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In fact, several "dooms" may be said to exist in contemporary millenarianism. There is, of course, one for each individual soul following death. But, a first cosmological Doomsday is predicted (in interpretation of Revelation 20:2) upon Christ's return in judgment. At that time, the forces of Satan on earth will be defeated, Christ shall reign incarnate on earth, and the millennium will begin. The millennium will then end with a final apostasy—a conclusive confrontation between good and evil. This last rebellion against God will be utterly defeated, when follows a second Doomsday in which the world passes away. What happens next is a matter of argument: whether a new earth will be created or the elect simply translated to spend eternity in heaven. Nonevangelical or Fundamentalist Christians see little need for such multiple cosmological Doomsdays. Virtually all, however, retain belief in a personal judgment by God at death.

Doomsday, as cosmological end of the world, has been a constant in Christian thought, art, and literature, down into our own time. It was present in the earliest of the Christian confession, the Apostle's Creed, which states of Christ: "He will return in glory to judge the living and the dead." The Day of Wrath (Dies Irae, in Latin) was, as well, a staple of medieval art, and any number of stained glasses or cathedral sculptures depict the tortures of the damned in exquisite detail. Countless tracts have been written on the subject, and in the late twentieth century some—such as Hal Lindsay's *The Late, Great Planet Earth*—were best-sellers.

Secular Doomsdays abound, of course, in modern life. Karl Marx's prediction of the collapse of capitalism, and its subsequent replacement by communism, parallels Christian doctrines of the Dies Irae and millennium to follow. The Marxian doom is, however, pronounced by the impersonal workings of history and carries with it no element of moral judgment. Ever since modern weaponry provided a viable means for humanity's total destruction, a thermonuclear Doomsday has loomed large in popular awareness and inspired numerous works of art and literature. The 1963 motion picture *Dr. Strangelove; or, How I Learned to Quit Worrying and Love the Bomb,* is a superb representative of the ironic-satirical treatment of a secularized Christian Doomsday (followed not by a millennium, but total extinction) in contemporary thought. In addition, among the many modern Doomsday's there is the ecological Doomsday, in which a withered and lifeless planet spins meaninglessly in space after human irresponsibility leaves it eternally sterile. It remains to be seen whether these variant Doomsday scenarios will subsist anywhere near as long as the Christian vision. It is not unlikely that the Abrahamic tradition which combines Doomsday with moral judgment will prove the more enduring.

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Earth First!

Earth First! is the best-known branch of the "radical environmental" movement. Founded in the southwestern United States in 1980, it quickly assembled a diverse collection of environmental activists proclaiming "no compromise in defense of Mother Earth!" In its first two decades, the movement experimented with new forms of direct action resistance to environmental degradation, especially new forms of civil disobedience, such as "tree sitting" and road blockades. A number of its activists championed even more aggressive "ecotage" strategies to thwart environmental degradation, including "tree spiking" (putting metal or other nails in trees), equipment sabotage, and even arson. They seek to immediately halt or make unprofitable environmental destruction.

Earth First! can be viewed as a new religious movement because its activists believe that people must first recognize that the earth is sacred before they will be defend it and establish proper relations with nonhuman nature. Their conviction is that modern lifeways are precipitating an ecological catastrophe that is ending the world as we know it. Thus Earth First! is an apocalyptic form of millennialism, as is much of contemporary environmentalism.

Development of Earth First!

Initially led by Dave Foreman, a former Wilderness Society activist and the most charismatic speaker among its cofounders, in the 1980s Earth First! rapidly established a small but raucous presence throughout much of North America and Australia. By 1983, the movement had discovered and adopted "deep ecology" as its philosophical rubric.

Arne Naess, a Norwegian philosopher and mountain climber coined the term "deep ecology" in 1973. He had been deeply influenced by Baruch Spinoza (an important

eighteenth-century philosopher and pantheist) and Mahatma Gandhi. Naess criticized what he called "shallow" or "reform" environmentalism for its anthropocentrism, namely, for its human-centered value system that, he believed, failed to recognize the intrinsic value of all life. Far better, he argued, are the many forms of "deep ecology" that, through diverse spiritual and philosophical paths, arrive at a shared conviction that all life has value and should be allowed to flourish.

Deep ecology gave expression to a feeling already held by many environmentalists. Soon it was championed by a growing number of writers in the United States, Australia, and Europe. Among the most influential were Gary Snyder (1969, 1990), Paul Shephard (1982, 1998), Bill Devall and George Sessions (1985), Deloris LaChappelle (1988), John Seed (and others, 1988), Christopher Manes (1990), Warwick Fox (1991), Joanna Macy (1991), and Dave Foreman himself (1985, 1991). For his part, Foreman credited academic philosophers for playing an important role in promulgating deep ecology and other "ecocentric" (ecosystem-centered) philosophies. Such environmental ethics shifted the center of moral concern from humans to entire ecosystems, helping to fuel and staff radical environmental groups including Earth First!. Direct action resistance by Earth First!ers, however, did more than the movement's intellectual proponents to confront mainstream society with radical environmentalism's central claims and demands.

At the grass roots, within radical environmental groups, various deep ecology spiritualities were digested into a widely held and expressed conviction: all life has value, apart from its usefulness to human beings (or put differently, all life is sacred) and thus, all organisms ought to be allowed to continue their evolutionary unfolding. Thus, deep ecology became the umbrella under which paganism (especially in pantheistic and animistic forms), and religions originating in the Far East, could find a hospitable place to cross-fertilize with radical green politics.

In addition to deep ecological spirituality, in the early years of Earth First!, Foreman promoted anarchistic ideals and suggested that humans should return to their tribal roots (and thus to tribal ritualizing and a warrior ethos of earth defense). Foreman thereby unwittingly invited to Earth First! anarchists, New Age seekers, hippies, pagans, and others engaged in the West's countercultural, cultic milieu. Soon the anarchists and practicing pagans would outnumber Foreman and his closest associates, making them appear moderate by comparison. By the end of the decade, the tensions led to a decisive schism; and Foreman and his closest allies abandoned Earth First!.

Factionalism in Earth First!

Three main, divisive fissures had emerged. First, Foreman wished to focus the movement exclusively on conserving the

RAINBOW WARRIOR

Some time in the future, the Indians said, the animals would begin to disappear. People would no longer see the wolf, or the bear, or the eagles. And, the story goes, the giant trees would also disappear. And people would fight with each other and not love each other. And, the story goes, the beautiful rainbow in the sky would fade away, and people would not see the rainbow anymore.

Well, children would come. And these children would love the animals, and they would bring back the animals. They would love trees, and they would bring back the giant trees. And these children would love other people and they would help people to live in peace with each other. And these children would love the rainbow, and they would bring back the beautiful rainbow in the sky. For this reason the Indians called these children the rainbow warriors.

Now let me ask you a question. Do you love animals or hate animals? (We love animals.) Do you love trees or hate trees? (We love trees.) Do you love people or hate people? (We love people.) Do you love the rainbow or hate the rainbow? (We love the rainbow.)

Well, if you love animals and trees, people and rainbows, then maybe you are the rainbow warriors and that is a statue of you.

Source: http://www.welcomehome.org/rainbow/prophecy/warrior.html.

earth's biological diversity and came to view as counterproductive the movement's intensifying countercultural political and religious style. He did not assume that nation-states were intractably corrupt and impossible to influence democratically. Unlike a growing number of Earth First!ers, Foreman did not consider himself a revolutionary at war with the entire industrial system or Western civilization itself, despite his use of inflammatory and revolutionary rhetoric. Foreman's views were, therefore, closer to the libertarian anarchism of Edward Abbey—whose *Desert Solitaire* (1969) and *The Monkeywrench Gang* (1975), helped inspire Earth First!—than to the leftists and anarcho-primitivists increasingly populating the movement.

Second, Foreman did not assume that environmental health and social justice were inexorably linked or that ecosystem health demanded social justice. This put him at odds with social ecologists such as Murray Bookchin as well as left-wing Earth First!ers such as Mike Roselle (another of Earth First!'s cofounders) and Judi Bari (who played a prominent role in the fight against the deforestation of California's redwood forests, prior to her 1997 death from breast cancer). Such activists concluded that Foreman's views were reactionary and repugnant. Foreman considered social justice concerns to be a needless, anthropocentric distraction from an activism that uncompromisingly put Earth First! first. Moreover, as a strong proponent of a Malthusian explanation for environmental degradation, Foreman thought that the pursuit of social justice often exacerbates both human and nonhuman suffering by allowing human numbers to grow faster than they would in the absence of aid to the poor. With a growing number of ecologists, Foreman concluded that redistribution of wealth would only accelerate the unsustainable growth of earth's population.

Third, Foreman did not believe, as did a significant number of Earth First!ers, that public and overt expression of the movement's pagan spirituality was necessary or politically astute. Although he insisted humans must "resacralize" their perceptions of nature (viewing this as an antidote to Western civilization's irreverent behavior toward it), Foreman was uncomfortable with the countercultural style and the increasing pagan ritualizing in the movement. In this he moved closer to the position of his friend and Earth First! cofounder Howie Wolke. Shortly after the movement formed Wolke objected to a decision to publish the *Earth First! Journal* according to solstice/equinox names derived from a pagan-Celtic calendar. He believed such overt paganism was counterproductive. By the end of the decade, Foreman and many others had decided to downplay the movement's paganism, concluding that conservation biology and environmental science provided the strongest basis to defend biodiversity. Many of the more countercultural Earth First!ers, however, were deeply suspicious of Western science and refused to embrace it as did Foreman and his closest associates.

After leaving Earth First!, Foreman joined with conservation biologists Michael Soulé and Reed Noss to found a journal of conservation science and wildlands activism called *Wild Earth* (published since 1991). They also established *The Wildlands Project*, an ambitious effort to map and promote the protection of large, interconnected biological reserves that would make possible the preservation of all of North America's native flora and fauna.

Radical Activism of the 1990s

In the 1990s, after the departure of Foreman and those who shared his opinion that the movement had strayed from its original ideals, Earth First! assumed an identity that was increasingly countercultural, anarchistic, social justice-oriented and more overtly pagan. Increasingly it drew self-described revolutionaries. Its most extreme voices defended Ted Kaczynski, "the Unabomber," in his murderous war against industrial civilization. Some of these activists argued that the time might soon come where more such action would succeed in its objectives. A few pointed hopefully to disruptions they expected to result from the "Y2K" computer bug; some even suggested that, combined with well-targeted sabotage, Y2K might inaugurate the devolution of industrial society.

Martha Lee (1995) suggests that the incendiary rhetoric and lawless behavior of some movement activists indicate that certain factions in the movement are becoming increasingly violent. I have argued (1998 and 1999), however, that such analysis generally overlooks the many variables, both external and internal to Earth First!, that reduce the likelihood its participants will engage in terrorist violence. Although an apocalyptic premise (that industrialism is destroying the sacred, biotic diversity of the earth), is widely shared in Earth First!, few among these activists believe that human action, terrorist or not, can avert the already unfolding biological meltdown.

Some activists may conclude, however, that it may be possible, through sabotage and violence, to protect some of the earth's remaining biological diversity. Beginning in the early 1990s a number of groups, viewing Earth First! as unduly timid, announced that they would escalate their tactics against the earth's destroyers. Often acting under a new moniker that was first announced in England in 1992, the "elves" of the "Earth Liberation Front" have destroyed millions of dollars of property in the United States and Europe. In 1998 they torched several buildings at a Colorado ski resort just after the resort's owners had won a court battle

allowing them to expand ski runs in a habitat that environmentalists considered to be critical for the survival of the Lynx, an endangered species.

Earth First! and its spin-offs will likely continue to proliferate and increasingly disrupt extractive commerce in advanced industrial societies. This is in part because the growing scientific consensus is that biodepletion and other environmental problems are worsening dramatically. Such scientific apocalypticism will continue to fuse with the religious and political perceptions common in the radical environmental worldview to provide a powerful rationale for green resistance.

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See also Environmentalism

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Ecstasy

"Ecstasy" refers to such intense states of pleasure that a person is driven out of his or her senses. More profoundly it can mean an emptying out of a person while being possessed by a supernatural being or an emotionally overpowering union with God. Many millenarian Christians expect ecstasy at the Rapture when Jesus returns and the righteous are raised up, but there is much debate among them as to when exactly during the prophecies in Revelation this will occur. Some of the more extreme millennial movements, notably communal ones like the Shakers and the Family (Children of God), also cultivated religiously oriented ecstasy during their daily lives, either with or without sexual intercourse. However, it can be argued that intense spiritual experiences do not harmonize as well with millennial ideologies as they do, for example, with Holiness ideology. On the other hand, spirit possession in preindustrial societies is often associated with the social conflict that can mobilize oppressed people behind a millennial movement.

Possession

Anthropologist I. M. Lewis has surveyed the scholarly literature on ecstatic religion and argues that it arises in particular kinds of social conflict. His prime example is the Sar or Zar cult of Somalia, Sudan, Egypt, and surrounding territories. The strict Islamic tradition of the dominant religious organizations prohibits women from holding positions of religious authority and prestige, and it supports the dominance of the husband in the household. However, at the same time it supports belief in a variety of spirits that may possess an individual. In daily life, a woman suffers much from her husband, including the constant threat that prosperous husbands may acquire other wives, but she depends for her survival upon his good will. Thus she cannot confront him directly, for fear he will simply cast her aside and obtain a more pliant wife in her stead. For some women, the psychological stresses