

Volume 3, Number 3: July 2007

## Arms and the Movement

by Peter Gelderloos

### In This Issue:

- **Arms and the Movement** by Peter Gelderloos
- **Unwise Branding: Equating Animal-rights Activism with Terrorism**
- **The Press Office On Snitching**
- **Oxford Vivisectionists are Swimming Against the Tide** By neurosurgeon Marius Maxwell
- **Trust Me I'm a Vivisector!** From Arkangel Magazine
- **Missouri Animal Research Lab Agrees to Settle for Animal Welfare Act Violations**
- **Rethinking Revolution: Animal Liberation, Human Liberation, and the Future of the Left** By Steven Best, Ph.D.

This latest issue of the North American Animal Liberation Press Office Newsletter is loaded with informative and educational articles from both the streets and academia. The underground arm of the animal liberation movement has been more active than ever, and the Press Office is here to report on and explain actions taken on behalf of exploited, oppressed, tortured and murdered non-human animals.

While some in the movement bemoan the passage of repressive legislation aimed at increasingly successful campaigns and actions, liberation activists with their boots on the ground are not worried in the least. As an increasingly fascist state makes life difficult on those willing to show their faces, others will capitalize on the security and effectiveness of direct action. No state, no corporation, no one is going to stop the animal liberation movement, which grows stronger in its knowledge of truly effective tactics that do not depend on asking the master for crumbs as non-human animals are slaughtered around us for profit.

All successful liberation struggles have required sacrifice, just as they all embraced a wide array of tactics aimed at overpowering a powerful oppressor that thrived on exploitation. Animal Liberation is no different!

The North American Animal Liberation Press Office (NAALPO) 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.

21044 Sherman Way Suite 211  
Canoga Park, CA 91303  
(818) 932-9997 [Press@animalliberationpressoffice.org](mailto:Press@animalliberationpressoffice.org)

**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" with no attention paid to the violence 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 provides 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.

### Pacifism equals pacified to this activist

I could spend plenty of time talking about the failures of nonviolence. Instead, it may be useful to talk about its supposed successes. Frequently cited examples are India's struggle for independence from British colonial rule, the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1960s, and the peace movement during the war in Vietnam. Though they have not yet been hailed as a victory, the massive protests in 2003 against the United States' invasion of Iraq also have been applauded by nonviolent activists. In claiming these as victories for nonviolence, however, pacifists have engaged in a pattern of historical manipulation and whitewashing.

In India, the story goes, people led by Mahatma Gandhi built up a massive nonviolent movement over decades and engaged in protest, noncooperation, economic boycotts, hunger strikes, and other acts of disobedience that made British imperialism unworkable. The movement suffered massacres and responded with a couple of riots, but on the whole, the movement was nonviolent and eventually won independence, providing an undeniable hallmark of pacifist victory.

The actual history is more complicated. Many violent pressures also influenced the British decision to withdraw. The British had lost the ability to maintain colonial power after losing millions of troops and resources during two extremely violent world wars. The armed struggles of Arab and Jewish militants in Palestine from 1945 to 1948 further weakened the British Empire, and these conflicts served as a clear threat of what might result if the Indians gave up civil disobedience to take up arms en masse.

India's resistance to British colonialism included enough militancy that the Gandhian method should be viewed most accurately as one of several competing forms of popular resistance. Pacifists write out those other forms of resistance, ignoring important militant leaders such as Chandrasekhar Azad, who fought in armed struggle against the British colonizers, and revolutionaries such as Bhagat Singh, who won mass support for bombings and assassinations as part of a struggle to accomplish the "overthrow of both foreign and Indian capitalism." The pacifist history of India's struggle cannot make any sense of the fact that Subhas Chandra Bose, the militant candidate, was twice elected president of the Indian National Congress, in 1938 and 1939.

Ultimately, the liberation movement in India failed. The British were not forced out. Under pressure from a diverse resistance, they chose to hand power over to the parts of the resistance they felt would best uphold their interests, shifting from direct colonial rule to neocolonial rule. What kind of victory allows the losing side to dictate the time and manner of the victors' ascendancy? The British continued to fan the flames of religious and ethnic separatism so that India would be divided against itself, prevented from gaining peace and prosperity, and dependent on military aid and other support from Euro/American states.

Independence from colonial rule has given India more autonomy in a few areas, and it has certainly allowed a handful of Indians to sit in the seats of power. But the exploitation and the commoditization of the commons and of culture have deepened. Moreover, India lost a clear opportunity for meaningful liberation from a foreign oppressor. Any liberation movement now would have to go up against the confounding dynamics of nationalism and ethnic/religious rivalry in order to abolish a domestic capitalism and government that are far more developed.

**The U.S. civil rights movement** is one of the most important episodes in pacifist history. Across the world, people see it as an example of nonviolent victory. In truth, it was neither nonviolent nor a victory.

On the contrary, though pacifist groups such as Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference had considerable power and influence, popular support, especially among poor black people, gravitated toward militant revolutionary groups such as the Black Panther Party.



## Arms and the Movement (continued)

According to a 1970 Harris poll, 66 percent of African Americans said the activities of the Black Panther Party gave them pride, and 43 percent said the party represented their own views.

The nonviolent segments of the civil rights movement cannot be distilled and separated from its revolutionary parts. Pacifist, middle-class black activists, including King, got much of their power from the specter of black resistance and the presence of armed black revolutionaries.

To cite one example: In the spring of 1963, King's Birmingham campaign was fixing to be a repeat of the dismally failed action in Albany, Georgia, where a nine-month civil disobedience campaign that began in 1961 had demonstrated the powerlessness of nonviolent protesters against a government with seemingly bottomless jails. Then, on May 7, after continued police violence in Birmingham, 3,000 black people began fighting back, pelting the police with rocks and bottles. Just two days later, Birmingham -- up until then an inflexible bastion of segregation -- agreed to desegregate downtown stores, and President Kennedy backed the agreement with federal guarantees.

Within days, after local white supremacists bombed a black home and a black business, thousands of black people rioted again, seizing a nine-block area, destroying police cars, injuring several cops (including the chief inspector), and burning white businesses. Within weeks, Kennedy ended several years of stalling and called for Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act. As King himself said, "The sound of the explosion in Birmingham reached all the way to Washington."

In short, the largest victory of the civil rights movement came when black people demonstrated that they would not remain peaceful forever. Faced with the two alternatives, the white power structure chose to negotiate with the pacifists, and we have seen the results: The movement was successful in ending de jure segregation and expanding the minuscule black petty bourgeoisie, but fell far short of full political and economic equality, to say nothing of black liberation from white imperialism. People of color still have lower average incomes, poorer access to housing and health care, and poorer health than white people. De facto segregation still exists. Political equality is also lacking. Millions of voters, most of them black, are disenfranchised (from voting for white candidates in a white political system that reflects a white culture) when it is convenient to ruling interests, and only three black senators have served since Reconstruction.

The claim that the U.S. peace movement ended the war in Vietnam contains the usual set of flaws. With unforgivable self-righteousness, peace activists ignore the fact that 3 million to 5 million Indochinese died in the fight against the U.S. military; tens of thousands of U.S. troops were killed and hundreds of thousands wounded; other troops were demoralized and had become ineffective and openly rebellious; and the United States was losing political capital (and going fiscally bankrupt) to a point where pro-war politicians began calling for a strategic withdrawal.

Some pacifists claim that the huge number of conscientious objectors who refused to fight points to a nonviolent victory. But far more significant than passive conscientious objectors were the active rebellions by black, Latino, and Native American troops. The government's plan, in response to black urban riots, of taking unemployed young black men off the streets and into the military, backfired. Fragging, sabotage, refusal to fight, rioting in the stockades, and aiding the enemy contributed significantly to the decision to pull out ground troops. The Pentagon estimated that 3 percent of officers and noncommissioned officers killed in Vietnam from 1961 to 1972 were killed by their own troops. In many instances, soldiers in a unit pooled their money to raise a bounty for the killing of an unpopular officer.

"By every conceivable indicator, our army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse," wrote Marine Corps Colonel Robert D. Heinl in the *Armed Forces Journal* in June 1971, "with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and noncommissioned officers, drug-ridden and dispirited where not near

mutinous. Elsewhere than Vietnam, the situation is nearly as serious."

Although they were less politically significant than resistance from within the military, bombings and other acts of violence in protest of the war on white college campuses should not be ignored in favor of the pacifist whitewash. In the 1969-70 school year (September through May), a conservative estimate counts 174 antiwar bombings on campuses and at least 70 off-campus bombings and other violent attacks targeting ROTC buildings, government buildings, and corporate offices. Additionally, 230 campus protests included physical violence, and 410 included damage to property.

In conclusion, what was a very limited victory -- the withdrawal of ground troops after many years of warfare -- can be most clearly attributed to two factors: the successful and sustained violent resistance of the Vietnamese, and the militant and often lethal resistance of the U.S. ground troops themselves. The domestic antiwar movement clearly worried those in power, but it had certainly not become powerful enough that we can say it "forced" the government to do anything, and in any case, its most forceful elements used violence.

Perhaps confused by their own false history of the peace movement during the Vietnam War, pacifist organizers against the invasion of Iraq seemed to expect a repeat of a victory that never happened. On February 16, 2003, as the U.S. government moved toward war with Iraq, *Agence France-Presse* hailed weekend protests as "a stinging rebuke to Washington and its allies." The protests were the largest in history; excepting a few minor scuffles, they were entirely nonviolent. United for Peace and Justice and some other antiwar groups even suggested that the protests might avert war.

As we now know, they were totally wrong, and the protests were totally ineffective. The invasion occurred as planned, despite the millions of people nominally, peacefully, and powerlessly opposed to it. The antiwar movement did nothing to change the power relationships in the United States. President Bush received substantial political capital for invading Iraq, and was not faced with a backlash until the war and occupation effort began to show signs of failure due to the effective armed resistance of the Iraqi people.

A good case study regarding the efficacy of nonviolent protest can be seen in Spain's involvement with the U.S.-led occupation. Spain, with 1,300 troops, was one of the larger junior partners in the "Coalition of the Willing." More than a million Spaniards protested the invasion, and 80 percent of the Spanish population was opposed to it, but their commitment to peace ended there; they did nothing to actually prevent Spanish military support for the invasion and occupation. Because they remained passive and did nothing to disempower the leadership, they remained as powerless as the citizens of any democracy. Not only was Prime Minister Aznar allowed to go to war, he was expected by all forecasts to win reelection.

Until the bombings. On March 11, 2004, just days before the voting booths opened, multiple bombs planted by an al-Qaida-linked cell exploded on Madrid trains, killing 191 people and injuring 1,755. Directly because of this, Aznar and his party lost in the polls, and the Socialists, the major party with an antiwar platform, were elected to power. The U.S.-led coalition shrank with the loss of the Spanish troops. Whereas millions of peaceful activists voting in the streets like good sheep have not weakened the brutal occupation in any measurable way, a few dozen terrorists willing to slaughter noncombatants were able to cause the withdrawal of more than a thousand occupation troops.

So much for the victories of pacifism.

The Madrid bombings do not present an example for action, but rather, an important paradox: Do people who stick to nonviolent tactics that have not proved effective in ending the war against Iraq really care more for human life than the Madrid terrorists? From India to Birmingham, nonviolence has



## Arms and the Movement (continued)

failed to sufficiently empower its practitioners, whereas the use of a diversity of tactics got results. Put simply, if a movement is not a threat, it cannot change a system that is based on centralized coercion and violence.

Time and again, people struggling not for some token reform but for complete liberation -- the reclamation of control over our own lives and the power to negotiate our own relationships with the people and the world around us -- will find that nonviolence does not work, that we face a self-perpetuating power structure that is immune to appeals to conscience and strong enough to plow over the disobedient and uncooperative.

We must reclaim histories of resistance to understand why we have failed in the past and how exactly we achieved the limited successes we did. We must also accept that all social struggles, except those carried out by a completely pacified and thus ineffective people, include a diversity of tactics.

*Peter Gelderloos is an activist and community organizer who has worked with Food Not Bombs and against the School of the Americas. Excerpted from his book How Nonviolence Protects the State (2007), published by South End Press, an independent, collectively run publisher dedicated to the politics of radical social change; [www.southendpress.org](http://www.southendpress.org).*

---

Wall Street Journal, May 9, 2007

### Without Violence's Help, Nonviolence Doesn't Do Much

Pacifists have overemphasized the role of nonviolent protest in the civil-rights movement and the liberation of India, says Peter Gelderloos, a prominent leftist activist in the Utne Reader. He recommends that today's activists adopt some violent tactics that he says played a key role in those successes.

He criticizes the conventional narrative of India's liberation, in which Mahatma Gandhi-led acts of "protest, noncooperation, economic boycotts, hunger strikes, and other acts of disobedience ... made British imperialism unworkable." This narrative erases the militants who fought for independence by assassinating British officials in the 1920s and 1930s, such as Chandrasekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh. Subhas Chandra Bose, an advocate of violent resistance and a rival of Mr. Gandhi's, was twice elected president of the Indian National Congress, in 1938 and 1939.

Mr. Gelderloos also insists that the nonviolent elements of the U.S. civil-rights movement of the 1960s "cannot be distilled and separated from its revolutionary parts." He says that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s nine-month civil-disobedience campaign in Albany, Ga., in 1961 achieved very little. Dr. King's famous Birmingham, Ala., campaign in 1963 succeeded in bringing about desegregation, he says, only because, on top of the nonviolent protests, 3,000 people eventually fought against the aggression of the police with rocks and bottles. "The largest victory of the civil rights movement came when black people demonstrated that they would not remain peaceful forever," says Mr. Gelderloos.

The emphasis on nonviolence lies behind what Mr. Gelderloos describes as a failure by activists to end the U.S.'s involvement in Iraq. He insists the political system has been able to ignore the large, nonviolent protests against the war because it is "immune to appeals to conscience and strong enough to plow over the disobedient and uncooperative." Without going into specifics in the excerpt from his book "How Nonviolence Protects the State," Mr. Gelderloos recommends his fellow activists adopt "a diversity of tactics," including violence, if they really want to effect change. — Robin Moroney

Nature Magazine. 23 May 2007

### Unwise Branding: Equating Animal-rights Activism with Terrorism

Equating animal-rights activism with terrorism increases the penalties for offenders and will please many of their victims. But it is not in the interests of science.

Terrorist is not a word you throw around lightly. And it is certainly not a word you apply to anyone with whom you would like to have a civil conversation. A US tendency to apply the label to militant activists who are against animal research or genetic engineering slams shut a door that might be difficult to reopen — to researchers' cost.

In a courtroom in Eugene, Oregon, last week, federal prosecutors asked for a 'terrorism enhancement' on the sentencing of ten environmental activists. The activists have admitted to a string of arson attacks in the western United States in the late 1990s and the start of this decade. They torched places where things were done of which they disapproved, including a lab that they believed was growing genetically engineered poplar trees.

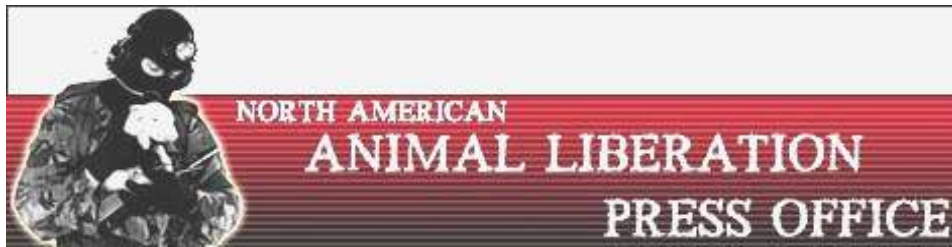
If the judge applies the requested enhancement, their sentences could be longer and the conditions of their imprisonment more severe. They are criminals, to be sure. Their arson cost millions of dollars and destroyed scientific work in progress. But although some of their more knuckleheaded actions could easily have accidentally hurt someone, their ethos was to damage property, never to hurt or kill.

Other extreme activists are also being labelled terrorists. Last November, the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act was signed into law in the United States. It creates tough penalties for damaging property, making threats and conspiring against zoos, animal labs and the like. Leaving aside the merits of this act, its very name enshrines into law the idea that destructive activists are terrorists.

As one of the communities targeted by these activists, scientists may be tempted to embrace this rhetoric. Indeed, many people have personally felt terrified by the actions of the most extreme. But 'terrorist' is a word so debased and loaded by political use that, if it has any meaning at all, it is counterproductive. There is no such objective thing as a terrorist. A criminal is a person who has been convicted of a crime. We can examine a person's records and make an unemotional determination of whether or not they are a criminal. But a terrorist is, in practice, a person who fights for a cause we do not believe in using methods that we do not approve of.

Calling someone a terrorist is a value judgement. It is a value judgement that seems to be increasingly used in the United States since the attacks of 11 September 2001.





### Unwise Branding (continued)

Indeed, the nation is waging, in official parlance, a "global war on terror". The term is useful politically exactly because it expresses an absolute rejection of a person and their aims. The terrorist label definitively ends any possibility of dialogue. But if there is any hope of bringing closer together those at the extremes of scientific controversies such as animal research and genetic engineering, the various parties must be able to speak to one another.

Although most activists feel that the actions of the criminal few are unproductive and embarrassing, for every activist saboteur with a lighted match there are hundreds of people who are sympathetic to his or her cause. Label that saboteur a terrorist, and you risk alienating all of them. Efforts to bring together defenders and attackers of animal research, such as those by the UK-based Boyd Group, often do not admit those who espouse criminal acts, and that is appropriate. And it leaves open the possibility that an activist who has renounced criminal actions can come to the table. But who will be willing to publicly break bread with a terrorist, reformed or otherwise?

We should avoid building an unbreachable wall between criminal activists and their victims. The judge in this case should reject the call for 'terrorism enhancement'. We must all speak more objectively and calmly.

---

### The Press Office On Snitching

Stanislas Meyerhoff: 13 years.
Kevin Tubbs: 12 years, 7 months.
Chelsea Gerlach: 9 years.
Darren Thurston: 3 years 1 month.
Kendall Tankersley: 3 years, 10 months.
Suzanne Nicole Savoie: 4 years, 3 months.
Joyanna Zacher: 7 years, 8 months.
Nathan Block: 7 years, 8 months
Jonathan Paul: 4 years, 3 months
Daniel McGowan: 7 years
Bill Rogers: Deceased - alleged suicide in Flagstaff jail cell
Jacob Ferguson: Granted immunity from prosecution

The above twelve people were members of an interwoven ALF/ELF cell calling itself "The Family" and have been arrested and sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to thirteen years under a 65-count indictment for a string of twenty arsons. Stretching across five Northwestern states, causing \$40 million in damages and involving a horsemeat packing plant, US Forest Service ranger stations, wild horse corrals used by the US Bureau of Land Management, an electrical tower, an SUV dealership, three forest products companies, a university horticultural center, a ski resort, and a police station, the group was a relentless reminder of the abuse by humans rained down on the planet and her inhabitants..

These arsons took place between 1997 and 2001. The activists remained free for basically ten years until Jacob Ferguson returned, claiming that he was being "watched" by federal agents who suspected his participation in the underground actions. What would your reaction have been? Most likely, the same as that of the rest of the group - to comfort and reassure your friend and fellow activist that he had nothing to worry about, that everyone took all precaution against leaving evidence, and that ten years had elapsed without incident. Would you have even dreamt that your comrade was wearing a wire and working for the FBI? Most likely not - and hence your response would be perfectly normal and understandable. You would have no reason to think that the situation was anything other than what it appeared - a fellow activist and friend alarmed by his belief that he was under surveillance and that the authorities were on to something. Your human inclination would be to offer immediate solace and to remind him that the group had been careful and a lot of time had intervened.

Law enforcement agents are experts on and will readily exploit "normal human emotions." They predicted - correctly - that the group members would do just what they did, which was to attempt to assuage their friend's concerns. And if the activists had stopped at that point, they likely would still be free. What the authorities really needed were the specifics - the particulars that only the activists could know and which would inescapably (pun intended) link them to their illegal escapades; dates, times, locations, and deeds. Jailed and threatened with lengthy prison terms, six more of the twelve activists (Meyerhoff, Tubbs, Gerlach, Thurston, Tankersley and Savoie) provided the state with evidence on themselves and others, corroborating the testimony of the original snitch, Jacob Ferguson. As each scared and dishonored former activist added their statements to the prosecution's case, they sealed the verdicts for everyone.

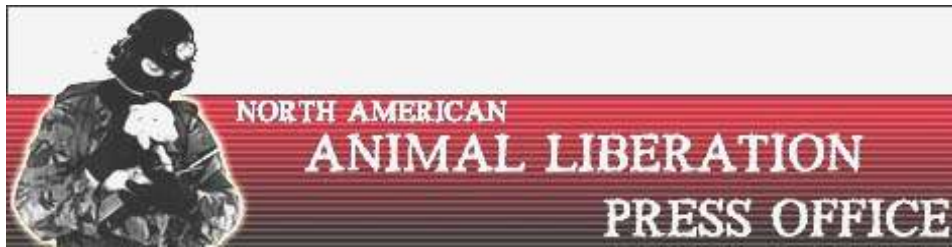
Historically, any underground arm of a liberation movement has needed a very strict security culture established the hard way by learning from its own and others mistakes. Sharing of information should occur on a need-to-know basis only - and never outside the cell. If some members of the group are excluded from an action, they should not be privy to its details. And once an action has been completed, it should never be discussed again. Ever. For any reason.

Unfortunately, the earth and animal liberation movement is rife with adherents that seem more interested in their image than the destruction of the planet and the suffering of non-human animals. For these activists who talk incessantly about who they know and who did what, prison time is something that they want to avoid at all cost, even the cost of sending their comrades to serve time. As the saying goes, "if you can't do the time, don't do the crime". The vast majority of earth and animal liberation actions are completed without anyone being captured or imprisoned, but anyone participating in these actions must be prepared for the possibility of police interrogations and even the possibility of being jailed. It comes with the territory, but as anyone who watches any of the litany of forensic television shows knows, without some silly suspect spilling his guts in the interrogation room, convictions are rare. Even with all the high-tech gizmos and gadgets that make for exciting television.

Think about this logically. If law enforcement had the evidence it required to arrest and convict, would it not do so without further ado? It must not have what it needs if it is forced to go to the trouble of fitting someone with a wire, getting people to talk, and convincing them to snitch! Returning to the subject of human emotions yet again, the authorities know that the most vulnerable psychological state is that of fear.

Sitting isolated in a prison cell and being threatened with draconian punishment is not the opportune moment to discover that one lacks the emotional stamina to withstand the pressure of interrogation. Now - not later - is the time to contemplate what it would mean to be confined for years to a tiny cell; to be separated from husband, wife, child, pet, and home; to be deprived of the sun on one's back, the wind in one's hair, and the freedom to do what and go where one pleases. This caveat is not intended to dissuade underground activism; rather, its purpose is to stress the importance of following simple security guidelines.

As a movement, we all have a responsibility to create a culture that encourages and supports direct action; there is too much at stake to leave activism to the organizations of pacifists that exist to draw six-figure salaries and rake in millions of donor dollars. Snitches are an aspect of our movement who should not and cannot be tolerated. Our moral outrage at these traitors should demand their exclusion from our ranks, but all too often they are tolerated and even encouraged by those around them. This sends the message to future activists that saving one's own skin is a viable option, and that repercussions will be minimal. Serious movements do not tolerate traitors; those dying in factory farms, laboratories, circuses and elsewhere deserve better. Never discuss the details of an action with other people, no matter how much you trust them - or yourself. Don't be afraid to fight for what you believe and know to be right - just abide by the security guidelines that will keep you free to continue the battle for those who have no one but you to defend them.



## **Oxford Vivisectionists are Swimming Against the Tide**

By neurosurgeon Marius Maxwell

As a neurosurgeon and neuroscientist with two decades of research experience, I feel qualified to contribute to the debate on non-human primate vivisection. The arguments of the Weatherall Committee defy much current scientific evidence, and have served only to confirm my view that the data supporting non-human primate vivisection are profoundly flawed and together with the moral case are indefensible.

I concur with the findings of the crucial Perel study in the December 15th (2006) issue of the British Medical Journal ([www.bmj.com](http://www.bmj.com)), which represents a comprehensive and quantitative statistical meta-analysis to test the usefulness of a broad spectrum of animal based drug testing in predicting human outcomes. This analysis, which undermines the conclusions of the Weatherall Committee, found that only three of the six categories actually succeeded in predicting the results of subsequent human trials and that in all animal experimentation studied "the quality of the experiments was poor." No better than the toss of a coin in other words. The predictive power may actually be even worse, since the study found evidence of broad publication bias in those experiments that did predict human outcome. They concluded that "Discordance between animal and human studies may be due to bias or to the failure of animal models to mimic clinical disease adequately."

It is important to bear in mind that these six areas represent a vast cross section of animal based drug studies including stroke, head injury, systemic haemorrhage, neonatal respiratory distress and osteoporosis. A total of 228 published animal studies were evaluated representing many thousands of animal test subjects including non-human primates. This is only the last in a long series of studies critical of the predictive ability of animal experimentation to human health care with some yielding concordance rates as abysmally low as 5 per cent.

The ultimate effect of such imprecise animal-based research is reflected in tens of thousands of unnecessary human deaths before the responsible drugs are finally withdrawn. Examples include: the use of steroids in human head and spinal cord injury; drugs such as rtPA in stroke treatment; hormone replacement therapy (HRT); Vioxx; TG1412 at Northwick Park hospital; amrinone for heart failure; an Alzheimer's vaccine in 2001; and 80 HIV/Aids vaccines which have failed in over 100 clinical trials, despite testing in non-human primates on a massive scale. The gratuitous use of non-human primates in much psychological and behavioural laboratory experimentation does, based on my review, infrequently fall short of scandalous. Alternative, state of the art non-animal-based methods of accurately predicting drug safety include microdosing and in vitro assays, human DNA chips, and virtual human organs.

The Weatherall Committee stated that research on animals, including non-human primates, might alleviate "continued suffering to very large numbers of humans..." But it is now clear that the use of animals in drug-screening is actually endangering countless human lives. Extensive, unbiased, and dispassionate meta-analyses of the accuracy and validity of animal research should be the only yardstick employed in this debate.

Doctors, pharmacists, and patients groups in the Netherlands are now demanding government action after a national study has found that drug related problems caused twice as many hospital admissions as motor vehicle accidents ([www.bmj.com](http://www.bmj.com), 15th December 2006). The December 13th (2006) issue of Nature ([www.nature.com](http://www.nature.com)) also has a timely but troubling review of animal research and demonstrates that the tide is changing inexorably against animal vivisection. There is discussion of the recent (December 2005) Swiss reform of an animal welfare law to protect the "dignity of creation" of animals. This rightly has had the effect of progressive denial of funding for non-human primate research.

Many are fond of claiming the importance of animal research to early scientific discoveries as if the same historical models bear any relevance

at all to contemporary science. Obviously animal research in the past century, in the absence of better alternatives, has benefited mankind as did ancient studies of human anatomy. Michelangelo's anatomical drawings and William Harvey's description of human circulation spring to mind, but who would seriously argue that cadaveric dissection represents cutting-edge science today?

The field of Parkinson's Disease (PD) research was greatly stimulated by the therapeutic attempts of neurosurgeons using dopaminergic brain transplantation in animals and humans which came to the fore in the 1980's and have since largely receded. There have been too many false positives to record here. Many possible false negatives may also have been ignored as part of widely documented publication bias. The most common non-human primate model of PD results from monkeys being poisoned with the neurotoxin MPTP. It is widely acknowledged that profound disparities (anatomical, physiological, neurochemical, pathological, and temporal) exist between the MPTP non-human primate model and humans with idiopathic PD. Despite these paramount concerns of human reproducibility, hundreds of studies involving thousands of animals have followed with conflicting and non-predictive results. There is no evidence to suggest that their overall predictive concordance to human PD treatment, if subjected to the meticulous quantitative analyses of Perel and co-workers above, would exceed the best case 50:50 coin toss probability established.

Neurosurgeons have employed precise coordinated stereotactic techniques in the treatment of PD, with subtle variations in deep brain nuclear targets, since the 1950s based on human observation. The technique of deep brain stimulation (DBS) was discovered through experimentation in patients with PD (not in animals) in 1987. Though not a cure for PD, it does ameliorate some of the symptoms and is accompanied by a troubling incidence of depression, often suicidal. It is important to understand that ethical clinical research of actual consenting end stage human PD patients themselves has been conducted now for decades. Those are precisely the results that can be accurately translated to other human sufferers. Although researchers have rushed to duplicate and extend these studies in the neurotoxin non-human primate models, I am not persuaded that the nuances in deep brain nuclear therapeutic identification could not have been more accurately identified in the very PD patient cohorts which gave rise to the technique of DBS itself.

As an Oxford graduate I am appalled by the decision of Oxford University to proceed with the construction of the animal research laboratory on South Parks Road. They are swimming against the tide of international medical and ethical opinion. I fear that history will judge their animal rights opponents as less extreme than the very scientists who persist in non-human primate research in the face of an increasing body of consistent and compelling evidence that the resulting data has and will continue to endanger countless human lives.

The spectacle of a minority of Oxford animal researchers tirelessly promoting their claimed achievements before the media has caused me deep unease. They have surprisingly gone on record in backing the use of animals in cosmetic testing and urging the return to the use of great apes in experimentation, activities which have been illegal in the UK for many years. In my experience, the humility and reticence characteristic of truly eminent scientists precludes such behaviour and the protagonists should understand that because of obvious bias they should be the very last people to loudly judge the merits of their own work. The recent BBC2 documentary (Monkeys, Rats and Me, 27th November, 2006) on non-human primate vivisection was wholly emotional and lacking in any truly scientific balance or objectivity. I found the images of severely affected patients being presented to back their doctor's various therapeutic assertions to be regrettable. This is not the way to present a controversial scientific case for critical public evaluation. Many of my Oxford colleagues in world-class scientific laboratories, and in the humanities, are privately aghast at the ability of a small group of media-savvy vivisectionists to hold the debate hostage and thereby besmirch the international reputation of their University. They are unwilling to broadcast their opinions because of



## Swimming Against the Tide (continued)

the perceived danger of recrimination by the University and funding bodies.

The techniques and language of frontier-breaking molecular genetic technology, for example, are largely unintelligible to those unschooled in their use and therefore pose hurdles to inter-disciplinary scientific understanding. This may be an explanation for why many vivisectionists are not fully aware of all the applicable developments in other facets of enquiry into the same disease and seem overly anxious to declare emphatically and prematurely that no alternatives to non-human primate research can conceivably exist in the foreseeable future. You may add to this the natural human reluctance of animal researchers to turn their back on many years of endeavour and learn anew contemporary scientific protocols.

British neurosurgical colleagues of mine have expressed concerns that the acrimonious debate over non-human primate vivisection and functional neurosurgery (such as DBS) at Oxford has begun to detract from and overshadow many other achievements of their profession. DBS is an important and successful adjunct to the treatment of PD, is derived from experimentation on human subjects, and helps less than 1% of all neurosurgical patients. They are also worried about the wisdom and balance of allocation of precious financial resources within the cash-strapped NHS and medical research sectors.

The 'spin' perpetuated by overly credulous and biased media reporting that opponents of animal experimentation are 'anti-science Luddites' is hollow. How on earth can an animal researcher still claim to be pro-science while wilfully ignoring the vast body of current evidence undermining broad swathes of animal research? It is extraordinary how many media reports of the significance of recent studies casting doubt upon the accuracy and reliability of animal research are casually undermined by the irrelevant assertion that they will only serve as grist to the mill for "animal rights activists." Surely the end-point of the debate should be human safety. Simply stated, the fact of the matter is that animal research in general has now been revealed to be dodgy science which ultimately endangers human lives.

The debate is further muddled by the strident claims of dubious 'citizens' groups. Their sources of funding should be scrutinised before their claims of legitimacy can be believed. This activity is reminiscent of the tactics employed by tobacco companies to cast doubt and aspersions upon the vital causal link established between cigarette smoking and lung cancer by the Oxford epidemiologist Sir Richard Doll in 1950. By deliberately delaying the societal recognition of the dangers of smoking for decades, untold deaths were caused. Parallels with tobacco litigation are being developed by various plaintiffs' lawyers involved in class action suits against drug manufacturers and will demonstrate that the latter have long been aware of the dangerous imprecision of animal drug testing models to human outcomes thereby making them liable for punitive damages.

History has a tendency of repeating itself, I thought, as I recently read the scathing report of the planning inspector who conducted the public enquiry into Cambridge University's controversial primate laboratory in 2002. He concluded that no national need for brain research on primates had been demonstrated. Cambridge University wisely cancelled the project. The economic reasons for non-human primate research, while obvious and most lucrative are shortsighted and damaging, and are no more compelling now than they were in 2002. Research and development of more accurate and more ethical alternatives will easily fill the income shortfall to the University following a much-needed moratorium on non-human primate research.

I would urge that the South Parks Road building be made into a world-class medical imaging and research centre. The explosion of imaging techniques over the past decade (functional MRI being but one) has alone obviated the need for non-human primate vivisection especially in the neurosciences. Humans can and are being studied in ways that would

have been unimaginable only ten years ago. The eighteen million pounds for the animal research building could be better spent by Oxford University with a more inspired, rational and forward-looking appreciation of the trajectory of medical research technology.

It is clear to anyone who cares to study the matter closely, honestly and objectively that the scientific justification for non-human primate vivisection is unsound. I cannot accept that its practitioners really believe it to be morally or ethically defensible either. The argument that supports non-human primate experimentation because of close kinship to humans but, blind to their moral worth, denies them ethical rights is sinister and repugnant. The resigned and credulous "Nasty but necessary" defence of non-human primate research coined by a Guardian Leader (13th December, 2006) is simplistic, naive, and selectively ignores the mountain of conflicting scientific data.

Sadly, history reminds us that doctors and scientists have often been blind to the moral dimensions of their work. It is instructive to recall that only little more than sixty years ago, unspeakable and nightmarish forced human vivisection was performed by the notorious Unit 731 of the Japanese Army during development of their wartime chemical and biological weapons programmes (The Guardian, 27th November, 2006).

The general public, a clear majority of whom is opposed to animal research, deserves to be educated about the dangers of and protected from adverse drug reactions stemming from weak and outdated animal research protocols. If scientists as a group fail to serve society by adequately and transparently policing the dangers and inconsistencies of their own research, parliament will have to step in to insist upon a rigorously objective assessment of all aspects of the drug safety testing process.

Indeed, the Toxicology Working Group of the House of Lords Select Committee on Animals in Scientific procedures in 2002 recommended that "the reliability and relevance of all existing animal tests should be reviewed as a matter of urgency."

Following the recent catastrophic Northwick Park clinical study, 250 MPs (a clear majority of those eligible to do so) signed Early Day Motion 92: "That this House, in common with Europeans for Medical Progress, expresses its concerns regarding the safeguarding of public health through data obtained from laboratory animals, particularly in light of large numbers of serious and fatal adverse drug reactions that were not predicted from animal studies; is concerned that the Government has not commissioned or evaluated any formal research on the efficacy of animal experiments, and has no plans to do so; and, in common with 83 per cent of general practitioners in a recent survey, calls upon the Government to facilitate an independent and transparent scientific evaluation of the use of animals as surrogate humans in drug safety testing and medical research."

This issue fundamentally turns upon absolute scientific objectivity, integrity and morality. The controversy will continue to afflict the University, will not dissipate and cannot be legislated away. Scientific and non-scientific anti-vivisectionists alike have every right to be heard and to occupy the moral high ground of their esteemed Oxford forebears Johnson, Ruskin and Lewis. The end of non-human primate experimentation is nigh and I suspect that its few remaining adherents well know it. The construction of the South Parks Road animal facility will continue to fester like a "carbuncle on the face of an old friend" until the University finally comes to its senses and has it excised.

"I know not by doing any living dissection any discovery [that] has been made by which a single man is more easily cured," wrote Samuel Johnson the eighteenth century Oxford lexicographer who condemned doctors who "extend the art of torture" by performing research on animals. Time has finally proven the good Doctor right.



## **Trust Me I'm a Vivisector!** From Arkangel Magazine

Huntingdon Life Science (HLS) are in the business of saving lives. Yours, mine, babies in incubators and thousands of other people. Admittedly a few animals are used to achieve this, but these are human lives they're saving, and there's no other way of screening drugs to make sure they're safe. That's the claim, repeated at every opportunity, and the one which we need to demolish if we're ever going to see HLS removed.

In 1999, Merck, a client of HLS, announced that they had produced Vioxx, a painkiller that was as effective as anything else on the market but which did not have the potentially fatal side effects of other "non-steroidal anti-inflammatories" or NSAIDs, such as naproxen and ibuprofen. The company also claimed in Vioxx's early marketing days that the drug could relieve arthritis and cure colon cancer.

In October 2000, Merck supplied the FDA with a string of death reports involving heart attacks and strokes. In 2005, a public scandal involving the deaths of thousands of people due to Vioxx made headlines worldwide. Merck now faces in the region of 9650 lawsuits over Vioxx in the United States alone, and it is estimated that the drug is responsible for the deaths of at least 2000 people in the UK.

GlaxoSmithKline are another well known customer of HLS, so maybe HLS were the ones who ensured Lotronex (indicated for women with severe irritable bowel syndrome (IBS)) was safe before it was released on the market. Lotronex caused five deaths in America and was withdrawn in February 2000. Another 93 known patients had to have surgery due to the effects of Lotronex, including removal of the colon. In clinical trials 27% of Lotronex patients suffered severe constipation, compared to 5% in a group taking no active treatment. GSK can't claim they were trying to save lives with Lotronex, it was a treatment for irritable bowel syndrome (IBS), a condition which causes discomfort but is not serious - unlike the serious conditions Lotronex caused.

GSK were also the manufacturers of Raxar, an antibiotic which was withdrawn in December 1999 after thirteen deaths. Raxar disrupted the QT interval (in other words, made the heartbeat irregular), yet was not necessary because there were already plenty of satisfactory antibiotics. Maybe this was tested at HLS. Maybe they also helped gain approval for Avelox, a drug their customer Bayer released just weeks after Raxar was withdrawn. Another antibiotic which was found to influence the QT interval, within a year it was cited in reports of eighteen deaths.

Another customer, Roche, released Posicor in the summer of 1997. Maybe it was being tested on the animals featured in the "Countryside Undercover" programme which was released soon after. 100 reported deaths were filed by the following June, and even Roche admitted that Posicor patients had a death rate 10% higher than those on similar treatments. Posicor was a treatment for high blood pressure, and offered nothing that existing, safer drugs couldn't offer. An official from the American Food and Drug Administration (FDA), who oversees drug approval said of Posicor "there are a lot of other effective therapies out there, why not be safe with the public?". If they had been, those 100 people would probably be alive today.

Redux was a diet pill made by American Home Products (AHP), another HLS customer. In 17 months on the market, 123 deaths were linked with it by the FDA. Heart valve damage and respiratory problems caused by the drug were widespread, and damages for each category are expected to reach \$4,750 million.

Duract, Lotronex, Posicor and Redux were among seven drugs examined by the Los Angeles Times in a thorough investigation into the drug approval process. One of the most significant conclusions they found was that deaths recorded are just the tip of the iceberg. They interviewed Dr. Brian L. Strom, chairman of epidemiology at the University of Pennsylvania

and a renowned expert on the matter. "The underreporting is vast" he says, estimating reported deaths to represent around 1-10% of all side effects, meaning the figures quoted above may be more accurate if multiplied by ten or even 100. David Bates, the editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association estimated that reported events represent around 5% of the total figure. The LA Times study of just seven of the thousands of drugs on the market in recent years counted 1,002 deaths.

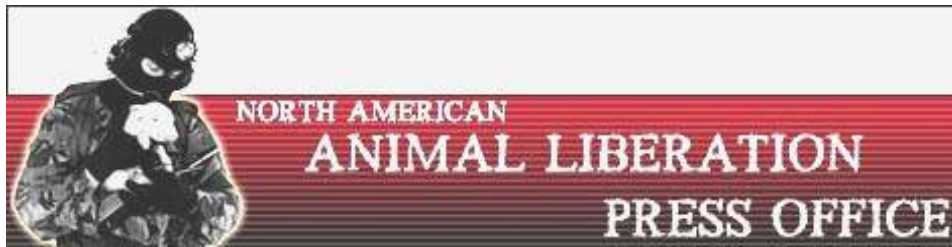
As so few deaths are reported, this means the reality is that at least 10,020 people were killed by these drugs in America, and possibly more than 100,000. To use David Bates' estimate of 5%, we come to the conclusion that EACH of those drugs took one human life on average every 4 hours 41 minutes of every day and night it was on the market. Bates' estimate came in the April 1998 issue of JAMA, in response to an article in that edition which studied 39 previous studies of drug side effects and concluded that 106,000 people are killed every year in America alone by prescription drugs, and over 2.2 million are hospitalised by them. This was stressed to only include drugs which were "properly prescribed and properly administered".

In the UK the situation is similar. Earl Baldwin commented in the House of Lords in 1998 (Hansard, Dec 12th 1998) that deaths from drug side effects were the third biggest cause of death, which is more than all cancers combined. A UK medical journal [Nature Medicine 2000; 6:502-503] once noted "In England, an estimated 70,000 deaths and cases of severe disability occur each year because of adverse reactions to prescription drugs".

So how did these drugs get passed for use in humans in the first place? The LA Times found details of human trials which followed the animal tests, and in every case cited, the human trials indicated that the drugs which had passed the animal tests spelt danger, and staff at the FDA recommended against approval. But the crazy belief in animal testing had led these drug producers to a state of mind where they were prepared to ignore the results of the human trials and believe the contrived animal results instead. The reality is that these drugs would never have got to human trial stage at all if there wasn't a package of animal data to back up the claim for approval, and the production of this selective report which aims to present a claim for a licence, as opposed to assessing safety, is the business of HLS.

It's also easy when you use animals. With dozens of species available and scores of substrains within each species, not to mention different dose levels, dose periods and test conditions, you can get the results you want. Rather than hoping the results come out as you want them, you can actually make them come out right. Professor Pieter Croce, an ex vivisector, quotes examples of what you can 'prove' if you use the right species. You can prove lemon juice, parsley, penicillin, the essential heart drug digitalis, chloroform or even water are dangerous to humans. You can also prove that arsenic, strychnine, hemlock, the deathcap toadstool and prussic acid are safe for humans. Had we not already learned our lesson from the effects on humans, Thalidomide (which caused 10,000 birth defects), Ecainide and Flecainide (3,000 deaths), Clioquinol, Eraldin and countless other drugs which are known to blind, injure and kill humans could gain approval from the animal method. In fact, that's how they were approved initially.

HLS are under pressure to do exactly that with the drugs their customers submit for "screening", or for developing a package of sympathetic, irrelevant results, to put it another way. Each drug may have cost in the region of £100 million to produce, so the manufacturers want it out whether it works or not, whether it's safe or not. Dr. Janet Woodcock, director of the FDA's drug review center acknowledged in an article she wrote in 1997 "there are economic pressures to get drugs on the market as soon as possible", and it's worth remembering that if HLS continue to perform the expectations of their customers, they will continue to get work. In other words, they have to give them the results they want, whether it's the truth or not.



### Trust Me (continued)

Even when this method backfires, and a drug company finds itself with the families of victims killed by their drugs suing them, this system protects itself. For one, it protects against court cases. In order to win a case, the victim has to prove negligence on the part of the drug company. A standard reply to this claim is generally reference to the hundreds of animal tests done - how could a company which spent all these resources on animal experiments be negligent?

Admittedly, sometimes they pay out to victims. But in practice it's a small part of the turnover generated by the drugs. Each of the seven drugs examined by the LA Times brought in an average \$1.3 million dollars each every day they were on the market. While the drug company lawyers argue that victims had pre-existing conditions, the revenue often covers resulting pay-outs with plenty to spare. The message from the drug companies is clear: they will still sell a drug if it's dangerous, because the sales generally outweigh the damages they pay afterwards. And the way to get it passed is to use a contract animal lab.

Much of what's been quoted above has been centred on the situation in the USA, where the information researched by the LA Times has been so comprehensive. But there's no indication that the United Kingdom, with its government rushing to the defence of the pharmaceutical companies at every opportunity, is any different. If we have the same rates of death and illness caused by drugs as the States, the conclusions are no less appalling. It would mean that we have over 20,000 people killed in our country every year as a result of pharmaceutical drugs, which is one every twenty six minutes.

Patients requiring hospital treatment to treat the effects of drugs would number over 400,000 every year - or one every fifteen and a half minutes of every day and every night. These are men, women and children - often the "babies in incubators", Cass is so keen to claim will be saved by his Company.

Maybe Brian Cass would like to speak to a parent of a child killed by Propulsid? This heart burn treatment passed animal tests and was available in America until recently despite other suitable treatments being readily available. The reported deaths numbered 302 people, (which means in reality deaths were probably around 6,000) and included many children and babies under one year old, who died from heart disruptions caused by the drug. It was withdrawn in March 2000. At least two other subsections of Johnson & Johnson are known to use HLS, so the subsidiary Janssen who manufactured Propulsid may have been permitted thanks to data concocted by HLS. In the clinical trials in 1993 the drug dangerously disrupted the heart rhythm, and killed eight children under six years old. It was still prescribed to children for gastric reflux, a minor ailment which does little more than disturb the sleep of babies under one year. Deaths continued. Johnson & Johnson made educational grants to the North American Society for Pediatric Gastroenterology and Nutrition, who admitted they were receiving "generous support" from J & J. Their literature advised doctors that Propulsid was effective and safe in children. As late as October 1998 the NASPGN held a symposium on the use of Propulsid years after they knew it killed children.

In recent years, the dangerous drugs released by HLS customers have been numerous. Bayer's heart drug Baycol (lipobay) killed 50 and was hastily withdrawn, and their skin cream Canestan caused pain so severe it actually lead to suicide. Acetylcholine caused heart attacks. Bristol Myers-Squibb caused facial swelling with their drug Vanlev, 14 deaths with the shingles drug Sorivudine, heart attacks with the cholesterol drug Lipostat, and deaths with Clopidogrel. Eli Lilly, who killed 61 and injured 3,000 with Opren, have also brought out Fialuridine, which has caused liver damage in half of patients. In addition to the ones already mentioned, GlaxoSmithKline have released Imigraine, Zyban, Seroxat, Relenza, Septrin, Phenypropanolamine (PPA), Sumatripan, Flovent, Selacryn, Wellbutrin, and Ridaura, which have all caused illness, injury or death. Merck have released Rofecoxid, which caused strokes, and Zomax, the arthritis drug which killed people. Novartis's Zelmec (for IBS) caused

side effects, their Clozapine caused a blood disorder, and Methysergide caused scarring of the heart, kidneys and blood vessels.

The list goes on, with many serious effects caused by drugs produced by HLS customers. Contract testing has to be among the lowest methods, legal or otherwise, of making a living. It is the practice of ensuring a product is permitted, whether it's worthwhile or not, whether it's safe or dangerous. In the case of HLS, we also know it's done to standards beneath even the rest of this despicable industry.

Where else have staff been filmed punching dogs, dissecting a live monkey or pretending to have sex with the animals? Where else is drunkenness, drug dealing and falsification of data met with such indifference? The only customers left at HLS are those with the lowest standards. Those who are happy to accept the incompetence of HLS, the ones who don't give a damn for anything except getting products on the market and earning them money, whatever the cost in terms of lives and injuries, human or animal. This is the reality of the vivisection industry, and of the lives that are wrecked and ended by companies like HLS. If the lie that HLS is in the business of helping humanity survive, so will HLS. If it is finished, so is HLS. The evidence allows only one conclusion.

### Missouri Animal Research Lab Agrees to Settle for Animal Welfare Act Violations

A Callaway County animal research lab has agreed to pay a \$33,000 civil penalty after investigators alleged the company committed nearly 40 violations of the federal Animal Welfare Act. The U.S. Department of Agriculture filed the complaint against Sinclair Research Center in October 2006, more than three years after animal rights activists targeted the lab in an undercover sting.

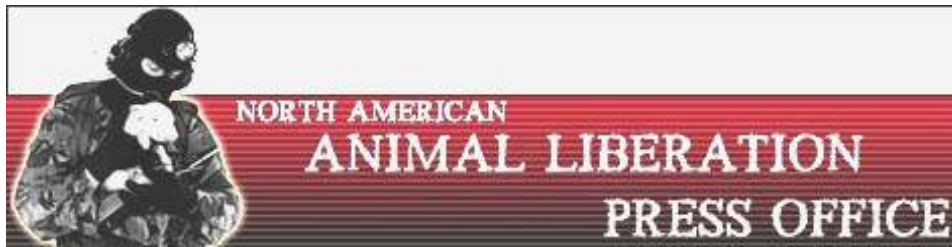
Among the alleged violations found by Agriculture Department inspectors: failing to provide sheep with appropriate pain relief during surgery; inadequate training of employees for animal handling and care; failure to vaccinate research dogs and cats; and keeping animals in cages smaller than the legal limits. 'The gravity of the violations alleged in this complaint is great,' the report concluded.

The Agriculture Department also accused Sinclair Research of a 'lack of good faith' for conducting research at a location not known to the federal agency. The company had no previous animal welfare violations but had been issued a written warning for failing to submit an annual report. In a Feb. 28 settlement, Sinclair Research agreed to pay the fine and to 'cease and desist' from further violations of federal law. 'It was a business decision,' said company owner Guy Bouchard. 'We had to resolve it promptly.'

The federal inspections that triggered the complaint came several months after People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals released a series of video recordings showing animals it said had been mistreated. The secret recordings were made by a PETA employee who had also been hired by the research lab. The PETA investigation prompted two of the research lab's biggest customers to sever ties: pet-food-maker Iams and pet-food-supplier Menu Foods. Iams is owned by Procter & Gamble.

Menu Foods recently recalled more than 60 million cans and pouches of pet food nationwide after the deaths of at least 16 household pets due to suspected rat poison found in food. Bouchard purchased Sinclair Research, formerly known as Reproductive and Toxicology Consultation Services, from the University of Missouri-Columbia in 1994. Bouchard was a university employee before he started Sinclair Research. The company was previously located in Columbia on university property. It has since moved to the town of Hatton, near Auxvasse in western Callaway County.

Sinclair Research, which has a site in Windham, Maine, is also a licensed dealer of research animals. According to the Agriculture Department, the company sold more than 6,500 animals for a combined revenue of at least \$4.5 million from 2001 to 2004. [Associated Press]



## **Rethinking Revolution: Animal Liberation, Human Liberation, and the Future of the Left**

By Steven Best, Ph.D., originally published Cyrano's Journal

### **Introduction: Framing the Unframed Issue**

It seems lost on most of the global anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist Left that there is a new liberation movement on the planet - animal liberation - that is of immense ethical and political significance. But because animal liberation challenges the anthropocentric, speciesist, and humanist dogmas that are so deeply entrenched in socialist and anarchist thinking and traditions, Leftists are more likely to mock than engage it.

For the last three decades, the animal liberation movement (ALM) has been one of the most dynamic and important political forces on the planet. Where "new social movements" such as Black Liberation, Native American, feminism, chicano/a, and various forms of Green and identity politics have laid dormant or become co-opted, the animal liberation movement has kept radical resistance alive and has steadily grown in numbers and strength.

Unlike animal welfare approaches that lobby for the amelioration of animal suffering, the ALM demands the total abolition of all forms of animal exploitation. Seeking empty cages not bigger cages, the ALM is the major anti-slavery and abolitionist movement of the present day, one with strong parallels to its 19th century predecessor struggling to end the slavery of African-Americans in the US. As a major expression of the worldwide ALM, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) has cost exploitation industries hundreds of millions of dollars in property damage and has decommissioned numerous animal exploiters through raids and sabotage. The FBI has demonized the ALF (along with the Earth Liberation Front [ELF]) as the top "domestic terrorist" group in the US, and the ALM in general is a principle target of draconian "anti-terrorist" legislation in US and the UK.

Operating on a global level -- from the UK, US, and Germany to France, Norway, and Russia - the ALM attacks not only the ideologies of capitalism that promote growth, profit, and commodification, but the property system itself with hammers and Molotov cocktails. Fully aware of the realities of the corporate-state complex, the ALM breaks with the fictions of representative democracy to undertake illegal direct action for animals held captive in fur farms, factory farms, experimental laboratories, and other gruesome hell holes where billions of animals die each year.

Since the fates of all species on this planet are intricately interrelated, the exploitation of animals cannot but have a major impact on the human world itself.[1] When human beings exterminate animals, they devastate habitats and ecosystems necessary for their own lives. When they butcher farmed animals by the billions, they ravage rainforests, turn grasslands into deserts, exacerbate global warming, and spew toxic wastes into the environment. When they construct a global system of factory farming that requires prodigious amounts of land, water, energy, and crops, they squander vital resources and aggravate the problem of world hunger. When humans are violent toward animals, they often are violent toward one another, a tragic truism validated time and time again by serial killers who grow up abusing animals and violent men who beat the women, children, and animals of their home. The connections go far deeper, as evident if one examines the scholarship on the conceptual and technological relations between the domestication of animals at the dawn of agricultural society and the emergence of patriarchy, state power, slavery, and hierarchy and domination of all kinds.

In countless ways, the exploitation of animals rebounds to create crises within the human world itself. The vicious circle of violence and destruction can end only if and when the human species learns to form harmonious relations - non-hierarchical and non-exploitative -- with other animal species and the natural world. Human, animal, and earth liberation are interrelated projects that must be fought for as one.

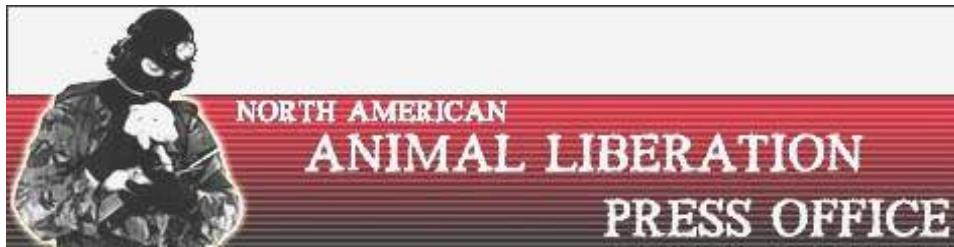
This essay asserts the need for more expansive visions and politics on both sides of the human/animal liberation equation, as it calls for new forms of dialogue, learning, and strategic alliances. Each movement has much to learn from the other. In addition to gaining new insights into the dynamics of hierarchy, domination, and environmental destruction from animal rights perspectives, Leftists should grasp the gross inconsistency of advocating values such as peace, non-violence, compassion, justice, and equality while exploiting animals in their everyday lives, promoting speciesist ideologies, and ignoring the ongoing holocaust against other species that gravely threatens the entire planet. Conversely, the animal rights community generally (apart from the ALM) is politically naive, single-issue oriented, and devoid of a systemic anti-capitalist theory and politics necessary for the true illumination and elimination of animal exploitation, areas where it can profit great from discussions with the Left.

Thus, I attempt to demonstrate the importance of rethinking human and animal liberation movements in light of each other, suggesting ways this might proceed. The domination of humans, animals, and the earth stem from the same power pathology of hierarchy and instrumentalism, such as can only be fully revealed and transformed by a multiperspectival theory and alliance politics broader and deeper than anything yet created. I begin with some basic historical and sociological background of the AAM, and show how the Left traditionally has responded to animal advocacy issues. I then engage the views of Takis Fotopoulos, the founder of Inclusive Democracy, and conclude with a call for mutual dialogue and learning among animal and human liberationists.

### **The Diversity of the Animal Advocacy Movement**

The ALM is only part, by far still the smallest part, of a growing social movement for the protection of animals I call the animal advocacy movement (AAM). The AAM has three major different (and sharply conflicting) tendencies: animal welfare, animal rights, and animal liberation. The AAM movement had humble welfarist beginnings in the early 19th century with the founding of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) in Britain and the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) in the US.[2] Welfare organizations thereafter spread widely throughout these and other Western countries, addressing virtually every form of animal abuse. The goal of welfare organizations, however, has never been eliminating the institutions that exploit animals - be they research laboratories, factory farms, slaughterhouses, fur farms, or circuses and rodeos - but rather reducing or ameliorating animal suffering within such violent and repressive structures. Welfarists acknowledge that animals have interests, but they believe these can be legitimately sacrificed or traded away if there is some overridingly compelling human interest at stake (which invariably is never too trivial to defend against substantive animal interests). Welfarists simply believe that animals should not be caused "unnecessary" pain, and hold that any harm or death inflicted on them must be done "humanely." [3]

In bold contrast, animal rights advocates reject the utilitarian premises of welfarism that allows the happiness, freedom, and lives of animals to be sacrificed to some alleged greater human need or purpose. The philosophy of animal rights did not emerge in significant form until the publication of Tom Regan's seminal work, *The Case for Animal Rights* (1983). According to Regan and other animal rights theorists, a basic moral equality exists among human and nonhuman animals in that they are sentient, and therefore have significant interests and preferences (such as not to feel pain) that should be protected and respected. Moreover, Regan argues, many animal species (chimpanzees, dolphins, cats, dogs, etc.) are akin to humans by having the type of cognitive characteristics that make them "subjects of a life," whereby they have complex mental abilities that include memory, self-consciousness, and the ability to conceive of a future. Arguments that only humans have rights because they are the only animals that have reason and language, besides being factually wrong, are completely irrelevant as sentience is a necessary and sufficient condition for having rights.



## Rethinking Revolution (continued)

Sharply opposed to the welfarist philosophies of the mainstream AAM and utilitarian philosophers like Peter Singer, proponents of animal rights argue that the intrinsic value and basic rights of animals cannot be trumped by any appeal to an alleged greater (human) good. Animals' interests cannot be sacrificed no matter what good consequence may result (such as an alleged advance in medical knowledge). Just as most people believe that it is immoral to sacrifice a human individual to a "greater good" if it improves the overall social welfare, so animal rights proponents persuasively apply the same reasoning to animals. If animals have rights, it is no more valid to use them in medical experimentation than it is to use human beings; for the scientific cause can just as well - in truth, far better - be advanced through human experimentation, but ethics and human rights forbids it.

The position of animal rights is an abolitionist position that demands the end to all instances and institutions of animal exploitation, not merely reducing suffering; like its 19th century predecessor, it demands the eradication of slavery, not better treatment of the slaves. Yet, although opposed to welfarism in its embrace of egalitarianism, rights, and abolitionism, most animal rights advocates are one with welfarists in advocating strictly legal forms of change through education and legislation. Like welfarists, animal rights advocates typically accept the legitimacy of capitalist economic, political, and legal institutions, and rarely possess the larger social/political/economic context required to understand the inherently exploitative logic of capital and the structural relationship between market and state.

The adherence to bourgeois ideology that justice can be achieved by working through the pre-approved channels of the state, which is utterly corrupt and dominated by corporate interests, separates animal liberationists from rights and welfare proponents.[4] Sometimes grounding their positions in rights philosophy, and sometimes rejecting or avoiding philosophical foundations for emphases on practical action, the ALM nonetheless seeks total liberation of animals through direct attacks on animal exploiters. Unique in its broad, critical vision, the ALM rejects capitalism, imperialism, and oppression and hierarchy of all kinds. Unlike the single-issue focus of the welfare and rights camps, the ALM supports all human struggles for liberation and sees the oppression of humans, animals, and earth as stemming from the same core causes and dynamics. The ALM is predominantly anarchist in ideology, temperament, and organization. Believing that the state is a tool of corporate interests and that the law is the opiate of the people, the ALM seeks empowerment and results through illegal direct action, such as rescue raids, break-ins, and sabotage. One major form of the ALM is the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), which emerged in England in 1976, spread to the US by 1980, and therefore became a global movement active in over 20 countries. Whereas some elements of the ALM advocate violence against animal exploiters, the ALF adopts a non-violent credo that attacks the property but never causes injury to human life.[5]

Thus, the main division within the AAM is not between welfare and rights, as commonly argued, but rather between statist and non-statist approaches. Only the radical elements in the ALM challenge the myths of representative democracy, as they explore direct action and live in anarchist cultures. Clearly, the ALM is closest to the concerns of ID and other radical Left approaches, although it too has significant political limitations (see below).

But the pluralism of the AAM movement is not only a matter of competing welfare, rights, and liberation perspectives. Its social composition cuts across lines of class, gender, religion, age, and politics. Republicans, democrats, Leftists, anarchists, feminists, anti-humanists, anarcho-primitivists, Greens, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, and others comprise the complexity and diversity of the AAM. Unlike the issue of class struggle and labor justice, one can advocate compassion for animals from any political position, such as is clear from the influential books and articles of Matthew Scully, former speechwriter for George W. Bush.[6] However repugnant one might find Scully's past or current political stands, his work has had a significant influence on wide range of people, such as

republican elites, who otherwise would never had been sensitized to the wide spectrum of appalling cruelties to animals.

Such political diversity is both a virtue and vice. While it maximizes the influence of the AAM within the public realm, and thereby creates new legislative opportunities for animal welfare policies, there is nevertheless a lack of philosophical and political coherence, splintering the "movement" into competing and conflicting fragments. Overwhelmingly reformist and single-issue oriented (in addition to being largely white and middle/upper class), the AAM lacks a systemic social critique that grasps capital logic as a key determining force of animal exploitation and recognizes the state as a corporate-dominated structure resistant to significant social change. While there is no "animal advocacy movement" in the singular that one can build bridges with in the struggle against capitalism, there are nonetheless progressive elements within the ALM camp that understand the nature of capitalism and the state and are open to, and often experienced in, radical alliance politics. The ALM, thereby, is a potentially important force of social change, not only in relation to its struggle against animal exploitation and capitalist industries but also as an element of and catalyst to human and earth liberation struggles.

## Toward A Sociology of the ALM

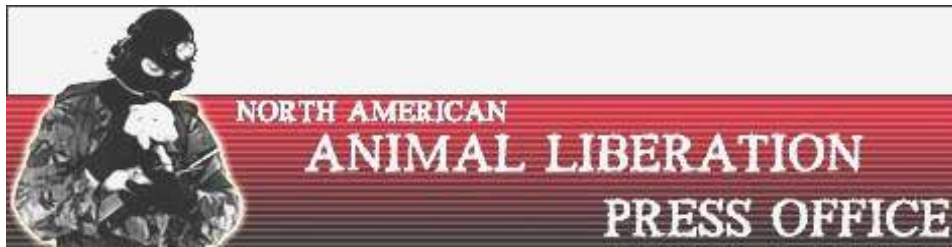
"We're very dangerous philosophically. Part of the danger is that we don't buy into the illusion that property is worth more than life ... we bring that insane priority into the light, which is something the system cannot survive." --David Barbarash, former spokesman for the ALF

"We're a new breed of activism. We're not your parents' Humane Society. We're not Friends of Animals. We're not Earthsave. We're not Greenpeace. We come with a new philosophy. We hold the radical line. We will not compromise. We will not apologize, and we will not relent." -- Kevin Jonas, founder of SHAC USA

Despite a large volume of literature on animal rights and animal liberation, and its growing political prominence, humanist and Left scholars have ignored the sociological meaning and import of animal rights/liberation struggles.[7] In this section, I seek to rectify this speciesist oversight and gross omission with a broad sociological contextualization of the animal rights/liberation struggles of the last three decades.

In the context of recent social history, one might see the ALM, first, as a "new social movement" with roots in the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. Often described as "post-class" and "post-materialist," new social movements seek not higher wages but rather the end of hierarchies and new relations with the natural world. Once the labor movement was co-opted and contained after World War II, the dynamics of social struggle shifted from the capital-labor relation to broader issues of justice, freedom, and identity politics. People of color, students, feminists, gays and lesbians, peace and anti-nuclear activists, and environmentalists fought for new kinds of issues. The contemporary animal rights/liberation movements were born in the social milieu generated by the movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and form an important part of movements for progressive change. This is a consequence of their critique of hierarchy, instrumentalism, and the domination of nature in the form of nonhuman species, their contribution to environmentalism, and their role in advancing the ethic of nonviolence.

New social movements play out in a postindustrial capitalist society where the primary economic dynamics no longer involve processing of physical materials but rather consumerism, entertainment, mass media, and information. Transnational corporations such as Microsoft, Monsanto, and Novartis demonstrate the importance of science and research for the postindustrial economy. Although not recognized as such, a second way of viewing the ALM is to recognize that it is part of the contemporary anti-capitalist and anti/alter-globalization movement



## Rethinking Revolution (continued)

that attacks the corporate-dominated "globalization from above" from democratic visions manifest in the struggle for "globalization from below." [8]

knowledge complex, and this is driven by animal experimentation, animal liberation challenges global capitalism, in the form of what I will call the Global Vivisection Complex (GVC). More specifically, I will identify this new oppositional force the direct action anti-vivisection movement (DAAVM). This movement has emerged as a serious threat to biomedical research industries. In the UK, for example, pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and medical research industries are the third largest contributor to the economy; an attack on this science complex is an attack on the UK state and global capital in general. To date, the ALM in the UK and US has shut down numerous animal breeders, stopped construction of a number of major research centers, and forced HLS off the New York Stock Exchange. Clearly, the ALM is a major social force and political force. If the Left does not yet recognize this, transnational research capital and the UK and US governments certainly do, for they have demonized the ALM as a top domestic terrorist threat and are constructing police states to wage war against it.

The GVC is a matrix of power-knowledge reflecting the centrality of science in postindustrial society. It is comprised of pharmaceutical industries, biotechnology industries, medical research industries, universities, and testing laboratories. All these institutions use animals to test and market their drugs; animals are the gas and oil without which corporate science machines cannot function. As corporations like Huntingdon Life Sciences and Chiron are global in scope and have clients throughout the world, animal liberation groups such as the ALF and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) are also global in their resistance. A seemingly local group like Stop Newchurch Guinea Pigs (NSGP), which waged aggressive war in an English village against a family who breed guinea pigs for research in England, is also part of the anti-globalization movement because the family they attacked - and ultimately shut down -- supplied animals to the GVC. Whatever the political views of anti-vivisectionists -- whether libertarian, free market, socialist, or anarchist - they are monkeywrenching globalization from above. The DAAVM disrupts corporate supply chains, thwarts their laboratory procedures, and liberates their captive slaves.

Besides the economic threat of the DAAVM, it also poses a strong philosophical and ideological threat by attacking the ideological legitimacy of animal-based "science." The powerful, fact-based assault on the legitimacy of vivisection mounted by the DAAVM and animal rights movements is an assault on the authority of Science itself, an attack on the modern Church of Reason. The anti-vivisection movement exposes the fallacies of vivisection and reveals how science serves the interests of corporations such that objectivity is something to be bought and sold (e.g., junk science and falsified data to dispute global warming was funded by energy corporations such as Exxon-Mobil).

Like the Christian church in its hey day, the popes and priests of Science are compelled to defend their authority and power by attacking and discrediting their opponents (in academia and elsewhere). Science exerts a strong influence over government and has the power to create new laws and enforce its interests. Thus, due to intense pressure from Science, the DAAVM in the UK and US has come under fierce attack by the corporate-state complex. Both UK and US governments have placed severe limitations on free speech rights and, ultimately, have criminalized dissent, such as evident in UK laws against "glorification of terrorism" and the repressive measures of the USA PATRIOT Act. Both states have applied draconian "anti-terrorist" laws against animal liberationists and imposed harsh jail sentences for "harassment" or sabotage actions.

Thus, the DAAVM is facing the wrath of the secular church; just as Galileo said that the earth moves around the sun, so anti-vivisectionists say that research performed on one species does not apply to research performed on another, and the ALM as a whole assert that humans belong to the

earth, and the earth does not belong to them. As the peace movements exposed the madness of the military-industrial complex, the anti-nuclear movement emphasized the destructive potential of nuclear power; and the environmental movement showed the ecological consequences of a growth economy, so the ARM brings to light the barbarism of enlightenment and fallacies of biomedical research.

If the ALM can be seen as a new social movement, and as an anti-capitalist and alter-globalization movement, it can also be viewed in a third way I have emphasized, namely that it is a contemporary anti-slavery and abolitionist movement. [9] Just as nineteenth century abolitionists sought to awaken people to the greatest moral issue of the day involving the slavery of millions of people in a society created around the notion of universal rights, so the new abolitionists of the 21st century endeavor to enlighten people about the enormity and importance of animal suffering and oppression. As black slavery earlier raised fundamental questions about the meaning of American "democracy" and modern values, so current discussion regarding animal slavery provokes critical examination into a human psyche damaged by violence, arrogance, and alienation, and the urgent need for a new ethics and sensibility rooted in respect for all life. Animals in experimental laboratories, factory farms, fur farms, leather factories, zoos, circuses, rodeos, and other exploitative institutions are the major slave and proletariat force of contemporary capitalist society. Each year, throughout the globe, they are confined, exploited, and killed - "murdered" is not an inappropriate term - by the billions. The raw materials of the human economy (a far greater and more general domination system than capitalism), animals are exploited for their fur, flesh, and bodily fluids. Stolen from the wild, bred and raised in captivity, held in cages and chains against their will and without their consent, animals literally are slaves, and thereby integral elements of the contemporary capitalist slave economy (which in its starkest form also includes human sweatshops and sex trades).

Abolitionists often view welfarism as a dangerous ruse and roadblock to moral progress, and often ground their position in the philosophy of rights. 19th century abolitionists were not addressing the slave master's "obligation" to be kind to the slaves, to feed and clothe them well, or to work them with adequate rest. Rather, they demanded the total and unqualified eradication of the master-slave relation, the freeing of the slave from all forms of bondage. Similarly, the new abolitionists reject reforms of the institutions and practices of animal slavery as grossly inadequate and they pursue the complete emancipation of animals from all forms of human exploitation, subjugation, and domination.

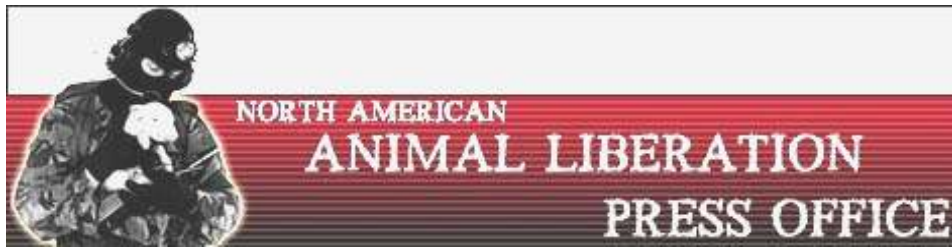
### Animal Liberation and the Left

"Auschwitz begins whenever someone looks at a slaughterhouse and thinks: they're only animals." --Theodor Adorno

"In relation to [animals], all people are Nazis; for the animals it is an eternal Treblinka."-- Isaac Bashevis Singer

Animal liberation is the next necessary and logical development in moral evolution and political struggle. Animal liberation builds on the most progressive ethical and political advances human beings have made in the last 200 years and carries them to their logical conclusions. It takes the struggle for rights, equality, and nonviolence to the next level, beyond the artificial moral and legal boundaries of humanism, in order to challenge all prejudices and hierarchies including speciesism. Martin Luther King's paradigmatic humanist vision of a "worldhouse" devoid of violence and divisions, however laudable, remains a blood-soaked slaughterhouse until the values of peace and equality are extended to all animal species.

Animal liberation requires that the Left transcend the comfortable boundaries of humanism in order to make a qualitative leap in ethical consideration, thereby moving the moral bar from reason and language to sentience and subjectivity. Just as the Left once had to confront ecology, and emerged a far superior theory and politics, so it now has to engage animal rights. As the confrontation with ecology infinitely deepened and



## Rethinking Revolution (continued)

enriched Leftist theory and politics, so should the encounter with animal rights and liberation.

Speciesism is the belief that nonhuman species exist to serve the needs of the human species, that animals are in various senses inferior to human beings, and therefore that one can favor human over nonhuman interests according to species status alone.<sup>7</sup> Like racism or sexism, speciesism creates a false dualistic division between one group and another in order to arrange the differences hierarchically and justify the domination of the "superior" over the "inferior." Just as society has discerned that it is prejudiced, illogical, and unacceptable for whites to devalue people of color and for men to diminish women, so it is beginning to learn how utterly arbitrary and irrational it is for human animals to position themselves over nonhuman animals because of species differences. Among animals who are all sentient subjects of a life, these differences—humanity's false and arrogant claim to be the sole bearer of reason and language—are no more ethically relevant than differences of gender or skin color, yet in the unevolved psychology of the human primate they have decisive bearing. The theory—speciesism—informs the practice—unspeakably cruel forms of domination, violence, and killing.

The prejudice and discriminatory attitude of speciesism is as much a part of the Left as the general population and its most regressive elements, calling into question the "radical," "oppositional," or "progressive" nature of Left positions and politics. While condemning violence and professing rights for all, the Left fails to take into account the weighty needs and interests of billions of oppressed animals. Although priding themselves on holistic and systemic critiques of global capitalism, Leftists fail to grasp the profound interconnections among human, animal, and earth liberation struggles and the need to conceive and fight for all as one struggle against domination, exploitation, and hierarchy.

From the perspective of ecology and animal rights, Marxists and other social "radicals" have been extremely reactionary forces. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels lumped animal welfarists into the same petite-bourgeoisie or reactionary category with charity organizers, temperance fanatics, and naïve reformists, failing to see that the animal welfare movement in the US, for instance, was a key politicizing cause for women whose struggle to reduce cruelty to animals was inseparable from their struggle against male violence and the exploitation of children.<sup>[10]</sup> In works such as his 1844 Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, Karl Marx advanced a naturalistic theory of human life, but like the dominant Western tradition he posited a sharp dualism between human and nonhuman animals, arguing that only human beings have consciousness and a complex social world. Denying to animals the emotional, social, and psychological complexity of their actual lives, Marx argued that whereas animals have an immediate and merely instinctual relation to productive activity the earth, human labor is mediated by free will and intelligence. If Marxism and other Left traditions have proudly grounded their theories in science, social radicals need to realize that science - specifically, the discipline of "cognitive ethology" which studies the complexity of animal emotions, thought, and communications - has completely eclipsed their fallacious, regressive, speciesist concepts of nonhuman animals as devoid of complex forms of consciousness and social life.<sup>[11]</sup>

While there is lively debate over whether or not Marx had an environmental consciousness, there is no question he was a speciesist and the product of an obsolete anthropocentric/dominionist paradigm that continues to mar progressive social theory and politics. The spectacle of Left speciesism is evident in the lack of articles - often due to a blatant refusal to consider animal rights issues -- on animal exploitation in progressive journals, magazines, and online sites. In one case, for example, The Nation wrote a scathing essay that condemned the treatment of workers at a factory farm, but amazingly said nothing about the exploitation of thousands of chickens imprisoned in the hell of battery cages. In bold contrast, Gale Eisnitz's powerful work, *Slaughterhouse*, documents the exploitation of animals and humans alike on the killing floors of slaughterhouses, as she shows the dehumanization of humans in

and through routinized violence to animals.<sup>[12]</sup>

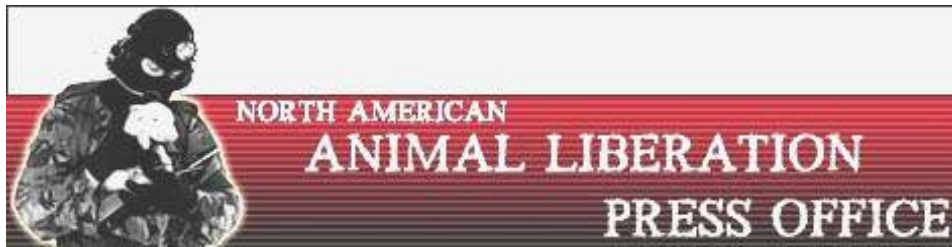
As symptomatic of the prejudice, ignorance, provincialism, and non-holistic theorizing that is rife through the Left, consider the case of Michael Albert, a noted Marxist theorist and co-founder of Z Magazine and Z Net. In a recent interview with the animal rights and environmental magazine Satya, Albert confessed: "When I talk about social movements to make the world better, animal rights does not come into my mind. I honestly don't see animal rights in anything like the way I see women's movements, Latino movements, youth movements, and so on ... a large-scale discussion of animal rights and ensuing action is probably more than needed ... but it just honestly doesn't strike me as being remotely as urgent as preventing war in Iraq or winning a 30-hour work week."

While I do not expect a human supremacist like Albert to see animal and human suffering as even roughly comparable, I cannot fathom privileging a work reduction for humans who live relatively comfortable lives to ameliorating the obscene suffering of tens of billion of animals who are confined, tortured, and killed each year in the most unspeakable ways. But human and animal rights and liberation causes are not a zero-sum game, such that gains for animals require losses for humans. Like most within the Left, Albert lacks the holistic vision to grasp the profound connections between animal abuse and human suffering.

The problem with such myopic Leftism stems not only from Karl Marx himself, but the traditions that spawned him - modern humanism, mechanistic science, industrialism, and the Enlightenment. To be sure, the move from a God-centered to a human-centered world, from the crusades of a bloodthirsty Christianity to the critical thinking and autonomy ethos of the Enlightenment, were massive historical gains, and animal rights builds on them. But modern social theory and science perpetuated one of worst aspects of Christianity (in the standard interpretation that understands dominion as domination), namely the view that animals are mere resources for human use. Indeed, the situation for animals worsened considerably under the impact of modern sciences and technologies that spawned vivisection, genetic engineering, cloning, factory farms, and slaughterhouses. Darwinism was an important influence on Marx and subsequent radical thought, but no one retained Darwin's emphasis on the intelligence of animal life, the evolutionary continuity from nonhuman to human life, and the basic equality among all species.

Social ecologists and "eco-humanists" such as Murray Bookchin condemn the industrialization of animal abuse and killing but never challenge the alleged right to use animals for human purposes. Oblivious to scientific studies that document reason, language, culture, and technology among various animal species, Bookchin rehearses the Cartesian-Marxist mechanistic view of animals as dumb creatures devoid of reason and language. Animals therefore belong to "first nature," rather than the effervescently creative "second nature" world of human culture. Like the Left in general, social ecologists fail to theorize the impact of animal exploitation on the environment and human society and psychology. They ultimately espouse the same welfarist views that permit and sanctify some of the most unspeakable forms of violence against animals within current capitalist social relations, speaking in the same language of "humane treatment" of animal slaves used by vivisectionists, managers of factory farms and slaughterhouses operators, fur farmers, and bosses of rodeos and circuses.

The Left traditionally has been behind the curve in its ability to understand and address forms of oppression not directly related to economics. It took decades for the Left to recognize racism, sexism, nationalism, religion, culture and everyday life, ideology and media, ecology, and other issues into its anti-capitalist framework, and did so only under the pressure of various liberation movements. The tendency of the Marxist Left, in particular, has been to relegate issues such as gender, race, and culture to "questions" to be addressed, if at all, only after the goals of the class struggle are achieved. Such exclusionist and reductionist politics prompted Rosa Luxemburg, for one, to defend the importance of culture and



## Rethinking Revolution (continued)

everyday life by exclaiming, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be a part of your revolution!"

Neo-Marxists, such as Frankfurt School theorists, grasped the importance of politics, culture, and ideology as important issues related but not reducible to economics and class, and after the 1960s Leftists finally understood ecology as more than a "bourgeois issue" or "diversion" from social struggles. In *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno developed important insights into the relationship between the domination of humans over nature and over one another, and sometimes sympathetically evoked images of animals in captivity as important symbols of human arrogance and alienation from nature. Most notably, Herbert Marcuse emphasized the importance of a "new sensibility" grounded in non-exploitative attitudes and relations toward the natural world.

Although since the 1970s the Left has begun to seriously address the "nature question," they have universally failed to grasp that the "animal question" that lies at the core of social and ecological issues.[13] To make the point about the interrelationships here in a simple but crucial way, consider that no society can achieve ecological sustainability if its dominant mode of food production is factory farming. The industrialized system of confining and fattening animals for human food consumption, pioneered in the US after World War II and exported globally, is a main cause of water pollution (due to fertilizers, chemicals, and massive amounts of animal waste) and a key contributor to rainforest destruction, desertification, global warming, in addition to being a highly inefficient use of water, land, and crops.[14]

Critiques of human arrogance over and alienation from nature, calls for a "re-harmonization" of society with ecology, and emphasizes on a "new ethics" that focus solely on the physical world apart from the millions of animal species it contains are speciesist, myopic, and inadequate. It's as if everyone can get on board with respecting rivers and mountains but still want to eat, experiment on, wear, and be entertained by animals. Left ecological concerns stem not from any kind of deep respect for the natural world, but rather from a position of "enlightened anthropocentrism" (a clear oxymoron) that understands how important a sustainable environment is for human existence. It is a more difficult matter to understand the crucial role animals play in sustaining ecosystems and how animal exploitation often has dramatic environmental consequences, let alone more complex issues such as relationships between violence toward animals and violence to other human beings. Moreover, it is far easier to "respect nature" through recycling, planting trees, or driving hybrid cars than it is to respect animals by becoming a vegan who stops eating and wearing animal bodies and products. Much more so than a shift in how one views the inorganic world, it is far more difficult, complex, and profound -- for both philosophical and practical reasons -- to revolutionize one's views toward animals and adopt ethical veganism.

In short, the modern "radical" tradition - whether, Marxist, socialist, anarchist, or other "Left" positions that include anti-racism and feminism -- stands in continuity with the entire Western heritage of anthropocentrism, and in no way can be seen as a liberating philosophy from the standpoint of the environment and other species on this planet. Current Left thought is merely Stalinism toward animals.

A truly revolutionary social theory and movement will not just emancipate members of one species, but rather all species and the earth itself. A future revolutionary movement worthy of its name will grasp the ancient conceptual roots of hierarchy and domination, such as emerge in the animal husbandry practices of the first agricultural societies, and incorporate a new ethics of nature - environmental ethics and animal rights - that overcomes instrumentalism and hierarchical thinking in every pernicious form.[15]

[1] For a trenchant analysis of how the exploitation of animals rebounds to trouble the human world in innumerable ways, see Jeremy Rifkin, *Beyond Beef: The Rise and*

*Fall of the Cattle Culture* (New York: Dutton, 1993); John Robbins, *The Food Revolution: How Your Diet Can Help Save Your Life and Our World* (Newburyport MA: Conari Press, 2001); Charles Patterson, *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust* (New York: Lantern Books 2003); and Jim Mason, *An Unnatural Order: Uncovering the Roots of Our Domination of Nature and Each Other* (New York: Lantern Books, 2005).+

[2] For histories of the origins and development of the AAM in the UK and US, see James M. Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin, *The Animal Rights Crusade: The Growth of a Moral Protest* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), and Kelly Wand (ed.), *The Animal Rights Movement* (San Diego: Thomson-Gale, 2003).

[3] Peter Singer's groundbreaking 1975 book, *Animal Liberation*, actually is titled deceptively as it espouses utilitarian-informed welfarist not abolitionist positions.

[4] Not all self-professed "animal liberationists" reject capitalist structures and political ideologies, however, as is evident in the case of Joan Dunayer's book, *Speciesism* (Derwood: Maryland: Ryce Publishing, 2004). For my critique of the naïve and bourgeois dimensions of this form of "abolitionism," see "Beyond Welfarism, Speciesism, and Legalism: Review essay of Joan Dunayer's *Speciesism*," in *Organization and Environment*, 19:2, June 2006.

[5] For the ALF credo, see [http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFFront/alf\\_credos.htm](http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFFront/alf_credos.htm).

[6] See Matthew Scully, *Dominion: The Power of Man, the Suffering of Animals, and the Call to Mercy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002). Note also the difference between an ethics of justice and liberation, and an ethic of "mercy."

[7] The most important exception to this rule has been efforts by numerous feminists to engage the relationship between speciesism and patriarchy. See, for instance, Carol Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat* (New York: Continuum, 1990), Carol Adams and Josephine Donovan (eds.), *Beyond Animal Rights: A Feminist Caring Ethic for the Treatment of Animals* (New York: Continuum, 1996); and Patricia Jones, "Mothers with Monkeywrenches: Feminist Imperatives and the ALF" in Steven Best and Anthony J. Nocella II (eds.), *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections on the Liberation of Animals* (New York: Lantern Books, 2004), pp. 137-156

[8] On the theme of the direct action anti-vivisection movement as an anti-capitalist movement, see Steven Best and Richard Kahn, "Trial By Fire: The SHAC7 and the Future of Democracy," at <http://www.drstevebest.org/papers/vegenvani/shac7.php>.

[9] For more details of my analysis of the ALM as an abolitionist movement, see "The New Abolitionism: Capitalism, Slavery, and Animal Liberation," at [http://www.drstevebest.org/papers/vegenvani/new\\_abolitionism.php](http://www.drstevebest.org/papers/vegenvani/new_abolitionism.php)

[10] See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in Robert C. Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1978), p. 496.

[11] The body of literature comprising the field of cognitive ethology is incredibly rich and vast. Donald R. Griffin was a pioneer of the scientific study of animal life and intelligence, and wrote important works such as *Animal Minds* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992). For more contemporary approaches, see the excellent work of Marc Bekoff, including *Minding Animals: Awareness, Emotions, and Heart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

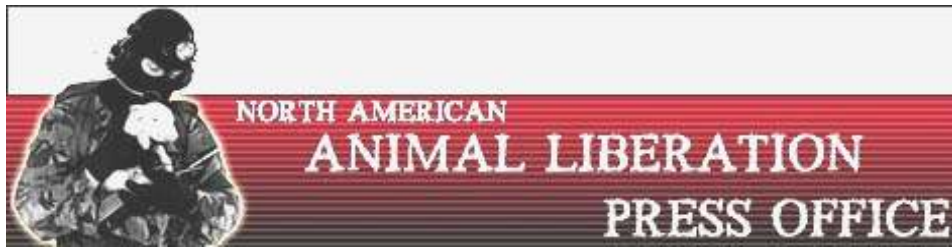
[12] Gail Eiznitz, *Slaughterhouse: The Shocking Story of Greed, Neglect, and Inhumane Treatment Inside the U.S. Meat Industry* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1997).

[13] On the "animal question" as central to the "nature question" and social change in general, see Mason, *An Unnatural Order*.

[14] On the environmental impact of factory farming, see Rifkin, *Beyond Beef*, and Robbins, *The Food Revolution*.

[15] For an analysis of the affinities between animal and human liberation, see Ted Benton, *Natural Relations: Ecology, Animal Rights, and Social Justice* (London: Verso, 1993).

[Additional text in this article can be found at <http://www.bestcyrano.org/sBestAR-Manifesto.htm>]



## **Direct Action Since Our Last Newsletter Activists Shrug Off New Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act**

Many more anonymous communiques have been received by the North American Animal Liberation Press Office in the last few weeks, including those signaling support for jailed animal liberation prisoners. Below are selected excerpts from the messages received :

### **April 17, 2007**

The Animal Liberation Front has kept its promise by continuing its campaign against Wachovia Securities for that company's continued financial relationship with HLS customer GlaxoSmithKline. On the night of April 10th the ALF visited 3425 North East 19th Ave., Portland, Oregon, the home of Kevin Singer, vice president of Wealth Management of Wachovia Securities. Your shiny new SUV isn't too shiny any more after we left it spray-painted with slogans and paint-stripped.

The masked night watchers would like him and everyone else responsible for the atrocities, whether it's vivisection, clearcutting or keeping the capitalist afloat to know you will be targeted and we always win. As for you, Wachovia, all bets are off. Sell your shares in GSK because things are going to get much worse. We have the names and addresses of the top executives, and believe us our actions are like child's play compared to what we have in store. We will not stand by as beagles are punched in the face and primates are torn to pieces for fraudulent science. You have nothing to gain by investing in this deplorable industry; divest now or else. - Viva ALF

### **April 26, 2007**

Again, a vacant home owned by vivisector Audie Leventhal, located at 2088 W. 14200 South, Riverton, UT, was simply a recipe for easy direct action. Here are the highlights:

- Every single lock on the house glued
- Front window smashed out
- Slogans spray painted all over his deluxe jacuzzi
- A salt-saturated solution was poured all over his front lawn. This will kill the lawn and force Audie to lay down fresh soil. Not cheap.

Total damages are estimated to be in the thousands of dollars. Audie is a ruthlessly violent alcoholic. This is a man who has sewn kittens' eyelids shut. This is a man who has experimented on conscious primates. This is a man who has beaten his wife within inches of her life. Only a society so corrupted by money and so unbelievably tolerant to the suffering of others would allow a man like this to still be free on the streets. The ALF does not share this corruption or tolerance. Audie can rest assured that we will be back. Happy world week.

### **May 8, 2007**

On the night of May the 8th in Hamilton. A UPS copy centre had its windows smashed by the ALF in support of the SHAC 7 and the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty campaign.

Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) is one of the world's largest animal-testing labs. It has three facilities, one in New Jersey USA and two in England, where animals are forced to inhale and ingest excessive amounts of chemicals (pesticides, coffee sweeteners, GMO's, diet pills, etc) then they are killed and dissected. Every day 500 animals (including dogs, cats, mice, primates and rabbits) die at the hands of perverse "scientists."

Companies like UPS, DHL, York Refrigeration, Thermo Fisher Scientific, etc are all key suppliers to HLS. Without their support, HLS and its cruelty STOPS. UPS has a monopoly on the surface traffic of animals shipped to the slaughter. Day in and day out UPS trucks ship wild and domesticated animals into a laboratory where they never see the light of day again. The abuse stops when the trucks stop! UPS, this is not a business investment, this is fucking abuse! Stop the traffic, stop the slaughter! ALF Hamilton.

### **June 14, 2007**

On 6/14/2007 at approximately 4:30am, Linda's Fashions and Fur Salons, at 903 Old Scalp Avenue, Johnstown, PA, was visited under cover of night by masked activists. The letters ALF were spraypainted on the building, and a cinderblock was thrown through the front door. This action was carried out in solidarity with Earth Liberation Prisoner Jeffrey Luers, who recently began Year seven of his almost 23 year sentence, and all others who refuse to compromise in defense of our earth. We refuse to be intimidated by the forces of government repression, and we refuse to forget our comrades. Until all the cages are empty and all are free, our struggle continues. This is not the last you'll see of us Linda.

### **June 27, 2007**

130am on the twenty fourth of June: 1 gallon of fuel was placed and set a light under the right front corner of Arthur Rosenbaums large white shiny BMW.

He and his wife Sandy, living at 465 Loring avenue in Ia, are the target of rebellion for the vile and evil things he does to primates at UCLA. We have seen by our own eyes the torture on fully conscious primates in his lab. We have heard their whimpers and screeches of pain. Seeing this drove one of us to rush out and vomit. We have seen hell and its in Rosenbaums lab.

Rosenbaum, you need to watch your back because next time you are in the operating room or walking to your office you just might be facing injections into your eyes like the primates, you sick twisted fuck.

Demonstrators need to realize that just demonstrating won't stop this kind of evil. Look up Arthur Rosenbaum to find out about his experiment from two thousand four threw two thousand seven. - animal liberation brigade

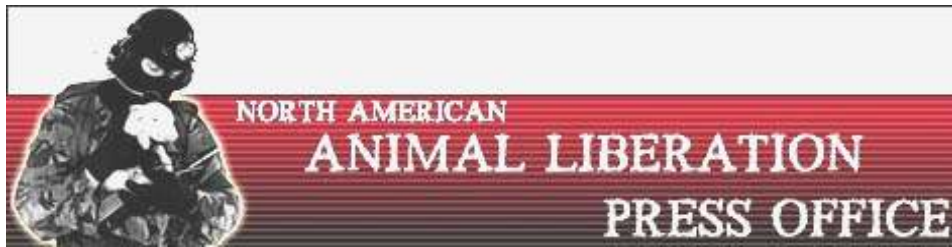
### **June 29, 2007**

John Frederick Richardson, the director for Abbot Labs, a customer of Huntingdon Life Sciences received a new paint job on his door and stoop at his 2732 P street NE, Washington DC house.

Red is really your color John! It totally compliments the broken window! Like broken glass and red paint? Keep doing business with HLS!"



"Many activists do not understand the revolutionary nature of this movement. We are fighting a major war, defending animals and our very planet from human greed and destruction."-- David Barbarash, former ALF Press Officer



**Prisoners Update**

**" If they haven't got prisoners, we have stopped fighting. If our prisoners are forgotten about, they have beaten us ."**  
**-Keith Mann, ALF activist and former prisoner**

**Daniel McGowan #63794-053  
 MDC Brooklyn  
 Metropolitan Detention Center  
 P.O. Box 329002  
 Brooklyn, NY 11232**

Daniel McGowan is an environmental and social justice activist from New York City. He was charged in federal court on counts of arson, property destruction and conspiracy, all relating to two actions in Oregon in 2001. Daniel was sentenced to 7 years in prison on June 4, 2007.

**Jeffrey "Free" Luers #13797671  
 Oregon State Prison  
 2605 State Street Salem  
 Oregon 97310**

In June 2001, 23 year-old forest defense activist Jeffrey "Free" Luers was sentenced to 22 years and 8 months in prison for the burning of three Sport Utility Vehicles (SUV's) in Eugene, Oregon. To make a statement about global warming, Jeff and his codefendant, Craig 'Critter' Marshall, set fire to 3 Sport Utility Vehicles at a Eugene car dealership. Pending resentencing!

**Justin Uribe #T-29257  
 C-5/236 up  
 Pleasant Valley State Prison  
 PO Box 8503  
 Coalinga, CA 93210**

Serving the final years of a 6-year term for arson. These actions were not animal or environmentally motivated, but Justin is an avowed animal liberationist, scheduled for release within a year.

**Joyanna Zacher #703794  
 Multnomah County Iverness Jail  
 11540 NE Iverness Drive  
 Portland, OR 97220**

**NATHAN BLOCK #36359-086  
 Sheridan Federal Detention Center  
 P.O. BOX 6000  
 Sheridan, OR 97378-6000**

Connection to the Jefferson Poplar Farm fire which occurred in 2001 in Clatskanie, Oregon.

**Eric McDavid X-2972521 4E 231A  
 Sacramento County Main Jail  
 651 "I" Street  
 Sacramento, CA 95814**

Conspiracy to destroy property by means of fire or explosives, facing up to 20 years imprisonment. Lauren Weiner and Zach Jensen, Eric's two co-defendants, are cooperating witnesses against Eric.

The SHAC 7 are six individuals--Lauren Gazzola, Kevin Kjonaas, Jake Conroy, Josh Harper, Andrew Stepanian, and Darius Fullmer--and the organization Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (USA). They are all serving lengthy prison sentences for simply speaking out! They were found guilty on all charges on March 2nd, and are were sentenced on September 12th in Trenton, NJ. They received the following sentences:

**JACOB CONROY- 48 months**  
 # 93501-011  
 FCI VICTORVILLE MEDIUM I  
 FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION  
 P.O. BOX 5300  
 ADELANTO, CA 92301

**DARIUS FULLMER- 1 year, 1 day**  
 # 26397-050  
 FCI FORT DIX  
 P.O. BOX 2000  
 FORT DIX, NJ 08640

**LAUREN GAZZOLA- 52 months**  
 # 93497-011  
 FCI DANBURY  
 FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION  
 ROUTE #37  
 DANBURY, CT 06811

**JOSHUA HARPER- 36 months**  
 # 29429-086  
 FCI SHERIDAN  
 FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION  
 P.O. BOX 5000  
 SHERIDAN, OR 97378

**KEVIN KJONAAS- 72 months**  
 # 93502-011  
 FCI SANDSTONE  
 P.O. BOX 1000  
 SANDSTONE, MN 55072

**ANDREW STEPANIAN - 36 months**  
 # 26399-050  
 FCI BUTNER MEDIUM II  
 FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION  
 P.O. BOX 1500  
 BUTNER, NC 27509

Things to remember when writing to prisoners:

1. Don't discuss any illegal activity (ALL mail is read by prison officials).
2. Each prison has its own mail restrictions.
3. Do not put any stickers inside or outside the card/letter (including Air Mail/Par Avion stickers, if writing from overseas)
4. Do not include any paperclips, staples or anything extra in your letter.
5. Write your address on the envelope AND inside the letter, since prisoners often are not given the envelope.
6. Do not send money to the prison address (please contact activist's support groups to financially support prisoners).
7. Prisoners appreciate books, but they must be paperback, and must ship directly from the publisher or from online retailers like Amazon.com.
8. Your letters are appreciated , even if you don't receive a response (prisoners are only allowed a limited amount of paper, envelopes and stamps, making it difficult to respond to every letter).

