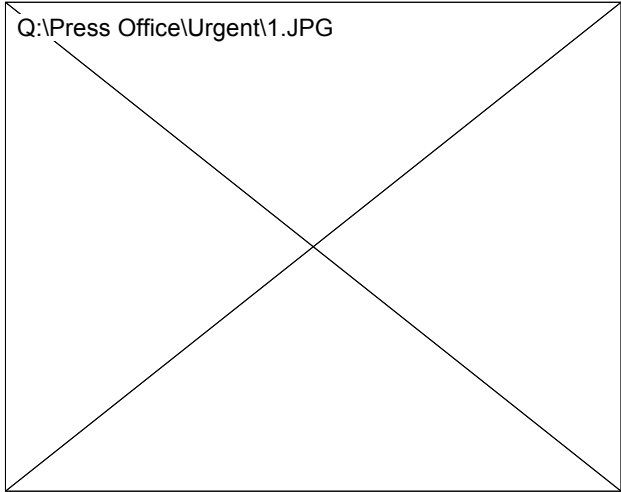
Dunayer and other legalists have a huge burden to show us that the capitalist state --- such as represented by Bush, Tom Delay, Jack Abramoff, and others -- is actually capable of bringing justice to animals and upholding what is right over what is profitable. If legal measures are not adequate, then what lines do we draw and why one place and not another?

If welfarism means bigger cages, and rights means abolition, and if abolition is justified "by any means necessary" in existing conditions of pervasive and institutionalized violence, unfolding on a global scale far larger than Auschwitz and Treblinka, then rights/abolitionist theory demands discussing and pursuing all kinds of political and tactical paths. If sabotage, violence, and armed struggle is necessary to protect/defend/rescue human life, why not for animals also? Animal advocates who defend sabotage or violence to defend humans but not animals are speciesists.

However the questions will be answered, they need to be raised, not evaded. One expects as much from mealy-mouthed welfarists, but one seeks much more from avowed militants like Dunayer. The key question that goes unanswered is: *What full range of tactics is appropriate and justified for a true abolitionist position and politics?*

On the whole, *Speciesism* is a superb examination of the moral and political failures of welfarism, and a lucid examination of rights and the abolitionist policies an animal rights position implies and demands. Despite its philosophical inconsistencies and political deficits, this book is a must read for the entire animal advocacy movement and worthy of careful study and sustained discussion.

The North American Animal Liberation Press Office is a non-profit organization working to expose animal exploitation and oppression in the media. This newsletter is published quarterly, and is free of charge. This issue is dedicated to Peter Young, political prisoner imprisoned for his compassion and willingness to put it to good use.



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"We have to organize and become involved in well coordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist It takes action to get action." - Malcolm X