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This newsletter attempts not only to provide updates on construction and the local resistance that might otherwise be glazed over, but to further the process of examining the key issues that play into this complex situation. Ideally, through relevant news articles, critical analysis, and interviews, this will help to facilitate discussion around this road, and more importantly, to empower those that feel powerless in the path of Interstate 69.
Demolitions Begin!

Gohmann A & C began clearing and demolitions in April

With how busy they are working on public relations, it's surprising that the bigwigs at INDOT get anything at all done on I-69. And the truth of the matter is, they don’t do much.

The Evansville Courier and Press has made a big deal about April 2nd's completion of the bidding process for the construction of the first 1.77 miles. Gohmann A&C placed the lowest bid, which makes it likely that they will win the contract. But the entire reason that INDOT has concentrated so much attention on these first 1.77 miles is that they lack the resources or political capital to start seriously working on the project as a whole: They want to complete this first strip in order to pacify the state of Indiana into accepting the rest of the 140 miles of construction.

So what has happened in this first section? In early March, workers contracted by Gohmann began clearing a few trees along SR 68 and slowly removing valuable elements from the half-dozen homes that had already been seized by INDOT in the same area. On March 10, a well-known I-69 opponent, Tom Tokarski, was detained and searched by state police for the shocking crime of photographing the destruction. This breach of his liberties happened because no matter how limited the work that INDOT is attempting to complete right now, they fear the backlash from Indiana residents enraged to see homes snatched away and bulldozed.

Since then, actual demolitions have begun, with two homes along SR 68 completely leveled. The rest of the trees in the first 1.77 miles of I-69's path have been cut. We need to remember that there are still 400 homes left to evict along the route, and hundreds more families who have yet to experience the tragedy of eminent domain. The state is currently hoping to convince us that the fight is over- that it's not worth going on. But with so much at stake, we all know that the fight is just getting started!

Tree Sit Raised in I-69’s Path

Protesters take to the trees to block construction from the I-69 Media Office

Evansville, May 19th - On the morning of Monday, May 19th, a small group of people opposed to the construction of Interstate 69 set up an aerial tree occupation in the path of construction. The sit was erected at the north end of the first 1.77 miles of the proposed route, just south of State Road 68. After a day of intense police intimidation tactics, the sitters have remained in relative calm.

From their living quarters 40 feet up, the climbers hung banners decrying the destruction NAFTA has brought, and which I-69 will bring. As well, banners displayed protesters' support of local struggles against the road. One of the sitters further articulated her position: "The governor is pushing this road down the throats of southern Indiana communities for the benefit of Big Business, not for those whose lives are going to be destroyed, whose houses, farms, woods, wetlands and wilderness are going to be paved over."

The State Police and Gibson County Sheriff's Department initially responded heavy handedly after receiving word that the protesters had taken to the trees. Dozens of police from at least two different agencies responded on scene, with a hand full arriving in one of the three helicopters that were flying over the site. Once assembled, police took to mocking and threatening the protesters. From flying helicopters dangerously close overhead to pulling on their lifelines from the ground (a practice which could have resulted in the platforms falling out of the trees), the police engaged in many life threatening activities to intimidate the tree-sitters into coming down.

As of May 24th, the tree-sitters have maintained their posts. With support of various forms, their spirits remain high: they identified honks and hollers from passers-by on 68, as well as visits from local residents, as being tremendous sources of inspiration. Ground support crew have also provided consistent relief, assuring all the climbers' needs are met.

Given the road's obvious unpopularity, INDOT's utter lack of finances, and the momentum building against this project, protesters believe that it is not too late to take actions which will stop the road. It is hoped that this action will be the first of many attempts to physically halt I-69. Grant Reynolds, the other tree-climber, says: "After nearly two decades of resistance, INDOT and the governor's office are still ignoring the undisputed opposition of the vast majority of Hoosiers. I urge everyone not to let them silence you..."

For updated info on the sit, visit www.stopi69.wordpress.com

Protesters moved into platforms suspended in trees threatened by the construction of I-69
**First**
**Encampment**
**Set-Up Near Route**

Campers worked on building local support

“A camper”

On the afternoon of April 6th, seven people opposed to the construction of I-69 packed the back of a pick-up truck and headed out to establish the first of what will hopefully be many anti-I-69 encampments. Bringing everything from tents to tape recorders, the campers sought to create a space from which to interact with the people most directly affected by the proposed highway. They hoped the space could support both the anti-I-69 efforts of those living at the start of the route, as well as those of other I-69 opponents (such as surveying for endangered species and documenting INDOT’s destructive acts). As well, campers intended for the camp to provide logistical support for anti-road activists who are part of the growing national movement against I-69.

The camp was set-up just west of the intersection of State Road 57 and Interstate 64 on a hill overlooking the beginning section of the proposed route. After setting up their tents and a kitchen area and planting a small garden, the campers took to the road to inform people in the area about the camp, talk with them about the road and the resistance to it, and to inquire about other places where similar camps might be set up. Working intensively in the first two miles (the area most immediately threatened with destruction), campers found opinions about the road to be 3

“Camp” continued on page 6

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**I-69 Marchers Defy City**

*From The Bloomington Alternative*

- Steven Higgs

The Bloomington Police Department wouldn’t issue a parade march to opponents of Interstate 69, but that didn’t stop protesters from taking over downtown Bloomington streets on Saturday, April 19 -- accompanied all the way by the Bloomington Police Department.

The parade was sponsored by Roadblock Earth First! and was endorsed by the Indiana Forest Alliance, NoSweat!, the I-69 Listening Project and Indiana Students Against War.

Roadblock Earth First! said in an e-mail that the march kicked off a reinvigorated campaign against the road that is sure to last well into the future.

The parade started at People’s Park and went down Kirkwood, up Walnut, across Sixth to Morton to Seventh to Dunn Meadow via Kirkwood, Indiana and Seventh. Police followed marchers and blocked traffic at intersections, as they learned the march’s route.

The heaviest presence along the route was at the One City Center Building on Seventh Street, in which an I-69 planning office is located.

In the e-mail, Earth First! noted that bids were awarded on April 2nd “for the actual construction of the first 1.77 miles of the NAFTA Superhighway.” The first four of 400-plus homes to be confiscated from landowners and destroyed for new-terrain I-69 have been demolished in Gibson County.

For more news about I-69, visit www.bloomingtonalternative.com

**Landowners Organize to Resist INDOT**

**No Sell Pledge Initiated in Section 1**

Approximately 25 landowners from Section 1 (the southernmost) of the proposed Interstate 69 route met Tuesday, April 8th, to share information and discuss possibilities for collective opposition to INDOT’s schemes to take their land and homes. Also present were representatives from Citizens for Appropriate Rural Roads (CARR).

For as long as the threat of losing everything has loomed overhead, INDOT has used manipulation and coercion to try to intimidate and isolate landowners. With contracts for construction of the next portion of Section 1 to be let next April, 2009, the threat is great for these residents. But after nearly two decades, many are still left in the dark about the processes they will have to go through if I-69 makes it to their door. For this reason, CARR and others asked an eminent domain attorney to give a presentation at Tuesday’s meeting.

Eminent domain refers to the long held constitutional provision that private property can be seized for public use. Though ‘fair compensation’ for land under eminent domain is required by this law, landowners from the 1.77 miles scheduled for construction this summer received obscenely low offers. INDOT used the threat of eminent domain laws to give these landowners much less than their property was worth. Aside from their purposeful secrecy and their misuse of the power of the legal system, INDOT used the threat of direct force against this first group of evictees. Over the course of 2005 and 2006, sheriffs visited some of the now demolished homes, to suggest that if landowners did not accept INDOT’s offers,

“No-sell” continued on page 8

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**Updates**

**PROTESTERS MARCH EAST ON 7TH STREET AS THEY PASS THE I-69 PLANNING OFFICE IN BLOOMINGTON.**

PHOTO BY STEVE HIGGS
Listening Project

An Interview with the Ramsdens

Listening Project: What are your names?
Charles: I’m Charles Ramsden Junior.
Linda: And my name is Linda Ramsden.
LP: And where are we right now?
C: Well, Springville, Indiana… and it’s the point precisely where I-69 almost, the right of way runs right where you’re sitting.
LP: How long have y’all lived here?
L: We’ve lived here since July of 1981.
C: We had always wanted to live and raise our children in a rural, environmentally friendly… just a lovely environment.
L: We’re basically pretty well self-sufficient here, and that’s one thing that this land here provides for us because most of the wood that we have now, we did not buy… it’s just from harvesting dead trees off of our property, and it supplies our heat.
LP: Did you all know about I-69 when you moved out here?
C: I guess when we came out here this project was even being looked at then. We didn’t know anything about it. The first time we came into contact with it was probably in the late 80s or early 90s and it’s a project that’s been ongoing here – off and on, off and on, stop and go type of thing. I remember when Bayh was governor in ’96 and they said this thing would be running through here in ’96 and this thing would be all done. And I sort of thought they were right, but obviously this is many years later and they don’t project it being done through this area for at least a minimum of ten years. So it’s something that has struggled, and it’s been a struggle for us and it’s been a struggle for other people.
LP: Did you all know about I-69 when you moved out here?
C: As you can gather, our application for early buyout was rejected.
C: The other problem is that it took us I think about three months to get a response – they said initially about 30 days or less and finally when I called, “Well it’s going to be another ten days.” Finally I realized – the other thing there’s not in this thing, there’s no provision that the state has to answer people in any set amount of time. So you can basically do what I think they call in politics a pocket veto. You just put it aside and it just sits there and it never goes anywhere. And that’s basically what we felt they did in our case. Finally we contacted Mr. Lugar’s office. I will say that we were hoping that he would be a little more helpful to us. Finally after over three months they finally turned us down with a very short letter that failed to even answer the questions that we had posed about some of the problems and the fact that there’s not like property to buy in this area even if you could sell your property to another person. You don’t go and buy property down the block or a half a mile – it’s just the property’s not available.
LP: Can I ask you all to talk just a little bit more about how the early buyout process and the threat of I-69 looming overhead for so long has affected your plans or your lives and your community?
C: We’re very much clockwork people and we had planned things out and worked on all of those things and part of our plan after retirement was to make our property more accessible so we could build our son, possibly even our other son, a home up here so that as we got older they would help us. We started that process and of course then when we saw that in July of 2002 – I believe that’s about the date, when they showed that there were I think five or six routes being considered I immediately knew this would be the route selected…

My mother – she’s 91 years of age, and she’s a person that’s very independent – she lives over in Decatur, which is about 170 miles away and we had talked to her about you know having a home here or living in the area so that we could help her. And well, I’ve gotta say, she’s a very independent person, she said, “Well there’s no way I would even consider it there because you folks have no future there. There’s nothing there for me either because I couldn’t come there and then
I would just be lost there." So it's a catch-22 – there's no way you can move here, even in a self-help situation, that you're not put in a bind or a financial burden.

And why is that? It's because the state is the one that imposed the problem by putting the road across your property and clearly identifying it to the public as such and secondly, because they're unwilling then to deal with releasing you in a reasonable time to buy you out. So again, it comes back down, they get to impose the hardship and they get to impose what the relief is and then they're the ones that get to deny the relief and that you have no other self-help that you can really do either.

**LP:** What do you think about the comment that this project is going to bring more job opportunities to the area?

**L:** Absolutely not. From what I've seen, they talk about the free trade highway as what this is for, right? So, we're losing the big industries that we have in Indianapolis, around Indiana. They're going overseas, they're going to Mexico. We're already losing what they're saying this highway is supposed to promote and bring development, bring companies, into this area. It's not going to happen. Where they already have the interstates, like he said, they're not staying there. They're going away.

It's not going to promote development that I can see. It's taking what development we already had as far as industry. It's going away. It's not coming in. And it's not because I-69 is not connect from Indianapolis to E-ville and we've talked to some truckers that said even if they put 69 from Indianapolis to E-ville they're not going to gain anything.

C: But I see a lot of these problems down here… when they say that the state is going to be made prosperous by these projects, how can that be if we're already seeming to have difficulty in our current situation?

**LP:** Where do you folks go from here?

C: Well of course for the moment we're on hold. No, right now we really can't make any plans and that's one of the biggest issues we've got because if you look - I'm 62, my wife's 60, I think the average life expectancy is 77 or 78 in the United States. Well, you take 62 from, say, 77 or 78, I've got maybe 15 years if you figure the average. But now, if you're gonna tell me you're gonna take a minimum of at least ten years to finish out the buy-outs well that puts me to 72. So in a period of 15 years they're taking two-thirds of my remaining life expectancy. When you take the time from a person – it's one thing if you take the property, you may be able to restore the property with X number of dollars, you know, you may be able to find a person in another place that's pretty similar property. But if you've gobbled up five, ten years of their time, the money can never buy the time back. Eminent domain does "...they've taken us, put our neck in a guillotine. However, they don't have money to buy the rope to drop the blade to cut our necks off – cut our head off. And also, they won't let us take our neck out of the guillotine. We just have to stay here until they decide to get the money to buy the rope to drop the blade."
Moving north of the first two miles, the campers worked to solidify old connections and establish new ones. In this 11 mile area, they met with a few people who are actively organizing a “No Sell Pledge” (see article on page 3) and worked to support those efforts by talking for the first time to many affected landowners about the pledge.

After more than a week of intensive outreach and support efforts along the route, the campers unfortunately had to break camp and returned home to continue working on their projects of resistance there. But as momentum against the road grows and the start of construction nears, more and more people are willing to establish new encampments in Section 1 to continue the efforts of this first group of campers.

While efforts to find new camping spaces are ongoing, at present there are not any available. If you or anyone you know has space for a small camp of people, please write to roadblocker@yahoo.com or call 812-786-4550.

For nearly twenty years, the construction of I-69 through southern Indiana has been contested by local farmers and environmentalists. The road’s delay has served as testimony to the success of those efforts. But with the arrival of evictions last summer, a ground-breaking date looming overhead, the Free Trade agenda’s plans for exponential hemispheric expansion, and the widely recognized impact of global warming, it is time to evaluate the strategies that have gotten the movement against I-69 where it is today. How should this movement move forward? What sort of questions should we be asking? What type of messages should we be sending? What kinds of actions are appropriate and effective?

This article attempts to briefly understand the strategic position of I-69 proponents and more deeply explore strategies for fortifying Superhighway opposition.

Environmentalism on the Defensive?

An important step for activist strategizing is to recognize the strategies of our opponents. For that, we would do well to investigate the work of Public Relations (PR) firms that specialize in undermining environmental interests for the sake of maximizing corporate profits. In an article entitled Why We Lose: Environmentalism on the Defensive, author Victor Rozak notes that: “PR firms have ascended to uncommon positions of power in the United States. Corporations [and] political parties…engage PR firms to peddle everything from NAFTA to disposable diapers, and to put a positive spin on schemes that run clearly against the public good.”

Rozak goes on to identify one such PR firm as the D.C.-based Mongoven, Biscoe and Duchin. In 1993, co-founder of the firm, Ronald A. Duchin, offered this advice to a group of industry heads: “Activists fall into four distinct categories: ‘radicals’, ‘opportunists’, ‘idealists’, and ‘realists’. To defeat activists, corporations must utilize a 3-step divide-and-conquer strategy. The goal is to (1) isolate the radicals; (2) cultivate the idealists and educate them into becoming realists; then (3) co-opt the realists [and opportunists] into agreeing with industry. The realists should always receive the highest priority in any strategy…If your industry can successfully bring about these relationships, the credibility of the radicals will be lost and opportunists can be counted on to share in the final policy solution.”

It should be no surprise that Ron Duchin’s PR firm was heavily promoting its anti-activist strategy the year before NAFTA would pass into policy. Corporations won a victory in 1994 that expanded the rights of industry to a whole new level. Many Indiana environmental activists have recognized this multi-national corporate ambition as a primary driving force behind the I-69 Superhighway.

Perhaps it is no coincidence that Ron Duchin’s PR firm was heavily promoting its anti-activist strategy the year before NAFTA would pass into policy. Corporations won a victory in 1994 that expanded the rights of industry to a whole new level. Many Indiana environmental activists have recognized this multi-national corporate ambition as a primary driving force behind the I-69 Superhighway.

Fourteen years later, we are faced with just how great the pressure for (and potentially against) this project is. I-69 has been identified to be a crucial component of the Plan Puebla Panama (PPP), a name for the Central American infrastructure needed to implement NAFTA’s extension, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). In conjunction with the opposition these free trade agreements have drawn across the world from the 1990’s anti-globalization movement, people all over Mexico and Central America have fought against the restructuring of their economies to best suit multi-national corporations, and against the infrastructural mega-projects that threaten to displace and poison them.

To understand why opposition to these projects has been so great, we can take a glimpse at some of the North American...
Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) impacts in Mexico, which can be seen with clarity after 15 years in existence: the flight of U.S. factories into sweatshops along the Mexican border region, causing U.S. job loss and a decline in Mexican environmental standards; the dismantling of communal land holdings resulting in massive displacement of subsistence farmers for multi-national corporate investment in destructive ‘resource extraction’ (such as logging and mining) and infrastructure projects (such as dams and superhighways); the flooding of Mexico’s agricultural markets with subsidized foreign corn, increasing rural poverty, forcing millions of indigenous campesinos into cities and across the U.S. border (where over 4000 deaths have been documented in desperate desert crossings).

Understandably, the bulk of I-69 fighting has centered largely on local, direct impacts. This localized struggle was, and remains to be, the best chance at slowing or stopping the project. Still, the inspiration and support to be gained through linking up with anti-globalization movements and land-based resistance of our neighbors south of the U.S. border is too great to ignore.

This angle of organizing opens the doors to broader support, as well as fits into a broader strategy. By literally blockading the construction of a major trade artery, corporate greed can be challenged at a systemic level. This angle is appealing to yet an even broader cross-section of people.

Putting Climate Change on the Front Burner

In the Fall 2006 edition of Hoo sier Environmental Council’s Monitor, former EPA Administrator William Ruckelshaus was quoted saying: “We should adopt a Policy Number One that global warming is a real problem, and we are a major contributor to carbon in the atmosphere, and we need to take serious steps to reduce it.” In March 2007, the State of Massachusetts took the EPA to Supreme Court on carbon emission regulation and put Ruckelshaus’ suggestion into motion.

Thus was exposed a gaping hole in the Environmental Impact analysis of the I-69 project. About 20% of U.S. carbon dioxide emissions come from the burning of gasoline by cars and light trucks. I-69 is a poster project for this country’s refusal to face the reality of human-induced climate change. Now there is Supreme Court precedence with which to update the impacts and costs under carbon constraints. Until this assessment is done, there is no reason that this road should begin construction.

Bringing global warming front and center in the I-69 debate ties the campaign into the international momentum that has been building against climate change. I-69 offers a concrete example, to be listed alongside other controversial projects (such as power plants and airports) which are being used as tangible grassroots battles in the turning tide against the human heating of the planet.

Building and Nurturing a Cross-Generational Movement

Many of the local people who initiated the fight against I-69 are now getting along in their age; thankfully, a younger generation has also stepped up. But no amount of youthful creativity can replace the power of bridges between the generations of resistance.

Sadly, it is in the age divide where we are most likely to see the manifestation of Duchin’s PR strategy. Time again, lines are drawn in activist circles between younger, radical counter-cultural voices and older, moderate, sometimes salaried ones. This is a dangerous and unnecessary division that we all must watch out for. Youth offer new energy and approaches, while older activists offer continuity and knowledge of the playing field.

It is clear what anti-activist PR strategy would suggest in this situation; what’s unclear is how other activist groups opposing I-69 will respond.

In conclusion, as a local activist that has been involved in the full spectrum of opposition to I-69, I would like to suggest that, while renewing our commitment to fight till the end of I-69, we also make a commitment to each other to fight the isolation, divisiveness and the co-optation that the industry depends on for their success. We don’t all have to agree on every tactic and strategy - our diversity in approaches should be a strength - but communication and solidarity are key to our victory in stopping I-69. We should not be the ones offering any final compromises to corporate multi-national road builders. Our role should be only to make our case, stand our ground and fight with all we’ve got.

At the inception of I-69, founder of the now-defunct Alliance for a Paving Moratorium Jan Lundberg put it straight and simple: “It’s hard to destroy wilderness without roads.” With the realities of globalization and climate change upon us, compounding I-69’s direct impacts on Southern Indiana’s rural land and unique ecology, that statement is truer than ever. Accept it or not, we are now on the frontlines of a global environmental movement.

My suggestion: dig in your heels and get ready for the fight of your life!

August Henry is a long time environmentalist committed to making connections between environmental, social & economic concerns.
were more easily deceived because they had no contact with each other. The attorney present Tuesday night suggested that it is not too late for this second group of landowners.

After hearing the attorney’s presentation, the suggestion was made that all present agree to stand up to INDOT’s trickery together. It was proposed that if the battle facing each individual family was fought collectively, they would all have a stronger base of opposition, and a greater chance of at least getting fair compensation, if not of stopping the project entirely.

It is no secret that INDOT does not have the money to build I-69: the governor has admitted that they “have no idea” how to get the road past Crane. Besides the lack of financial support, by INDOT’s own estimate, 76% of Hoosiers oppose this road. Certainly, the vast majority of the 400 families facing eviction oppose it, too. Many are convinced that landowners have a very weighty position in this equation. As a landowner who attended the meeting put it: “What could they do: send the sheriffs to force us all out?”

After the meeting, a couple of people agreed to organize a “no sell pledge”, a contract to be signed by landowners pledging to resist INDOT’s offers together. As well, many attorneys have offered their support, and I-69 opposition groups have committed their time and finances to supporting the no-sell effort.

For more info, contact CARR at (800) 515 - 6936 and carr@bluemarble.com. Also, landowners can call a hotline set up by the I-69 Listening Project at 812-650-4414 for free legal aid.

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**Upcoming Events**

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<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date, Time and Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bloomington Assembly Against I-69</td>
<td>Thursday, May 29th, 6:30 P.M. Monroe County Public Library Mtg Rm 1c</td>
<td>Bloomington Assembly meetings serve as ways for different anti I-69 groups and individuals to work on projects together.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Section 1 Community Bar-B-Q</td>
<td>Saturday, June 14th, 2pm, location to be decided.</td>
<td>A space for residents living in section 1 of the proposed highway to meet each other and discuss methods of resistance.</td>
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<td>Pledge Camp and Music Festival</td>
<td>Friday, June 6th through Sunday, June 8th, at the Deep Roots Animal Sanctuary in Owen County</td>
<td>A camping trip for meeting and getting to know other I-69 opponents, and for teaching each other non-violent direct action skills and sharing information.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long March</td>
<td>Specific dates tba, sometime in late June. Starting in Bloomington, ending in Oakland City.</td>
<td>A walk from Bloomington to Oakland City, to rally and drum up support against the road.</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Mobilization Against I-69</td>
<td>Monday, July 28th, on the route wherever construction is happening</td>
<td>This date has been set as a day for a large scale, national mobilization in protest of I-69.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anti I-69 Bike Tour</td>
<td>September 5th - 7th, starting in Indianapolis, ending in Evansville</td>
<td>A bike tour along the proposed I-69 route to get to know the people and the land.</td>
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