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In this issue: Wolf Defense, Ecological Warfare, Sabotage on the High Seas, Poetry & Fiction

地球一番

Brigid 2012

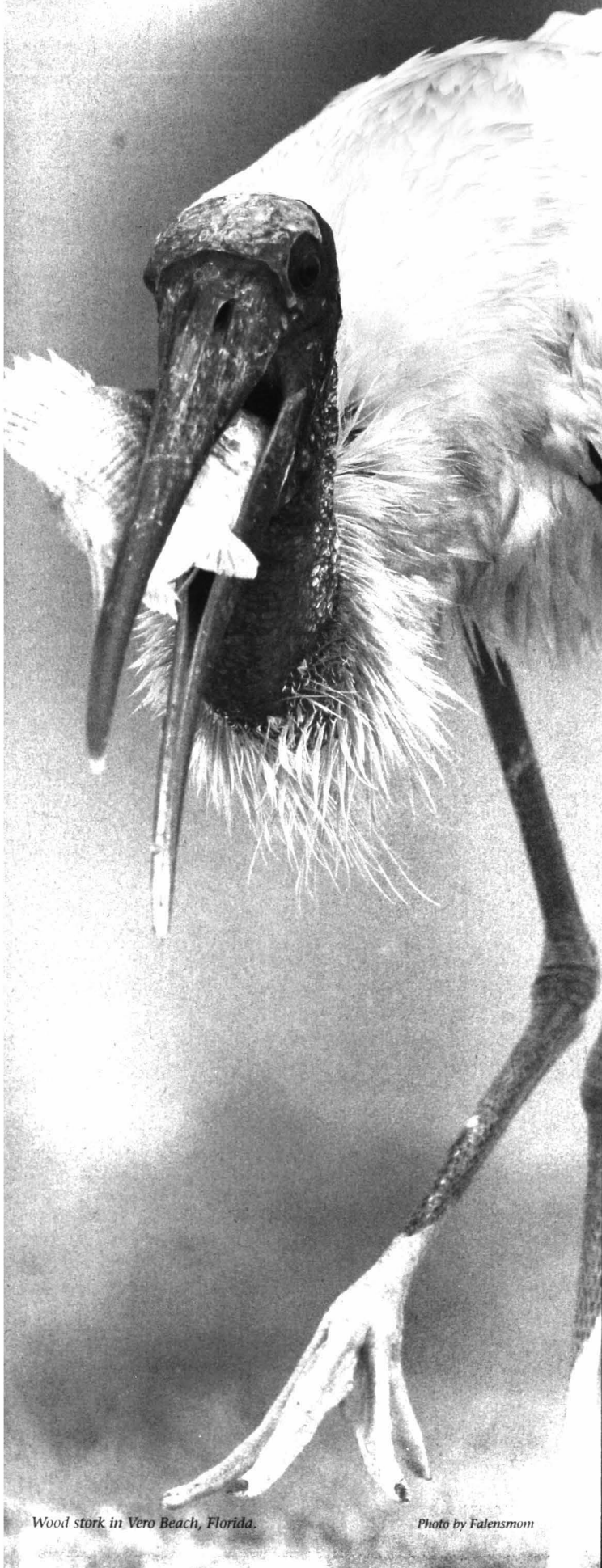
Earth First!

The Journal of Ecological Resistance

東京
幻想

母なる地球の保護に妥協するな
no compromise in defense of mother earth

東京
幻想



Wood stork in Vero Beach, Florida.

Photo by Falensmom

The history of human domestication is a clash between the wild and the civilized, and we continue to live in spite of civilization's progress, not because of it. Somewhere around the last 2000 years, civilization could have easily been realized as a failed experiment and our species would have moved on with evolving towards a more free and harmonious animal. Instead, civilization became the deepest root of oppression. It got propped up by church, state, industry, patriarchy, white power. As a result, thousands of known human cultures and entire non-human species have been wiped out in a relative blink-of-the-eye.

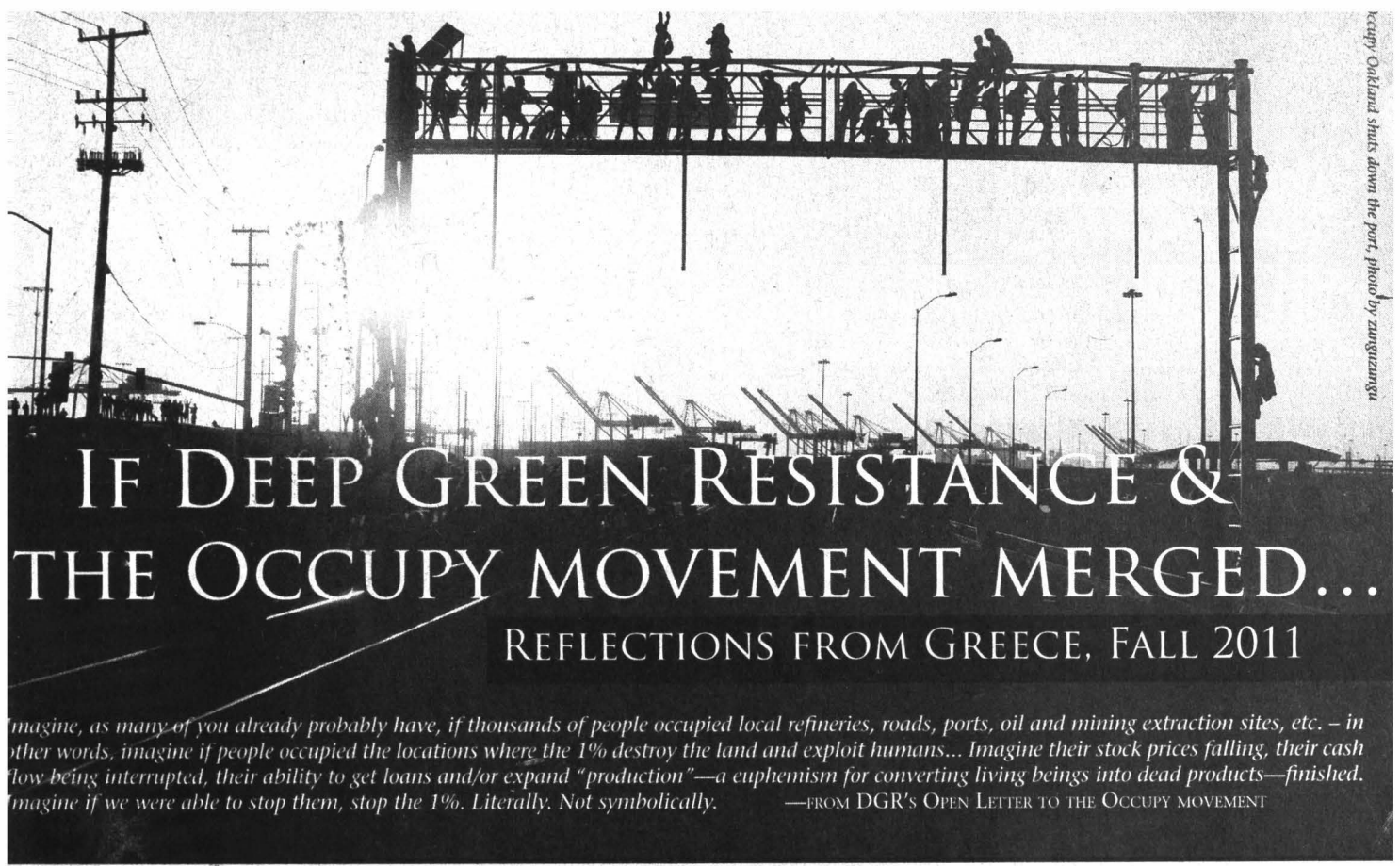
Slavery spread rampant—human and non-human—and efforts to abolish it have thus far only succeeded in dispersing it. Between the extreme personal debts of the “first world” and the growing national debts of the rest of world, the number of people who are not free to pursue our desired future are growing every day—never mind the number of people in literal cages while corporations make profit off prisons. There's not an isolated problem of “overpopulation” as many people who are trying to get to the root of the ecological crisis often complain. The problem is civilization—a system based on constant expansion. It takes a lot of slaves and dead ecosystems to accomplish...
Until it kills itself.

It seems that the message of the Occupy Wall Street movement could be scratching the surface on all of this. Of course, if the movement succumbs to liberal democrats and voter registration drives, we can add it to the junk heap of failed attempts in the centuries-old fight for land and freedom. It should be painfully obvious by now, we need to strike deeper.

You have in your hands a cultural and tactical guide to Earth liberation and the redemption of the wild spirit.

Should you find yourself alone in a world rapidly dying, know that there are many like you and a resistance is forming that awaits your support.

Live Wild or Die Tryin'
—The *Earth First!* Journal Collective



IF DEEP GREEN RESISTANCE & THE OCCUPY MOVEMENT MERGED...

REFLECTIONS FROM GREECE, FALL 2011

Imagine, as many of you already probably have, if thousands of people occupied local refineries, roads, ports, oil and mining extraction sites, etc. – in other words, imagine if people occupied the locations where the 1% destroy the land and exploit humans... Imagine their stock prices falling, their cash flow being interrupted, their ability to get loans and/or expand “production”—a euphemism for converting living beings into dead products—finished. Imagine if we were able to stop them, stop the 1%. Literally. Not symbolically.

—FROM DGR’S OPEN LETTER TO THE OCCUPY MOVEMENT

BY PANAGIOTI, *EARTH FIRST!* JOURNAL EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

The “open-letter” from Deep Green Resistance (DGR) distributed to participants of the Occupy movement this Fall may have come across as a bit vague to those unfamiliar with the recent book and online network under the DGR banner. But those who know DGR and its proposed strategy of Decisive Ecological Warfare [which has been reprinted as an insert with this issue of the *EF!* Journal] are likely imagining what it might really look like if there were more overlap between DGR and Occupy folks.

Would those engaging the public through their full-time encampments around the world—with over 400 listed in the online directory at the time of writing this—embrace a concurrent underground resistance effort along similar lines?

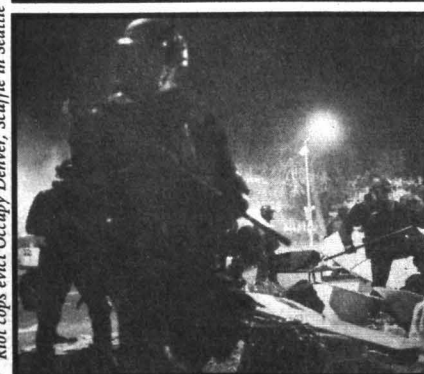
The DGR strategy references a couple dozen historical examples of popular movements doing just that—from the efforts that ended apartheid in South Africa to the local forces that whittled away at Nazi occupation across Europe in World War II.

Of course, there are efforts here and now doing the same thing around the world—most of them in less developed countries. One example is MEND, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, which is fighting a guerilla resistance backed by popular support against Shell Oil and a corrupt government in the most polluted place on the planet. Their struggle is mentioned briefly in the DGR book and has also been covered by the *Earth First! Journal* in the past.

Another example, which is not in the book (but was touched on briefly in the *Journal* last year), is visible in Greece right now.

In many ways, Greece is much closer to home for the Occupy world, since the current trend of public occupations was largely kicked off in

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Riot cops evict Occupy Denver, Scuffle in Seattle between urban campers police, Riots amidst general strike in Athens, Oct. 19

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On October 1, 2011, nearly 3,000 people marched down central Athens in solidarity with the imprisoned members of EA (Revolutionary Struggle), Pola Roupa, Kostas Gourmas and Nikos Maziotis, as well as those also persecuted for the same case Christoforos Korteis, Sarantos Nikitopoulos, Vaggelis Stathopoulos, Marie Beracha and Kostas Katsenas, chanting "The States are the only terrorists! Solidarity with the guerrilla fighters!"

(continued from pg 1)

Athens' Syntagma Square this summer. That occupation camp was responding to the crisis manufactured by the European Union to manage the crumbling global economy by installing austerity measures in exchange for state bailouts... But I digress, probably because I'm writing this from a bus pulling into Athens, ironically, on the eve of Oxi Day—a national holiday celebrating the Greek anti-fascist resistance in WWII. Back to the point at hand.

This week in Greece, the trial of *Epanastatikos Agonas* (EA) began, amidst strikes and riots related to the austerity proposal this month. Members of EA (that's "Revolutionary Struggle" in English) have taken responsibility for their participation in the group, which claimed dozens of actions against government and industry targets over the past several years. Their widespread support is visible all over the country in demonstrations, graffiti, posters and dozens of websites.

While Occupy has set up tents to make a point about banks being culprits of social and ecological ills, EA attacked the banks a bit more directly. In 2009 they attempted to blow up a Citibank headquarters in Athens. It didn't work out—the bomb was discovered and dismantled—so they followed up by blowing up a branch of the bank instead. And when they were falsely accused of risking mass casualties, they refuted it with precision in a public statement explaining their motivations and the safety measures taken. That statement is online and worth a read if you are curious to get sense of where they are coming from.

After several delays, due primarily to general strikes in Athens, the trial of EA began October 24. The defendants opened with an articulation of why they do not recognize the legitimacy of the court, seeing it as an extension of the same system they are fighting. Their defense also includes a technical challenge on lack of evidence linking the individuals to the alleged crimes. Three of the accused have taken responsibility for involvement with the group, but have not confessed to the charges against them—which include accusations of terrorism (even though they have no charges related to actions targeting civilians).

The case has been put on hold and there is a pending request for the European Court of Human Rights to

oversee the basic procedural principles in trying the EA members for their alleged crimes, not simply for their political affiliations. I offer these details on the case to give a glimpse of what it means to have broad social backing for militant direct action.

There are several other groups and individuals in Greece who have also taken the path of underground resistance, with much aboveground support. Their legacy too is literally written on the walls, usually with spray paint. Some of them are household names. For example, Vassilis Paleokostas, the famous bank robber, who distributes liberated money from banks into small villages and has escaped from prison multiple times, via helicopter assistance.

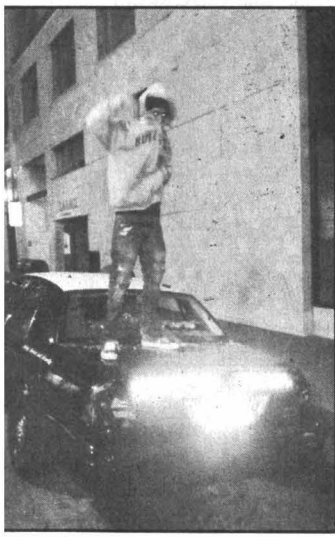
Plenty of other current examples exist, similar stories of underground resisters who choose to reject affiliations with conventional politics—as the Occupy movement has also thankfully done—and received public support. However we usually only hear about their underground efforts in mainstream news when they get caught. Take the recent case of the Il Silvestre 3, who went to trial in Switzerland this summer. The individuals in this case, and the group they are involved with, are allegedly responsible for several attacks against elite technology targets. They were sentenced to over three years in a Swiss prison for an attempted attack on a nanotech laboratory being built by IBM. They will reportedly face additional time under Italy's anti-terrorism laws—although, again, they did not target civilians.

There are many more actions going under the radar of people who don't read the dozens of communiqués posted online at sites like CONTRAINFO.ESPIV.NET or 325.NOSTATE.NET. Take note that for every person arrested in underground activity, actions multiply in their honor.

While few of these groups embrace a strict policy on the use of violence, their actions tend to target property not people. A statistic on the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) in the US comes to mind: in being associated with over 1,200 documented actions, totaling over \$100 million in damages over more than 15 years, not one injury has been reported, let alone anyone being killed. The ELF actually does have a policy against injuring people, and still the State prosecuted many of those arrested for alleged ELF actions as terrorists.

In a time when many are jumping on the Occupy bandwagon, including groups like the AFL-CIO and Sierra Club (who issued a national statement of support for the movement, although they still technically have a policy against members engaging in civil disobedience), what direction will the public occupations take?

Let me be clear, I am not suggesting that the Occupy movement should have to make a choice between DGR and Sierra. It's not an either/or scenario. At least not for me—I'm both a Sierra Club member and a



12.12.11
OCCUPY STRIKES BACK

*** SHUT DOWN WALL STREET ON THE WATERFRONT**

SAN DIEGO • LA • OAKLAND • PORTLAND • TRCOMA • SEATTLE • & BEYOND

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Captions from top to bottom, left to right: Occupy Oakland on Nov. 2, shutting down the port with this biocentric and/or anti-patriarchy banner; Oakland cop car gets smashed up; Poster calls for Dec 12 port shutdown; Oakland Commune gets evicted Nov 15; Occupy Oakland follows through on Dec 12. In addition, Portland, Longview and Vancouver have shut down their Ports. Houston is tear-gassed, in Seattle, flash bang grenades and tear gas are deployed. San Diego riot police break up picket lines. Both Occupy Denver and Occupy Salt Lake City blockade Wal-Mart distribution centers; Oakland isn't the only rebellious and photogenic Occupy effort in the US. The original occupation camp, Zuccotti park on Wall Street, is re-taken momentarily on New Year's Eve, with barricades pulled up while police were pre-occupied in Times Square...



Earth First! Journal

Brigid

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We welcome submissions of articles, letters, poetry and art that put the Earth first, aid in healthy debate shaping the growth of the movement and advance the creation of a world free of speciesism, classism, ageism, ablist, racism, sexism, violence, exploitation and oppression. Submission articles should be typed or clearly printed. We encourage submissions via email. Art or photographs are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. Send a SASE if you would like submissions returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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suspect on the Joint Terrorism Task Force watch-list. Really, it's a challenge to see if we can ditch the horizontal hostility and move forward where we agree, as effectively as possible.

The real question of interest: Is there actually a movement afoot capable of interjecting on the brink of ecological collapse and stopping the global economic system from simultaneously crushing what's left of the planet's biodiversity and humanity's social freedom? If there is even a slight chance in hell that the answer is "yes," then let's really go for it.

It seems few disagree these days, from Occupiers to Tea Partiers, that corporations and governments are full of shit. We live under what is best described as a global dictatorship of the market. It's a regime enforced by an expensive police state at home and military empire abroad. And it's only a matter of time before these forces respond as they did in Oakland, Boston, Portland, Seattle, Athens, etc.

Overthrowing the global economic system is just as relevant today as ending fascism, apartheid or colonialism has been in decades past. Unfortunately, the task of resistance movements today is quite a bit broader. The targets are more widespread and amorphous; no doubt this is by design of the elite, "the 1%." But it's not impossible. It can't be—after all, it's infrastructure was built by us, the other 99% (give or take a few decimal points.)

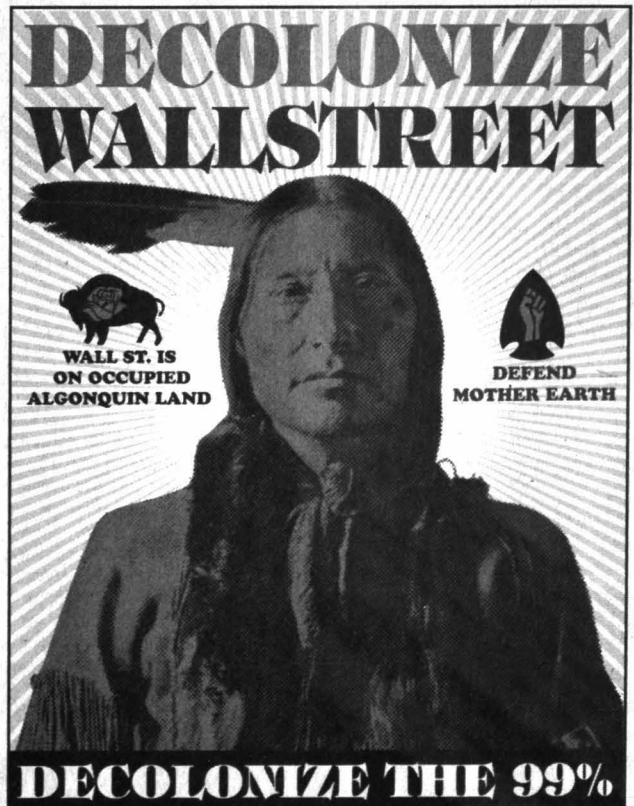
So, what do you think? Is this something to bring up for discussion at your next general assembly? Just remember your basic security culture protocols. And keep an eye out for Brandon Darby lurking around...

P.S. As I prepared to post this on the EF! Newswire (where it appeared originally), the Greek government's national Oxi Day parade, featuring tanks and soldiers of the state repressing today's resistance, was canceled by mass protests in the street's of Thessaloniki. In Kalamata and other cities, eggs are thrown at politicians in the parade.

**NO WAR BUT THE
ECO-CLASS WAR!**
Earth First!



Artwork from the Greek resistance to fascists occupation in the 1940s, before "occupy" was a hip term. The original print is credited to Thoma Molou in the book December of 1944.



A poster from indigenous activists in North America, calling for a "decolonization" movement, pointing out that the country is already under armed "occupation" by the US empire.

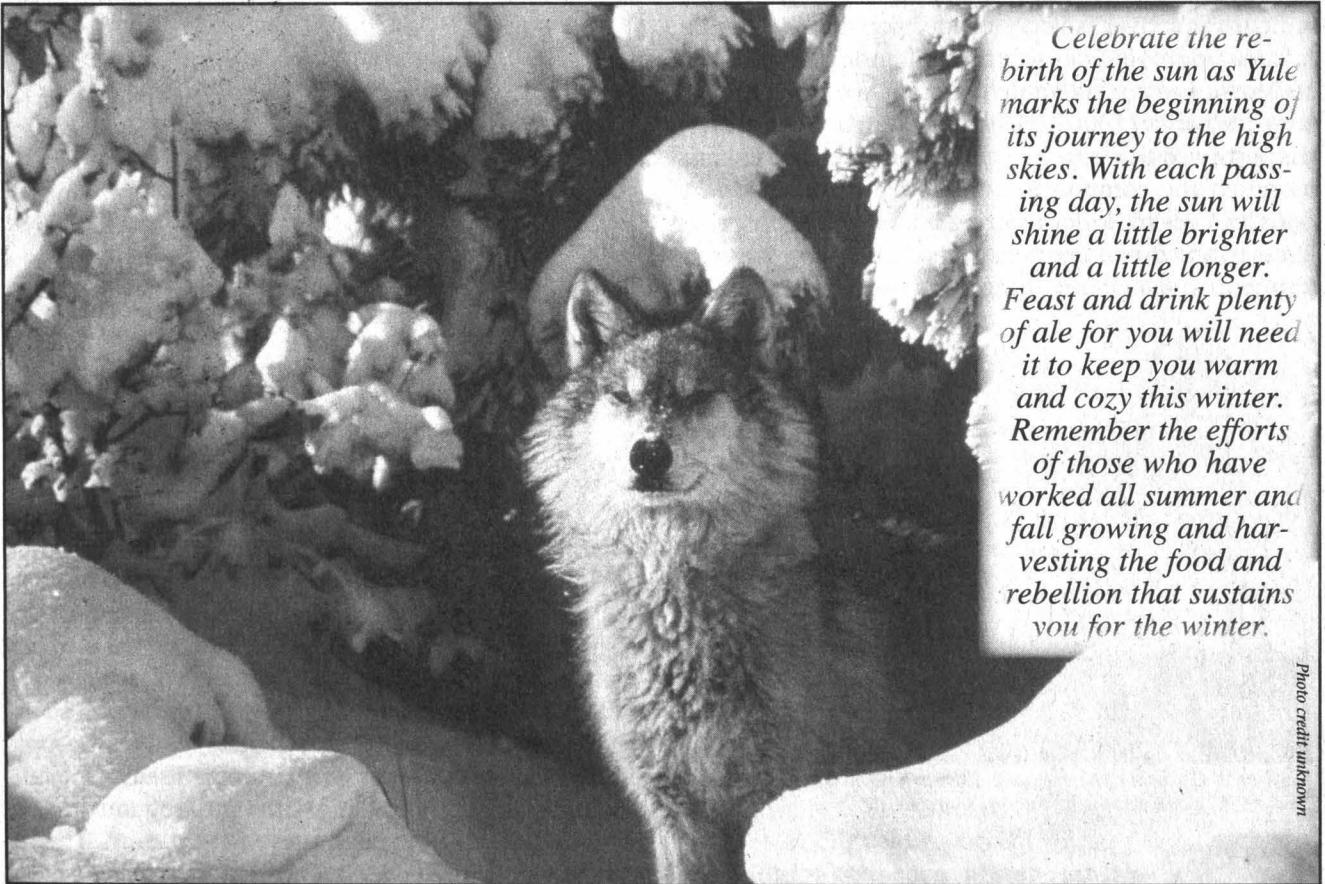
Earth First! News

"On the Frontlines of Ecological Resistance"

Number VI

Yule

December 2011



Celebrate the re-birth of the sun as Yule marks the beginning of its journey to the high skies. With each passing day, the sun will shine a little brighter and a little longer. Feast and drink plenty of ale for you will need it to keep you warm and cozy this winter. Remember the efforts of those who have worked all summer and fall growing and harvesting the food and rebellion that sustains you for the winter.

Photo credit unknown

News from the Frontlines

COMPILED BY THE EF! JOURNAL COLLECTIVE

Dec 6 - Seven Vermonters arrested blocking construction at Lowell Wind project: They are accused of standing in the way of construction vehicles on Green Mountain Power's Lowell wind project. Protesters sought to block vehicles from operating on land under dispute of ownership.

Dec 5 - Bhopal survivors blockade railway on 27th anniversary of disaster: Thousands gather in Bhopal to call on the Indian government to boycott the 2012 Olympic Games in London because Dow Chemical is an official sponsor. Activists blocked railway tracks to protest the ongoing denial of compensation payments to

victims despite a \$148 million plan unveiled earlier this year. The "Rail Roko" [railway blockade] was organized at four points from Nishatpura to Barkhedhi railway crossing the city as survivors squatted and laid on the tracks. At Barkhedhi crossing police dragged away elderly female survivors and cane-charged people mercilessly. Protestors took to stone pelting and arson, causing the police to retreat. The Bhopal District Collector and City Superintendent of Police (CSP) were injured in the heavy stone pelting. Four vehicles and a number of two wheelers were torched.

Nov 30 - O'dham elder pepper sprayed during Anti-ALEC actions, seven arrested, Phoenix, Arizona: Mass-mobilization and actions held through

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the end of the week against the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) conference. David Ortega, Tohono O'odham native and veteran, suffered a stroke after being pepper sprayed by police and was rushed to the hospital. Hundreds marched and converged in Scottsdale, AZ for ALEC's annual "States and Nation Summit". [For more information on ALEC, see the *EF! Journal*, Mabon, October 2011, page 34]. On Dec 2, Indigenous Dine' (Navajo) and O'odham elders & supporters block the entrance to Salt River Project Headquarters (SRP) in Tempe, Arizona, for more than six and a half hours, resulting in 16 people arrested. SRP purchases coal now being mined out of tribal land in the Black Mesa area. Coal mining has destroyed thousands of archeological sites and compromised the community's only water source. Operations are causing widespread respiratory problems, lung diseases, and other health impacts on humans, the environment, and all living things.



Members of O'odham community and activists from around the continent resist ALEC, Alex Soto on right, Nov 30, Scottsdale, AZ

Photo by Dixie

Nov 28 - Anti-tar sands protesters blockade transportation office in London: Activists from Greenpeace blockaded the entrances to the Department for Transport (DfT) building using chains, plywood boards and cars, with the aim of stopping any deal that would see petrol refined from tar sands oil being sold at UK petrol pumps. Sixteen activists were arrested after the two main doorways into the ministry were closed off for more than seven hours.

Nov 18 - "Timber barons are the 1%!" Occupy Eugene meets Forest Defense: Cascadia Forest Defenders and marchers with Occupy Eugene shut down Umpqua Bank from noon to closing. Activists raised a banner reading "Stumpqua funds clearcuts," and soft blockaded both customer entrances. Umpqua, which was the first stop in a series of N17 Occupy Eugene bank closures, chose to lock its doors rather than call on law enforcement.

Nov 16 - Eight arrested at Bank of America headquarters: Protest against Bank of America's reckless financing practices, including the bank's role as the lead financier of coal. Two people were arrested after unfurling

a banner reading "Not with Our Money" from atop two 50-foot flagpoles at the Bank of America's headquarters in downtown Charlotte, North Carolina. Six more arrested below—two while supporting the climbers, and four while blocking the main entrance to the bank's headquarters.



Protesters destroy drilling samples at a would-be iron mine near Hrazdan

Nov 9 - Protests continue against iron mining in Armenia: About two hundred residents of the central Armenian town of Hrazdan protest against the opening of an iron mine. Bounty Resources Armenia Limited (BRAL), a company partly owned by a Chinese firm, plans to launch open-pit operations there and in two other, larger iron deposits elsewhere in the country in the coming years. Protesters smashed wooden boxes containing drilling samples. Police officers monitoring the demonstration did not intervene.

Nov 8 - Ogonis protest non-implementation of oil clean-up, Nigeria: More than 2,000 Ogoni people in Rivers State protest in Port Harcourt against the failure to implement a UN Environment Program (UNEP) report on the oil impacted sites in Ogoniland. The report called on the Federal Government to take urgent steps to clean oil impacted sites in Ogoniland to save the lives of residents.

Nov 7 - Thousands surround White House in opposition to TransCanada pipeline: Environmentalists and social justice activists opposed to TransCanada's Keystone XL pipeline encircled the White House, urging President Barack Obama to reject the project even if it means overruling his own State Department. The \$7 billion pipeline would carry oil from Alberta across Montana, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas to Gulf Coast refineries.

Nov 7 - Protest against planned gold mine in Romania: About a dozen people occupy a historic building in the Romanian city of Cluj in protest of plans to mine gold in a nearby heritage area. The company, Rosia Montana Gold Corporation, a subsidiary of Gabriel Resources, wants to extract 300 metric tons of gold at the site in north-central Romania using a cyanide process, which is banned in several countries.

Oct 31 - Portland Rising Tide resurrects undead army against coal. A zombie army against coal marched

from Occupy Portland to Bank of America branches in downtown. One protestor, Tim Swenson, was arrested for allegedly smearing red corn syrup.. or, uh, zombie guts, on the exterior of the bank.

Oct 27 - Belo Monte Dam construction site is occupied by 400 indigenous people, fishermen and community members: The occupation was a collective decision made by 700 representatives from local communities who attended a seminar against the Belo Monte Dam held the week before. Participating groups



Images of resistance to Belo Monte Dam

released a statement saying: "In the face of the Brazilian government's intransigence to dialogue and continuing disrespect, we occupied the Belo Monte construction site and blocked the Trans-Amazon highway. We demand a definitive cancellation of the Belo Monte Dam."

Oct 23 - More senseless dolphin killing in the infamous Cove of Taiji, Japan: The dolphin killers drove in a pod of 10 to 12 Risso's dolphins into the Cove and brutally murdered the entire pod, including a baby.

Oct 22 - Blockade at proposed gas hub in Walmadan, western Australia: A protester tied himself to a communications tower near a proposed gas hub site in the Kimberley to stop survey work for the controversial project. The protester scaled a tower and was suspended by a rope that was strung across an access road, effectively blocking Woodside Petroleum from using the road.

Oct 10 - Chinook salmon liberation frees 60,000: After 40,000 were released on Oct 5th, the largest animal release to date, an unknown assailant snuck into the Romberg Tiburon Center for Environmental Studies, for the second time in a week, and cut loose the salmon being raised by students and volunteers for an annual fish restoration project. The fish were contained in 16-by-25-by-8-foot pens at densities that were clearly inhumane and unnatural for any salmon.

SEPT 29 - Evo Morales pressured to suspend highway construction: Indigenous peoples' 40-day protest march causes Bolivian President Evo Morales to suspend construction of a major highway through indigenous land in the Amazon rainforest. The march was brought to an abrupt halt when police used tear gas and batons to disperse the 1,000 protesters.

SEPT 29 - Mass mobilization defeats Genetically Modified rice in Spain: Valencia's local government has revoked the permit of an Italian pharmaceutical company to experiment with rice combined with human genes in Vinaros, Castellon. After protests from social, ecological and peasant organizations, the Valencian Committee of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO), which depends on the Council of Agriculture, has rejected this dangerous crop.

SEPT 27 - ALF takes responsibility for Idaho fur store arson: The Rocky Mountain Fur & Fireworks located about 30 miles northwest of Boise was set ablaze for its capitalization on wild coyote and bobcat pelts sold from that store. The building reportedly held thousands of chemically treated animal skins.

SEPT 20 - Major anti-pollution protests in China force government to take action: In Haining, citizens temporarily shut down an american-owned solar panel factory. In Dalian, citizens successfully got the removal of a chemical plant.

SEPT 17 - Occupy Wall Street begins in NYC...

SEPT 5 - Turkish protesters halt power plant construction, burn drilling equipment: Turkish residents and environmental activists barricaded several roads leading to the village of Yaykil. They blocked the movement of construction crews from the Anadolu Group, which is partnered with McDonalds and Coca Cola, that is attempting to build a geothermal plant against local residents wishes. Activists and the police exchanged volleys of rocks and pepper spray. Twenty-five activists and four police were reported injured. On September 6, a large drilling vehicle parked on the outskirts of town was completely destroyed by fire. Police are currently investigating the sabotage.

MID-AUG - Campesinos destroy part of an experimental field of GMO maize: During the second week of August 2011 an unknown number of people have destroyed part of an experimental field of GM maize seeds owned by Pioneer. The area, located between the towns of Valdivia and Zurbaran, had been requested by the company to be opened to the following GMO maize varieties: 1057, 59122 maize, NK603. This field is one of the three requested this year by Monsanto and Pioneer companies to experiment with transgenic corn.

Earth First! News

Yule, December, 2011.

Number VI,

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Feb 16-20 EF! Organizer's Conference & Winter Rendezvous! Make a stand for the wild at Mystic Hot Springs in Monroe Utah, with a Poet's Night to Howl and Seeds of Peace. For more info go to: EFOC2012.WEBSTARTS.COM, SALTLAKEEARTHFIRST.WORDPRESS.COM, SKILLSTOUR@GMAIL.COM, (406) 721-8427

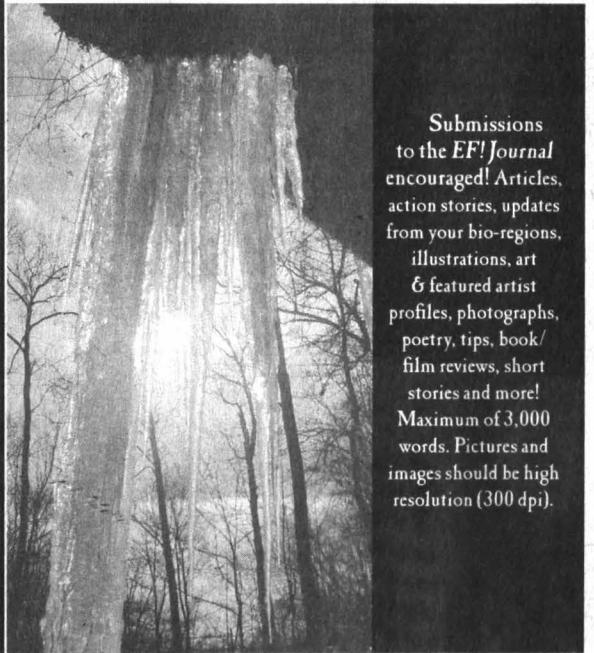
Feb 16-20 Winter Witch Camp: Western Wisconsin. Visit www.witchcamp.org, winterwitchcamp13@yahoo.com, (612) 284-2948, Winter Witch Camp c/o Glimmer Skuld, 3824 Standish Ave. S Minneapolis, MN 55407-3029

March 1-4 ELAW: 30th Annual Environmental Law Conference: Public Interest Environmental Law Conference (PIELC). Over 125 panels, workshops, and multi-media presentations addressing a broad spectrum of environmental law and advocacy. Go to:

WWW.PIELC.ORG

April 19-23 Spring Regional Rendezvous with Katuah Earth First! in Southern Appalachia (details TBA). Get info at: KATUAHEARTHFIRST@RISEUP.NET, (828) 301-6683

May 24- Commemoration of bombing of Judi Bari: Gather every year on the anniversary, at the time of the bombing: 11:30 AM on Park Blvd. in Oakland, near intersection of E. 33rd and Park Blvd. Contact: 510-548-3113, BACH@HEADWATERSPRESERVE.ORG



Submissions to the *EF! Journal* encouraged! Articles, action stories, updates from your bio-regions, illustrations, art & featured artist profiles, photographs, poetry, tips, book/film reviews, short stories and more! Maximum of 3,000 words. Pictures and images should be high resolution (300 dpi).

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Earth First! ToolBox:

Contamination of woodchips destined to become paper can cost industry lots of money. Items such as plastic wrappers, nylon rope, cups, eating utensils, pens, and even hard hats have fallen onto conveyors and vats. Particles of plastic in the pulpwood do their damage after the final product—paper—has left the mill. Plastic specks in paper cause problems primarily because the plastic melts when heated. Plastic melts and sticks to rollers during manufacturing, plastic particles in computer paper have melted and gummed up computer equipment, etc. It takes only ten pinhead size specks per bale of pulp to ruin the whole shipment and one foot of polypropylene rope will produce approximately one million specks. The particles are almost impossible to remove from the pulping process.

Of course, unless someone actually works in a mill, or has access to the trucks that haul the chips to a pulp mill (these distinctive-looking trucks are a common sight in some woodland areas), it won't be easy to contaminate the wood after it has been reduced to chips. But this leaves the charming possibility of "contaminating" the trees before they are cut and reduced to chips so that they will be undesirable as pulp. Holes could be drilled (using a bit and brace) in trees in an area destined for pulpwood cutting. The hole needs to be slightly larger than your rope diameter. Take a small segment of polypropylene rope and tamp it all the way into the hole. Then fill the remainder of the hole with a caulking material, and camouflage as in any spiking operation. Activists in British Columbia are also using Styrofoam cups, foam ear plugs, and similar materials to "soft spike" trees slated for pulping. One advantage is that this spiking is not dangerous to workers.

From *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*

Earth First! Directory

*For a more complete listing of EF! contacts, venues and affiliated groups, contact the Journal or check our online directory at: EARTHFIRSTJOURNAL.ORG

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Wolf Wars

a Collision of Values in the Northern Rockies

BY WENDY KEEFOVER AND MARK SALVO

Wolf 527 was born into the Druid wolf pack of the Lamar Valley in Yellowstone National Park in 2002. She sported a fluffy black coat and startling amber eyes. She hunted elk, gave birth to numerous pups, and founded her own pack. A highly intelligent creature, Wolf 527 lived by her wits and maintained her pack in an area where four other packs had previously failed. She vigilantly avoided humans. But in 2009, while hunting outside of the Park's boundary, she was felled by a gun and treachery. Wolf 527 was one of the first wolves taken during state-regulated wolf hunts in Montana and Idaho. This is her account, and the story of the policies that failed her.


Most of the founding members of the Druids were captured in Canada and released into the Yellowstone in 1996, the second year wolves were restored to the Northern Rockies. The Druids prevented other wolf packs from incursion into their territory while they themselves seized large tracts from other packs in the Lamar Valley. At its peak, the Druid pack numbered 37 members, the largest wolf pack ever recorded.

In 2003, as a yearling, Wolf 527 left the Druids to join the Slough Creek pack, which had been founded by her sister, Wolf 217, another former Druid. A year later, Wolf 527 bested other pack members to become the Slough Creek pack's beta female, second only to the alpha female in a wolf pack.

Much to biologists' surprise, four Slough Creek females gave birth to pups in 2005. Before that point, most believed that only the dominant alpha pair in a pack would breed. But in 2005, distemper ravaged the band of new pups; three survived, however, including 527's daughter, the "Dark Female." She was so named by wolf watchers and biologists because of her distinctive ebony coat.

In January 2006, Park Service biologists fitted Wolf 527 with a radio collar. It soon fell off, and in December, she was re-outfitted with another. The radio collar enabled researchers to detect her whereabouts, so they could glean information about the life of wolves in Yellowstone, including information about reproduction, movements and behavior. With the help of Wolf 527, the Slough Creek pack, eventually took over the Lamar Valley from the Druids.

Wolves continually battle each other for territory and resources. In 2006, rival wolves laid a dramatic siege on the Slough Creek pack. Observers named the intruders "the



*Wolf 527 receives a radio collar
in Yellowstone National Park
Dan Stahler, US Fish & Wildlife Service*

Unknowns" because they wore no radio collars and suddenly appeared in Yellowstone from the forests outside the Park. For twelve days, the Unknowns encamped outside the den of the Slough Creek pack females. The females, perhaps numbering six, including 527, survived on liquid alone, hurriedly nipping at snow at the den's entrance and then retreating back into the den.

Under these hostile conditions, the females rallied. They escaped the den under cover of darkness and met up with their male pack mates. In the ensuing battle, the Slough Creek pack drove the interlopers away. The cost of the struggle included the loss of all the pups that year. Apparently, they had been consumed because the biologists who entered the den after the siege found no remains.

In 2007, Wolf 527 took a mate and, along with her daughter, the Dark Female, and a couple of large males, founded the Cottonwood pack. The Dark Female would flow between the Cottonwood and the Slough Creek packs.

Wolf watchers declared Wolf 527 an unusually wary alpha female, and one who had talents not achieved by others—either before or since—because the Cottonwood pack managed to thrive in marginal habitat situated on the northern boundary of the Park. It was centered between two rival camps, the Slough Creek pack and the Leopold pack. Four other wolf packs in this territory had previously failed. No wolf pack has succeeded in this area since.

The Cottonwood pack proved a mystery to researchers and wolf watchers. Its members avoided roads and often travelled outside of the Park to feed, perhaps even on gut piles left by human hunters, but Wolf 527 always denned with her pups inside the Park.

The Dark Female, 527's daughter and one of the three pups that had survived the 2005 distemper outbreak, proved hearty. In one instance, a biologist watched her chase a healthy elk for 2.5 miles. The Dark Female's 19 Slough Creek pack mates fell back, but she never relented. When the exhausted elk finally stopped in a river, the Dark Female was still in pursuit and her other pack mates finally loped up behind her. The elk landed powerful kicks on some of the wolves. Some went underwater. But the wolf pack, lead by the athletic Dark Female, won this day, and the Sloughs fed on the elk.

In February 2009, the Dark Female was captured by Park Service biologists and outfitted with a radio collar of her own; she was renamed Wolf 716. Now Park Service biologists could monitor both Wolf 527 and Wolf 716. The Cottonwood pack, so visually elusive, suddenly gave trace.

While Wolf 527's signal could be detected, she rarely made herself visible. Wolf 527 would not cross a road when people were about, but would cross after quiet nightfall, especially when provisioning for her pups.

In April 2009, Wolf 527 denned and produced five new pups, three black and two gray. In July, Wolf 527's

collar stopped transmitting data and so the only remaining working collar in the Cottonwood pack belonged to Wolf 716.

• • •

On September 24, 2009, a party of hunters led by an outfitter shot Wolf 716 and the Cottonwood alpha male, 527's mate, when the two wolves stepped from the safety of the Park. On October 3, 2009, another outfitter shot Wolf 527 outside of the Park. Wilderness packs, unused to people, are easily "howled" in to rifle range.

The year, 2009, marked the first legal wolf hunt in Montana in decades. Yellowstone wolf watcher Laurie Lyman lamented, "527 had a strategy for every natural situation, but was not able to out think the rifle." In 2009, human hunters killed a total of six members of the Cottonwood pack. Some may have been Wolf 527's yearling pups.

The Yellowstone Wolf Project studies the reproductive success of wolves in the Park. Wolf 527 was studied for the majority of her life span. Unlike other subjects, Wolf 527 had remained alive for a long period, and had not dispersed from the Park. Her death marked the loss of an important research subject. The project had received a \$480,000 grant from the taxpayer-funded National Science Foundation. The cost of each radio-collared wolf was approximately \$1,500, including the labor of collaring each wolf and the collar itself. The wolf hunt frustrated a number of other Yellowstone-based studies, including ones involving wolf behavior and elk-wolf predation.

Wolf hunting has tested peoples' values and beliefs. For some, the return of the wolf provokes images of savagery and brutality, but for others, it is the return of an iconic, highly social, ecosystem engineer that rightfully belongs in North American forests and grasslands. To date, 361 have been hunted and trapped in Montana and Idaho.

Eliminating ESA protection for wolves

In February 2008, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) eliminated Endangered Species Act (ESA) protections for gray wolves in the Northern Rockies in Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, and portions of Oregon, Washington and Utah. Northern Rockies' wolves were without protection for the first time since they were reintroduced to Yellowstone and Idaho 14 years earlier.

Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar reaffirmed the Bush-era decision to remove protections for gray wolves in Idaho, Montana and portions of Oregon, Washington and Utah, but retained ESA listing for wolves in Wyoming because the state's "management plan" called for "shooting on sight" any wolf that stepped outside the bounds of Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Park.

Secretary Salazar's "wolf rule" went into effect in May 2009. Montana and Idaho immediately called for wolf hunts that allowed 500 wolves to be shot by

hunters, in addition to other wolf kills purportedly done to protect livestock.

In announcing the new wolf rule, Secretary Salazar indicated that Idaho and Montana should not be "punished" for Wyoming's failure to offer a plan that would sustain wolves. A host of biologists led by Bradley Bergstrom objected to such rationalization and published a peer-reviewed article in 2009 stating: "[claiming that] hosting an endangered species living mostly on federal public lands in the northern Rockies is forced punishment on a state" is a poorly reasoned position by the nation's top wildlife official. These same biologists further argued that wolves had been recovered to less than one-third of the Northern Rockies recovery area and, therefore, their delisting was premature.

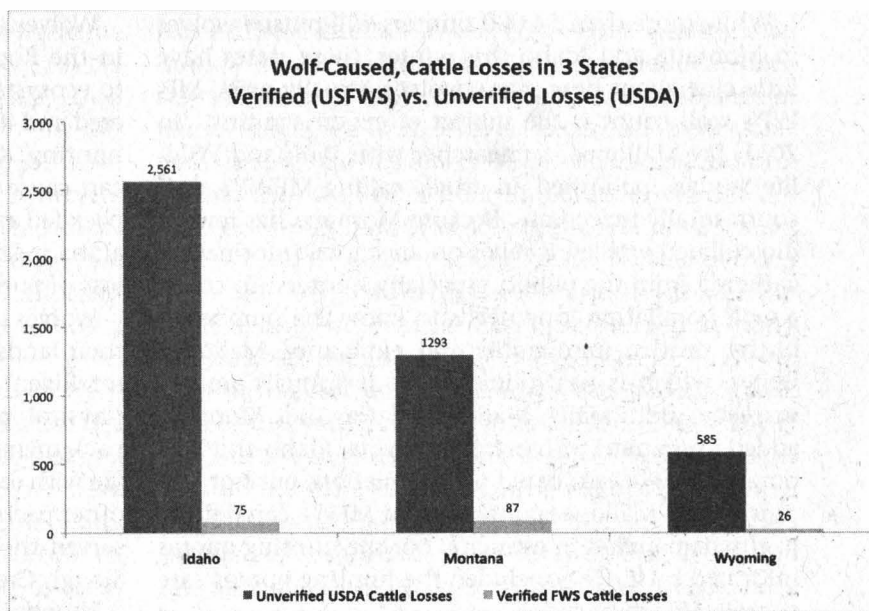
In June 2009, a coalition of 14 conservation and animal welfare organizations sued the Secretary in an attempt to reverse the delisting decision and to prevent Idaho and Montana from allowing wolf hunting. In September 2009, US District Court Judge Donald Molloy denied a preliminary injunction to stop the wolf hunts while he considered the case. In August 2010, he determined that Secretary Salazar's wolf rule was illegal, he enjoined further wolf hunting and reinstated the wolves' "threatened" status under the ESA.

Soon thereafter some Congressional members began to threaten to remove wolves from the threatened and endangered species list in order to appease a vocal minority that was making mythic claims about wolves' appetites for domestic livestock and their native prey such as deer and elk.

In March 2011, the coalition of 14 litigating organizations dissolved. Some groups signed an agreement with FWS to remove wolves in the Northern Rockies from the ESA list (settling plaintiffs). Others, Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Friends of the Clearwater, the Humane Society of the United States, and Western Watersheds Project (non-settling plaintiffs) refused to compromise with FWS. They wanted to retain wolves' protected status to protect recovering populations and because there was no guarantee that a settlement would stem Congressional action to delist the wolves in any case.

In March 2011, WildEarth Guardians stepped into the discord to represent three of the non-settling plaintiffs in their opposition to the settlement deal between the settling plaintiffs and FWS. On April 9, 2011, Judge Molloy ruled that, because not all parties had agreed to the settlement, he would not certify it. The Northern Rockies wolves remained on the threatened and endangered species list...but not for long.

In April 2011, Senator Max Baucus (D-MT), Senator Jon Tester (D-MT), and Representative Mike Simpson (R-ID) sponsored a rider on an unrelated budget bill that



delisted gray wolves in Montana, Idaho, and portions of Utah, Washington, and Oregon. The rider contravened Judge Molloy's 2010 order relisting the wolves, throwing their management back to the states.

In May, Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Friends of the Clearwater, and WildEarth Guardians challenged the constitutionality of the congressional rider, arguing that it violated the Separation of Powers Doctrine in the US Constitution. Western Watersheds Project joined other organizations in a companion case. The groups lost in Judge Molloy's court in Montana in August 2011, but appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court, which heard the case in November. These organizations seek to preserve wolves, protect the public's interest in wolf conservation and their long-term investment in the wolf recovery program, and uphold the US Constitution.

Wolf hunts commence

In the meantime, wolf hunting has recommenced in Idaho and Montana. While FWS estimates that Idaho has 705 wolves, the Idaho Department of Fish and Game claims to have "more than 1,000 wolves." The agency's goal is to "manage for at least 150 wolves" or, in other words, reduce the state's population to the federally-mandated minimum. Idaho did not set a kill limit on wolves for the 2011-2012 hunting and trapping season, which began in August. Residents pay just \$11.50 for a wolf-hunting tag, while non-residents pay \$31.75. To date, Idaho has sold 35,339 wolf tags.

FWS estimates that Montana has 566 wolves, although Montana Fish Wildlife & Parks (MFWP) claims 645 wolves inhabit the state. Montana has issued over 18,477 hunting licenses and set a kill quota of 220 wolves for 2011. The hunting season, which commenced on September 3, has been extended to February. Residents pay \$19 for a wolf tag, while non-residents pay \$350.

While more than 54,000 hunters will pursue wolves in Montana and Idaho this winter, these states have little clue about how many wolves actually exist. MFWP's wolf count is the subject of expert scrutiny. In 2011, Jay Mallonee, a researcher with Wolf and Wildlife Studies, published an article calling MFWP's wolf count totally inaccurate. Because Montana has few radio-collared wolves, it relies on anecdotal information gathered from the public, especially hunters. To count a wolf population, one needs to know the number of births, deaths, immigrants and emigrants, Mallonee writes, which is nearly impossible if animals are not marked. Additionally, Mallonee claims that Montana added immigrant wolves from Canada, Idaho and Wyoming to its count, based on speculation, but not empirical data. Mallonee contends that MFWP can neither justify its population estimate, nor the hunting quotas informed by it. He concluded the hunting quotas "are completely arbitrary."

Regardless of which counts are accurate, wolves in the Northern Rockies are not recovered and politics continue to trump biology in wolf management. Idaho and Montana fail to recognize the vital role that wolves play in balancing natural systems. Without wolves, ecosystem function is impaired, and biological diversity diminishes.

From beetles to bears

The presence of wolves affects entire ecosystems, from beetles to bears. Wolves are considered "couraging carnivores," that is, they chase their prey rather than stalk and ambush it (like cougars.) They select for vulnerable prey (aged, sick, injured), which can improve the health of prey populations such as elk.

Wherever wolves chase and eat elk, it increases the biological diversity of the region. By preventing elk from loitering on meadows and fragile stream systems, wolves indirectly benefit a host of species such as beavers, songbirds, herons, and moose that are unable to compete with elk for forage. Wolves also regulate the effects of medium-sized carnivores. In the Yellowstone ecosystem, for instance, wolves have significantly reduced the coyote population, which, in turn, increased the number of pronghorn in the area. Wolves even effect soil nutrients. Soil microbes and plant quality increase in the presence of wolves because decomposing carcasses enrich soils.

Wolves will be key to ecosystem resilience in the face of climate change. Their presence buffers the effects of global warming by making carrion available year-round for scavengers such as grizzly bears and golden and bald eagles. Yellowstone grizzlies may become especially dependent on wolves with the decline of the white bark pine, a critical food source that is disappearing because of global warming.

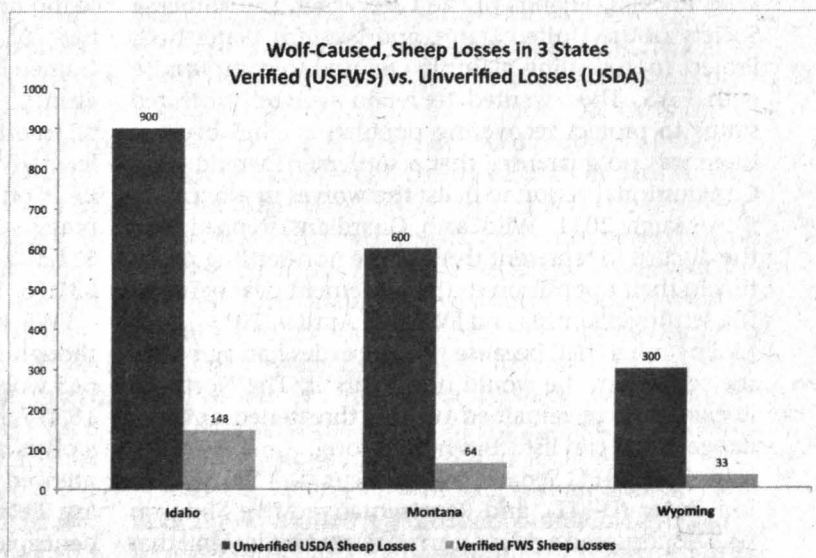
Wolves are both top carnivores and keystone species in the Rocky Mountains, but they cannot contribute to ecosystem health if they are not adequately recovered and if their numbers are constantly suppressed by hunting. Killing wolves disrupts social cohesion, which can cause packs to disband. Wolf 527's Cottonwood pack fell apart after her death and that of her mate, the alpha male. Killing the alpha pair can also lead to the loss of pups from starvation.

Wolves maintain complex social networks across their landscape, and work as a unit to survive. Highly intelligent and expressive beings, wolves suffer from physical, psychological, and emotional disorders when pack members are lost. Members of wolf packs associate with each other, and packs maintain networks with other packs. For example, biologists in Yellowstone observed the Dark Female, Wolf 716, flow between the Slough Creek Pack and the Cottonwood Pack.

Humans wiped out wolves in the lower 48 states by the 1940s because of misunderstanding and intolerance. Yet Aldo Leopold and others also began to signal a warning that wolves are critical ecosystem engineers on the landscapes where they occur. The loss of these apex native carnivores can negatively affect entire biological systems. Simply put, we cannot afford to lose wolves in the West, because systems become simplified and less productive without them.

Some people object to recovery because they believe that they are in competition with wolves. Ranchers bemoan wolf predation on their livestock and hunters complain about reduced elk and deer herds where wolves roam the landscape. These constituencies often conjure stories about wolves' savagery and propagate mythic tales of their unlimited appetites.

Idaho claims that one purpose for wolf hunting in that state is to reduce wolf conflicts with domestic livestock, but the number of cattle and sheep depredated by wolves as reported by ranchers in the Northern Rockies is highly exaggerated. Two different federal agencies



track livestock losses attributed to wolves—FWS and the USDA's National Agricultural Statistics Service (NASS). While the FWS uses verified reports from agents, NASS relies on hearsay from the livestock industry. The difference between their annual counts is astounding. In Idaho, FWS verified that 75 cattle were killed by wolves in 2010, while NASS reported 2,561 unverified cattle losses, a 3,415 percent difference. FWS also verified that 148 sheep were killed by wolves in Idaho in 2010, compared to NASS's unverified 900 losses, representing a 508 percent difference.

The livestock industry's gross exaggerations of wolf-livestock conflicts have little connection with reality. Even NASS's own data show that the real killers of cattle and sheep are not wolves, but a plethora of other factors. According to NASS, the total cattle (2010) and sheep (2009) inventory in the US was 99,628,200. Of that number, 467,100 sheep and cattle, or 0.5 percent of the inventory, were killed by native carnivores such as wolves and coyotes, or domestic dogs. The vast majority died from other non-wildlife related causes, such as illness, birthing problems, weather and disease. As to wolf predation, even NASS's inflated livestock loss numbers show that Northern Rockies wolves account for about 2 percent of alleged livestock losses.

Complaints by those in agribusiness are joined by some in the hunting community, yet those claims are exaggerated too. Prey populations also experience relatively minor effects from wolf depredation. Elk, deer, pronghorn, and moose are affected by a suite of factors, including weather, environmental conditions (i.e., prolonged drought or too much snow), a variety of native carnivores, disease, and especially, overhunting by humans. In several elk population studies conducted in and around Yellowstone National Park, biologists consistently found that human hunters had the greatest negative effect on elk populations. Furthermore, while wolves select for vulnerable age classes and diseased elk, humans select for prime age, breeding animals. Human hunters in the Yellowstone area typically killed female elk in the age range of 6.5 years, whereas wolves killed much older, non-breeding elk that were an average of 14 years old.

The elk population that lives on the northern range of Yellowstone Park are more likely to die from human hunters than wolves. Wolves modulate their prey populations. The long-term effect of wolves on elk is most likely to hold the population at lower levels that mediate other losses from starvation, weather, and other stochastic events. In sum, the wolf predation myth exists so that the cattle and sheep industry and some hunters can justify excessive wolf hunting and lethal control.

Wolves belong to all of us

Wolf management should be based on the best available science and support the public's desire to

restore these animals in the West. Wolf hunting conflicts with these goals. In theory, government decisionmakers should transcend political considerations when managing wolves, but decisionmakers come with their own belief systems and values, and not necessarily with science-based knowledge about large carnivores. Steven Primm and Sharon Clark have written that even government scientists hold belief systems that come freighted with values not always based in science, and those values can predominate in scientific decision making.

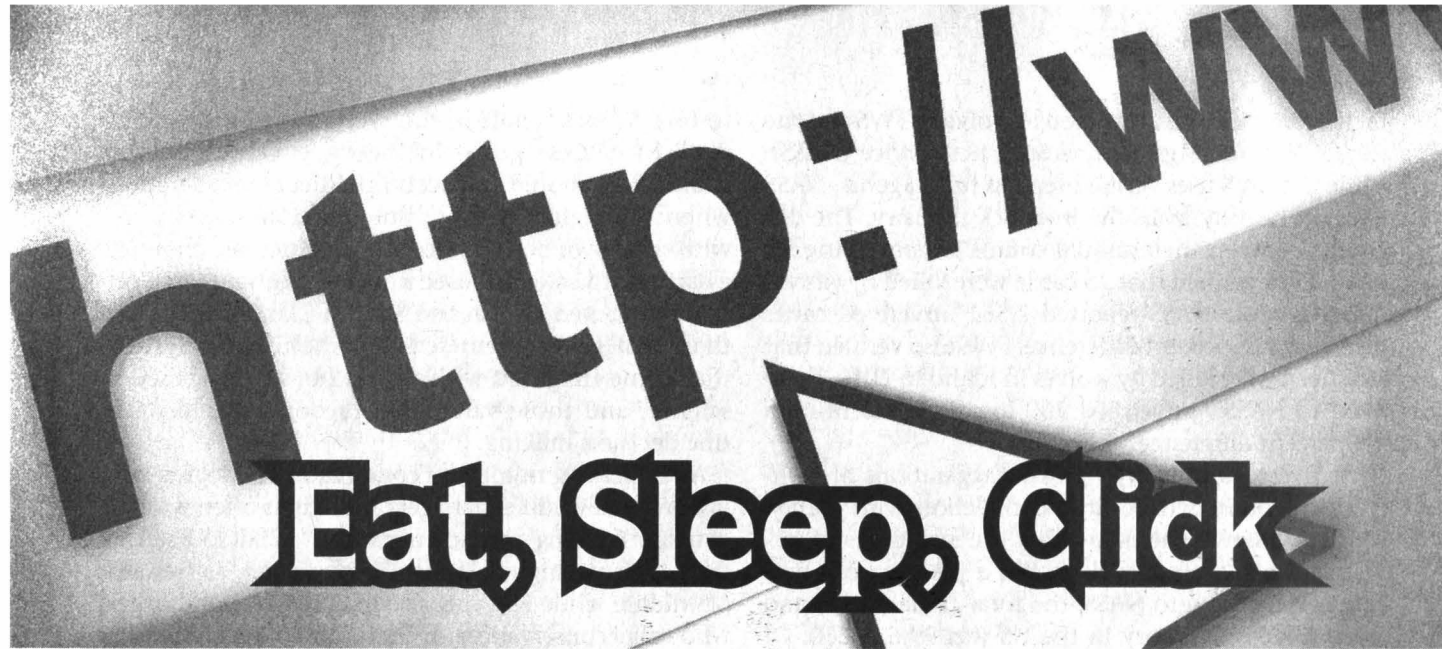
An increasing number of conservation biologists have noticed that wildlife managers and others often wrongly conflate hunting with conservation. Wildlife agencies view their paying constituents, sportsmen, as stewards of wildlife while ignoring the majority of non-hunters who value conservation. Agencies and others claim that sportsmen fund wildlife conservation with their tag fees, but in reality those funds are often used to administer bureaucracies, not conserve and restore wildlife.

All of the public pays for public lands, and it was the environmental community that helped pass a suite of statutes that benefit wildlife, such as the Wilderness Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the National Environmental Policy Act. Notably, wildlife watchers who visit Yellowstone to view wolves hugely out-spend hunters in the Northern Rockies. A study by John Duffield and colleagues found that wolf watching contributed \$35.5 million to the economies of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming in one year alone.

Large carnivores, especially wolves, grizzly bears, and mountain lions, evoke a vast range of emotions and symbols, according to Dave Mattson and other Biologists. They contend that because wolves and grizzly bears come under federal management, these species become symbolic proxies for governmental policies and management systems. Wolves and other large carnivores are managed and killed because of policies largely based on political considerations, often promulgated at the behest of vocal, uninformed minorities. It was poorly-construed policies that allowed Yellowstone Wolves 527 and 716 to be killed. It's time to right this wrong for their descendents and for the vitality of the West.

Wendy Keefover has been a leader in native carnivore conservation since 1997 and is the director of WildEarth Guardians Carnivore Protection. She leads an ongoing campaign to expose the federal government's indiscriminate wildlife-killing program, that kills millions of animals each year using aerial gunning, poisoning, trapping, hounding and other nefarious methods. She works on mountain lion conservation in Colorado and New Mexico.

Mark Salvo is Wildlife Program Director for WildEarth Guardians.



By JANE ANNE MORRIS

Save a tree, bank online. Subscribe Online, reduce your carbon footprint. Listen to music online, watch movies online, read books online. No mess, no fuss. Google Inc. has photovoltaic (PV) solar panels on its headquarters. With all that footprint-lightening, you may soon be down to no ecological footprint at all, right?

Since everyone wants the Internet to have a gentle footprint and not be "evil," we should power it with green electricity. Start with a bicycle generator and a server. Here are some back-of-the-envelope figures.

All the stuff on the Internet, or in the "cloud," is kept aloft by computers called servers (plus routers and so on). An average server draws 400 watts/hour, half of that for cooling (fairly typical), and 3500 kilowatt-hours (kwh) per year, because it never shuts down.

A healthy biker can produce a constant 100 watts/hour on a bicycle generator, a generous estimate. Four generator bikes at 100 watts/hour apiece would power a server. Alas, that single server can't accomplish much by itself. Various techies have estimated that a single online search activates between 1000 and 20,000 servers, often located all over the world.

Numerous servers are housed together in places called server farms or data centers. To power a modest-sized data center (50,000 servers) by bicycle power would require almost a million pedalers and an area equivalent to 347 football fields. Data centers can be as small as closets at the back of a business, or as large as several football fields

and use as much electricity as small cities. They run 24/7/365, and tend to have multiply redundant backup systems, so no one has to wait ten seconds to learn from a web site if it's raining outside.

If you live in a city or a large town, you probably pass by one or more data centers each day. But they don't advertise themselves with signs saying, "Corporate Data Center Containing Highly Sensitive Personally Identifiable Information," so you might not notice. And you won't see 347 football fields of bike generators surrounding them because they're powered by the coal and nuclear power plants that supply most electricity in the US.

What finally matters is not this or that server or data center, but the overall Internet electricity use. How much bicycle-power would it take to run the Internet? Later we can figure out how to landscape the facility, and decide where to put the snack bars and port-a-potties.

The EPA's conservative and dated number for 2006

File Size Matters

A text-only file of the Bible is approximately 1.5 MB. With pictures, depending on how elaborate, it is closer to 100 MB. A 2-hour video about the greatest story ever told would use up more like 1-1.5 GB. Comparing music and video, a 4-minute video would use about 24 MB, while 4 minutes of music would use only about 4 MB.

MEGAWHAT?

Terms like megawatt, kilowatt, and watt express power or capacity, while megawatt-hour, kilowatt-hour, and watt-hour measure energy. A solar panel rated at one kilowatt of capacity will produce one kilowatt-hour of energy if the sun shines on it steadily for an hour. A kilowatt is a thousand watts; a megawatt is a million watts or a thousand kilowatts.

Internet electricity use within the US alone is 60 billion kwh. Getting that much electricity from the setup described above would require 600 million bike generators. Assuming 6-hour pedaling shifts, that would take 2.4 billion pedalers. Think of the stimulus to the global economy: pedaling jobs for the entire populations of the US (305 million), Canada (33 million), Mexico (110 million), South America (382 million), India (1.5 billion), and Japan (127 million).

Five years later, that number has doubled (at least). It is widely claimed that in 2010 the Internet used 3% of US electricity (3884 billion kwh), which is 117 billion kwh. So, we're now talking about 1.2 billion bike generators and 4.8 billion pedalers.

In 2007, an independent outsider who is not on the dole of the IT industry calculated that US Internet energy use was around 350 billion kwh annually, approximately six times the EPA's 2006 estimate, and three times the conservative 2010 estimate used above. I will use the lower numbers, but actual Internet electricity use may be much higher.

What about worldwide Internet electricity use? Available 2010 estimates—200 billion kwh—are probably conservative, as they were calculated by an analyst who works for the likes of the EPA, the New York Times, and various IT industry corporations. Extrapolation from the number of servers worldwide results in about the same number: the reported 60 million

servers would use 210 billion kwh annually. What's that in bicycles?

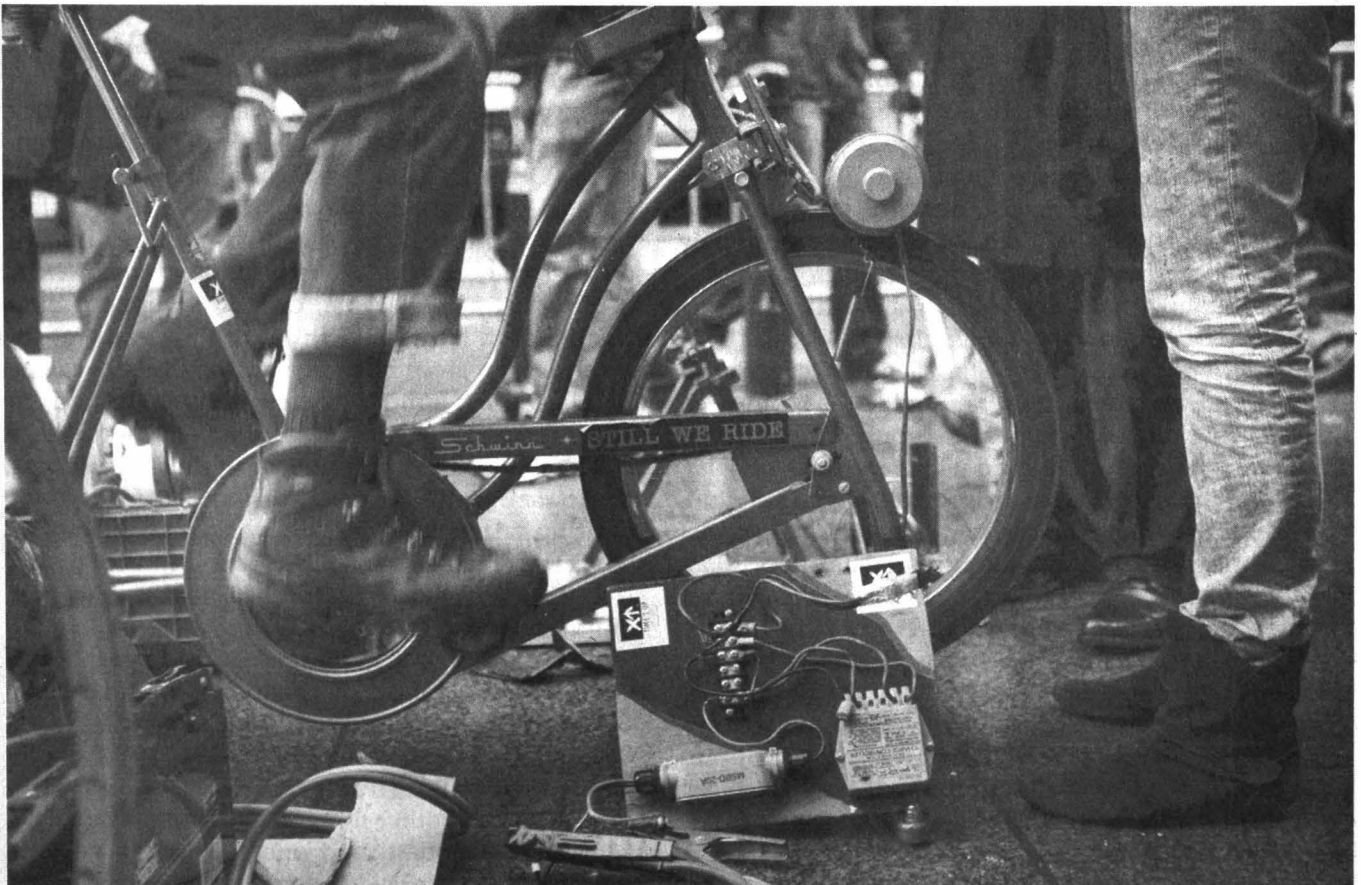
Using the same assumptions as before, the worldwide Internet could be powered by a mere two billion bike generators, with 8 billion people pedaling. (Current world [over]population is 7 billion.) If you placed that many bicycles end-to-end, they would reach far enough for three round trips to the moon, and then a trip back up. Maybe we should terraform the moon and put the generator system up there?

Who would want to design a bicycle-generator system to power the Internet? Someone who wanted to imagine a human-scale equivalent for how much energy the Internet already sucks up. What about other "renewable" energy sources?

Solar And Wind-Powered Internet

At the biggest, most successful photovoltaic projects in the world, the rule of thumb is that ten acres of panels produce a megawatt of capacity (as would 10,000 bicycle generators). A square mile (640 acres) could provide 64 MW. Each megawatt might yield 1.5 million kwh/year, so the annual kwh from a square mile of good solar would be 96 million.

Generating an annual 117 billion kwh (2010 US Internet use) with solar would require at least 1220 square miles of PV panels, and 78,000 MW. For 200 billion kwh for world Internet use, it would take 2081 square



Bicycle power at Occupy Wall Street, Three Google Searches for 500 Calories

miles (that's Delaware) and 133,200 MW.

What about a wind-powered Internet? Experience in the wind turbine industry (and again in the choicest spots), has shown that it's good to get 20 MW of capacity per square mile. Three million kwh a year from each megawatt of capacity is also optimistic.

Using wind turbines to get that 117 billion kwh for 2010 US Internet electricity use would require 1950 square miles. The 200 billion kwh for 2010 world Internet use would require 3300 square miles. Most wind power sites are less productive than the sites from which these numbers were derived.

It's not appropriate to compare solar and wind directly to conventional power plants. Except for maintenance and accidents, coal and nuke plants operate 24/7, though demand drops at night. In contrast, solar is always down at night, and wind is variable, exactly what data centers can't be.

With solar, more than half the electricity would have to be stored for use when little or no power is generated. The huge batteries necessary for storing this much power look like a cross between upturned railroad freight cars and electric substations. They require space, maintenance, and cooling. Every time energy is converted from one form to another (like rotating energy to electrical energy to heat energy, or electricity into batteries and then out again) energy is lost. That slippage increases the initial kwh necessary, but I have not factored that in.

Also omitted in calculations here are the power lines, substations, maintenance roads, other support facilities, and buckets of ammonia water to clean PV panels. Not to mention the fact that most areas don't get nearly as much sun as the prize spots already selected for large solar arrays. I'm also not considering the resources needed to manufacture, transport, and maintain the PV panels. Similar considerations apply to wind power.

Solar and wind have different advantages. Fewer acres of solar than wind are required for each MW of capacity (10 versus 32), but for each MW capacity of wind, you get more kwh/year (3 million as compared to 1.5 million). That is because you are never, ever, going to average more than 12 hours daily of solar. However, you might average more than that for wind, depending on location and circumstances.

At the scale necessary to power data centers, solar, wind, and even bicycle power involve considerable habitat loss. Bicycle space to power the 2010 U.S. Internet would be about 4304 square miles (about the size of the Everglades). For the 2010 world Internet, about the combined area of Delaware and Connecticut. When chunks of ecosystem are shoveled into industrialism's mill, Gaia is diminished. Acres sacrificed to solar arrays, wind farms, power line rights of way, or thousands of bicycle generator pads destroy habitat no less than those given over to GMO crops, cooling

ponds, interstate highways, and parking lots.

I'll leave it to curious readers to do their own math on powering the Internet with switchgrass, corn cobs, or cow patties.

Energy-Intensive, Thy Name Is Internet

How can the Internet use so much electricity? Suppose you have an awesome video of your cat at a laptop using her little cat feet to scroll through online celebrity cats in fetching poses. (Click for full screen.) It's stored in your email account, and you have a copy on your laptop and/or handheld. Your email is backed up by the company that offers it, and you have backup service for your laptop, so that's more Internet storage space on servers somewhere; then the back-up companies back up their back-ups. You send the cat video to fifty people. Some store it in their emails; some download it and have it backed up on their own online backup systems; some send it out to a few other people; and some do all three. How many places can we find the cat? It's a hall of mirrors, a grain of wheat doubling on each square of a chessboard. All of it eats kilowatt-hours. How much fracking is that cat porn worth to you?

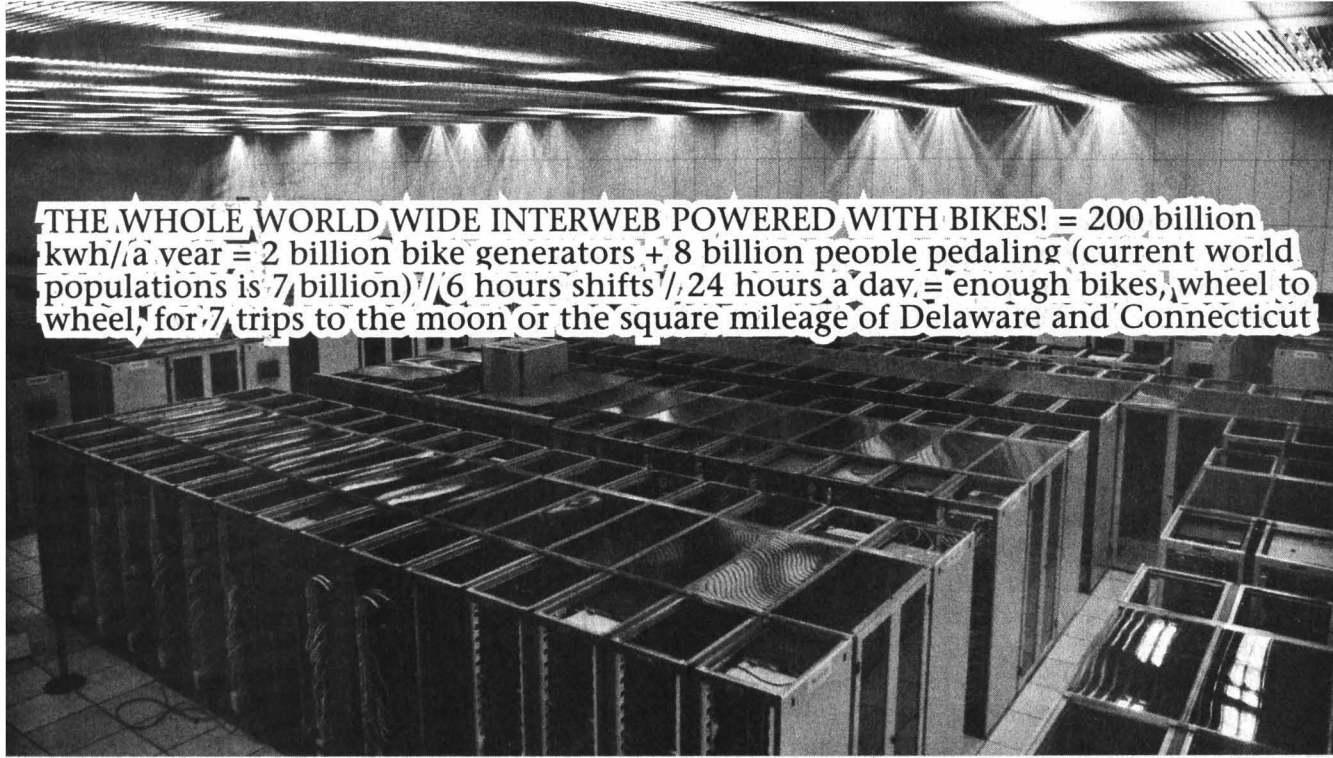
All online content is not born equal. It takes very little electricity to support text, even italics. Graphics such as photos and drawings are much more energy-intensive. Music exceeds even graphics, and video (bouncing bunnies, or time-lapse wrinkle cream results) is the greediest of all.

Online action is hosted and processed in massive data centers that use up to 100 or even 200 MW of demand; data center operators are not often eager to release this information. Chicago's Lakeside Technology Center (a data center, on 350 East Cermack, Chicago IL) reportedly draws 100 MW, a higher electric demand than any other Commonwealth Edison customer except O'Hare airport. A quick check reveals what a "renewable" electricity supply would look like for a facility like this. With bike generators: over a million generators, over four million pedalers, and almost half a million acres, which is 757 square miles (almost three times the size of Chicago). Probably not available anywhere near the Loop. Using solar panels: 2917 acres (2210 football fields), not counting battery space, which is also probably not in the Chicago zoning plan. Using wind in the "windy city": 9347 acres (or 7081 football fields), again not counting battery space.

As Alex Roslin of the Montreal Gazette put it, if the Internet were a country, it would be the fifth biggest power consumer, ahead of India & Germany.

Who Is Paying For This?

Tax breaks and other subsidies are common for data centers. Even modest-sized ones often reap government subsidies for drawing huge amounts of electrici-



THE WHOLE WORLD WIDE INTERWEB POWERED WITH BIKES! = 200 billion kwh/a year = 2 billion bike generators + 8 billion people pedaling (current world populations is 7 billion) // 6 hours shifts // 24 hours a day = enough bikes, wheel to wheel, for 7 trips to the moon or the square mileage of Delaware and Connecticut

ty and providing fewer jobs per buck, or per kwh, than almost any other kind of facility.

For instance, in 2007 a Google Inc. data center got tax breaks on utility bills, plus a property tax exemption. Iowa's own web site describes the tax exemption as including "cooling systems, cooling towers, and other temperature control infrastructure...also exempt from property tax are all power infrastructure for transformation, distribution, or management of electricity used for the maintenance and operation of the web search portal, including but not limited to exterior dedicated business owned substations, back-up power generation systems, battery systems, and related infrastructure; and racking systems, cabling, and trays, which are necessary for the maintenance and operation of the web search portal."

Iowa even calculated its expected tax losses: \$3.6 million in 2009, \$12.7 million in 2010, \$22 million in 2011, and \$32.7 million in 2012. The corporation got a similar deal in North Carolina, where estimates of tax losses to the state were approximately \$97 million over 30 years.

Lack of enforcement of environmental and occupational safety laws across the board is an often-overlooked form of subsidy available to large corporations, including data centers. This includes the cradle-to-grave production, processing, transport, and use of nuclear and fossil fuels, as well as the toxic waste and byproducts of the same. Companies burn through energy and resources far more cheaply than would be possible if laws "on the books" were enforced.

Finally, there are those bargain-basement electricity bills. Data center electricity rates are as low as 3-4¢/kwh, while residential customers pay much higher rates: easily 15, 20, 25¢/kwh, and even steeper when

charges for distribution and other fees are included.

The public is massively subsidizing data centers, the Internet, and the profits of IT corporations. Yet, many corporations with huge data centers are not eager to advertise their locations, and use third parties to negotiate their deals. Some go to great lengths to hide their electricity use. In 2007, for example, at Google Inc.'s urging, Oklahoma rewrote its open records law to allow data center owners to conceal from the public the amount of electricity used.

If Inefficiency Is Not The Problem, Efficiency Is Not The Solution

When I raise the issue of the massive electricity use of all things Internet, everyone tells me how efficient IT is becoming.

The idea that efficiency reduces consumption is at best debatable, and at worst a public relations scam. As Don Fitz wrote in "Why Energy Efficiency Isn't Reducing Consumption" (Synthesis/Regeneration, 2009), over a century and a half of research on the relationship between efficiency and consumption of a resource has marshaled considerable evidence that the opposite is true. Since Stanley Jevons documented that coal consumption increased ten-fold after smelters tripled their efficiency (The Coal Question, 1865), the phenomenon has been called the Jevons Paradox. Historically, in capitalist systems, increased efficiency has led to more consumption, not less.

Being efficient is good, but it does not mean sustainable, it does not mean green, and it does not reduce consumption. Data center efficiency is improving, and Google Inc.'s are reputed to be among the best. But when Gaia is diminished by the ripping out of coal, and the dumping of sludge, her suffering is in no way

reduced if the resulting electricity is used "efficiently." Earth's problem is not the inefficiency of resource use, but the quantity. Ask Gaia.

Food, Internet, Spam

Why do we figure out the ecological implications of eating a hamburger but not clicking a search? When it comes to food, the green or even greenish band of the political spectrum is all over it. Local food. Organic food. Slow food. Urban agriculture. Permaculture. Rooftop gardens. Alice Waters, Will Allen, Michael Pollan. "Eat food. Not too much. Mostly plants." Fast food nation. Eat low on the food chain.

But when it comes to the Internet, people spout shallow unexamined clichés as they tap at sleek, shiny gadgets. The PV panels at Google Inc.'s headquarters and other cheap stunts deflect attention from the enormity of Internet energy use. Engineering Professor Mohamed Cheriet, at Montreal's Ecole de Technologie Supérieure, who works on "green" IT innovation, gushes, "We've found the key to the problem: Follow the wind, follow the sun." The Internet is the fast food triple bacon cheeseburger of communications, yet people are convinced it's green.

Are the brains who figured out it takes 150 or 630 or 1300 gallons of water to produce a hamburger just out to lunch when it comes to the Internet? Why is the Internet—a global system if there ever was one—immune from the same analysis? Spending two hours on the porch showing your neighbor your family photo album is not especially energy-intensive. Doing so online, and sending it around to everyone on your email list, carries vastly higher ecological costs.

What's the actual content that billions of publicly subsidized kwh go to support? Nicholas Carr (*The Big Switch*, 2008) estimated in 1996 that 94% of all emails are spam, and that there may be 85 billion spams a day. This year, John Markoff in the *New York Times* claimed that about 90% of all email is still spam, and that one single spam campaign generated three emails for each person on the planet, some 21 billion messages. Ken Auletta (Google, 2009) suggested that as many as a quarter of all searches are for porn. According to Alex Roslin at the *Montreal Gazette*, 250 billion emails are sent daily. The study Markoff referenced suggested that over 12 million messages were needed to sell \$100 of Viagra. Dennis Walsh from *Green@Work Magazine*, among others, states that over 200 million Internet searches happen daily in the US alone; 100 million photos are uploaded daily. Google Inc. reported that it carries out about a billion searches per day, according to James Glanz in the *New York Times*.

One person estimated that fantasy football aficionados spent 2.4 billion hours online per season. Online games, role-playing, social networking, gambling, and an almost unbelievable amount of advertising is up there in the "cloud" at tremendous energy cost. Much

of it is not the relatively energy-cheap text, but the photos, music, video, bouncing cartoons, and interactive click-fests that are hundreds or thousands of times more energy-intensive. Subsidizing the entire current Internet system because an activist can upload photos of stripmining and clearcutting is like subsidizing an industrial-sized WalMart because six feet of shelf space holds organic spinach.

The Internet is not, and will not be, powered by so-called renewable energy, magical energy that is somehow without consequences. Sleek, glowing screens may hide the truth from people who don't want to hear about it, but the consequences remain. The real costs of Internet electricity use are being cast over state boundaries and national borders, across class, ethnic, and species lines, and onto future generations.

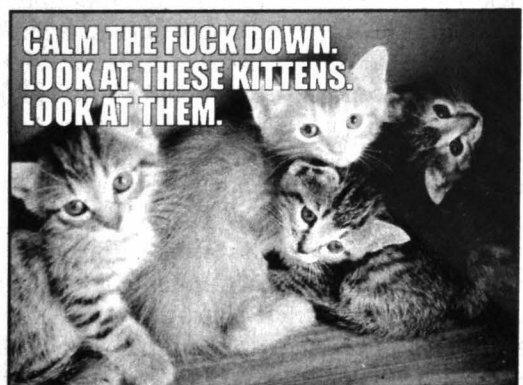
In hindsight, most wish that we had used a little more foresight about the automobile. And, we are a species with a decidedly mixed record on learning from history. Today is a good time to look up from our screens and take advantage of the fact that we are still in the Model T era of the Internet.

If we keep pretending that the Internet is innocuous, neutral, democratic, clean, and green, we can look forward to more iPipelines, iFracking, iMountaintop Removal, iCoal Plants, iNukes, iStripmining, iSpecies Extinction, iHabitat Loss, iClimate Change, iTar Sands, iSludge, iOil spills, iFloods, and continued iResource Wars.

Or, we can begin to give it the attention we give a burger.

Corporate anthropologist Jane Anne Morris (DEMOCRACYTHEMEPARK.ORG), whose most recent book is Gaveling Down the Rabble: How "Free Trade" is Stealing Our Democracy (Apex/Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), first wrote about Internet energy use in "The Energy Nightmare of Web Server Farms: Feet in the Cloud, Head in the Sand," Synthesis/Regeneration: A Magazine of Green Social Thought, Winter 2008.

"Want to check my facts? Contact jam at:
MORNINGDEWBERRYJAM@HOTMAIL.COM."



JUSTIN SOLONDZ & EXILE

Eco-Prisoner Bios

Justin Solondz is a 32-year-old environmental activist currently being held in a federal detention center in Seattle, WA. Justin recently plead guilty to charges of arson and conspiracy in connection with the ELF arson at the University of Washington in 2001. In March 2009, he was arrested in China for drugs and a fake Canadian ID. After spending almost 3 years in prison there, Justin was extradited to the US in July 2011—a month after his former partner, Briana Waters, began cooperating with the state, promising to testify against him. His sentencing is currently scheduled for March 16, 2012.

In a predictable move by the media, news reports about the UW arson repeatedly claimed that Toby Bradshaw—whose research was the target of the arson—was not involved with genetic engineering at the time of the arson. This lie, perpetuated by the industry's PR machine, is made clear by a simple glance at the University of Washington website which reads: "Toby Bradshaw, a research professor in the department of Botany, is just one of many UW professors using genetic modification in their research..."

Justin has signed a non-cooperating plea agreement. He has held strong against the threat of spending over 2 decades in prison, and he deserves our support. Since his incarceration in the US, Justin has been subject to stints of isolation in the Special Housing Unit (SHU) and attempts by the government to keep him from even visiting his lawyer. Please send Justin a note of support.

We have been told that Justin enjoys hearing about how people are doing, including good news he can join in celebrating! No doubt he also likes hearing about travel experiences and robust conversation around a great book you might be enjoying. He would especially like books on philosophy, screen-writing and good sci-fi.

You can write Justin at:
Justin Solondz #98291-011
FDC SeaTac
Federal Detention Center
P.O. Box 13900
Seattle, WA 98198

Nathan "Exile" Block is currently serving seven years and eight months for arsons against a poplar tree farm and SUV dealership, both claimed by the Earth Liberation Front. Although no living beings were injured or threatened in either of these actions, Exile received a "terrorism enhancement" during his sentencing.

He was one of only four out of 13 people arrested as part of "Operation Backfire" who held strong and refused to give information to the government about other people—despite facing life in prison. Exile is scheduled for release later this year. Re-entry can be a long and difficult road, and he will need continued support throughout this process.

Exile is currently looking for a place to live and a job in Olympia, Washington, when he gets out in the fall of 2012. After release he's going to have to pay the state hundreds of dollars a month in restitution to stay out of jail. Any leads about possible low cost or free housing in and around Olympia can be directed to the Earth First! Prisoner Support Project. If you can throw a benefit for Exile, contact us.

You can write a letter or send a card to Exile at the address below. His birthday is March 6.

Nathan Block #36359-086
FCI Lompoc
Federal Correctional Institution
3600 Guard Road
Lompoc, CA 93436

This page and other eco-prisoner related content courtesy of Earth First! Prisoner Support Project (EF!PSP), a prisoner and post-release support group for earth and animal liberation prisoners. The EF! Journal and EF!PSP are currently discussing how to most effectively support eco-prisoners through these pages. If you would like to be involved, come to the Rendezvous or contact the EF!PSP c/o Sacramento Prisoner Support, PO Box 163126, Sacramento, CA 95816, or email: EFPris@riseup.net



The Black Fish

Joining the fight for the oceans

BY WIETSE van der Werf, Black Fish co-founder

"Science may have found a cure for most evils, but it has found no remedy for the worst of them all—the apathy of human beings"—Helen Keller

Last summer an activist group named the Black Fish cut free ten dolphins at the annual dolphin drive hunt in Japan. The attention was huge and helped to make the Black Fish into an international marine action organization within a number of months. Currently working towards the purchase of a ship, the Black Fish is preparing for some ambitious direct action campaigns to protect the marine environment.

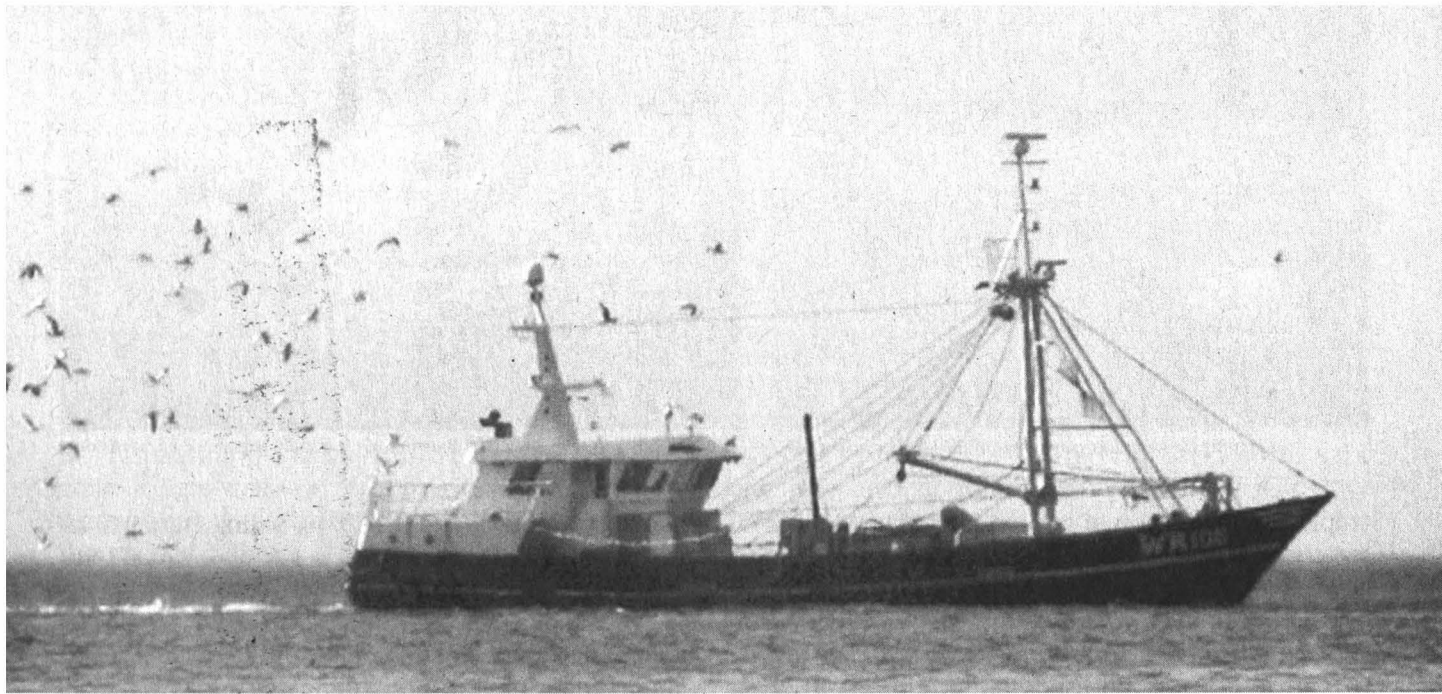
Out of the many stories telling the tales of ecological destruction at the hands of humans, there is one that is definitely not told as often as it should. This story features countless examples of animal cruelty, human greed, corruption, criminality and ultimately the mass extinction of large numbers of wild species of animals, plants and invertebrates such as crustaceans, corals and mollusks. This is the story of industrial fishing and unchecked exploitation of the world's oceans, seas, rivers, lakes and coastal regions. In recent years human activity has impacted the oceans to such an extent that it is no overstatement to say that industrial fishing and aquaculture are among the most destructive human activities on earth.

Covering three-quarters of the globe, the oceans are the largest wilderness on this planet and the deep blue depths are home to the largest number of species. The total mass of the oceans, seas, rivers and lakes make up 99% of the space which supports life on earth and the majority of our oxygen originates from the seas as one-celled organisms called phytoplankton absorb CO2 and convert it into oxygen. Life on land very heavily depends

on life in the ocean so its protection is vital for our own survival, although we aren't exactly acting like it. Bit by bit, marine life is increasingly threatened and in many situations we are close to reaching the point of no return.

For centuries people have been involved in fishing. It has been the pillar on which many a civilization has been built. Fish were plentiful and the seas were seen as an inexhaustible source of food as well as a dumping ground so big that any waste discarded in it would simply disperse and vanish. During the 1950's things changed. Aided by technologies developed during the World Wars, such as radar and sonar, the fishing industry experienced a technological revolution it had never seen before. Fishing companies were able to build larger vessels which could stay at sea for longer periods and they equipped the fishing fleets to become ruthlessly efficient at their job: catching fish. New fishing techniques were developed and, with improved engine power, ships were able to travel the world over and catch whatever, wherever they wanted. Fish became cheap and aided by government subsidies, the golden age of fishing seemed endless.

Different fishing techniques which had been used for centuries started being produced on an industrial scale. Driftnets for example could now measure over 25 kilometers in length and catch everything in their path. The nets are often referred to as the 'curtains of death' as they catch indiscriminately, killing many more different species than those targeted. Millions of whales, dolphins, turtles, sharks, rays and an unimaginable number of fish and other smaller creatures have found their end at the hands of driftnets. Longlines are similar in their destructive effect: these lines can be kilometers in length and



Beam-trawler fishing along the Belgian coast. Photo credit: flickr.com/adstream

the baited hooks, which are attached approximately every 30 centimeter will randomly catch animals that bite on the batē. The lines are left out for a number of hours (or sometimes days) and most animals that get hooked either suffocate or die of the stress involved with their efforts to free themselves from the trap. Driftnets and longlines are so damaging that various organizations have campaigned successfully for new international rules to be drawn up, restricting driftnets over a certain size. Unfortunately, as enforcement is pretty much non-existent on the high seas, the practices still continue. The UN passed a driftnet ban in 1992 but longlines are yet to be outlawed.

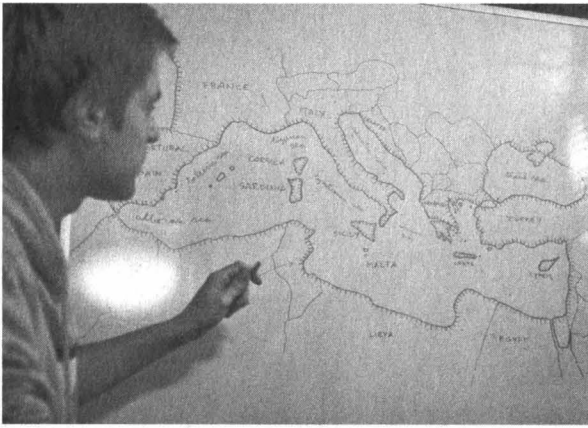
Bottom trawling is another technique which has grown in efficiency in recent decades and causes irreplaceable damage to the marine environment. Vessels equipped for this type of fishing have large nets attached to the back or sides of the ship, which are lowered to a depth where they reach the seabed. Large metal plates located on each side of the trawl net push it wide open as the ship pulls them through the sea. The net then scrapes the seabed. Corals, sponges, bottom dwelling fish, all cut down and dragged up. There are many examples where areas which are estimated to have taken tens of thousands of years to flourish, are cut down and turned into rubble in a matter of minutes. The sheer size and efficiency of the industrial trawlers which are active nowadays leave many species with no chance of survival.

It is clear that we are headed towards an incredible environmental catastrophe, the consequences we can only imagine. As many of the top predators, such as sharks and tuna are becoming increasingly threatened due to the indiscriminate overfishing, the balances within the marine ecosystem's food chain have become distorted as

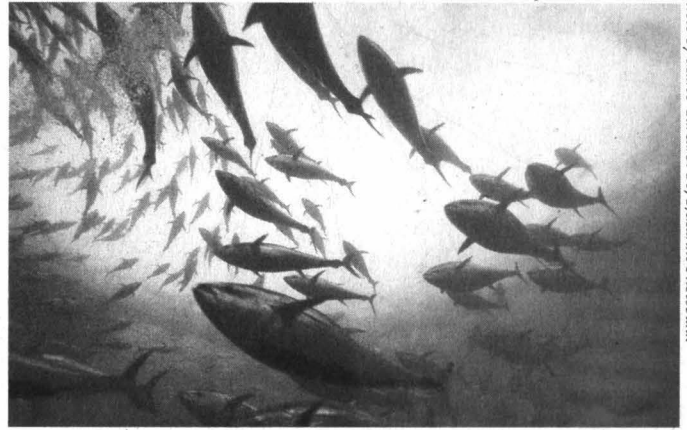
some species, such as the jellyfish, are well on their way to rule the waves while others, such as the bluefin tuna, are nearing extinction. It is not just overfishing which is the main threat. The long and growing list of impacts on the oceans now include mining, habitat loss, waste pollution, illegal fishing, coral destruction, oil exploration, gas drilling, tourism, oxygen depletion, increasing ship movements and of course climate change, causing ocean acidification, coral bleaching and fluctuation of otherwise stable water temperatures. It is not just one or a number of these impacts that threaten the ocean life, it is the combination of all of them. None of the species stand a chance against the might of modern technology and many are thought to have perished even before we have had a chance to discover them.

It would be a lie to say that no-one cares about these issues, in fact there is a growing movement of people, groups and organizations that bring these problems into the public arena and in some instances with success. There is however one trend which is causing more damage than it's trying to avoid. Many marine conservation organizations promote the consumption of "sustainable" fish as a good way of supporting fishermen that do the "right thing." In recent years various "good fish" initiatives have been launched, such as Friend of the Sea, Fish Wise and the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC). The latter started in 1997, as a joint enterprise by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the food corporation Unilever. The MSC certification process has since grown to become the most popular "good fish" label in the world.

Various environmental organizations have jumped in to support the MSC system while there is growing evidence that even MSC certified fishing activity is causing damage to marine life. How can it be that, for ex-



Planning for upcoming campaigns in the Mediterranean Sea



Bluefin tuna is heavily threatened by overfishing

Photo by Marco Caris#8730@MarinePhotobank

ample, the production of seafood for McDonalds can be switched to "sustainable" when its seafood production gets the stamp of approved by MSC but the sheer size of its production is never questioned? With an ever-increasing global overfishing problem, how can anyone convert to eating good fish, without looking at lowering (or giving up on) their overall level of consumption? Consuming sustainable fish means eating no fish or as little as possible. MSC has been very clever at marketing itself as the alternative many consumers are looking for. People are rightly concerned about the growing troubles the ocean is dealing with but they are being handed a greenwash solution which will ultimately only add to the problems.

There are no public guidelines or standards on what constitutes "sustainable" fish and companies such as MSC have no enforcement powers. Instead, it is an industry-led initiative which holds no public accountability whatsoever. Two fishing boats could catch the same fish, in the same waters, using the same type of fishing gear, one without an MSC certification, the other with. The certified fishermen will get a lot better price for its catch, after the initial investment needed to acquire the MSC stamp of approval. There is increasing evidence emerging that MSC is a failing system and that in their readiness to approve it, many environmental organizations are helping to give legitimacy to damaging fishing practices (such as "sustainable" bottom trawling) and in doing so, directly undermining the work of other organizations campaigning to get these practices outlawed.

The wider effect of MSC and other good fish initiatives is that many people settle with the notion that consuming fish is good and a viable alternative to eating meat. Studies in the UK have shown that due to an increase in the promotion of sustainable fish, the sale of many other types of seafood has also risen. We are giving the wrong signals. Every fish taken out of the ocean is one that won't come back. We are literally emptying the oceans of life, at such a rate that an international panel of marine scientists and fishing managers have concluded that if we carry on the way we are, there won't be anymore sea-

food to consume by the year 2048. Selling "sustainable" fish only adds to this pressure.

Yes, the picture is bleak. Even more bleak when you realize that almost half of the global fish catch is for industrial use, feeding pigs and poultry in the meat industry, salmon and shrimp in aquaculture and minks and foxes for the fur industry. A large percentage also ends up in pet food. This situation has gotten so out of hand that the pig is now the top predator of the oceans, closely followed by the chicken and cats in a close third spot. All of these animals now eat more sea creatures than any other marine species on earth. Cod in the Baltic Sea has been heavily overfished for many years, partly to feed mink in the Swedish and Finnish fur industry and the Danish trawler fleet catches almost entirely for the production of fish meal, a cheap way of feeding cattle. Even worse, fish meal is used as fertilizer in the agriculture industry and even accepted by some organic food certification standards.

It is clear that we cannot leave the protection of the oceans to those who are working on its rapid destruction. Politicians are united in their unwillingness to deal with these issues in a serious and adequate manner. Fishermen vote, fish don't. Politicians in regions where the fishing industry is strong and thriving won't be around in their jobs for long if they put forward effective conservation plans. Within the European Union (EU) the fishing industry lobby is incredibly strong. On numerous occasions, countries such as Spain, Italy and Malta (which are known to harbor a great number of illegal fishing activities) have used their veto powers to block new conservation proposals. We simply cannot leave this in the hands of politicians. The international waters where most of the fishing activity takes place is lawless. Far from the desks of bureaucrats and the territorial water of states, fishermen hunt and gather what they wish. With very limited accountability or enforcement, illegal activity is not just not acted on, it is practically encouraged. The bluefin tuna fishery in the Mediterranean has in recent years caught up to 6 times more fish than scientists recommended to be a sustainable level. With lawlessness

ruling the waves, what is there left to do?

Last summer a group of us who worked as crew members on the ships of Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd decided that more needs to be done to stop the destruction of the world's oceans. Up to this point, Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd were the only ones to take direct action at sea and both have done (and continue to do) an incredible job fighting injustices on the high seas and in many cases successfully blocking illegal fishing and whaling operations. However, the world's oceans are an area too big to properly cover with just two organizations and in Europe the situation is especially bad, with these waters now belonging to the most overfished and polluted in the world. In August 2010 we started a new marine activist organization the Black Fish. What started as a small group has grown into an organization which gained recognition quickly as it secured a number of successes in a short period of time.

The international trade in cetaceans such as dolphins and killer whales has been a focus for The Black Fish from the very start. This lucrative industry relies on wild caught animals, partly those taken at annual dolphin hunts in Japan and the Solomon Islands and exports them all over the world to dolphinariums, research facilities and entertainment parks. Within a week of the founding of The Black Fish an intensive campaign was started in Münster, Germany, for the closure of the local run-down dolphinarium and relocation of the four dolphins kept there. German organizations Whale and Dolphin Protection Forum and ProWal had been campaigning for a number of years for its closure but after we supported their efforts with a few weeks of pickets and actions, the owners of the dolphinarium announced to relocate the dolphins by the end of 2012 and close down the facility.

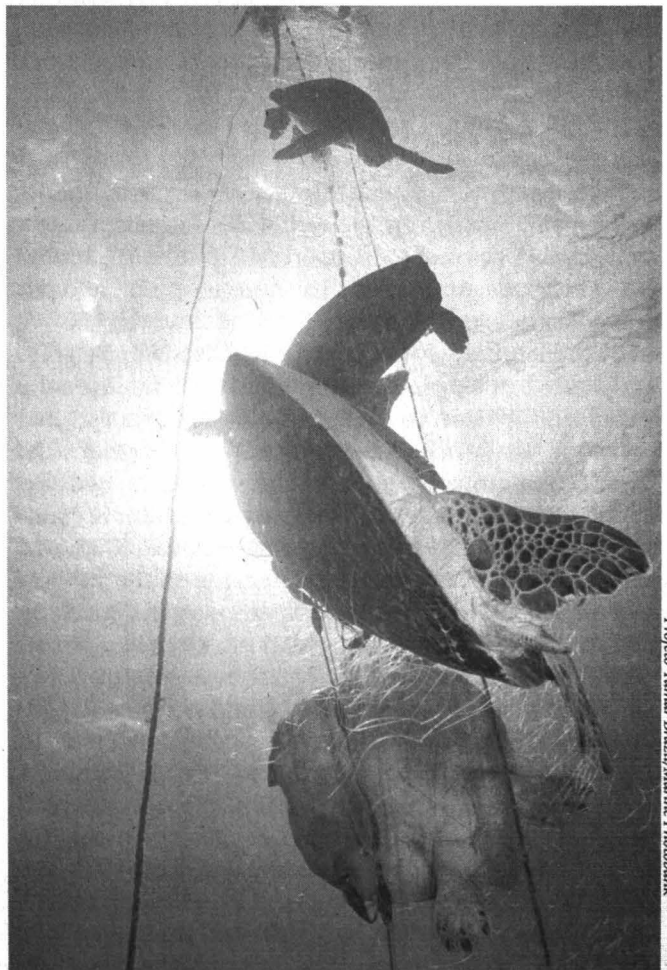
To make the link between European dolphinariums and the international trade it was decided to take on the dolphin traders on their home turf. Under the cover of darkness and after a week long surveillance operation, activists from the Black Fish swam out into the harbor of Taiji, Japan, the scene of the annual dolphin drive hunts. Arriving at the holding pens which hold animals, the nets of six of them were cut and an estimated ten

dolphins swam back out into open sea, escaping lifelong captivity. The action received worldwide attention and made it clear that the Black Fish wouldn't be another group just talking about issues but willing to take risks to do what is necessary to protect sea animals directly.

Back in the Netherlands, where by that time the Black Fish had opened an office, the Orca Coalition was founded, cooperating with six other organizations in a campaign for the release of orca Morgan. This young female killer whale was stranded on the Dutch coast in June 2010. She was cut off from her family and found malnourished. Although back to health within a couple of months, the Dutch dolphinarium at Harderwijk where she was held, refused to release her. Even more worrying was the fact that their expertise on what to do with the animal came right from SeaWorld, an American captive marine entertainment park corporation with a bad track record in their dealing with captive cetaceans. A large public media campaign was set up which received an overwhelming amount of interest, from both the Dutch and international press. Quite early on it became clear that the dolphinarium was acting illegally in their refusal to release the animal and planning to export her to an entertainment park at the Spanish island of Tenerife, where only 20 months earlier one of the orca trainers was killed when dragged down by an



The international Black Fish crew, Photos by the Black Fish



Dead turtles in abandoned net

Projeto Tamar Brazil/Marine PhotoBank



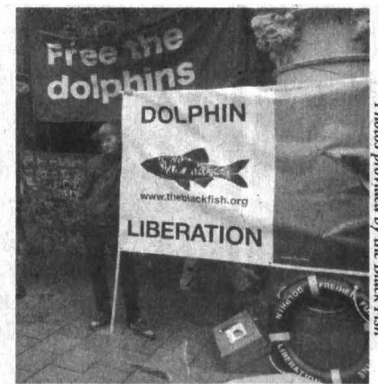
Crowds demand the release of orca Morgan, Dutch dolphinarium

“aggressive” orca named Keto.

It was decided that the coalition try other avenues before the more direct action approach would be necessary and a lawsuit was brought before the courts. The interesting thing was that this one case managed to achieve what so many organizations had tried before: for the first time ever a court blocked the transport of a captive animal to a SeaWorld facility. The dolphinarium was furious as the judge ordered the responsible Ministry to investigate the case independently and direct the dolphinarium to move the orca to a larger tank. The case put a spotlight on the dolphinarium, the trade and ultimately the unfortunate animal Morgan. Plans have now been drawn up by independent orca scientists and specialists on how to prepare for her actual release back into the wild. The responsible Minister has just announced his decision that the animal should be moved to the entertainment park. The Orca Coalition is preparing for more action to block her export.

The Black Fish has been busy with more than just the captivity campaigns. We realized from the start that if we were to take action at sea against destructive fisheries and whaling operations, we would need to raise quite a considerable amount of support and funds. We toured Sweden to raise awareness of the need for action and put on a series of events in The Netherlands and the UK. We went to Germany, networked with activists in Belgium and started researching the international trade in the endangered bluefin tuna. By now we realized this had to be one of our first focuses when it came to industrial fisheries in Europe as the fish is heavily threatened and many illegal fishing activities continue, with some countries continuing to hand out fishing subsidies to known perpetrators. We have been busy working on the publication of “Bluefin Bonanza,” a book exposing the poaching trade in the threatened fish, which is set to be published early next year.

We also opened for membership and started an application process for those interested in crewing with us. In a matter of weeks we secured the funds for our first direct action vessel: an ex-lifeguard rigid inflatable boat, which we renamed Zeno 1325 and are now busy preparing for its first action. Our planned campaign to protect the bluefin tuna from any further over-exploitation caught the interest from the Belgian organization How To Save The Bluefin, which decided to merge with the Black Fish



Photos provided by the Black Fish

Rallying for the release of the Münster dolphins

to build a stronger alliance in the fight for this magnificent creature. In addition to this we are working on an industrial fishing investigation, for which we have been donated a small workspace in Malmö, Sweden.

The fact that the Black Fish has grown to an international organization in a matter of months shows that a lot of people care for the oceans and the need to do something to stop it from being pillaged by corporate enterprise. We are a new generation that are taking on the whalers, fishermen, fish farmers and poachers that are destroying the very foundations of life on this earth. By keeping our focus within Europe we are able to do a lot with fewer resources. We have started small and are building from the grassroots. We need to start taking responsibility for what lies closer to home. For that bluefin tuna in the Mediterranean, cod in the Baltic, mackerel in the North East Atlantic and porpoise in the North Sea. For the whales that continue to be slaughtered by Norway and Iceland. For them we will stand our ground. Join us at WWW.THEBLACKFISH.ORG



As a small organization The Black Fish relies entirely on the hard work and support of volunteers: ordinary people with a passion for the marine environment that are looking to help make a difference in its protection. The Black Fish is currently expanding into new campaigns and we are looking for people to join our direct action team and future ship's crew. If you are committed to taking action for the protection of marine life in European seas and are able to dedicate time to work with us, please check out our website: WWW.THEBLACKFISH.ORG/CREWING

We look forward to hearing from you!

TEARING OUT THE HEART OF THE MONSTER

LITERARY VOICES RISE AGAINST THE TAR SANDS

Review and analysis of *Heart of the Monster: Why the Pacific Northwest & Northern Rockies must not become an ExxonMobil conduit to the Alberta tar sands*, published by All Against The Haul, 2010.

BY PANAGIOTI

I picked this book up during the 2011 Earth First! Rendezvous near Lolo Pass on the edge of Montana and Idaho and put it in my daunting stack of shit to read. A day later we stormed the Governor's office and occupied the Montana capitol building in Helena. Six weeks later, thousands would descend on DC for two weeks straight of mass civil disobedience at the White House. I decided it was time to pull the book from my stack and get some background on this battle. As I write this review, anti-tar sands organizers are in the midst of preparing for mass actions in Canada's capitol, Ottawa.

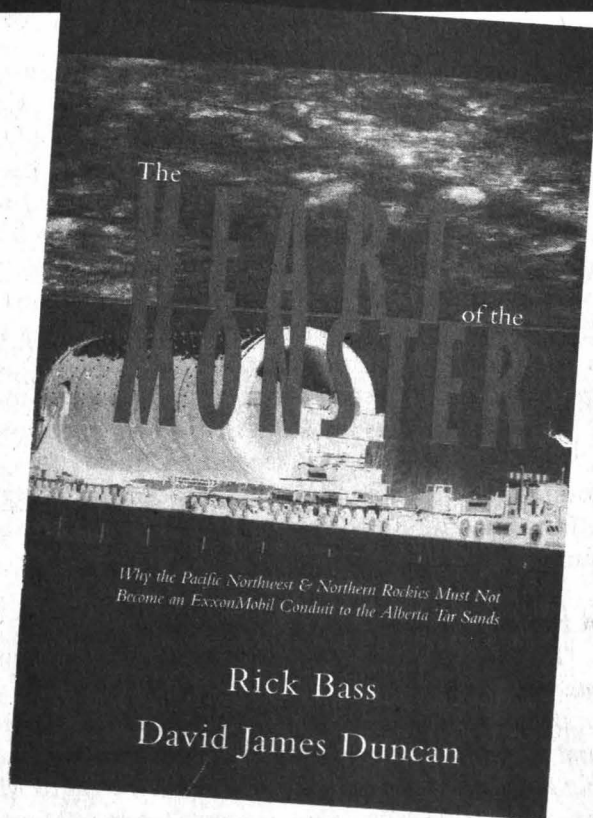
A defining mass movement of our times is underway. The presence of a book like *Heart of the Monster* is evidence that it's settling in roots for the long haul of a struggle—that the movement is nurturing a broad culture of resistance to fight from.

The book is divided up in two primary sections between co-authors David James Duncan and Rick Bass. The first section is part essay, part memoir mirroring the book's title. It lays out the facts and statistics of tar sands impacts, touching on some possible options for local alternatives to the energy empire; the latter is presented as a novella, "A Short History of Montana," with a narrative voice of someone who may or may not have worked as a former aide to a big-headed governor, and his border collie dog.

The Monster

"On April 8, 2008, the bodies of 1,606 dead waterfowl were scooped from a Syncrude tailings pond. Syncrude's effluent "pond" is formed by the second largest dam on earth... the actual number of birds killed that morning, any morning, is impossible to determine because mired birds sink fast in the sludge. The bodies of moose and bear have been found in the same sludge. In May 2008, the same "pond" was responsible for the death of at least 500 ducks, but the kill was not reported by Syncrude..."

—DAVID JAMES DUNCAN, *HEART OF THE MONSTER*



Prior to reading the book, one would assume its title to be based on a simple cliché metaphor for industrialism and the oil economy. But there is more to it than that, as Duncan explains: "To reach Alberta, ExxonMobil's Tar Sands cargo will creep within fifty feet of an ancient basalt formation known to the Nez Perce people as "The Heart of the Monster." [p. 113] He goes on to tell the details of the creation story based on this rock pile heart, in which Coyote tricks a monster that is devouring all the animals on Earth by getting himself inhaled so he can reach the beast's heart and cut it out. Along the journey inside the monster, he gets in fights with other living animals which turn on Coyote rather than use their strengths to stop the monster (resulting in Coyote shortening Grizzly's nose and flattening Rattlesnake's head).

The Nez Perce story leaves a strong impression on Duncan, inspiring him to make a pretty kick-ass no-compromise declaration. "Standing by the Heart of the Monster, I could find no reason why those of us living outside the dominant paradigm should plead any longer with those by whose logic we're being so completely misled. To ask corporate Earth-killers

to stop the killing leaves the decision to the killers' tyrannical thought processes." [p. 119]

And he describes his view of the growing eco-resistance movement as a natural force: "This energy is neither a political nor religious force. It's more an unspoken intensity felt by nearly everyone who is fighting for a creature, an ecosystem, an oppressed people, a small cultural good. Many have described this energy as Earth's own immune system rising up in her defense." [p. 122]

Duncan's part of the book also has a strong personal narrative, starting at his encounter with the parents of a young fly fisher, Liam Wood, an 18-year old who was killed in an oil pipeline explosion while fishing on Whatcom Creek, near Bellingham, Washington, in the summer of '99. It turns out Liam was also a fan of a novel Duncan had written, *The River Why*. At this point the book could have turned into a feel-good *Field & Stream* magazine promo. Instead it launches into a persistent call for mass mobilizing to defend wild lands and rural lifestyles from corporate dominance.

Through a series of stories, dreams, re-telling of US history and ancient legends, Duncan lays the foundation for a strengthened biocentric resistance effort from the northern Rockies and the watersheds surrounding Lolo Pass.

A history of Montana's Governor

"I need to begin telling the story of who we are, of how we made a stand. A true story of how the least populated state in the country defeated the largest company in the world, and in the process saved the world. It hasn't happened yet but I can see it happening. I can see the few trails by which we can win..." —RICK BASS, *A SHORT HISTORY OF MONTANA*

The story continues along a similar trajectory, meandering between past, present and future. The distinction between fact and fiction is a bit blurry, but a reader is left with a pretty clear feeling that the unnamed sell-out governor, his border collie Old Shep, and the former-aide narrating the story are likely based on the real deal.

While it starts out with some brief geological, ecological, political and social history, the vast majority is dedicated to an anonymous governor's two terms in office. The story documents the transition of a famed Montana liberal redneck populist democrat to an ass-kissing corporate lackey, with the tone of an indirect personal plea to the current governor himself, Brian Schweitzer, to change his ways before he becomes the symbol of everything wrong in a world where the Rocky Mountain glaciers are melting before peoples' eyes.

"[I]f we do not make the miracle—if it does not happen; if the governor, being mortal, chooses the old path... then we will have to put down our hoes and rakes and fight. And when we do, or if we do, I believe

that we will win, for I simply do not think the earth can take any more such burning, and that the ground we stand on would be on our side. That, although outnumbered and facing the largest company in the world [Imperial Oil], with the earth's burning at stake, Montana would win." [p. 246]

In a vision from the near future, the story's narrator predicts the path to victory: "It was a long campaign and though it could have been more organized, in the end it was perfect. The first protest was the largest—three thousand Northwesterners lying down in the road, and cars parked catty-wampus everywhere, clotting the highway, so that it took two weeks to clear..."

"But still Imperial kept coming, though always, they were ambushed. Sometimes it was two or three protestors forming a blockade—other times fifty or a hundred. Elk hunters set up camps in the center of the road and built huge bonfires of beetle-killed pine. Blue-haired seventy-something birdwatchers, their guidebooks clutched like purses, joined with river rafters to stop the trucks along the Blackfoot River... Farmers along the Rocky Mountain Front blocked highway 89 with their tractors and sprayers. And Reserve Street in Missoula—already the most congested road in Montana—became the site of many epic battles..."

"After a while, the TV and radio crews stopped covering the story, as they eventually do in all wars; instead, it had just become a way of doing things... The governor scolded the state, but could not control his state. The blockades became a form of entertainment. Instead of bingo or Sunday night church service, people would say to one another, let's go stop the trucks." [p. 248]

Back to the real world

The fight has already begun. And the group who published the book, All Against the Haul, just announced a major court victory on their blog this summer, the week following the Earth First! action which shut down the capitol building in Helena. The Montana District Court issued an order granting a motion to halt the megaload corridor project on scenic Route 12, stating that the Montana Department of Transportation (MDT) violated the state's Environmental Policy Act. MDT claims that they will attempt to reverse the ruling, but it seems that one tentacle of the tar sands may indeed already be severed—no thanks to the governor.

Meanwhile, trucks are rolling along other routes, carrying tar sands equipment across the northwest to Alberta; actions have already begun taking place in Idaho. And while a mass opposition to the tar sands has been growing across the US, it has not yet shown signs of taking shape as the vision in *Heart of the Monster* has laid out. Of course, the real future is

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unwritten and it tends to require guidance to direct it on the path we desire.

Which brings me to the main distinction between book and reality. At this point, a majority of resources for anti-tar sands actions have focused on swaying politicians rather than physical obstructions in the bioregions which are most directly impacted, or where trucks and pipelines are already passing. The broader strategy of efforts like the Tar Sands Action in DC have focused on stopping infrastructure from being approved rather than opposing the transport that is already underway.

Which is a higher priority? Which approach will be more effective over the long term? It's certainly up for debate. But regardless of what results from that discussion, *Heart of the Monster* offers the sort of grounding in a local culture and regional ecology that make up the roots of successful struggle, which ever tactics are chosen. Our aim should be to spread the book's sentiment like wildfire, so when Obama fails to be the savior, people will know how and where to respond.

About the writing

In a recent interview on GRIST.COM, Duncan called *Heart of the Monster* "a fast response book," meaning it was completed in a mere seven weeks, including research, writing, editing, illustration, design, and self-publishing—of a 250-page book!

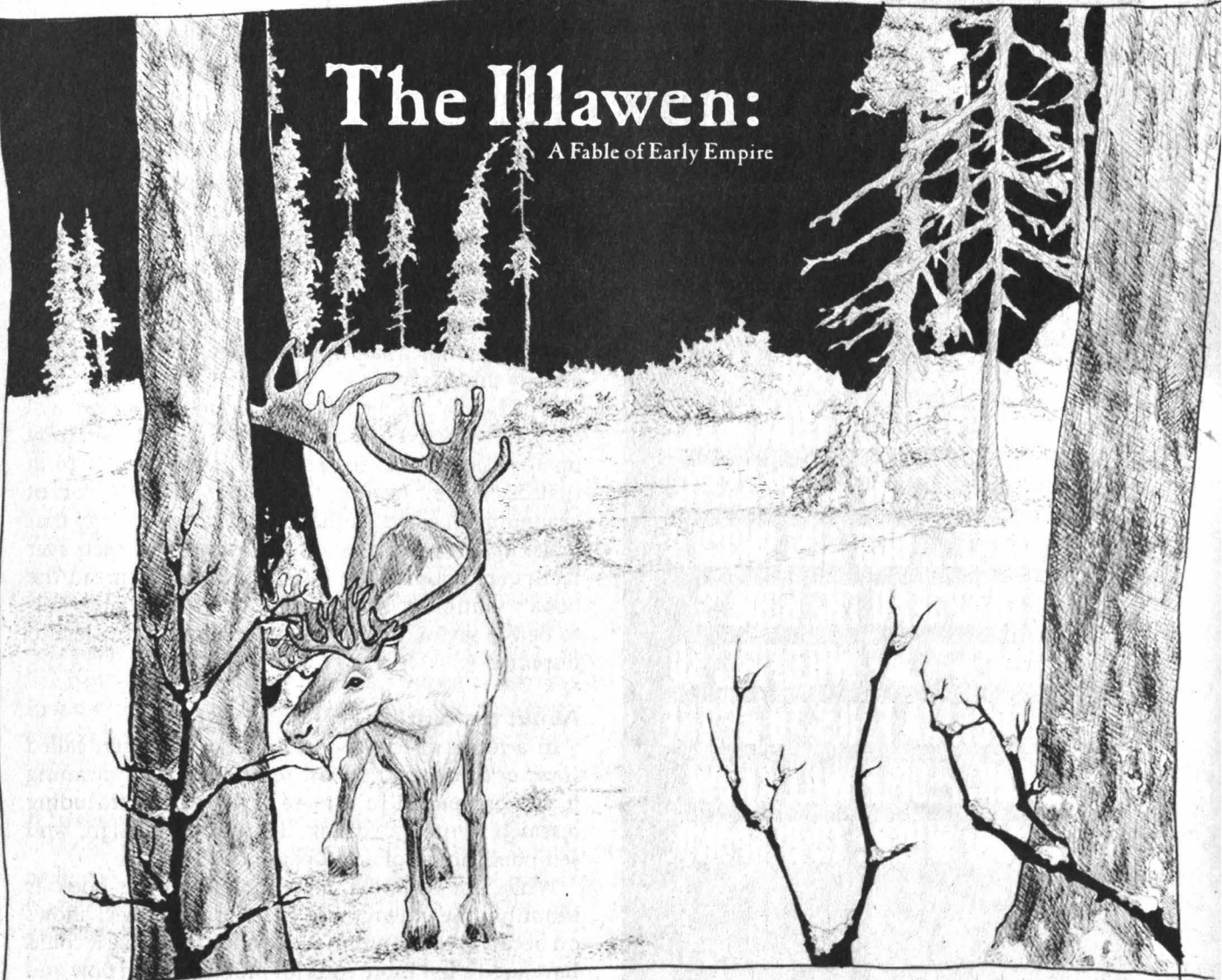
While the external presentation of the book is beautiful, the urgency and haste of the project shows on occasion in the writing. The book reads like it could have used a few more edits for problems with flow and content redundancy. But overall, it is an incredible feat that other campaigns should take note of. The book seems to have been a powerful tool for mobilizing the following of these two known and respected authors to galvanize the anti-tar sands battle. A simple search for it online turns up several published reviews in literary circles outside the usual suspects of activism.

Best of all, *Heart of the Monster* made me feel like those of us throwing down to fight the industrial juggernaut are not alone. While I didn't agree with everything in the book, I shared some basic, key values with the authors. Whether they identify with Earth First! or not, the book felt very much like a contribution to EF!-culture. Action-oriented literary projects, like this book, make the movement feel firmer than ever to me. Let's see more of it.

Find out more about the book, its authors and their activist work against tar sands infrastructure at ALLAGAINSTTHEHALL.ORG. For a more thorough analysis of history and impacts from the Alberta Tar Sands, check out "Into the Muskeg Swamps," published in Beltane 2011 edition of the EF! Journal.

The Illawen:

A Fable of Early Empire



BY STRANGERS IN A TANGLED WILDERNESS

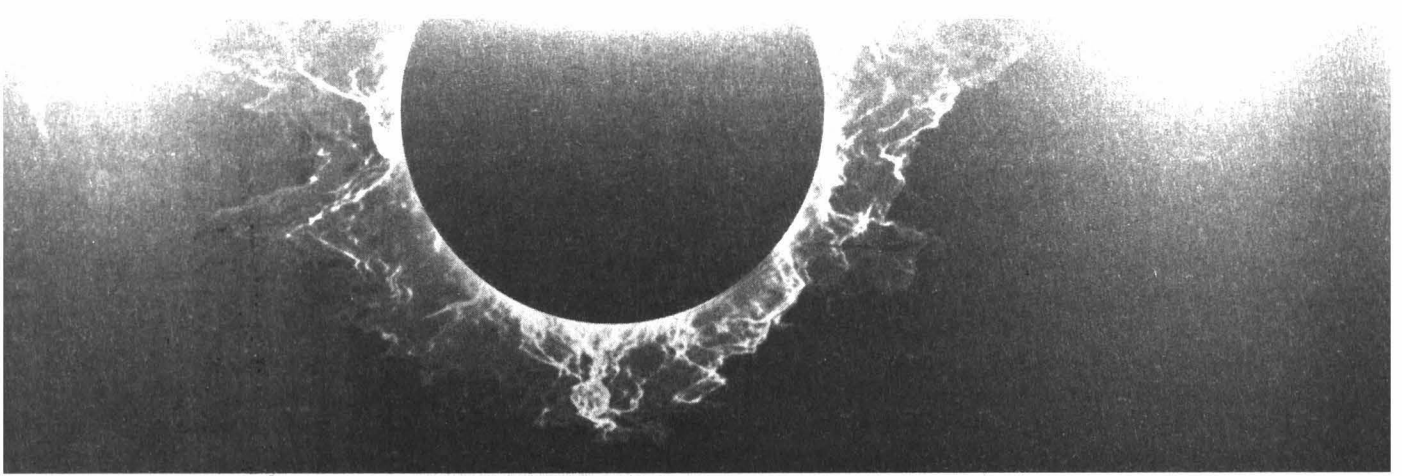
DRAWING BY ROBIN SAVAGE

Ast herds of reindeer migrated across the tundra of the north, and the tribes migrated with them. It was a time before settlement, a time before animal husbandry and it was a time before nations.

The tribes would skirmish whenever two converged on one herd by accident, but the results were far from disastrous. Most often, the weaker tribe conceded without a fight, though sometimes they would raise the banners of war. On these rare instances, the larger tribe usually left rather than face such a risk to their people. Occasionally, neither side backed down and many, usually brash young hunters, would be injured or killed.

Prisoners were incorporated into the victorious tribe, a practice that kept the bloodlines diverse and strong.

This had been going on since the time before time. And, of course, one tribe almost ruined it for everyone.



The Jakkiolenna were the most powerful tribe in all their frozen world, and so sure were they of their power that they eventually refused to back down from any fight. As they won battle after battle, they brought more prisoners into their midst and soon the tribe was growing too large to sustain itself nomadically.

Previously, when something of this nature would occur, a tribe's priestess would dictate that more children should be sacrificed to Bear, Wolf and Raven. But the Jakkiolenna worshipped Iksi, a god of light and fire, a god who wanted his tribe only to grow.

The tribe sent an emissary to track the Sekkiolummi, the second largest tribe of the tundra. Their emissary reached the Sekkiolummi at the edge of the great North Ocean; he was escorted into camp as the sun began to set over the water, as the sacrificial fire took an elderly reindeer.

"I offer you the chance to serve the Jakkiolenna," the emissary spoke, and the chief of the Sekkiolummi laughed.

But as the cold and truth of night set in, the chief began to listen to the poisonous words of empire, and soon the first political alliance was formed.

The Sekkiolummi agreed to enforce the law of tribute upon any tribe they encountered. In exchange, the Jakkiolenna agreed not to kill the Sekkiolummi, and allowed them to keep a portion of these taxes.

Within a year, every tribe was paying tribute to the Jakkiolenna. Each begrudged the levy but had their own survival to think of; they could not spare any hunters for war. Nor could they deviate from the path of the herds. They felt that they had no option.

As is the manner of children, the youth were less practical and more given to passion. One night, the children of the Sekkiolummi, aged eight to fifteen, gathered in the tent of Illakkes.

Illakkes—a fifteen-year-old priestess-in-training—followed Illa, goddess of the dark, earth and owl. Illa was quite displeased; meat intended for sacrifice to her birds was being given to the Jakkiolenna instead, and Illa had grown lean.

"Oh Illa, how can we break from this tyranny?" Illakkes asked her patron, while the rest of the youth watched on.

Illa possessed a boy of nine and answered in a pre-pubescent voice: "Fire is the refuge of cowards and tyrants, but the bold may walk under the moon."

And thus were the Illawen—the dark-helpers—born. When their parents packed carts of taxed meat to deliver to their governors, the Illawen stole much of it for themselves. Winter was coming, and the tribes were headed south to the woods where the reindeer grazed until spring. The Illawen planned to shadow the Jakkiolenna as they traveled.

Before they left, Illakkes went to the tent of her mentor. While the high priestess slept, her student crept upon her, bone dagger in hand. The older woman's eyes shot open and saw for the last time.

Illakkes spoke: "You ought not have allowed this."

The journey was a dangerous one for the children. They had little to eat and only their passion for warmth, but the moon cast light on them and they never wavered from their path.

With unforeseeable haste they came upon the trail of the Jakkiolenna, and the Illawen set about their work.

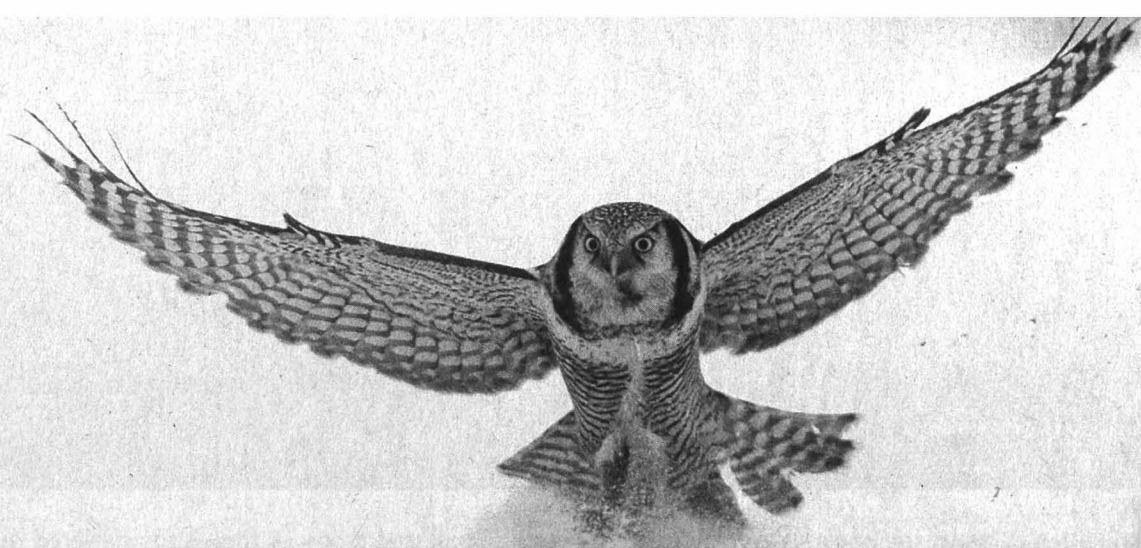
When a tribe was on the move, one man was given the role of ember-bearer. He carried a special shell wrapped in hide, which bore embers as seed for the next night's fires. The Illawen sent a scout to identify the carrier of the ceremonial coal, and the next day they struck.

As the ember-bearer walked past a cliff, an elder girl from among the Illawen cast a spear into his leg with her atlatl. The Jakkiolenna hunters set out at once to find the antagonist, but the girl hid in the recess of a tree too small for a full-grown man. She thus remained unnoticed.

While the imperial hunters ran in blind pursuit, a boy of eight walked calmly into the midst of the remaining tribespeople, found the leather-wrapped coal and stole off with it.

That night the wounded man succumbed to his blood loss, a slow and painful death, and only through great effort was a new fire begun.

The Illawen harried the Jakkiolenna incessantly for months, killing a few ember-bearers and a few sentries. At night they would extinguish the flames of the camp,



until the tribe reinforced the watch.

But after several sleepless nights, the Jakkiolenna were too exhausted to hunt and they were forced to relax their guard. The fires were extinguished again, and the tribe grew weak from lack of sustenance and rest.

Illakkes—no ordinary priestess—befriended an old stag reindeer, his hide as dark as midnight snow. One night she rode off, leaving the Illawen in charge of themselves.

Illakkes visited tribe after tribe over the course of those months, bringing the news of the weakened Jakkiolenna.

“Ask them,” she suggested, “if they would not prefer a tribute of fire rather than meat. And then you shall know that they are weak.”

While she was away, one Illawen boy was speared in the moonlight by the Jakkiolenna’s guard as he crept into their camp. His body was taken to the priestess of Iksi, who stripped his clothes and revealed his chest. A black sun was tattooed on his sternum, a perfect circle surrounded by eight triangular rays.

“Illa,” she said, “this boy serves Illa. Tonight we sacrifice an owl.”

But the attacks did not relent, for a god’s power is

not found only in symbols.

When the Jakkiolenna reached the winter woods, the Sekkiolummi, their only allies, were nowhere to be found. The other tribes, temporarily united, struck them down. The few imperial survivors were distributed amongst the coalition and the Jakkiolenna were no more.

“What of our people,” one young Illawen asked of Illakkes upon her return, “what of the Sekkiolummi?”

“The gods direct us,” she replied, “and when we don’t listen, we are lost. Our parents are lost, and we shall seek them.”

The Illawen set out north, toward the sea, to search for their parents. Led by a young woman on the back of a dark gray reindeer, they were never heard from again. Some say they died, of course, and others say they didn’t.

For more fiction like this check out:

WWW.TANGLEDWILDERNESS.ORG

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Decisive Ecological Warfare

Aric McBay

The task of an activist is not to navigate systems of oppressive power with as much personal integrity as possible, it is to dismantle those systems.



art: Squirrel Hill Studio

excerpted from

Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet

by Aric McBay, Lierre Keith, & Derrick Jensen

An Open Letter to the Earth Liberation Front

Without ever having met or known any of you, we feel that we understand the deep love and overwhelming urgency you must feel. We have nothing but the deepest respect for your courage and commitment. The text presented here is what we've developed from the same love and urgency we believe moves you.

—Premadasi Amada,
Deep Green Resistance movement

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There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part, you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop!

—Mario Savio, Berkeley Free Speech Movement

To gain what is worth having, it may be necessary to lose everything else.

—Bernadette Devlin, Irish activist and politician

Bringing it Down: Collapse Scenarios

At this point in history, there are no good short-term outcomes for global human society. Some are better and some are worse, and in the long term some are very good, but in the short term we're in a bind. I'm not going to lie to you—the hour is too late for cheermongering. The only way to find the best outcome is to confront our dire situation head on, and not to be diverted by false hopes.

Human society—because of civilization, specifically—has painted itself into a corner. As a species we're dependent on the draw down of finite supplies of oil, soil, and water. Industrial agriculture (and annual grain agriculture before that) has put us into a vicious pattern of population growth and overshoot. We long ago exceeded carrying capacity, and the workings of civilization are destroying that carrying capacity by the second. This is largely the fault of those in power, the wealthiest, the states and corporations. But the consequences—and the responsibility for dealing with it—fall to the rest of us, including nonhumans.

Physically, it's not too late for a crash program to limit births to reduce the population, cut fossil fuel consumption to nil, replace agricultural monocrops with perennial polycultures, end overfishing, and cease industrial encroachment on (or destruction of) remaining wild areas. There's no physical reason we couldn't start all of these things tomorrow, stop global warming in its tracks, reverse overshoot, reverse erosion, reverse aquifer draw-down, and bring back all the species and biomes currently on the brink. There's no physical reason we couldn't get together and act like adults and fix these problems, in the sense that it isn't against the laws of physics.

But socially and politically, we know this is a pipe dream. There are material systems of power that make this impossible as long as those systems are still intact. Those in power get too much money and privilege from destroying the planet. We aren't going to save the planet—or our own future as a species—without a fight.

What's realistic? What options are actually available to us, and what are the consequences? What follows are three broad and illustrative scenarios: one in which there is no substantive or decisive resistance, one in which there is limited resistance and a relatively prolonged collapse, and one in which all-out resistance leads to the immediate collapse of civilization and global industrial infrastructure.

No Resistance

If there is no substantive resistance, likely there will be a few more years of business as usual, though with increasing economic disruption and upset. According to the best available data, the impacts of peak oil start to hit somewhere between 2011 and 2015, resulting in a rapid decline in global energy availability.¹ It's possible that this may happen slightly later if all-out attempts are made to extract remaining fossil fuels, but that would only prolong the inevitable, worsen global warming, and make the eventual decline that much steeper and more severe. Once peak oil sets in, the increasing cost and decreasing supply of energy undermines manufacturing and transportation, especially on a global scale.

The energy slide will cause economic turmoil, and a self-perpetuating cycle of economic contraction will take place. Businesses will be unable to pay their workers, workers will be unable to buy things, and more companies will shrink or go out of business (and will be unable to pay their workers). Unable to pay their debts and mortgages, homeowners, companies, and even states will go bankrupt. (It's possible that this process has already begun.) International trade will nosedive because of a global depression and increasing transportation and manufacturing costs. Though it's likely that the price of oil will increase over time, there will be times when the contracting economy causes falling demand for oil, thus suppressing the price. The lower cost of oil may, ironically but beneficially, limit investment in new oil infrastructure.

At first the collapse will resemble a traditional recession or depression, with the poor being hit especially hard by the increasing costs of basic goods, particularly of electricity and heating in cold areas. After a few years, the financial limits will become physical ones; large-scale energy-intensive manufacturing will become not only uneconomical, but impossible.

A direct result of this will be the collapse of industrial agriculture. Dependent on vast amounts of energy for tractor fuel, synthesized pesticides and fertil-

izers, irrigation, greenhouse heating, packaging, and transportation, global industrial agriculture will run up against hard limits to production (driven at first by intense competition for energy from other sectors). This will be worsened by the depletion of groundwater and aquifers, a long history of soil erosion, and the early stages of climate change. At first this will cause a food and economic crisis mostly felt by the poor. Over time, the situation will worsen and industrial food production will fall below that required to sustain the population.

There will be three main responses to this global food shortage. In some areas people will return to growing their own food and build sustainable local food initiatives. This will be a positive sign, but public involvement will be belated and inadequate, as most people still won't have caught on to the permanency of collapse and won't want to have to grow their own food. It will also be made far more difficult by the massive urbanization that has occurred in the last century, by the destruction of the land, and by climate change. Furthermore, most subsistence cultures will have been destroyed or uprooted from their land—land inequalities will hamper people from growing their own food (just as they do now in the majority of the world). Without well-organized resisters, land reform will not happen, and displaced people will not be able to access land. As a result, widespread hunger and starvation (worsening to famine in bad agricultural years) will become endemic in many parts of the world. The lack of energy for industrial agriculture will cause a resurgence in the institutions of slavery and serfdom.

Slavery does not occur in a political vacuum. Threatened by economic and energy collapse, some governments will fall entirely, turning into failed states. With no one to stop them, warlords will set up shop in the rubble. Others, desperate to maintain power against emboldened secessionists and civil unrest, will turn to authoritarian forms of government. In a world of diminishing but critical resources, governments will get leaner and meaner. We will see a resurgence of authoritarianism in modern forms: technofascism and corporation feudalism. The rich will increasingly move to private and well-defended enclaves. Their country estates will not look apocalyptic—they will look like eco-Edens, with well-tended organic gardens, clean private lakes, and wildlife refuges. In some cases these enclaves will be tiny, and in others they could fill entire countries.

Meanwhile, the poor will see their own condition worsen. The millions of refugees created by economic and energy collapse will be on the move, but no one will want them. In some brittle areas the influx of refugees will overwhelm basic services and cause a

local collapse, resulting in cascading waves of refugees radiating from collapse and disaster epicenters. In some areas refugees will be turned back by force of arms. In other areas, racism and discrimination will come to the fore as an excuse for authoritarians to put marginalized people and dissidents in "special settlements," leaving more resources for the privileged.² Desperate people will be the only candidates for the dangerous and dirty manual labor required to keep industrial manufacturing going once the energy supply dwindles. Hence, those in power will consider autonomous and self-sustaining communities a threat to their labor supply, and suppress or destroy them.

Despite all of this, technological "progress" will not yet stop. For a time it will continue in fits and starts, although humanity will be split into increasingly divergent groups. Those on the bottom will be unable to meet their basic subsistence needs, while those on the top will attempt to live lives of privilege as they had in the past, even seeing some technological advancements, many of which will be intended to cement the superiority of those in power in an increasingly crowded and hostile world.

Technofascists will develop and perfect social control technologies (already currently in their early stages): autonomous drones for surveillance and assassination; microwave crowd-control devices; MRI-assisted brain scans that will allow for infallible lie detection, even mind reading and torture. There will be no substantive organized resistance in this scenario, but in each year that passes the technofascists will make themselves more and more able to destroy resistance even in its smallest expression. As time slips by, the window of opportunity for resistance will swiftly close. Technofascists of the early to mid-twenty-first century will have technology for coercion and surveillance that will make the most practiced of the Stasi or the SS look like rank amateurs. Their ability to debase humanity will make their predecessors appear saintly by comparison.

Not all governments will take this turn, of course. But the authoritarian governments—those that will continue ruthlessly exploiting people and resources regardless of the consequences—will have more sway and more muscle, and will take resources from their neighbors and failed states as they please. There will be no one to stop them. It won't matter if you are the most sustainable eco-village on the planet if you live next door to an eternally resource-hungry fascist state.

Meanwhile, with industrial powers increasingly desperate for energy, the tenuous remaining environmental and social regulations will be cast aside. The

worst of the worst, practices like drilling offshore and in wildlife refuges, and mountaintop removal for coal will become commonplace. These will be merely the dregs of prehistoric energy reserves. The drilling will only prolong the endurance of industrial civilization for a matter of months or years, but ecological damage will be long-term or permanent (as is happening in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge). Because in our scenario there is no substantive resistance, this will all proceed unobstructed.

Investment in renewable industrial energy will also take place, although it will be belated and hampered by economic challenges, government bankruptcies, and budget cuts.³ Furthermore, long-distance power transmission lines will be insufficient and crumbling from age. Replacing and upgrading them will prove difficult and expensive. As a result, even once in place, electric renewables will only produce a tiny fraction of the energy produced by petroleum. That electric energy will not be suitable to run the vast majority of tractors, trucks, and other vehicles or similar infrastructure.

As a consequence, renewable energy will have only a minimal moderating affect on the energy cliff. In fact, the energy invested in the new infrastructure will take years to pay itself back with electricity generated. Massive infrastructure upgrades will actually steepen the energy cliff by decreasing the amount of energy available for daily activities. There will be a constant struggle to allocate limited supplies of energy under successive crises. There will be some rationing to prevent riots, but most energy (regardless of the source) will go to governments, the military, corporations, and the rich.

Energy constraints will make it impossible to even attempt any full-scale infrastructure overhauls like hydrogen economies (which wouldn't solve the problem anyway). Biofuels will take off in many areas, despite the fact that they mostly have a poor ratio of energy returned on energy invested (EROEI). The EROEI will be better in tropical countries, so remaining tropical forests will be massively logged to clear land for biofuel production. (Often, forests will be logged en masse simply to burn for fuel.) Heavy machinery will be too expensive for most plantations, so their labor will come from slavery and serfdom under authoritarian governments and corporate feudalism. (Slavery is currently used in Brazil to log forests and produce charcoal by hand for the steel industry, after all.)⁴ The global effects of biofuel production will be increases in the cost of food, increases in water and irrigation drawdown for agriculture, and worsening soil erosion. Regardless, its production will amount to only a small fraction of the liquid hydrocarbons available at the

peak of civilization.

All of this will have immediate ecological consequences. The oceans, wracked by increased fishing (to compensate for food shortages) and warming-induced acidity and coral die-offs, will be mostly dead. The expansion of biofuels will destroy many remaining wild areas and global biodiversity will plummet. Tropical forests like the Amazon produce the moist climate they require through their own vast transpiration, but expanded logging and agriculture will cut transpiration and tip the balance toward permanent drought. Even where the forest is not actually cut, the drying local climate will be enough to kill it. The Amazon will turn into a desert, and other tropical forests will follow suit.

Projections vary, but it's almost certain that if the majority of the remaining fossil fuels are extracted and burned, global warming would become self-perpetuating and catastrophic. However, the worst effects will not be felt until decades into the future, once most fossil fuels have already been exhausted. By then, there will be very little energy or industrial capacity left for humans to try to compensate for the effects of global warming.

Furthermore, as intense climate change takes over, ecological remediation through perennial polycultures and forest replanting will become impossible. The heat and drought will turn forests into net carbon emitters, as northern forests die from heat, pests, and disease, and then burn in continent-wide fires that will make early twenty-first century conflagrations look minor.⁵ Even intact pastures won't survive the temperature extremes as carbon is literally baked out of remaining agricultural soils.

Resource wars between nuclear states will break out. War between the US and Russia is less likely than it was in the Cold War, but ascending superpowers like China will want their piece of the global resource pie. Nuclear powers such as India and Pakistan will be densely populated and ecologically precarious; climate change will dry up major rivers previously fed by melting glaciers, and hundreds of millions of people in South Asia will live bare meters above sea level. With few resources to equip and field a mechanized army or air force, nuclear strikes will seem an increasingly effective action for desperate states.

If resource wars escalate to nuclear wars, the effects will be severe, even in the case of a "minor" nuclear war between countries like India and Pakistan. Even if each country uses only fifty Hiroshima-sized bombs as air bursts above urban centers, a nuclear winter will result.⁶ Although lethal levels of fallout last only a matter of weeks, the ecological effects will be far more severe. The five megatons of smoke pro-

duced will darken the sky around the world. Stratospheric heating will destroy most of what remains of the ozone layer.⁷ In contrast to the overall warming trend, a "little ice age" will begin immediately and last for several years. During that period, temperatures in major agricultural regions will routinely drop below freezing in summer. Massive and immediate starvation will occur around the world.

That's in the case of a small war. The explosive power of one hundred Hiroshima-sized bombs accounts for only 0.03 percent of the global arsenal. If a larger number of more powerful bombs are used—or if cobalt bombs are used to produce long-term irradiation and wipe out surface life—the effects will be even worse.⁸ There will be few human survivors. The nuclear winter effect will be temporary, but the bombing and subsequent fires will put large amounts of carbon into the atmosphere, kill plants, and impair photosynthesis. As a result, after the ash settles, global warming will be even more rapid and worse than before.

Nuclear war or not, the long-term prospects are dim. Global warming will continue to worsen long after fossil fuels are exhausted. For the planet, the time to ecological recovery is measured in tens of millions of years, if ever.⁹ As James Lovelock has pointed out, a major warming event could push the planet into a different equilibrium, one much warmer than the current one.¹⁰ It's possible that large plants and animals might only be able to survive near the poles.¹¹ It's also possible that the entire planet could become essentially uninhabitable to large plants and animals, with a climate more like Venus than Earth.

All that is required for this to occur is for current trends to continue without substantive and effective resistance. All that is required for evil to succeed is for good people to do nothing. But this future is not inevitable.

Limited Resistance

What if some forms of limited resistance were undertaken? What if there was a serious aboveground resistance movement combined with a small group of underground networks working in tandem? (This still would not be a majority movement—this is extrapolation, not fantasy.) What if those movements combined their grand strategy? The abovegrounders would work to build sustainable and just communities wherever they were, and would use both direct and indirect action to try to curb the worst excesses of those in power, to reduce

the burning of fossil fuels, to struggle for social and ecological justice. Meanwhile, the undergrounders would engage in limited attacks on infrastructure (often in tandem with aboveground struggles), especially energy infrastructure, to try to reduce fossil fuel consumption and overall industrial activity. The overall thrust of this plan would be to use selective attacks to accelerate collapse in a deliberate way, like shoving a rickety building.

If this scenario occurred, the first years would play out similarly. It would take time to build up resistance and to ally existing resistance groups into a larger strategy. Furthermore, civilization at the peak of its power would be too strong to bring down with only partial resistance. The years around 2011 to 2015 would still see the impact of peak oil and the beginning of an economic tailspin, but in this case there would be surgical attacks on energy infrastructure that limited new fossil fuel extraction (with a focus on the nastier practices like mountain-top removal and tar sands). Some of these attacks would be conducted by existing resistance groups (like MEND) and some by newer groups, including groups in the minority world of the rich and powerful. The increasing shortage of oil would make pipeline and infrastructure attacks more popular with militant groups of all stripes. During this period, militant groups would organize, practice, and learn.

These attacks would not be symbolic attacks. They would be serious attacks designed to be effective but timed and targeted to minimize the amount of "collateral damage" on humans. They would mostly constitute forms of sabotage. They would be intended to cut fossil fuel consumption by some 30 percent within the first few years, and more after that. There would be similar attacks on energy infrastructure like power transmission lines. Because these attacks would cause a significant but incomplete reduction in the availability of energy in many places, a massive investment in local renewable energy (and other measures like passive solar heating or better insulation in some areas) would be provoked. This would set in motion a process of political and infrastructural decentralization. It would also result in political repression and real violence targeting those resisters.

Meanwhile, aboveground groups would be making the most of the economic turmoil. There would be a growth in class consciousness and organization. Labor and poverty activists would increasingly turn to community sufficiency. Local food and self-sufficiency activists would reach out to people who have been pushed out of capitalism. The unemployed and underemployed—rapidly growing in number—would start to organize a subsistence and trade economy out-

side of capitalism. Mutual aid and skill sharing would be promoted. In the previous scenario, the development of these skills was hampered in part by a lack of access to land. In this scenario, however, aboveground organizers would learn from groups like the Landless Workers Movement in Latin America. Mass organization and occupation of lands would force governments to cede unused land for "victory garden"-style allotments, massive community gardens, and cooperative subsistence farms.

The situation in many third world countries could actually improve because of the global economic collapse. Minority world countries would no longer enforce crushing debt repayment and structural adjustment programs, nor would CIA goons be able to prop up "friendly" dictatorships. The decline of export-based economies would have serious consequences, yes, but it would also allow land now used for cash crops to return to subsistence farms.

Industrial agriculture would falter and begin to collapse. Synthetic fertilizers would become increasingly expensive and would be carefully conserved where they are used, limiting nutrient runoff and allowing oceanic dead zones to recover. Hunger would be reduced by subsistence farming and by the shift of small farms toward more traditional work by hand and by draft horse, but food would be more valuable and in shorter supply.

Even a 50 percent cut in fossil fuel consumption wouldn't stave off widespread hunger and die-off. As we have discussed, the vast majority of all energy used goes to nonessentials. In the US, the agricultural sector accounts for less than 2 percent of all energy use, including both direct consumption (like tractor fuel and electricity for barns and pumps) and indirect consumption (like synthetic fertilizers and pesticides).¹² That's true even though industrial agriculture is incredibly inefficient and spends something like ten calories of fossil fuel energy for every food calorie produced. Residential energy consumption accounts for only 20 percent of US total usage, with industrial, commercial, and transportation consumption making up the majority of all consumption.¹³ And most of that residential energy goes into household appliances like dryers, air conditioning, and water heating for inefficiently used water. The energy used for lighting and space heating could be itself drastically reduced through trivial measures like lowering thermostats and heating the spaces people actually live in. (Most don't bother to do these now, but in a collapse situation they will do that and more.)

In fact, even if you want humans to be able to use factories to build windmills and use tractors to help grow food over the next fifty years, forcing an imme-

diate cut in fossil fuel consumption should be at the top of your to-do list. Right now most of the energy is being wasted on plastic junk, too-big houses for rich people, bunker buster bombs, and predator drones. The only way to ensure there is some oil left for basic survival transitions in twenty years is to ensure that it isn't being squandered now. The US military is the single biggest oil user in the world. Do you want to have to tell kids twenty years from now that they don't have enough to eat because all the energy was spent on pointless neocolonial wars?

Back to the scenario. In some areas, increasingly abandoned suburbs (unlivable without cheap gas) would be taken over, as empty houses would become farmhouses, community centers, and clinics, or would be simply dismantled and salvaged for material. Garages would be turned into barns—most people couldn't afford gasoline anyway—and goats would be grazed in parks. Many roads would be torn up and returned to pasture or forest. These reclaimed settlements would not be high-tech. The wealthy enclaves may have their solar panels and electric windmills, but most unemployed people wouldn't be able to afford such things. In some cases these communities would become relatively autonomous. Their social practices and equality would vary based on the presence of people willing to assert human rights and social justice. People would have to resist vigorously whenever racism and xenophobia are used as excuses for injustice and authoritarianism.

Attacks on energy infrastructure would become more common as oil supplies diminish. In some cases, these attacks would be politically motivated, and in others they would be intended to tap electricity or pipelines for poor people. These attacks would steepen the energy slide initially. This would have significant economic impacts, but it would also turn the tide on population growth. The world population would peak sooner, and peak population would be smaller (by perhaps a billion) than it was in the "no resistance" scenario. Because a sharp collapse would happen earlier than it otherwise would have, there would be more intact land in the world per person, and more people who still know how to do subsistence farming.

The presence of an organized militant resistance movement would provoke a reaction from those in power. Some of them would use resistance as an excuse to seize more power to institute martial law or overt fascism. Some of them would make use of the economic and social crises rippling across the globe. Others wouldn't need an excuse.

Authoritarians would seize power where they could, and try to in almost every country. However, they would be hampered by aboveground and

underground resistance, and by decentralization and the emergence of autonomous communities. In some countries, mass mobilizations would stop potential dictators. In others, the upsurge in resistance would dissolve centralized state rule, resulting in the emergence of regional confederations in some places and in warlords in others. In unlucky countries, authoritarianism would take power. The good news is that people would have resistance infrastructure in place to fight and limit the spread of authoritarians, and authoritarians would have not developed as much technology of control as they did in the "no resistance" scenario.

There would still be refugees flooding out of many areas (including urban areas). The reduction in greenhouse gas emissions caused by attacks on industrial infrastructures would reduce or delay climate catastrophe. Networks of autonomous subsistence communities would be able to accept and integrate some of these people. In the same way that rooted plants can prevent a landslide on a steep slope, the cascades of refugees would be reduced in some areas by willing communities. In other areas, the numbers of refugees would be too much to cope with effectively.¹⁴

The development of biofuels (and the fate of tropical forests) is uncertain. Remaining centralized states—though they may be smaller and less powerful—would still want to squeeze out energy from wherever they could. Serious militant resistance—in many cases insurgency and guerilla warfare—would be required to stop industrialists from turning tropical forests into plantations or extracting coal at any cost. In this scenario, resistance would still be limited, and it is questionable whether that level of militancy would be effectively mustered.

This means that the long-term impacts of the greenhouse effect would be uncertain. Fossil fuel burning would have to be kept to an absolute minimum to avoid a runaway greenhouse effect. That could prove very difficult.

But if a runaway greenhouse effect could be avoided, many areas could be able to recover rapidly. A return to perennial polycultures, implemented by autonomous communities, could help reverse the greenhouse effect. The oceans would look better quickly, aided by a reduction in industrial fishing and the end of the synthetic fertilizer runoff that creates so many dead zones now.

The likelihood of nuclear war would be much lower than in the "no resistance" scenario. Refugee cascades in South Asia would be diminished. Overall resource consumption would be lower, so resource wars would be less likely to occur. And militaristic states would be weaker and fewer in number. Nuclear war wouldn't be

impossible, but if it did happen, it could be less severe.

There are many ways in which this scenario is appealing. But it has problems as well, both in implementation and in plausibility. One problem is with the integration of aboveground and underground action. Most aboveground environmental organizations are currently opposed to any kind of militancy. This could hamper the possibility of strategic cooperation between underground militants and aboveground groups that could mobilize greater numbers. (It would also doom our aboveground groups to failure as their record so far demonstrates.)

It's also questionable whether the cut in fossil fuel consumption described here would be sufficient to avoid runaway global warming. If runaway global warming does take place, all of the beneficial work of the abovegrounders would be wiped out. The converse problem is that a steeper decline in fossil fuel consumption would very possibly result in significant human casualties and deprivation. It's also possible that the mobilization of large numbers of people to subsistence farming in a short time is unrealistic. By the time most people are willing to take that step, it could be too late.

So while in some ways this scenario represents an ideal compromise—a win-win situation for humans and the planet—it could just as easily be a lose-lose situation without serious and timely action. That brings us to our last scenario, one of all-out resistance and attacks on infrastructure intended to guarantee the survival of a livable planet.

All-Out Attacks On Infrastructure

In this final scenario, militant resistance would have one primary goal: to reduce fossil fuel consumption (and hence, all ecological damage) as immediately and rapidly as possible. A 90 percent reduction would be the ballpark target. For militants in this scenario, impacts on civilized humans would be secondary.

Here's their rationale in a nutshell: Humans aren't going to do anything in time to prevent the planet from being destroyed wholesale. Poor people are too preoccupied by primary emergencies, rich people benefit from the status quo, and the middle class (rich people by global standards) are too obsessed with their own entitlement and the technological spectacle to do anything. The risk of runaway global warming is immediate. A drop in the human population is inevitable, and fewer people will die if collapse happens sooner.

Think of it like this. We know we are in overshoot as a species. That means that a significant portion of the people now alive may have to die before we are back under carrying capacity. And that disparity is growing by the day. Every day carrying capacity is driven down by hundreds of thousands of humans, and every day the human population increases by more than 200,000.¹⁵ The people added to the overshoot each day are needless, pointless deaths. Delaying collapse, they argue, is itself a form of mass murder.

Furthermore, they would argue, humans are only one species of millions. To kill millions of species for the benefit of one is insane, just as killing millions of people for the benefit of one person would be insane. And since unimpeded ecological collapse would kill off humans anyway, those species will ultimately have died for nothing, and the planet will take millions of years to recover. Therefore, those of us who care about the future of the planet have to dismantle the industrial energy infrastructure as rapidly as possible. We'll all have to deal with the social consequences as best we can. Besides, rapid collapse is ultimately good for humans—even if there is a partial die-off—because at least some people survive. And remember, the people who need the system to come down the most are the rural poor in the majority of the world: the faster the actionists can bring down industrial civilization, the better the prospects for those people and their land-bases. Regardless, without immediate action, every-one dies.

In this scenario, well-organized underground militants would make coordinated attacks on energy infrastructure around the world. These would take whatever tactical form militants could muster—actions against pipelines, power lines, tankers, and refineries, perhaps using electromagnetic pulses (EMPs) to do damage. Unlike in the previous scenario, no attempt would be made to keep pace with aboveground activists. The attacks would be as persistent as the militants could manage. Fossil fuel energy availability would decline by 90 percent. Greenhouse gas emissions would plummet.

The industrial economy would come apart. Manufacturing and transportation would halt because of frequent blackouts and tremendously high prices for fossil fuels. Some, perhaps most, governments would institute martial law and rationing. Governments that took an authoritarian route would be especially targeted by militant resisters. Other states would simply fail and fall apart.

In theory, with a 90 percent reduction in fossil fuel availability, there would still be enough to aid basic survival activities like growing food, heating,

and cooking. Governments and civil institutions could still attempt a rapid shift to subsistence activities for their populations, but instead, militaries and the very wealthy would attempt to suck up virtually all remaining supplies of energy. In some places, they would succeed in doing so and widespread hunger would result. In others, people would refuse the authority of those in power. Most existing large-scale institutions would simply collapse, and it would be up to local people to either make a stand for human rights and a better way of life or give in to authoritarian power. The death rate would increase, but as we have seen in examples from Cuba and Russia, civic order can still hold despite the hardships.

What happens next would depend on a number of factors. If the attacks could persist and oil extraction were kept minimal for a prolonged period, industrial civilization would be unlikely to reorganize itself. Well-guarded industrial enclaves would remain, escorting fuel and resources under arms. If martial law succeeded in stopping attacks after the first few waves (something it has been unable to do in, for example, Nigeria), the effects would be uncertain. In the twentieth century, industrial societies have recovered from disasters, as Europe did after World War II. But this would be a different situation. For most areas, there would be no outside aid. Populations would no longer be able to outrun the overshoot currently concealed by fossil fuels. That does not mean the effects would be the same everywhere; rural and traditional populations would be better placed to cope.

In most areas, reorganizing an energy-intense industrial civilization would be impossible. Even where existing political organizations persist, consumption would drop. Those in power would be unable to project force over long distances, and would have to mostly limit their activities to nearby areas. This means that, for example, tropical biofuel plantations would not be feasible. The same goes for tar sands and mountain-top removal coal mining. The construction of new large-scale infrastructure would simply not be possible.

Though the human population would decline, things would look good for virtually every other species. The oceans would begin to recover rapidly. The same goes for damaged wilderness areas. Because greenhouse emissions would have been reduced to a tiny fraction of their previous levels, runaway global warming would likely be averted. In fact, returning forests and grasslands would sequester carbon, helping to maintain a livable climate.

Nuclear war would be unlikely. Diminished populations and industrial activities would reduce competition between remaining states. Resource limitations would

be largely logistical in nature, so escalating resource wars over supplies and resource-rich areas would be pointless.

This scenario, too, has its implementation and plausibility caveats. It guarantees a future for both the planet and the human species. This scenario would save trillions upon trillions upon trillions of living creatures. Yes, it would create hardship for the urban wealthy and poor, though most others would be better off immediately. It would be an understatement to call such a concept unpopular (although the militants in this scenario would argue that fewer people will die than in the case of runaway global warming or business as usual).

There is also the question of plausibility. Could enough ecologically motivated militants mobilize to enact this scenario? No doubt for many people the second, more moderate scenario seems both more appealing and more likely.

There is of course an infinitude of possible futures we could describe. We will describe one more possible future, a combination of the previous two, in which a resistance movement embarks on a strategy of Decisive Ecological Warfare

Decisive Ecological Strategy

The ultimate goal of the primary resistance movement in this scenario is simply a living planet—a planet not just living, but in recovery, growing more alive and more diverse year after year. A planet on which humans live in equitable and sustainable communities without exploiting the planet or each other. Given our current state of emergency, this translates into a more immediate goal, which is at the heart of this movement's grand strategy:

Goal 1: To disrupt and dismantle industrial civilization; to thereby remove the ability of the powerful to exploit the marginalized and destroy the planet.

This movement's second goal both depends on and assists the first:

Goal 2: To defend and rebuild just, sustainable, and autonomous human communities, and, as part of that, to assist in the recovery of the land.

To accomplish these goals requires several broad strategies involving large numbers of people in many different organizations, both aboveground and underground. The primary strategies needed in this theoretical scenario include the following:

Strategy A: Engage in direct militant actions against industrial infrastructure, especially energy infrastructure.

Strategy B: Aid and participate in ongoing social and ecological justice struggles; promote equality

and undermine exploitation by those in power.

Strategy C: Defend the land and prevent the expansion of industrial logging, mining, construction, and so on, such that more intact land and species will remain when civilization does collapse.

Strategy D: Build and mobilize resistance organizations that will support the above activities, including decentralized training, recruitment, logistical support, and so on.

Strategy E: Rebuild a sustainable subsistence base for human societies (including perennial polycultures for food) and localized, democratic communities that uphold human rights.

In describing this alternate future scenario, we should be clear about some shorthand phrases like “actions against industrial infrastructure.” Not all infrastructure is created equal, and not all actions against infrastructure are of equal priority, efficacy, or moral acceptability to the resistance movements in this scenario. As Derrick wrote in *Endgame*, you can’t make a moral argument for blowing up a children’s hospital. On the other hand, you can’t make a moral argument against taking out cell phone towers. Some infrastructure is easy, some is hard, and some is harder.

On the same theme, there are many different mechanisms driving collapse, and they are not all equal or equally desirable. In the Decisive Ecological Warfare scenario, some of the mechanisms are intentionally accelerated and encouraged, while others are slowed or reduced. For example, energy decline by decreasing consumption of fossil fuels is a mechanism of collapse highly beneficial to the planet and (especially in the medium to long term) humans, and that mechanism is encouraged. On the other hand, ecological collapse through habitat destruction and biodiversity crash is also a mechanism of collapse (albeit one that takes longer to affect humans), and that kind of collapse is slowed or stopped whenever and wherever possible.

Collapse, in the most general terms, is a rapid loss of complexity.¹⁶ It is a shift toward smaller and more decentralized structures—social, political, economic—with less social stratification, regulation, behavioral control and regimentation, and so on.¹⁷ Major mechanisms of collapse include (in no particular order):

- Energy decline as fossil fuel extraction peaks, and a growing, industrializing population drives down per capita availability.
- Industrial collapse as global economies of scale are ruined by increasing transport and manufacturing costs, and by economic decline.
- Economic collapse as global corporate capital-

ism is unable to maintain growth and basic operations.

- Climate change causing ecological collapse, agricultural failure, hunger, refugees, disease, and so on.
- Ecological collapse of many different kinds driven by resource extraction, destruction of habitat, crashing biodiversity, and climate change.
- Disease, including epidemics and pandemics, caused by crowded living conditions and poverty, along with bacteria diseases increasingly resistant to antibiotics.
- Food crises caused by the displacement of subsistence farmers and destruction of local food systems, competition for grains by factory farms and biofuels, poverty, and physical limits to food production because of drawdown.
- Drawdown as the accelerating consumption of finite supplies of water, soil, and oil leads to rapid exhaustion of accessible supplies.
- Political collapse as large political entities break into smaller groups, secessionists break away from larger states, and some states go bankrupt or simply fail.
- Social collapse as resource shortages and political upheaval break large, artificial group identities into smaller ones (sometimes based along class, ethnic, or regional affinities), often with competition between those groups.
- War and armed conflict, especially resource wars over remaining supplies of finite resources and internal conflicts between warlords and rival factions.
- Crime and exploitation caused by poverty and inequality, especially in crowded urban areas.
- Refugee displacement resulting from spontaneous disasters like earthquakes and hurricanes, but worsened by climate change, food shortages, and so on.

In this scenario, each negative aspect of the collapse of civilization has a reciprocal trend that the resistance movement encourages. The collapse of large authoritarian political structures has a countertrend of emerging small-scale participatory political structures. The collapse of global industrial capitalism has a countertrend of local systems of exchange, cooperation, and mutual aid. And so on. Generally speaking, in this alternate future, a small number of underground people bring down the big bad structures, and a large number of aboveground people cultivate the little good structures.

In his book *The Collapse of Complex Societies*, Joseph Tainter argues that a major mechanism for collapse has to do with societal complexity. Complexity is a general term that includes the number of different jobs or roles in society (e.g., not just healers but epidemiologists, trauma surgeons, gerontologists, etc.), the size and complexity of political structures (e.g., not just popular assemblies but vast sprawling bureaucracies), the number and complexity of manufactured items and technology (e.g., not just spears, but many different calibers and types of bullets), and so on. Civilizations tend to try to use complexity to address problems, and as a result their complexity increases over time.

But complexity has a cost. The decline of a civilization begins when the costs of complexity begin to exceed the benefits—in other words, when increased complexity begins to offer declining returns. At that point, individual people, families, communities, and political and social subunits have a disincentive to participate in that civilization. The complexity keeps increasing, yes, but it keeps getting more expensive. Eventually the ballooning costs force that civilization to collapse, and people fall back on smaller and more local political organizations and social groups.

Part of the job of the resistance movement is to increase the cost and decrease the returns of empire-scale complexity. This doesn't require instantaneous collapse or global dramatic actions. Even small actions can increase the cost of complexity and accelerate the good parts of collapse while tempering the bad.

Part of Tainter's argument is that modern society won't collapse in the same way as old societies, because complexity (through, for example, large-scale agriculture and fossil fuel extraction) has become the physical underpinning of human life rather than a side benefit. Many historical societies collapsed when people returned to villages and less complex traditional life. They chose to do this. Modern people won't do that, at least not on a large scale, in part because the villages are gone, and traditional ways of life are no longer directly accessible to them. This means that people in modern civilization are in a bind, and many will continue to struggle for industrial civilization even when continuing it is obviously counterproductive. Under a Decisive Ecological Warfare scenario, aboveground activists facilitate this aspect of collapse by developing alternatives that will ease the pressure and encourage people to leave industrial capitalism by choice.

There's something admirable about the concept of protracted popular warfare that was used in China and Vietnam. It's an elegant idea, if war can ever be described in such terms; the core idea is adaptable and applicable even in the face of major setbacks and twists of fate.

But protracted popular warfare as such doesn't apply to the particular future we are discussing. The people in that scenario will never have the numbers that protracted popular warfare requires. But they will also face a different kind of adversary, for which different tactics are applicable. So they will take the essential idea of protracted popular warfare and apply it to their own situation—that of needing to save their planet, to bring down industrial civilization and keep it down. And they will devise a new grand strategy based on a simple continuum of steps that flow logically one after the other.

In this alternate future scenario, Decisive Ecological Warfare has four phases that progress from the near future through the fall of industrial civilization. The first phase is Networking & Mobilization. The second phase is Sabotage & Asymmetric Action. The third phase is Systems Disruption. And the fourth and final phase is Decisive Dismantling of Infrastructure.

Each phase has its own objectives, operational approaches, and organizational requirements. There's no distinct dividing line between the phases, and different regions progress through the phases at different times. These phases emphasize the role of militant resistance networks. The aboveground building of alternatives and revitalization of human communities happen at the same time. But this does not require the same strategic rigor; rebuilding healthy human communities with a subsistence base must simply happen as fast as possible, everywhere, with timetables and methods suited to the region. This scenario's militant resisters, on the other hand, need to share some grand strategy to succeed.

Phase I: Networking & Mobilization

Preamble: In phase one, resisters focus on organizing themselves into networks and building cultures of resistance to sustain those networks. Many sympathizers or potential recruits are unfamiliar with serious resistance strategy and action, so efforts are taken to spread that information. But key in this phase is actually forming the above- and underground organizations (or at least nuclei) that will carry out organizational recruitment and decisive action.

Phase II: Sabotage & Asymmetric Action

Security culture and resistance culture are not very well developed at this point, so extra efforts are made to avoid sloppy mistakes that would lead to arrests, and to dissuade informers from gathering or passing on information.

Training of activists is key in this phase, especially through low-risk (but effective) actions. New recruits will become the combatants, cadres, and leaders of later phases. New activists are enculturated into the resistance ethos, and existing activists drop bad or counterproductive habits. This is a time when the resistance movement gets organized and gets serious. People are putting their individual needs and conflicts aside in order to form a movement that can fight to win.

In this phase, isolated people come together to form a vision and strategy for the future, and to establish the nuclei of future organizations. Of course, networking occurs with resistance-oriented organizations that already exist, but most mainstream organizations are not willing to adopt positions of militancy or intransigence with regard to those in power or the crises they face. If possible, they should be encouraged to take positions more in line with the scale of the problems at hand.

This phase is already underway, but a great deal of work remains to be done.

Objectives:

- To build a culture of resistance, with all that entails.
- To build aboveground and underground resistance networks, and to ensure the survival of those networks.

Operations

- Operations are generally lower-risk actions, so that people can be trained and screened, and support networks put in place. These will fall primarily into the sustaining and shaping categories.
- Maximal recruitment and training is very important at this point. The earlier people are recruited, the more likely they are to be trustworthy and the longer time is available to screen them for their competency for more serious action.
- Communications and propaganda operations are also required for outreach and to spread information about useful tactics and strategies, and on the necessity for organized action.

Organization:

- Most resistance organizations in this scenario are still diffuse networks, but they begin to extend and coalesce. This phase aims to build organization.

Preamble: In this phase, the resisters might attempt to disrupt or disable particular targets on an opportunistic basis. For the most part, the required underground networks and skills do not yet exist to take on multiple larger targets. Resisters may go after particularly egregious targets—coal-fired power plants or exploitative banks. At this phase, the resistance focus is on practice, probing enemy networks and security, and increasing support while building organizational networks. In this possible future, underground cells do not attempt to provoke overwhelming repression beyond the ability of what their nascent networks can cope with. Furthermore, when serious repression and setbacks do occur, they retreat toward the earlier phase with its emphasis on organization and survival. Indeed, major setbacks probably do happen at this phase, indicating a lack of basic rules and structure and signaling the need to fall back on some of the priorities of the first phase.

The resistance movement in this scenario understands the importance of decisive action. Their emphasis in the first two phases has not been on direct action, but not because they are holding back. It's because they are working as well as they damned well can, but doing so while putting one foot in front of the other. They know that the planet (and the future) need their action, but understand that it won't benefit from foolish and hasty action, or from creating problems for which they are not yet prepared. That only leads to a morale whiplash and disappointment. So their movement acts as seriously and as swiftly and decisively as it can, but makes sure that it lays the foundation it needs to be truly effective.

The more people join that movement, the harder they work, and the more driven they are, the faster they can progress from one phase to the next.

In this alternate future, aboveground activists in particular take on several important tasks. They push for acceptance and normalization of more militant and radical tactics where appropriate. They vocally support sabotage when it occurs. More moderate advocacy groups use the occurrence of sabotage to criticize those in power for failing to take action on critical issues like climate change (rather than criticizing the saboteurs). They argue that sabotage would not be necessary if civil society would make a reasonable response to social and ecological problems, and use the opportunity and publicity to push solutions to the problems. They do not side with those in power against the saboteurs, but argue that the situation is serious

enough to make such action legitimate, even though they have personally chosen a different course.

At this point in the scenario, more radical and grassroots groups continue to establish a community of resistance, but also establish discrete organizations and parallel institutions. These institutions establish themselves and their legitimacy, make community connections, and particularly take steps to found relationships outside of the traditional "activist bubble." These institutions also focus on emergency and disaster preparedness, and helping people cope with impending collapse.

Simultaneously, aboveground activists organize people for civil disobedience, mass confrontation, and other forms of direct action where appropriate.

Something else begins to happen: aboveground organizations establish coalitions, confederations, and regional networks, knowing that there will be greater obstacles to these later on. These confederations maximize the potential of aboveground organizing by sharing materials, knowledge, skills, learning curricula, and so on. They also plan strategically themselves, engaging in persistent planned campaigns instead of reactive or crisis-to-crisis organizing.

Objectives:

- Identify and engage high-priority individual targets. These targets are chosen by these resisters because they are especially attainable or for other reasons of target selection.
- Give training and real-world experience to cadres necessary to take on bigger targets and systems. Even decisive actions are limited in scope and impact at this phase, although good target selection and timing allows for significant gains.
- These operations also expose weak points in the system, demonstrate the feasibility of material resistance, and inspire other resisters.
- Publically establish the rationale for material resistance and confrontation with power.
- Establish concrete aboveground organizations and parallel institutions.

Operations:

- Limited but increasing decisive operations, combined with growing sustaining operations (to support larger and more logistically demanding organizations) and continued shaping operations.
- In decisive and supporting operations, these hypothetical resisters are cautious and smart. New and unseasoned cadres have a tendency to be overconfident, so to compensate they pick only operations with certain outcomes;

they know that in this stage they are still building toward the bigger actions that are yet to come.

Organization:

- Requires underground cells, but benefits from larger underground networks. There is still an emphasis on recruitment at this point. Aboveground networks and movements are proliferating as much as they can, especially since the work to come requires significant lead time for developing skills, communities, and so on.

Phase III: Systems Disruption

Preamble: In this phase resisters step up from individual targets to address entire industrial, political, and economic systems. Industrial systems disruption requires underground networks organized in a hierarchal or paramilitary fashion. These larger networks emerge out of the previous phases with the ability to carry out multiple simultaneous actions.

Systems disruption is aimed at identifying key points and bottlenecks in the adversary's systems (electrical, transport, financial, and so on) and engaging them to collapse those systems or reduce their functionality. This is not a one-shot deal. Industrial systems are big and can be fragile, but they are sprawling rather than monolithic. Repairs are attempted. The resistance members understand that. Effective systems disruption requires planning for continued and coordinated actions over time.

In this scenario, the aboveground doesn't truly gain traction as long as there is business as usual. On the other hand, as global industrial and economic systems are increasingly disrupted (because of capitalist-induced economic collapse, global climate disasters, peak oil, peak soil, peak water, or for other reasons) support for resilient local communities increases. Failures in the delivery of electricity and manufactured goods increases interest in local food, energy, and the like. These disruptions also make it easier for people to cope with full collapse in the long term—short-term loss, long-term gain, even where humans are concerned.

Dimitry Orlov, a major analyst of the Soviet collapse, explains that the dysfunctional nature of the Soviet system prepared people for its eventual disintegration. In contrast, a smoothly functioning industrial economy causes a false sense of security so that people are unprepared, worsening the impact. "After

collapse, you regret not having an unreliable retail segment, with shortages and long bread lines, because then people would have been forced to learn to shift for themselves instead of standing around waiting for somebody to come and feed them."¹⁸

Aboveground organizations and institutions are well-established by this phase of this alternate scenario. They continue to push for reforms, focusing on the urgent need for justice, relocalization, and resilient communities, given that the dominant system is unfair, unreliable, and unstable.

Of course, in this scenario the militant actions that impact daily life provoke a backlash, sometimes from parts of the public, but especially from authoritarians on every level. The aboveground activists are the frontline fighters against authoritarianism. They are the only ones who can mobilize the popular groundswell needed to prevent fascism.

Furthermore, aboveground activists use the disrupted systems as an opportunity to strengthen local communities and parallel institutions. Mainstream people are encouraged to swing their support to participatory local alternatives in the economic, political, and social spheres. When economic turmoil causes unemployment and hyperinflation, people are employed locally for the benefit of their community and the land. In this scenario, as national governments around the world increasingly struggle with crises (like peak oil, food shortages, climate chaos, and so on) and increasingly fail to provide for people, local and directly democratic councils begin to take over administration of basic and emergency services, and people redirect their taxes to those local entities (perhaps as part of a campaign of general noncooperation against those in power). This happens in conjunction with the community emergency response and disaster preparedness measures already undertaken.

In this scenario, whenever those in power try to increase exploitation or authoritarianism, aboveground resisters call for people to withdraw support from those in power, and divert it to local, democratic political bodies. Those parallel institutions can do a better job than those in power. The cross demographic relationships established in previous phases help to keep those local political structures accountable, and to rally support from many communities.

Throughout this phase, strategic efforts are made to augment existing stresses on economic and industrial systems caused by peak oil, financial instability, and related factors. The resisters think of themselves as pushing on a rickety building that's already starting to lean. Indeed, in this scenario many systems disruptions come from within the system itself, rather than from resisters.

This phase accomplishes significant and decisive gains. Even if the main industrial and economic systems have not completely collapsed, prolonged disruption means a reduction in ecological impact; great news for the planet, and for humanity's future survival. Even a 50 percent decrease in industrial consumption or greenhouse gas emissions is a massive victory (especially considering that emissions have continued to rise in the face of all environmental activism so far), and that buys resisters—and everyone else—some time.

In the most optimistic parts of this hypothetical scenario, effective resistance induces those in power to negotiate or offer concessions. Once the resistance movement demonstrates the ability to use real strategy and force, it can't be ignored. Those in power begin to knock down the doors of mainstream activists, begging to negotiate changes that would co-opt the resistance movements' cause and reduce further actions.

In this version of the future, however, resistance groups truly begin to take the initiative. They understand that for most of the history of civilization, those in power have retained the initiative, forcing resistance groups or colonized people to stay on the defensive, to respond to attacks, to be constantly kept off balance. However, peak oil and systems disruption has caused a series of emergencies for those in power; some caused by organized resistance groups, some caused by civil unrest and shortages, and some caused by the social and ecological consequences of centuries—millennia—of exploitation. For perhaps the first time in history, those in power are globally off balance and occupied by worsening crisis after crisis. This provides a key opportunity for resistance groups, and autonomous cultures and communities, to seize and retain the initiative.

Objectives:

- Target key points of specific industrial and economic systems to disrupt and disable them.
- Effect a measurable decrease in industrial activity and industrial consumption.
- Enable concessions, negotiations, or social changes if applicable.
- Induce the collapse of particular companies, industries, or economic systems.

Operations:

- Mostly decisive and sustaining, but shaping where necessary for systems disruption. Cadres and combatants should be increasingly seasoned at this point, but the onset of decisive and serious action will mean a high attrition rate for resisters. There's no point in

being vague; the members of the resistance in this alternate future who are committed to militant resistance go in expecting that they will either end up dead or in jail. They know that anything better than that was a gift to be won through skill and luck.

Organization:

- Heavy use of underground networks required; operational coordination is a prerequisite for effective systems disruption.
- Recruitment is ongoing at this point; especially to recruit auxiliaries and to cope with losses due to attrition. However, during this phase there are multiple serious attempts at infiltration. The infiltrations are not as successful as they might have been, because underground networks have recruited heavily in previous stages (before large-scale action) to ensure the presence of a trusted group of leaders and cadres who form the backbone of the networks.
- Aboveground organizations are able to mobilize extensively because of various social, political, and material crises.
- At this point, militant resisters become concerned about backlash from people who should be on their side, such as many liberals, especially as those in power put pressure on aboveground activists.

Phase IV: Decisive Dismantling of Infrastructure

Preamble: Decisive dismantling of infrastructure goes a step beyond systems disruption. The intent is to permanently dismantle as much of the fossil fuel-based industrial infrastructure as possible. This phase is the last resort; in the most optimistic projection, it would not be necessary: converging crises and infrastructure disruption would combine with vigorous aboveground movements to force those in power to accept social, political, and economic change; reductions in consumption would combine with a genuine and sincere attempt to transition to a sustainable culture.

But this optimistic projection is not probable. It is more likely that those in power (and many everyday people) will cling more to civilization even as it collapses. And likely, they will support authoritarianism if they think it will maintain their privilege and their entitlement.

The key issue—which we’ve come back to again and again—is time. We will soon reach (if we haven’t already reached) the trigger point of irreversible runaway global warming. The systems disruption phase of this hypothetical scenario offers selectivity. Disruptions in this scenario are engineered in a way that shifts the impact toward industry and attempts to minimize impacts on civilians. But industrial systems are heavily integrated with civilian infrastructure. If selective disruption doesn’t work soon enough, some resisters may conclude that all-out disruption is required to stop the planet from burning to a cinder.

The difference between phases III and IV of this scenario may appear subtle, since they both involve, on an operational level, coordinated actions to disrupt industrial systems on a large scale. But phase III requires some time to work—to weaken the system, to mobilize people and organizations, to build on a series of disruptive actions. Phase III also gives “fair warning” for regular people to prepare. Furthermore, phase III gives time for the resistance to develop itself logistically and organizationally, which is required to proceed to phase IV. The difference between the two phases is capacity and restraint. For resisters in this scenario to proceed from phase III to phase IV, they need two things: the organizational capacity to take on the scope of action required under phase IV, and the certainty that there is no longer any point in waiting for societal reforms to succeed on their own timetable.

In this scenario, both of those phases save lives, human and nonhuman alike. But if large-scale aboveground mobilization does not happen once collapse is underway, phase IV becomes the most effective way to save lives.

Imagine that you are riding in a streetcar through a city crowded with pedestrians. Inside the streetcar are the civilized humans, and outside is all the nonhuman life on the planet, and the humans who are not civilized, or who do not benefit from civilization, or who have yet to be born. Needless to say, those outside far outnumber the few of you inside the streetcar. But the driver of the streetcar is in a hurry, and is accelerating as fast as he can, plowing through the crowds, maiming and killing pedestrians en masse. Most of your fellow passengers don’t seem to particularly care; they’ve got somewhere to go, and they’re glad to be making progress regardless of the cost.

Some of the passengers seem upset by the situation. If the driver keeps accelerating, they observe, it’s possible that the streetcar will crash and the passengers will be injured. Not to worry, one man tells them. His calculations show that the bodies piling up in front of the streetcar will eventually slow the vehi-

cle and cause it to safely come to a halt. Any intervention by the passengers would be reckless, and would surely provoke a reprimand from the driver. Worse, a troublesome passenger might be kicked off the streetcar and later run over by it.

You, unlike most passengers, are more concerned by the constant carnage outside than by the future safety of the streetcar passengers. And you know you have to do something. You could try to jump out the window and escape, but then the streetcar would plow on through the crowd, and you would lose any chance to intervene. So you decide to try to sabotage the streetcar from the inside, to cut the electrical wires, or pull up the flooring and activate the brakes by hand, or derail it, or do whatever you can.

As soon as the other passengers realize what you are doing, they'll try to stop you, and maybe kill you. You have to decide whether you are going to stop the streetcar slowly or speedily. The streetcar is racing along so quickly now that if you stop it suddenly, it may fling the passengers against the seats in front of them or down the aisle. It may kill some of them. But if you stop it slowly, who knows how many innocent people will be struck by the streetcar while it is decelerating? And if you just slow it down, the driver may be able to repair the damage and get the streetcar going again.

So what do you do? If you choose to stop the streetcar as quickly as possible, then you have made the same choice as those who would implement phase IV. You've made the decision that stopping the destruction as rapidly as possible is more important than any particular program of reform. Of course, even in stopping the destruction as rapidly as possible, you can still take measures to reduce casualties on board the streetcar. You can tell people to sit down or buckle up or brace themselves for impact. Whether they will listen to you is another story, but that's their responsibility, not yours.

It's important to not misinterpret the point of phase IV of this alternate future scenario. The point is not to cause human casualties. The point is to stop the destruction of the planet. The enemy is not the civilian population—or any population at all—but a sociopathological sociopolitical and economic system. Ecological destruction on this planet is primarily caused by industry and capitalism; the issue of population is tertiary at best. The point of collapsing industrial infrastructure in this scenario is not to harm humans any more than the point of stopping the streetcar is to harm the passengers. The point is to reduce the damage as quickly as possible, and in doing so to account for the harm the dominant culture is doing to all living creatures, past and future.

This is not an easy phase for the abovegrounders. Part of their job in this scenario is also to help demolish infrastructure, but they are mostly demolishing exploitative political and economic infrastructure, not physical infrastructure. In general, they continue to do what they did in the previous phase, but on a larger scale and for the long term. Public support is directed to local, democratic, and just political and economic systems. Efforts are undertaken to deal with emergencies and cope with the nastier parts of collapse.

Objectives:

- Dismantle the critical physical infrastructure required for industrial civilization to function.
- Induce widespread industrial collapse, beyond any economic or political systems.
- Use continuing and coordinated actions to hamper repairs and replacement.

Operations:

- Focus almost exclusively on decisive and sustaining operations.

Organization:

- Requires well-developed militant underground networks.

Implementing Decisive Ecological Warfare

It's important to note that, as in the case of protracted popular warfare, Decisive Ecological Warfare is not necessarily a linear progression. In this scenario resisters fall back on previous phases as necessary. After major setbacks, resistance organizations focus on survival and networking as they regroup and prepare for more serious action. Also, resistance movements progress through each of the phases, and then recede in reverse order. That is, if global industrial infrastructure has been successfully disrupted or fragmented (phase IV) resisters return to systems disruption on a local or regional scale (phase III). And if that is successful, resisters move back down to phase II, focusing their efforts on the worst remaining targets.

And provided that humans don't go extinct, even this scenario will require some people to stay at phase I indefinitely, maintaining a culture of resistance and passing on the basic knowledge and skills necessary to fight back for centuries and millennia.

The progression of Decisive Ecological Warfare could be compared to ecological succession. A few months ago I visited an abandoned quarry, where the

topsoil and several layers of bedrock had been stripped and blasted away, leaving a cubic cavity several stories deep in the limestone. But a little bit of gravel or dust had piled up in one corner, and some mosses had taken hold. The mosses were small, but they required very little in the way of water or nutrients (like many of the shoestring affinity groups I've worked with). Once the mosses had grown for a few seasons, they retained enough soil for grasses to grow.

Quick to establish, hardy grasses are often among the first species to reinhabit any disturbed land. In much the same way, early resistance organizations are generalists, not specialists. They are robust and rapidly spread and reproduce, either spreading their seeds aboveground or creating underground networks of rhizomes.

The grasses at the quarry built the soil quickly, and soon there was soil for wildflowers and more complex organisms. In much the same way, large numbers of simple resistance organizations help to establish communities of resistance, cultures of resistance, that can give rise to more complex and more effective resistance organizations.

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The hypothetical actionists who put this strategy into place are able to intelligently move from one phase to the next: identifying when the correct elements are in place, when resistance networks are sufficiently mobilized and trained, and when external pressures dictate change. In the US Army's field manual on operations, General Eric Shinseki argues that the rules of strategy "require commanders to master transitions, to be adaptive. Transitions—deployments, the interval between initial operation and sequels, consolidation on the objective, forward passage of lines—sap operational momentum. Mastering transitions is the key to maintaining momentum and winning decisively."

This is particularly difficult to do when resistance does not have a central command. In this scenario, there is no central means of dispersing operational or tactical orders, or effectively gathering precise information about resistance forces and allies. Shinseki continues: "This places a high premium on readiness—well trained Soldiers; adaptive leaders who understand our doctrine; and versatile, agile, and lethal formations." People resisting civilization in this scenario are not concerned with "lethality" so much as effectiveness, but the general point stands.

Resistance to civilization is inherently decentralized. That goes double for underground groups which have minimal contact with others. To compensate for

the lack of command structure, a general grand strategy in this scenario becomes widely known and accepted. Furthermore, loosely allied groups are ready to take action whenever the strategic situation called for it. These groups are prepared to take advantage of crises like economic collapses.

Under this alternate scenario, underground organizing in small cells has major implications for applying the principles of war. The ideal entity for taking on industrial civilization would have been a large, hierarchal paramilitary network. Such a network could have engaged in the training, discipline, and coordinated action required to implement decisive militant action on a continental scale. However, for practical reasons, a single such network never arises. Similar arrangements in the history of resistance struggle, such as the IRA or various territory-controlling insurgent groups, happened in the absence of the modern surveillance state and in the presence of a well-developed culture of resistance and extensive opposition to the occupier.

Although underground cells can still form out of trusted peers along kinship lines, larger paramilitary networks are more difficult to form in a contemporary anticivilization context. First of all, the proportion of potential recruits in the general population is smaller than in any anticolonial or antioccupation resistance movements in history. So it takes longer and is more difficult to expand existing underground networks. The option used by some resistance groups in Occupied France was to ally and connect existing cells. But this is inherently difficult and dangerous. Any underground group with proper cover would be invisible to another group looking for allies (there are plenty of stories from the end of the war of resisters living across the hall from each other without having realized each other's affiliation). And in a panopticon, exposing yourself to unproven allies is a risky undertaking.

A more plausible underground arrangement in this scenario is for there to have been a composite of organizations of different sizes, a few larger networks with a number of smaller autonomous cells that aren't directly connected through command lines. There are indirect connections or communications via cutouts, but those methods are rarely consistent or reliable enough to permit coordinated simultaneous actions on short notice.

Individual cells rarely have the numbers or logistics to engage in multiple simultaneous actions at different locations. That job falls to the paramilitary groups, with cells in multiple locations, who have the command structure and the discipline to properly carry out network disruption. However, autonomous

cells maintain readiness to engage in opportunistic action by identifying in advance a selection of appropriate local targets and tactics. Then once a larger simultaneous action happened (causing, say, a blackout), autonomous cells take advantage of the opportunity to undertake their own actions, within a few hours. In this way unrelated cells engage in something close to simultaneous attacks, maximizing their effectiveness. Of course, if decentralized groups frequently stage attacks in the wake of larger "trigger actions," the corporate media may stop broadcasting news of attacks to avoid triggering more. So, such an approach has its limits, although large-scale effects like national blackouts can't be suppressed in the news (and in systems disruption, it doesn't really matter what caused a blackout in the first place, because it's still an opportunity for further action).

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When we look at some struggle or war in history, we have the benefit of hindsight to identify flaws and successes. This is how we judge strategic decisions made in World War II, for example, or any of those who have tried (or not) to intervene in historical holocausts. Perhaps it would be beneficial to imagine some historians in the distant future—assuming humanity survives—looking back on the alternate future just described. Assuming it was generally successful, how might they analyze its strengths and weaknesses?

For these historians, phase IV is controversial, and they know it had been controversial among resisters at the time. Even resisters who agreed with militant actions against industrial infrastructure hesitated when contemplating actions with possible civilian consequences. That comes as no surprise, because members of this resistance were driven by a deep respect and care for all life. The problem is, of course, that members of this group knew that if they failed to stop this culture from killing the planet, there would be far more gruesome civilian consequences.

A related moral conundrum confronted the Allies early in World War II, as discussed by Eric Markusen and David Kopf in their book *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century*. Markusen and Kopf write that: "At the beginning of World War II, British bombing policy was rigorously discriminating—even to the point of putting British aircrews at great risk. Only obvious military targets removed from population centers were attacked, and bomber crews were instructed to jettison their bombs over water when weather conditions made target identification questionable. Several

factors were cited to explain this policy, including a desire to avoid provoking Germany into retaliating against non-military targets in Britain with its then numerically superior air force."¹⁹

Other factors included concerns about public support, moral considerations in avoiding civilian casualties, the practice of the "Phoney War" (a declared war on Germany with little real combat), and a small air force which required time to build up. The parallels between the actions of the British bombers and the actions of leftist militants from the Weather Underground to the ELF are obvious.

The problem with this British policy was that it simply didn't work. Germany showed no such moral restraint, and British bombing crews were taking greater risks to attack less valuable targets. By February of 1942, bombing policy changed substantially. In fact, Bomber Command began to deliberately target enemy civilians and civilian morale—particularly that of industrial workers—especially by destroying homes around target factories in order to "dehouse" workers. British strategists believed that in doing so they could sap Germany's will to fight. In fact, some of the attacks on civilians were intended to "punish" the German populace for supporting Hitler, and some strategists believed that, after sufficient punishment, the population would rise up and depose Hitler to save themselves. Of course, this did not work; it almost never does.

So, this was one of the dilemmas faced by resistance members in this alternate future scenario: while the resistance abhorred the notion of actions affecting civilians—even more than the British did in early World War II—it was clear to them that in an industrial nation the "civilians" and the state are so deeply enmeshed that any impact on one will have some impact on the other.

Historians now believe that Allied reluctance to attack early in the war may have cost many millions of civilian lives. By failing to stop Germany early, they made a prolonged and bloody conflict inevitable. General Alfred Jodl, the German Chief of the Operations Staff of the Armed Forces High Command, said as much during his war crimes trial at Nuremberg: "[I]f we did not collapse already in the year 1939 that was due only to the fact that during the Polish campaign, the approximately 110 French and British divisions in the West were held completely inactive against the 23 German divisions."²⁰

Many military strategists have warned against piecemeal or half measures when only total war will do the job. In his book *Grand Strategy: Principles and Practices*, John M. Collins argues that timid attacks may strengthen the resolve of the enemy, because

they constitute a provocation but don't significantly damage the physical capability or morale of the occupier. "Destroying the enemy's resolution to resist is far more important than crippling his material capabilities . . . studies of cause and effect tend to confirm that violence short of total devastation may amplify rather than erode a people's determination."²¹ Consider, though, that in this 1973 book Collins may underestimate the importance of technological infrastructure and decisive strikes on them. (He advises elsewhere in the book that computers "are of limited utility."²²)

Other strategists have prioritized the material destruction over the adversary's "will to fight." Robert Anthony Pape discusses the issue in *Bombing to Win*, in which he analyzes the effectiveness of strategic bombing in various wars. We can wonder in this alternate future scenario if the resisters attended to Pape's analysis as they weighed the benefits of phase III (selective actions against particular networks and systems) vs. phase IV (attempting to destroy as much of the industrial infrastructure as possible).

Specifically, Pape argues that targeting an entire economy may be more effective than simply going after individual factories or facilities:

Strategic interdiction can undermine attrition strategies, either by attacking weapons plants or by smashing the industrial base as a whole, which in turn reduces military production. Of the two, attacking weapons plants is the less effective. Given the substitution capacities of modern industrial economies, "war" production is highly fungible over a period of months. Production can be maintained in the short term by running down stockpiles and in the medium term by conservation and substitution of alternative materials or processes. In addition to economic adjustment, states can often make doctrinal adjustments.²³

This analysis is poignant, but it also demonstrates a way in which the goals of this alternate scenario's strategy differed from the goals of strategic bombing in historical conflicts. In the Allied bombing campaign (and in other wars where strategic bombing was used), the strategic bombing coincided with conventional ground, air, and naval battles. Bombing strategists were most concerned with choking off enemy supplies to the battlefield. Strategic bombing alone was not meant to win the war; it was meant to support conventional forces in battle. In contrast, in this alternate future, a significant decrease in industrial production would itself be a great success.

The hypothetical future historians perhaps ask, "Why not simply go after the worst factories, the worst industries, and leave the rest of the economy alone?" Earlier stages of Decisive Ecological Warfare did involve targeting particular factories or industries.

However, the resisters knew that the modern industrial economy was so thoroughly integrated that anything short of general economic disruption was unlikely to have lasting effect.

This, too, is shown by historical attempts to disrupt economies. Pape continues, "Even when production of an important weapon system is seriously undermined, tactical and operational adjustments may allow other weapon systems to substitute for it. . . . As a result, efforts to remove the critical component in war production generally fail." For example, Pape explains, the Allies carried out a bombing campaign on German aircraft engine plants. But this was not a decisive factor in the struggle for air superiority. Mostly, the Allies defeated the Luftwaffe because they shot down and killed so many of Germany's best pilots.

Another example of compensation is the Allied bombing of German ball bearing plants. The Allies were able to reduce the German production of ball bearings by about 70 percent. But this did not force a corresponding decrease in German tank forces. The Germans were able to compensate in part by designing equipment that required fewer bearings. They also increased their production of infantry antitank weapons. Early in the war, Germany was able to compensate for the destruction of factories in part because many factories were running only one shift. They were not using their existing industrial capacity to its fullest. By switching to double or triple shifts, they were able to (temporarily) maintain production.

Hence, Pape argues that war economies have no particular point of collapse when faced with increasing attacks, but can adjust incrementally to decreasing supplies. "Modern war economies are not brittle. Although individual plants can be destroyed, the opponent can reduce the effects by dispersing production of important items and stockpiling key raw materials and machinery. Attackers never anticipate all the adjustments and work-arounds defenders can devise, partly because they often rely on analysis of peacetime economies and partly because intelligence of the detailed structure of the target economy is always incomplete."²⁴ This is a valid caution against overconfidence, but the resisters in this scenario recognized that his argument was not fully applicable to their situation, in part for the reasons we discussed earlier, and in part because of reasons that follow.

Military strategists studying economic and industrial disruption are usually concerned specifically with the production of war materiel and its distribution to enemy armed forces. Modern war economies are economies of total war in which all parts of society are mobilized and engaged in supporting war. So, of course, military leaders can compensate for significant disrupt-

tion; they can divert materiel or rations from civilian use or enlist civilians and civilian infrastructure for military purposes as they please. This does not mean that overall production is unaffected (far from it), simply that military production does not decline as much as one might expect under a given onslaught.

Resisters in this scenario had a different perspective on compensation measures than military strategists. To understand the contrast, pretend that a military strategist and a militant ecological strategist both want to blow up a fuel pipeline that services a major industrial area. Let's say the pipeline is destroyed and the fuel supply to industry is drastically cut. Let's say that the industrial area undertakes a variety of typical measures to compensate—conservation, recycling, efficiency measures, and so on. Let's say they are able to keep on producing insulation or refrigerators or clothing or whatever it is they make, in diminished numbers and using less fuel. They also extend the lifespan of their existing refrigerators or clothing by repairing them. From the point of view of the military strategist, this attack has been a failure—it has a negligible effect on materiel availability for the military. But from the perspective of the militant ecologist, this is a victory. Ecological damage is reduced, and with very few negative effects on civilians. (Indeed, some effects would be directly beneficial.)

And modern economies in general are brittle. Military economies mobilize resources and production by any means necessary, whether that means printing money or commandeering factories. They are economies of crude necessity. Industrial economies, in contrast, are economies of luxury. They mostly produce things that people don't need. Industrial capitalism thrives on manufacturing desire as much as on manufacturing products, on selling people disposable plastic garbage, extra cars, and junk food. When capitalist economies hit hard times, as they did in the Great Depression, or as they did in Argentina a decade ago, or as they have in many places in many times, people fall back on necessities, and often on barter systems and webs of mutual aid. They fall back on community and household economies, economies of necessity that are far more resilient than industrial capitalism, and even more robust than war economies.

Nonetheless, Pape makes an important point when he argues, "Strategic interdiction is most effective when attacks are against the economy as a whole. The most effective plan is to destroy the transportation network that brings raw materials and primary goods to manufacturing centers and often redistributes subcomponents among various industries. Attacking national electric power grids is not effective because industrial facilities commonly have their own backup

power generation. Attacking national oil refineries to reduce backup power generators typically ignores the ability of states to reduce consumption through conservation and rationing." Pape's analysis is insightful, but again it's important to understand the differences between his premises and goals, and the premises and goals of Decisive Ecological Warfare.

The resisters in the DEW scenario had the goals of reducing consumption and reducing industrial activity, so it didn't matter to them that some industrial facilities had backup generators or that states engaged in conservation and rationing. They believed it was a profound ecological victory to cause factories to run on reduced power or for nationwide oil conservation to have taken place. They remembered that in the whole of its history, the mainstream environmental movement was never even able to stop the growth of fossil fuel consumption. To actually reduce it was unprecedented.²⁵

No matter whether we are talking about some completely hypothetical future situation or the real world right now, the progress of peak oil will also have an effect on the relative importance of different transportation networks. In some areas, the importance of shipping imports will increase because of factors like the local exhaustion of oil. In others, declining international trade and reduced economic activity will make shipping less important. Highway systems may have reduced usage because of increasing fuel costs and decreasing trade. This reduced traffic will leave more spare capacity and make highways less vulnerable to disruption. Rail traffic—a very energy-efficient form of transport—is likely to increase in importance. Furthermore, in many areas, railroads have been removed over a period of several decades, so that remaining lines are even now very crowded and close to maximum capacity.

Back to the alternative future scenario: In most cases, transportation networks were not the best targets. Road transportation (by far the most important form in most countries) is highly redundant. Even rural parts of well-populated areas are crisscrossed by grids of county roads, which are slower than highways, but allow for detours.

In contrast, targeting energy networks was a higher priority to them because the effect of disrupting them was greater. Many electrical grids were already operating near capacity, and were expensive to expand. They became more important as highly portable forms of energy like fossil fuels were partially replaced by less portable forms of energy, specifically electricity generated from coal-burning and nuclear plants, and to a lesser extent by wind and solar energy. This meant that electrical grids carried as much

or more energy as they do now, and certainly a larger percentage of all energy consumed. Furthermore, they recognized that energy networks often depend on a few major continent-spanning trunks, which were very vulnerable to disruption.

...

There is one final argument that resisters in this scenario made for actions against the economy as a whole, rather than engaging in piecemeal or tentative actions: the element of surprise. They recognized that sporadic sabotage would sacrifice the element of surprise and allow their enemy to regroup and develop ways of coping with future actions. They recognized that sometimes those methods of coping would be desirable for the resistance (for example, a shift toward less intensive local supplies of energy) and sometimes they would be undesirable (for example, deployment of rapid repair teams, aerial monitoring by remotely piloted drones, martial law, etc.). Resisters recognized that they could compensate for exposing some of their tactics by carrying out a series of decisive surprise operations within a larger progressive struggle.

On the other hand, in this scenario resisters understand that DEW depended on relatively simple "appropriate technology" tactics (both aboveground and underground). It depended on small groups and was relatively simple rather than complex. There was not a lot of secret tactical information to give away. In fact, escalating actions with straightforward tactics were beneficial to their resistance movement. Analyst John Robb has discussed this point while studying insurgencies in countries like Iraq. Most insurgent tactics are not very complex, but resistance groups can continually learn from the examples, successes, and failures of other groups in the "bazaar" of insurgency. Decentralized cells are able to see the successes of cells they have no direct communication with, and because the tactics are relatively simple, they can quickly mimic successful tactics and adapt them to their own resources and circumstances. In this way, successful tactics rapidly proliferate to new groups even with minimal underground communication.

Hypothetical historians looking back might note another potential shortcoming of DEW: that it required perhaps too many people involved in risky tactics, and that resistance organizations lacked the numbers and logistical persistence required for prolonged struggle. That was a valid concern, and was dealt with proactively by developing effective support networks early on. Of course, other suggested strategies—such as a mass movement of any kind—required far more

people and far larger support networks engaging in resistance. Many underground networks operated on a small budget, and although they required more specialized equipment, they generally required far fewer resources than mass movements.

...

Continuing this scenario a bit further, historians asked: how well did Decisive Ecological Warfare rate on the checklist of strategic criteria we provided at the end of the Introduction to Strategy (Chapter 12, page 385).

Objective: This strategy had a clear, well-defined, and attainable objective.

Feasibility: This strategy had a clear A to B path from the then-current context to the desired objective, as well as contingencies to deal with setbacks and upsets. Many believed it was a more coherent and feasible strategy than any other they'd seen proposed to deal with these problems.

Resource Limitations: How many people are required for a serious and successful resistance movement? Can we get a ballpark number from historical resistance movements and insurgencies of all kinds?

- **The French Resistance.** Success indeterminate. As we noted in the "The Psychology of Resistance" chapter: The French Resistance at most comprised perhaps 1 percent of the adult population, or about 200,000 people.²⁶ The postwar French government officially recognized 220,000 people²⁷ (though one historian estimates that the number of active resisters could have been as many as 400,000²⁸). In addition to active resisters, there were perhaps another 300,000 with substantial involvement.²⁹ If you include all of those people who were willing to take the risk of reading the underground newspapers, the pool of sympathizers grows to about 10 percent of the adult population, or two million people.³⁰ The total population of France in 1940 was about forty-two million, so recognized resisters made up one out of every 200 people.
- **The Irish Republican Army.** Successful. At the peak of Irish resistance to British rule, the Irish War of Independence (which built on 700 years of resistance culture), the IRA had about 100,000 members (or just over 2 percent of the population of 4.5 million), about 15,000 of whom participated in the guerrilla war, and 3,000 of whom were fighters at any one time. Some of the most critical and decisive militants were in the "Twelve Disciples,"

a tiny number of people who swung the course of the war. The population of occupying England at the time was about twenty-five million, with another 7.5 million in Scotland and Wales. So the IRA membership comprised one out of every forty Irish people, and one out of every 365 people in the UK. Collins's Twelve Disciples were one out of 300,000 in the Irish population.³¹

- The antioccupation Iraqi insurgency. Indeterminate success. How many insurgents are operating in Iraq? Estimates vary widely and are often politically motivated, either to make the occupation seem successful or to justify further military crackdowns, and so on. US military estimates circa 2006 claim 8,000–20,000 people.³² Iraqi intelligence estimates are higher. The total population is thirty-one million, with a land area about 438,000 square kilometers. If there are 20,000 insurgents, then that is one insurgent for every 1,550 people.
- The African National Congress. Successful. How many ANC members were there? Circa 1979, the “formal political underground” consisted of 300 to 500 individuals, mostly in larger urban centers.³³ The South African population was about twenty-eight million at the time, but census data for the period is notoriously unreliable due to noncooperation. That means the number of formal underground ANC members in 1979 was one out of every 56,000.
- The Weather Underground. Unsuccessful. Several hundred initially, gradually dwindling over time. In 1970 the US population was 179 million, so they were literally one in a million.
- The Black Panthers. Indeterminate success. Peak membership was in late 1960s with over 2,000 members in multiple cities.³⁴ That's about one in 100,000.
- North Vietnamese Communist alliance during Second Indochina War. Successful. Strength of about half a million in 1968, versus 1.2 million anti-Communist soldiers. One figure puts the size of the Vietcong army in 1964 at 1 million.³⁵ It's difficult to get a clear figure for total of combatants and noncombatants because of the widespread logistical support in many areas. Population in late 1960s was around forty million (both North and South), so in 1968, about one of every eighty Vietnamese people was fighting for the Communists.
- Spanish Revolutionaries in the Spanish Civil

War. Both successful and unsuccessful. The National Confederation of Labor (CNT) in Spain had a membership of about three million at its height. A major driving force within the CNT was the anarchist FAI, a loose alliance of militant affinity groups. The Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) had a membership of perhaps 5,000 to 30,000 just prior to revolution, a number which increased significantly with the onset of war. The CNT and FAI were successful in bringing about a revolution in part of Spain, but were later defeated on a national scale by the Fascists. The Spanish population was about 26 million. So about one in nine Spaniards were CNT members, and (assuming the higher figure) about one in 870 Spaniards was FAI members.

- Poll tax resistance against Margaret Thatcher circa 1990. Successful. About fourteen million people were mobilized. In a population of about fifty-seven million, that's about one in four (although most of those people participated mostly by refusing to pay a new tax).
- British suffragists. Successful. It's hard to find absolute numbers for all suffragists. However, there were about 600 nonmilitant women's suffrage societies. There were also militants, of whom over a thousand went to jail. The militants made all suffrage groups—even the nonmilitant ones—swell in numbers. Based on the British population at the time, the militants were perhaps one in 15,000 women, and there was a nonmilitant suffrage society for every 25,000 women.³⁶
- Sobibór uprising. Successful. Less than a dozen core organizers and conspirators. Majority of people broke out of the camp and the camp was shut down. Up to that point perhaps a quarter of a million people had been killed at the camp. The core organizers made up perhaps one in sixty of the Jewish occupants of the camp at the time, and perhaps one in 25,000 of those who had passed through the camp on the way to their deaths.

It's clear that a small group of intelligent, dedicated, and daring people can be extremely effective, even if they only number one in 1,000, or one in 10,000, or even one in 100,000. But they are effective in large part through an ability to mobilize larger forces, whether those forces are social movements (perhaps through noncooperation campaigns like the poll tax) or industrial bottlenecks.

Furthermore, it's clear that if that core group can

be maintained, it's possible for it to eventually enlarge itself and become victorious.

All that said, future historians discussing this scenario will comment that DEW was designed to make maximum use of small numbers, rather than assuming that large numbers of people would materialize for timely action. If more people had been available, the strategy would have become even more effective. Furthermore, they might comment that this strategy attempted to mobilize people from a wide variety of backgrounds in ways that were feasible for them; it didn't rely solely on militancy (which would have excluded large numbers of people) or on symbolic approaches (which would have provoked cynicism through failure).

Tactics: The tactics required for DEW were relatively simple and accessible, and many of them were low risk. They were appropriate to the scale and seriousness of the objective and the problem. Before the beginnings of DEW, the required tactics were not being implemented because of a lack of overall strategy and of organizational development both above- and underground. However, that strategy and organization were not technically difficult to develop—the main obstacles were ideological.

Risk: In evaluating risk, members of the resistance and future historians considered both the risks of acting and the risks of not acting: the risks of implementing a given strategy and the risks of not implementing it. In their case, the failure to carry out an effective strategy would have resulted in a destroyed planet and the loss of centuries of social justice efforts. The

failure to carry out an effective strategy (or a failure to act at all) would have killed billions of humans and countless nonhumans. There were substantial risks for taking decisive action, risks that caused most people to stick to safer symbolic forms of action. But the risks of inaction were far greater and more permanent.

Timeliness: Properly implemented, Decisive Ecological Warfare was able to accomplish its objective within a suitable time frame, and in a reasonable sequence. Under DEW, decisive action was scaled up as rapidly as it could be based on the underlying support infrastructure. The exact point of no return for catastrophic climate change was unclear, but if there are historians or anyone else alive in the future, DEW and other measures were able to head off that level of climate change. Most other proposed measures in the beginning weren't even trying to do so.

Simplicity and Consistency: Although a fair amount of context and knowledge was required to carry out this strategy, at its core it was very simple and consistent. It was robust enough to deal with unexpected events, and it could be explained in a simple and clear manner without jargon. The strategy was adaptable enough to be employed in many different local contexts.

Consequences: Action and inaction both have serious consequences. A serious collapse—which could involve large-scale human suffering—was frightening to many. Resisters in this alternate future believed first and foremost that a terrible outcome was not inevitable, and that they could make real changes to the way the future unfolded.

End Notes

1. Even the US military now recognizes this. See Macalister, "US Military Warns Oil Output May Dip Causing Massive Shortages by 2015."
2. Aric and Derrick explored the relationships between collapse, carrying capacity, racism, and the Nazis in the closing chapters of *What We Leave Behind*.
3. Shortly after this was written, the government of Spain cancelled \$24 billion worth of solar energy investments to avoid spiraling into a national debt crisis that they worried would collapse their economy.
4. See Kevin Bales's important book *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*.
5. See International Union of Forest Research Organizations, "Adaptation of Forests and People to Climate Change." Also, the conversation of forests into carbon emitters because of warming, disease, logging, and fires is already happening (Kurz et al., "Mountain Pine Beetle").
6. Science Daily, "Regional Nuclear War Could Devastate Global Climate."
7. Science Daily, "Regional Nuclear Conflict Would Create Near-Global Ozone Hole, Says Study."
8. Cobalt bombs are nuclear bombs with a cobalt jacket. They were the "doomsday device" in the film *Dr. Strangelove*. Regular fallout has a half-life of days, but cobalt bomb fallout would have a half-life in excess of five years. Some experts believe that cobalt bombs could literally destroy all life on Earth.
9. Novacek et al., "The Current Biodiversity Extinction Event."
10. See Lovelock, *The Ages of Gaia: A Biography of Our Living Earth*.
11. Core samples from the floor of the Arctic Ocean show that about fifty-five million years ago the region was tropical because of a spike in atmospheric CO₂. The biota ringing the ocean was swampy with dense sequoia and cypress trees, and "mosquitoes the size of your head." The year-round average temperature was about 23°C (74°F). Since the Arctic Circle has twenty-four-hour sunlight for most of the summer and twenty-four-hour dark for most of the winter, this average must have been associated with remarkable temperature extremes. Most of the planet was virtually uninhabitable by our standards. The growth of heat-tolerant ferns eventually sequestered carbon and returned the planet to a cooler state, but that took almost a million years to occur. See Associated Press, "Arctic Circle—Ancient Vacation Hotspot?"
12. Congressional Research Service, "Energy Use in Agriculture: Background and Issues."
13. Energy Information Administration, "EIA Annual Energy Review 2008," p. 3.
14. Remember that even now, with plenty of surplus food and housing available, there are tens of millions of unsettled refugees in various parts of the world (not counting those who have been uprooted from traditional landbases and resettled in urban slums).
15. That is net population growth, the number of daily births minus the number of daily deaths.
16. For example, Joseph Tainter writes that "[a] society has collapsed when it displays a rapid, significant loss of an established level of sociopolitical complexity."
17. Again, criteria here based on Tainter.
18. Quotation from a speech by Dimitry Orlov, "Social Collapse Best Practices," given in San Francisco on February 13, 2009, online at <http://cluborlov.blogspot.com/2009/02/social-collapse-best-practices.html>.
19. Markusen, *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing*, p. 152.
20. Transcripts of the trial are a matter of public record. See "The Proceedings of the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg," vol. 15, p. 350, at http://www.loc.gov/tr/frd/Military_Law/NT_major-war-criminals.html.
21. Collins, *Grand Strategy*, p. 214.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
23. Pape, *Bombing to Win*, pp. 77–78.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
25. Pape discusses how his preferred strategy of transportation disruption might play out in different settings. "Against an exceptionally import-dependent economy," he writes, "such as Japan in World War II, disruption of transportation can be accomplished by blockading sea routes, using air power less for bombing than for shipping attack and mining. If imports can be totally cut off, the target economy will collapse when domestic stockpiles are exhausted; the Japanese merchant marine was essentially destroyed by the end of 1944, leading to the collapse of war production by the middle of 1945." Even increasing the cost of imports would have a beneficial effect. The pirates of Somalia are currently doing an excellent job of increasing the cost of international shipping, through delays, ransoms, increased insurance costs, and military expenses for defending the ships. So far, piracy off the coast of Somalia doesn't even require fund raising—it's a self-sufficient business enterprise.
Conversely, Pape writes: "Against a relatively resource-rich economy, such as Nazi-controlled Europe, strategic interdiction requires stopping the flow of commerce along domestic railroad, highway, and canal systems by destroying key nodes (bridges, canal locks, and railroad marshalling yards), moving traffic, and rolling stock and cargo vessels. This mission is hard because commercial transportation systems are large and redundant and are rarely used to full capacity. Thus, the United States could not bring the German economy to quick collapse even though U.S. air forces were vastly superior."
26. Laffont, *Dictionnaire historique*, p. 399. This number is according to François Marcot, professor of history at the Sorbonne.
27. Collins Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, p. 10.
28. Paxton, *Vichy France*, p. 294.
29. Again, according to François Marcot.
30. Paxton, *Vichy France*, p. 294.
31. Jefferies, "The UK Population."
32. BBC News, "Guide: Armed Groups in Iraq."
33. Barrell, "Conscripts to Their Age," p. 495. Interview with Mac Maharaj, IV/Maharaj.
34. Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/68134/Black-Panther-Party>.
35. Demma, "The U.S. Army," chapter 28.
36. These being very approximate numbers based on Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder*.

A TAXONOMY OF ACTION

Figure 6-1

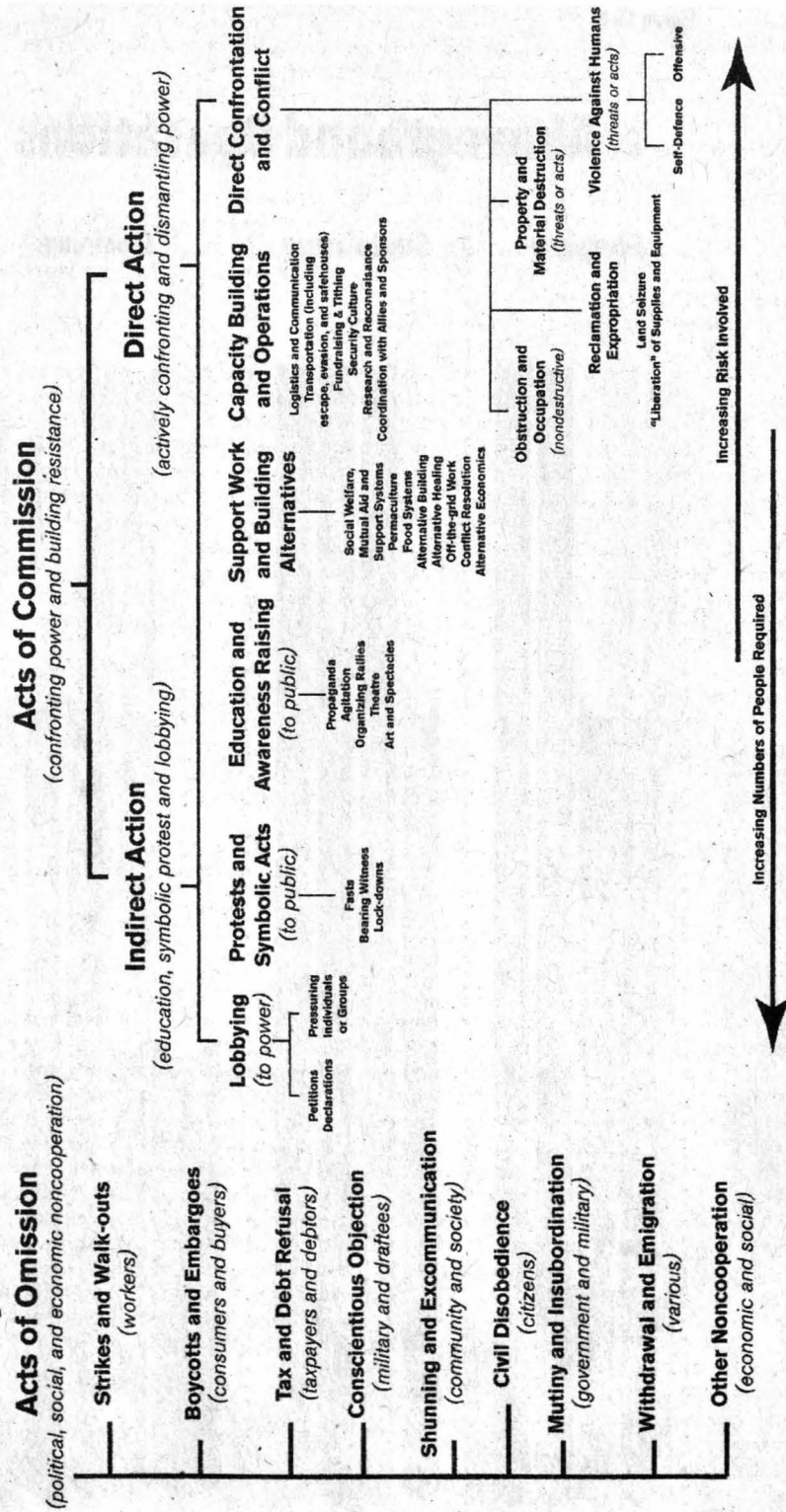


Figure 13-1

Aboveground Operations

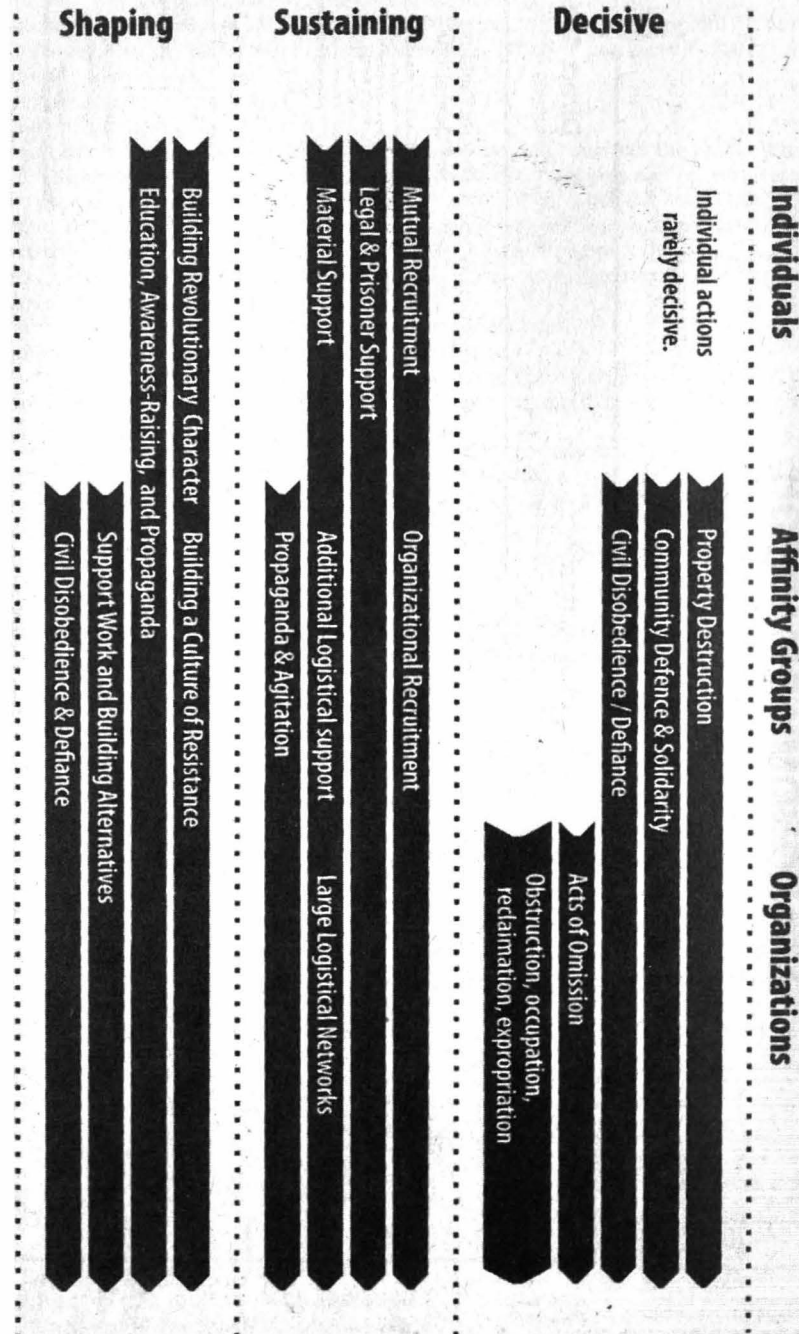
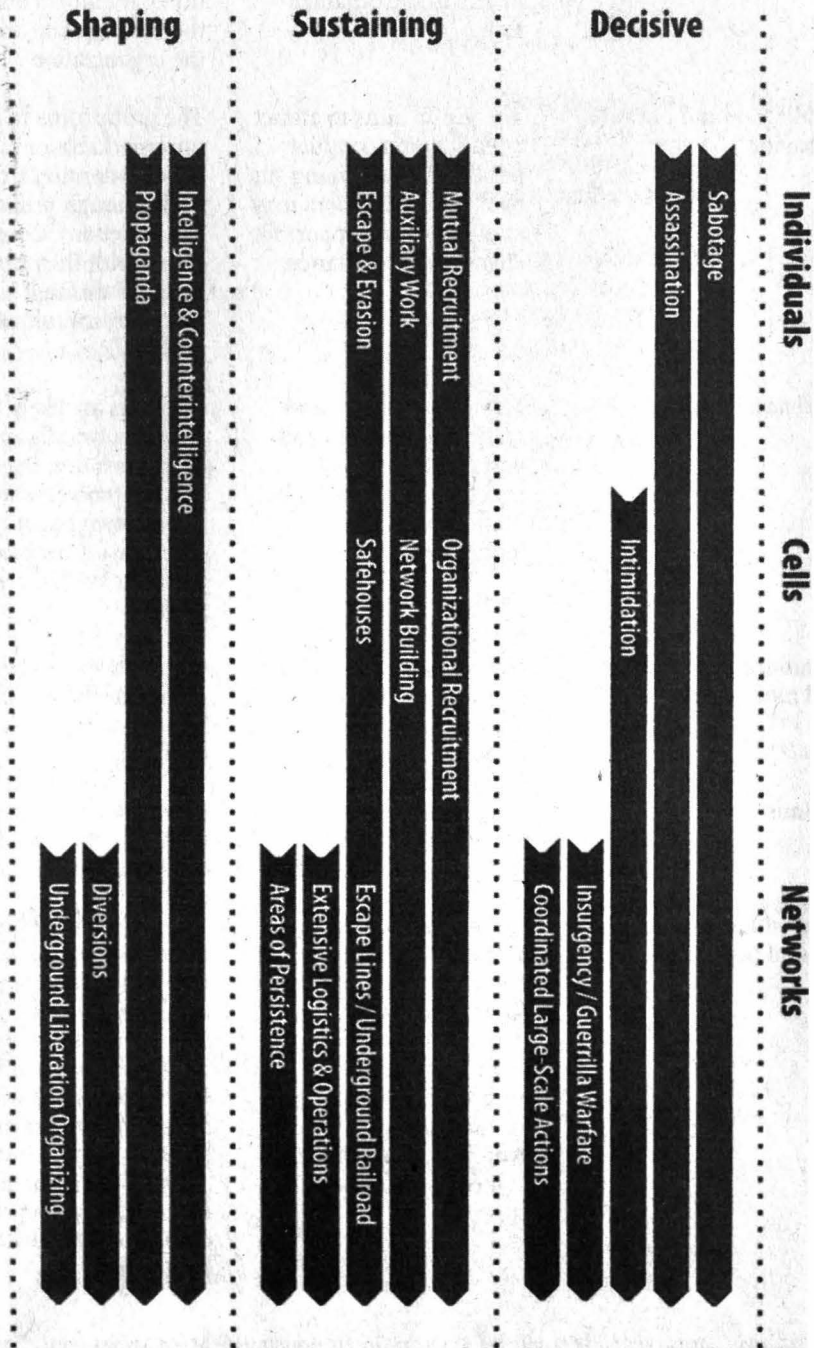


Figure 13-2

Underground Operations



FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AG AND UG ORGANIZATIONS

CRITERION	ABOVEGROUND	UNDERGROUND
Membership	Membership is likely open, membership of any given member known by others in the organization.	Membership is closed or closely guarded. Members are not aware of the identity of members outside of their immediate area of the organization.
Public face and outward behavior	The group aims to attract attention and conducts public relations using "its own face." Members may strongly voice support for change and resistance.	The group aims to appear unremarkable or to deflect attention from itself (though probably not its action). Communication with the public happens through anonymous communiqués or press offices.
Decision making	May emphasize democratic, transparent, and participatory decision making. They tend to be more broadly participatory in nature.	Members are likely to appear outwardly apolitical or conservative. Decision making process is internally known but outwardly covert, many decisions based on internal rank and structure.
Internal communication and movement	Internal communication (with and between groups) may be open, frequent, and in the clear.	Communication between groups is likely to be limited, guarded, terse, and encoded.
Actions	Members may move between different groups routinely to share skills.	Movement between groups is very limited, but skill sharing is still important.
Goal with regard to general populace	Likely to announce in advance to maximize attention and media coverage. May target areas where enemy is strongest or most concentrated (i.e., demonstrations in financial districts). May hope to mobilize citizens or gain broader support.	No advance announcement, or perhaps disinformation about upcoming actions. Targets areas where enemy is weakest or most diffuse. Is not concerned with support of the majority, but may want to increase network of sympathizers. Hopes to avoid reprisals carried out on general population.

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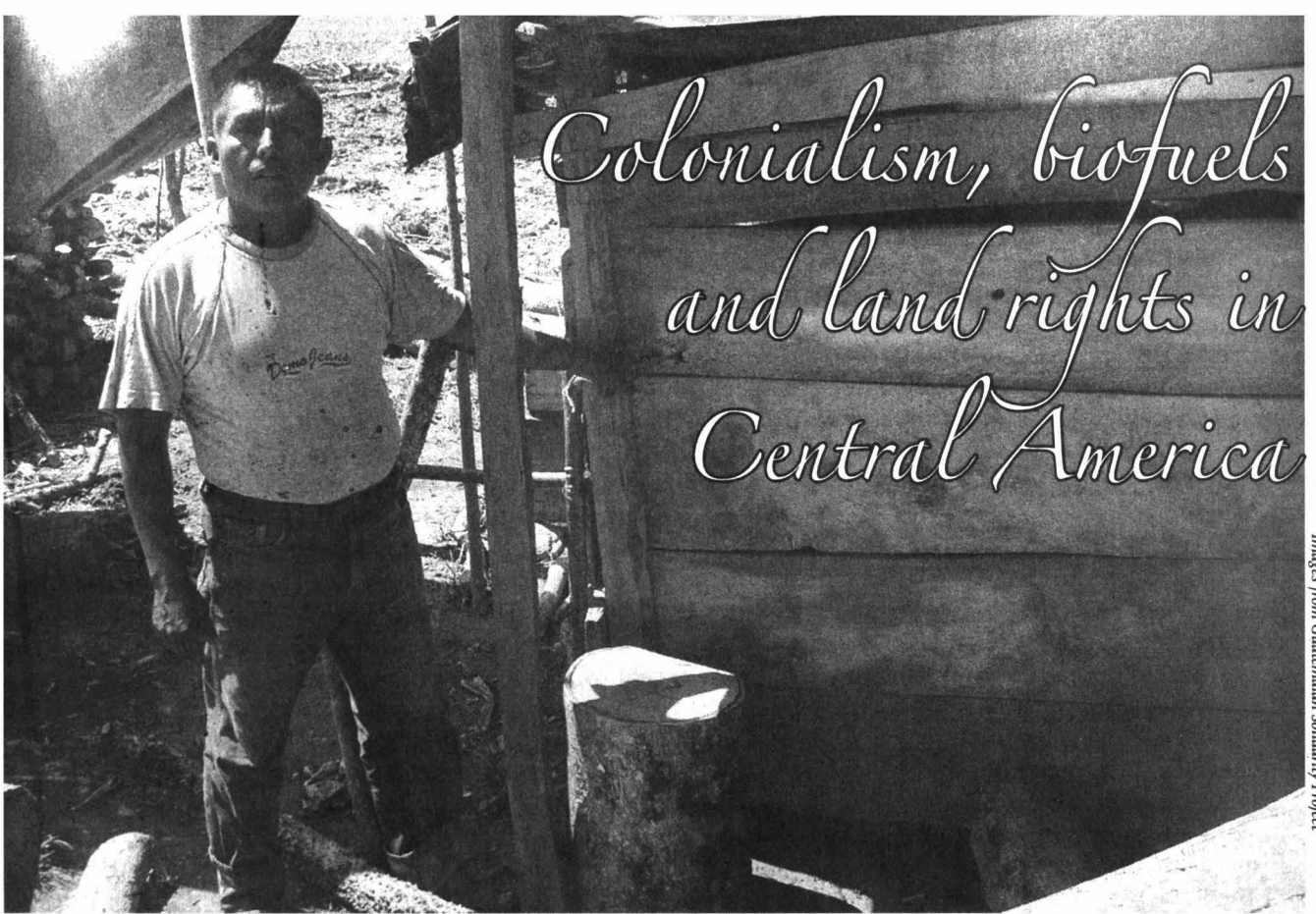
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“...Resisters in this alternate future believed first and foremost that a terrible outcome was not inevitable, and that they could make real changes to the way the future unfolded.”



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Images from Guatemalan Solidarity Project

Colonialism, biofuels and land rights in Central America

Mateo Cuc (new representative after last one was murdered), Parana community, pointing to bullet holes following a nighttime attack by masked Cabil Utzaj security forces

By Lish and Lexi

"On the mornings of March 15, 16, and 17 2011, fourteen Q'eqchi' speaking communities in the Polochic Valley awoke to find hundreds of hired security workers and federal police officers on their doorsteps. With no notice or chance at appeal, their houses were burned and their crops, three weeks from harvest, were bulldozed. Since that time, corn prices in the region have doubled."

The biofuel industry is rapidly expanding. There is an increasing legal push for the product as it is swept forward into the market by lobby groups and agribusiness. In the UK, a mandatory five percent of fuel sold must be renewable. In the state of Minnesota its two percent. Subsidies exist worldwide to reward large-scale African Palm plantations with carbon credits for planting trees, but these incentives do nothing to regulate the sources of oil. Greenwashing this issue has only led to devastating results around the world. The biofuel industry is going through the same growth stages of many new industries: rapid expansion, and a ruthless grab for land, resources, and cheap labor. Palm

oil has the most efficient yield of all sources of biodiesel, as sugarcane has the most efficient yield of all sources of ethanol. African Palm, a popular source of palm oil, has expanded over the last 25 years throughout South East Asia, and Central and South America. Local government interest and the international subsidies for crops such as African Palm has drawn in enormous investment from industries around the world. The Clean Development Mechanism, a policy born out of the Kyoto Protocol, allows profitable companies to make investments outside of their own countries, and to be compensated by their governments for the carbon offset credits. The green branding of biofuels such as the African Palm has distracted many consumers from the widespread destruction of rainforests, and the destruction of countless small communities sustainably farming the targeted land. Half of Malaysia's cultivated land produces African Palm, but despite palm oil's relative efficiency, seven million tons of oil in 2001 yielded 19.9 million tons of various wastes. These numbers don't include the effects of pesticides, herbicides, and fertilizers on the crops, let alone the depletion of rainforests and their bio-regions. In Indonesia, many plantations have been abandoned after 25 years of production, leaving the land incapable of producing any longer due to the destructive practice of mono-cropping. All over these regions, vast tracts of what was once good farmland have been depleted of nutrients and topsoil by the crop.

However, biofuel lobby groups and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) have pushed for the industry's expansion within Central America. The 2009 Global Agricultural Information Network report, published by the USDA, stated that African Palm grew only "in areas not suitable for food crops." Ignoring the conditions in the small countries this crop has invaded, the same report stated that "the threat to food security is exaggerated in Guatemala." However, in the last five years the price of corn has doubled in Guatemala, and violent struggles for land have followed African palm wherever it has been planted. These facts have systematically been overshadowed by the prospect of profits from palm and sugar plantations.

The Palm Oil Green Development Campaign, an industry media group, has listed under their principles that "efficient palm oil plantations and the growing demand for palm oil give smaller landholders greater opportunities to make a living off their land, maintain their ownership and support their rights to property and prosperity."

The idea that the economic beneficiaries of these massive monoculture plantations are the developing nations and poor people farming their own land is an insult to their struggle. In the municipality of Panzos, in the Polochic Valley of Guatemala, over 800 families were violently evicted in 2011 alone. Fourteen farming communities have been targeted by the heavy-handed company, Chabil Utzaj. Owned by one of the most powerful families in Guatemala, the Widmanns, Chabil Utzaj was recently granted a \$31 million loan from the Inter-American Bank for Economic Integration to increase palm and sugar production in the region. To enforce their crooked claim to the land, Chabil Utzaj adopted practices reminiscent of the civil war, when the Guatemalan military razed 440 villages in attempts to control land and resources, under the guise of combating "insurgency." The company hires a heavily armed security force that operates like a paramilitary army. By day they drive through the valley in huge pick-up trucks, loaded with soldiers bearing heavy automatic assault rifles. By night, they wear black masks and attack communities that are engaged in a struggle for land that their families have farmed for generations.

Most indigenous communities (which make up 80 percent of the population) suffered greatly during the violence of the civil war, having to flee from the genocide into the jungle or into Southern Mexico. Their departure allowed an opening for big business to move onto their land. Upon their return, these people found their claim to traditional spaces brushed aside by the government. These same communities are once again under attack. They have identified their attackers as government soldiers, even as smear campaigns attempt to pit one community against another and publicize it as some sort of territorial rivalry. Indigenous farming communities clearly cannot afford the types of weap-

ons the government is claiming they are using against each other. They are all very aware of where the real threat is coming from. They have watched crops destroyed, houses burned, and people shot in campaigns of terror used to acquire land and to profit from an international thirst for biofuels.

The claim is that the fourteen indigenous Mayan communities were occupying Chabil Utzaj's land, but the history of the ownership of this land in the Polochic Valley is far from simple. From Spanish conquest to corporate monopolies of its resources, virtually all the land in Guatemala has for centuries been ruthlessly dominated by a small and powerful class of landowners, who have produced coffee, fruit, biofuels and other cash crops for an exploitative international market. The most notable of these companies was the United Fruit Co., who during the 1940's and 50's owned 40 percent of the land in the country and controlled the port city of Puerto Barrios, the railroad, and the national utilities. For many years during the 1930's and 40's campesinos owning less than 10 acres of land were forced to work 90 days of unpaid labor a year as a form of "taxation."

The promise of land reform was a lynch pin in the signing of the Peace Accords that ended the war in 1996, and for a few years it looked like change was imminent. But the land claims of many in the Polochic Valley, as in the rest of Guatemala, have become mired in bureaucracy and overshadowed by corporate land claims. In communities with low literacy and limited Spanish skills, no legal representation, and no financial resources, this uphill struggle cannot be understated. Despite ancestral claims to land and claims that have been promised as a recompense for years of serfdom, the money and influence of the biofuel industry quickly won over an easily swayed government.

For ten years now, Chabil Utzaj has been steadily claiming land and pushing many indigenous Q'eqchi' people, who have no alternative, to work low-paying and temporary jobs. These jobs require them to dismantle their own houses, schools and churches; plant cane and palm in place of their corn; and live in slum-like, fenced-off work camps to produce biofuel for a



Parana community burnt down following attack by Cabil Utzaj



Communally stored food reserves were set on fire during nighttime attack. Crops also plowed by company next day.

short-sighted North American conscience.

On the mornings of March 15, 16, and 17, 2011, fourteen Q'eqchi' speaking communities in the Polochic Valley awoke to find hundreds of hired security workers and federal police officers on their doorsteps. With no notice or chance at appeal, their houses were burned and their crops, three weeks from harvest, were bulldozed. Since that time, corn prices in the region have doubled. The government has offered no relocation, no support, and no acknowledgment of its crimes. The families live nearby or have moved back, rebuilding where Chabil Utzaj has not yet planted, and are living under constant threat and harassment from the company security. Community leaders have been arrested on fraudulent charges, and children combat illness and weakness from malnutrition.

On August 11th, the Guatemala Solidarity Project traveled to the Polochic Valley in Alta Verapaz to meet the community of Parana. As participants in this project, what we saw was shocking. The community members were living in temporary shacks built following an attack. Two days before we arrived they had been attacked again, this time during the night by masked mercenaries. The mercenaries surrounded the houses, firing rounds through the walls. They looted valuables and found the community's reserves of food, lighting them on fire after dousing them with gasoline. The weapons the mercenaries carried were large automatic assault rifles, illegal to own personally but commonly seen in the hands of Chabil Utzaj security forces. Five people were shot that night, one man wounded critically with a bullet through the stomach as he slept.

Members of the community were able to get the wounded man to a hospital that night, but the day we arrived he was transferred to a prison in Cobán. His injury was still severe, and he was not being provided with the colostomy bags he needed. He showed us the open wound in his stomach and the tube that was supposed to attach to the reusable bags. He couldn't speak over a whisper as he told us his wound was only opening further, as days passed without sight of a doctor. The next day, we met with the director of the prison. He informed us that the doctor who works there found

him in fine health. He said that to give him more medical attention than the other prisoners would be unfair, and it would be impossible to move him to a hospital. He had been shot six days before, and transferred from the hospital for being fraudulently charged with the murder of another leader from Parana. This woman had been his friend and neighbor, also shot by Chabil Utzaj's hired security in the night. He had not yet been told of his charges and was deeply grieved by what we had to tell him. After five days of torment in the prison, the accusation left him stricken, wondering who could believe he would do such a thing to his friend, and despairing at his chances of returning to his five children and his struggling village.

The loss of those two leaders was a blow for Parana, and there were few remaining people to step up as legal representatives for the community. Every village or community in Guatemala needs a legal representative in order to be recognized by the state as an autonomous group, but the position comes with a heavy weight. There are often a limited number of people that can speak Spanish in these communities, let alone read or write the language. Charging these people with crimes is an effective strategy in silencing poor communities, making it even more difficult for them to negotiate politically or speak publicly on behalf of their community.

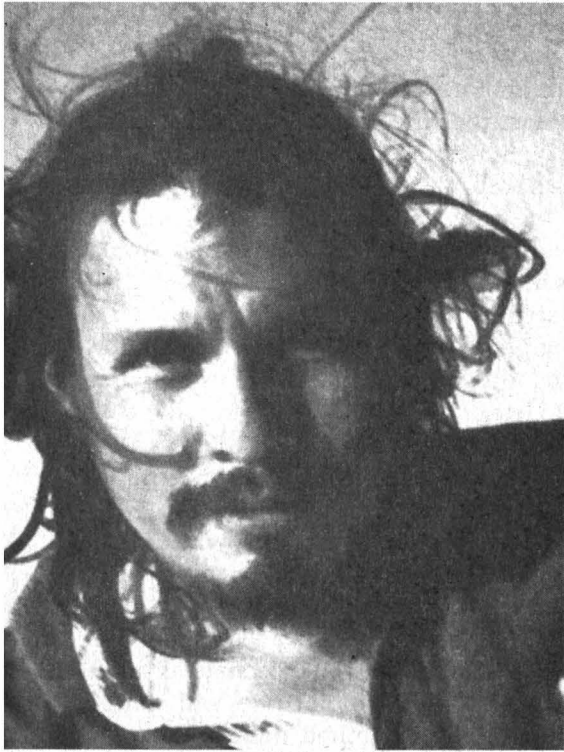
Today, Parana is doing worse than ever. On October 26th, 2011, Chabil Utzaj's security forces and one of its owners, Walter Widmann, entered the community with the backing of the military, and destroyed every last one of their houses. With very few places to go and no accessible resources, they are left vulnerable and at the mercy of exploitation by the biofuel companies. We have received reports of a death from starvation.

The fact that the very existence of these sustenance farms is being threatened, in favor of a fuel supplement for our personal vehicles, is a shocking reminder of the benefit we reap from colonial power structures. There is no doubt that alternative energies are critical, and biofuels do have potential. Our recent attempts to lessen the impact of our lifestyles on this fragile planet have begun to produce alternatives to the tar sands or the construction of dangerous continental pipelines. But we cannot fool ourselves into thinking we have found an ethical substitute to oil in biofuels. We must hold our governments and industries accountable. We must examine and condemn the human as well as the ecological exploitation evident in areas such as Parana, before we destroy our real alternatives altogether.

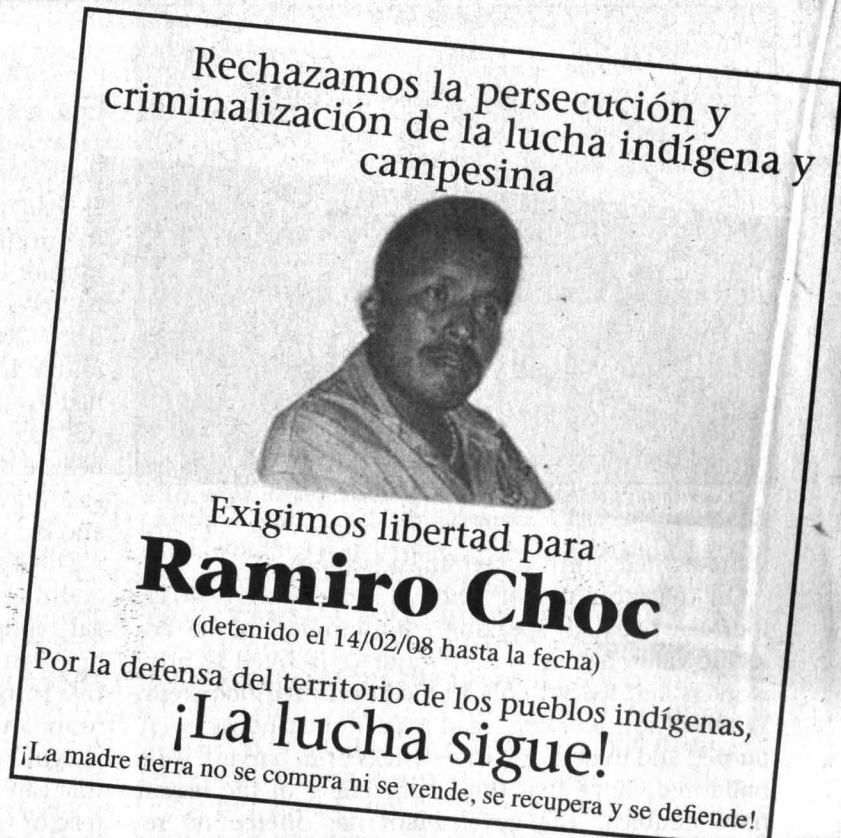
For more information visit:

GUATEMALASOLIDARITYPROJECT.ORG OR CUC.ORG.GT

The authors work with No More Deaths (NOMOREDEATHS.ORG) in Arizona, helping folks who are crossing the US Mexico border by way of small mountainous trails stay hydrated and fed.



Images of Ramiro from Guatemalan Solidarity Project



Support Guatemalan Political Prisoner **Ramiro Choc**

Ramiro Choc is a Q'eqchi' peasant leader from northeastern Guatemala. With courage, dynamic organizing skills and commitment to social and environmental justice he has been a leader in numerous successful grassroots struggles for land. Choc was born in extreme poverty in a plantation within the municipality of El Estor, Izabal. His parents were born slaves, but he came to become a powerful and successful mediator in land disputes between rural indigenous communities and wealthy landowners or the government. The elite are quick to fear charismatic *campesino* leaders like Choc in a country living in the wake of a recent and bloody civil war.

After surviving numerous assassination attempts, on February 12, 2008, Choc was kidnapped by members of the military. He was taken to a secluded location and sentenced to six years in prison in a farcical trial. Since being imprisoned, Choc has suffered beatings, poisoned food, and then months in isolation. February 14, 2011 marked the first day that Choc became eligible for release. Indigenous leaders and solidarity activists planned to hold nonviolent actions on that day to demand Ramiro's freedom. But on February 12, three *Encuentro Campesino* leaders, close friends of Ramiro, disappeared. Their bodies were found on February 14, floating in a large body of water near the Caribbean Coast. They had been shot dozens of times.

Translation of flyer on top-right: "We reject the persecution and criminalization of indigenous and peasant struggle. We demand freedom for Ramiro Choc (detained since 2/14/08). For the defense of indigenous territory, the struggle goes on! Mother earth is not bought or sold, it is recuperated and defended!"

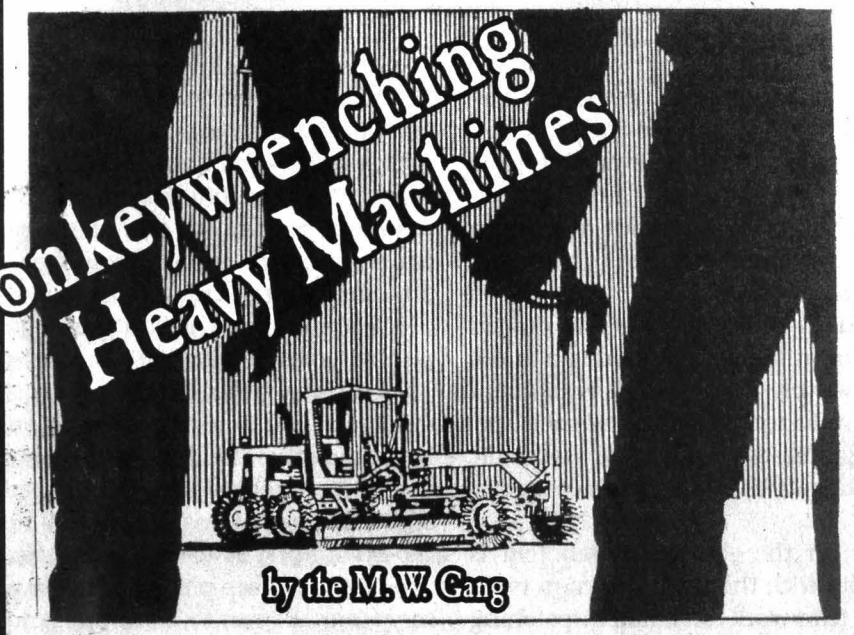
Choc's imprisonment and the February 12 massacre of his friends and fellow indigenous leaders are part of the systematic repression of indigenous and peasant communities in Guatemala. Choc has courageously stood up to this repression and continues to speak out while in prison despite the great threat. Many other indigenous leaders who have visited Ramiro have been assassinated, in addition to the three young leaders who were killed earlier this year.

Choc needs all the help he can get. Consider supporting him financially or by putting pressure on the government of Guatemala to demand his release. Check out GUATEMALASOLIDARITYPROJECT.ORG for more info on Ramiro. To help financially go to: WWW.UPAVIM.ORG/DONATE and please indicate in the paypal memo section that the donation is for GSP or Ramiro Choc. To help on the ground: The Guatemalan Solidarity Project is organizing two Human Rights Delegations.

For more information contact:

SOLIDARIDADGUATEMALA@YAHOO.COM

Monkeywrenching Heavy Machines



The classic act of monkeywrenching is messing around with a bulldozer. Probably the best known technique is pouring sugar or Karo syrup in the gas tank or oil system. But this doesn't really work! It just clogs the fuel or oil filter. There are better—and simpler—ways to “decommission” that piece of heavy equipment threatening your special place. The dozer is a tool of destruction. But like David against Goliath, a little ingenuity and moxie can go a long way toward stopping a monster.

There are, of course, more incendiary ways to take out one of these behemoths. You can totally dismember one with a cutting torch. Or you can just barbecue one.

Be careful when doing this kind of “night work.” People who own expensive equipment don't take kindly to having unauthorized maintenance done on their rigs and will encourage the police to do their best to find the culprits.

With the detailed instructions and clear illustrations presented here, even “mechanical idiots” such as your good editors can accomplish night-time maintenance on heavy equipment.

Disabling Motor Vehicles of All Kinds

1. Pour sand in the crankcase. A handful or more of sand in the fuel or oil tank is much more effective and much easier. Also, with sand you need not carry incriminating items like sugar or a bottle of Karo syrup.
2. Jam door and ignition locks with slivers of wood, a hard tough cement like “super glue,” or silicone rubber sealant.
3. Pour a gallon or more of water or brine into the fuel tank.
4. Pour dirt, sand, salt, or a grinding compound (like Carborundum) into the oil filter hole. If there is a filter (often present on heavy equipment), pour the

sand, etc. down the dipstick tube and use the dipstick to ram it down. If possible, remove the outside oil filter and add the grit. Very fine grit may go through an oil filter, though.

5. Pour water into the oil filler hole. Amount needed depends on engine size — at least 2 quarts for a V-8. Use enough so that the oil pump will draw only water. The water should maintain “oil” pressure without lubricating at all.
6. Slash tire sidewalls. Sidewall stabs cannot be effectively patched, whereas tread stabs can be. On some tires, cutting the valve stems is an easy way to flatten them. Be careful: tires on some heavy equipment are filled with water under very high pressure and it can be dangerous to slash or cut these. Bullets ricochet off them, too.
7. Smash fuel pump, water pump, valve cover, carburetor, distributor, or anything else except the battery (for your safety) or brake system (for their safety). Use a sledge and a steel bar for precision blows.
8. Pour water and/or dirt into the air intake (usually the big hole right under the air cleaner). The more, the better.
9. Pour gasoline or other fuel into the oil reservoir. It will break down the oil and the oil filter will not remove it.
10. Put battery acid or some other corrosive in the radiator.
11. Put Carborundum or other small abrasive particles in the gearbox.
12. Pour a box of quick rice in the radiator.
13. Use a pair of bolt cutters on anything possible (except battery cables, other live wires, and brake cables).
14. Ferric chloride and some other etching compounds used in electronics have the interesting characteristic of eating away copper. If added to the water in a radiator, the radiator will fall to bits in a couple of days.

Heavy Equipment

Large machines, in the form of earth moving and logging equipment and haul trucks, are the most pervasive tools of land rape. Because of their purchase and maintenance costs, they are extremely attractive targets for monkeywrenching. Downtime for repairs can exceed fifty dollars an hour, and a proper job of sabotage can idle a machine for weeks.

There are hundreds of different types and models of heavy equipment, from the classic bulldozer to the highly specialized harvesting and handling equipment found in the logging industry. Regardless of their specific use, they all have diesel engines and hydraulic systems that are the targets of the experienced monkeywrencher.

A good first step for the equipment saboteur is gaining basic familiarity with the more common types of machines. Effective teamwork can entail dispatching a friend to work on "that loader over there," or to see if "that's a security guard parked behind that scraper." A common nomenclature can minimize confusion and enhance your safety and security.

Basic Tool Kit

Effective sabotage may require nothing more than a handful of sand on the spur of the moment. More often, it entails planning plus a basic tool kit. Since most of this mechanical work will be conducted under the cover of darkness, a good flashlight for each team member and rigid discipline in the use of the light are critical. The military surplus angle-head flashlight is a good buy at most surplus stores. The red lens stored in the base, when mounted over the light, can increase your security. The red light is less noticeable from a distance, and will not ruin your night vision. A cheap acrylic artist's red paint will do in a pinch, as will some red cellophane, if you can find it. As always, wipe clean of fingerprints all parts of the flashlight, including the lenses, bulbs, and batteries. Do not use your flashlight indiscriminately. Cup your hand over the end, allowing only a thin sliver of light to illuminate the area on which you are working. Similarly, use your body to block the light from view. Use a lightweight cord as a lanyard, to hang the flashlight around your neck and avoid dropping and losing it.

A lightweight bag keeps your tools together so that you don't inadvertently leave them as evidence at the scene. Nylon can be noisy, so canvas (like cheap army surplus) is usually best.

Lightweight running shoes allow silent movement and quick escape. Deck shoes, with their relatively smooth, pebbly soles, leave a minimum of distinctive footprints for matching with evidence at other monkeywrenching scenes. Never wear slip-on tennis shoes since they won't stay on when you run. If the terrain requires boots, cover them with large socks to obscure their distinctive waffle print.

Cheap cloth gloves can be purchased at almost any hardware or variety store. Dispose of them after a single job, or after a few jobs, depending on the frequency of your monkey-wrenching. Buy only one or two pairs at a time, and get different gloves from different stores to further confuse the trail of evidence (in case a cloth pattern imprints on a greasy surface or a few fibers snag on a sharp edge or rough surface).

A common one-gallon plastic jug is ideal for transporting abrasive material like sand to the equipment. The cut-away bottle makes a good shovel-like scoop if sand can be found near the equipment parking area. If, on the other hand, abrasive material must be transported in, any plastic bottle, cleaned with soap, dried, and wiped free of fingerprints will suffice. A screw-type cap is your best insurance against accidental spillage.

Lastly, a cheap plastic funnel, available at most grocery stores (or variety, hardware, and auto parts stores) will allow you better access to the essential motor parts, some of which are not easily reached otherwise.

The advanced saboteur's kit includes a can of spray lubricant to wash away telltale signs of abrasive grit, and a spray handle for same to improve your aim in the dark of night. In addition, a crescent wrench, wrapped in black electrical tape to eliminate its shiny metallic look and to silence it from banging inside your bag, is useful for gaining access to sensitive areas like oil filters that are rarely protected by padlocks. Wear gloves when you apply the tape, as it makes an ideal surface for fingerprints. Also useful for getting into diesel filter systems is a socket wrench and a selection of sockets and an oil filter wrench carefully wrapped with tape to prevent it from leaving telltale scratches on an oil filter housing.

Abrasives

We will assume that you have studied security culture and manuals on sabotage and stealth, and are now standing beside a large mass of slumbering steel. At this point, you can vent your frustrations and attack it in every conceivable way, cutting hydraulic hoses, pulling out electrical wires, hammering at delicate parts, slashing the operator's seat.... At no small risk to yourself, you will probably cripple the beast for only a few days, and the repairs will go rather quickly once the parts arrive.

But if you are a serious saboteur who wants to have maximum impact, you will work in silence, and when you leave, no one will know you have been there. At least not for a day or two. When your trail has gone cold, and evidence of your presence has been destroyed or hopelessly contaminated, the engines of destruction will literally grind to a halt. Only major shop work can repair them. You will have succeeded.

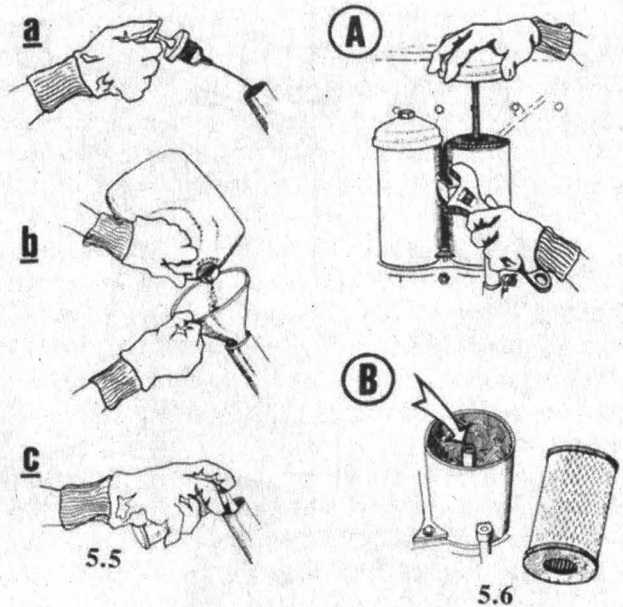
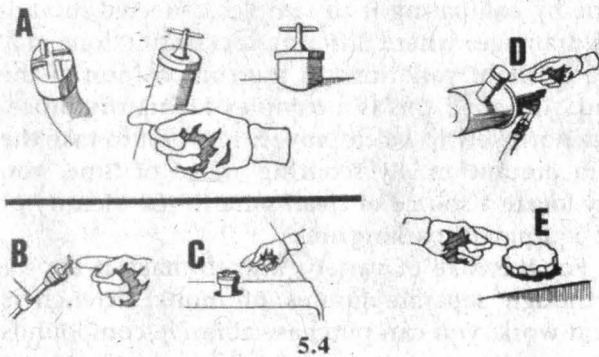
Experienced monkeywrenchers generally agree that the best and surest way to cripple heavy equipment is to introduce abrasives into the lubricating sys-

tem. Illustration 5.4 shows you typical filler caps. The glove in (A) will give you an idea of their approximate size. Be aware that many filler caps have nothing to do with the lubricating system. One that does is the dipstick shown in (B). However, the narrowness of this access point limits the volume of abrasives one can introduce; and an experienced operator's quick check of the oil level first thing each morning may reveal signs of grit on the dipstick. In (C) is a typical radiator cap, in (D) we see a filler cap on a small hydraulic reservoir, and (E) illustrates one of many styles of fuel tank cover, most noticeable for their large size.

Once you have found the oil filler cap, it is usually simple to pour in dry sand with the aid of a plastic funnel. Illustration 5.5 shows the best procedure for those machines that combine the large oil filler cap with the dipstick (a significant minority of heavy equipment). Unscrew and remove the cap/dipstick (a). Pour in abrasive sand (b). Apply liberal amounts of spray lubricant to wash any trace of sand down into the bowels of the engine (c). Re-insert the dipstick and pull it out again to make sure there is no revealing sand adhering to its surface. Many operators check their fluid levels first thing in the morning so you must leave no sign of your work. Indeed, some companies now require checks of all fluid levels each day before starting equipment.

Gaining Access

Some equipment owners whose toys are parked in vulnerable areas use padlocks to secure every cap on the machine. Many manufacturers design caps that easily accept these padlocks. This will not stop the dedicated monkeywrencher. The filter element can



bolts (2) and the filter housing will drop into your hand. Dispose of the filter (3), pour in your abrasive (4), and re-assemble. Number (5) shows an exploded view of the parts involved.

Another filter type is the screw-on variety. These are gradually replacing the filter elements just illustrated. This type is removed with a good quality oil filter wrench found at any auto parts store. It's as easy as changing the oil in your car. If you don't know how to change the oil in your car, have a friend show you how. Once you learn this, you can adapt it to your heavy equipment night work.

Be careful to avoid too much oil spillage when removing the screw-type filter. Carry it well away from the machine before scratching out a shallow hole to receive the quart or more of oil inside the filter. Pour out the oil slowly and cover the hole to leave no trace. Fill the inside of the filter about 3/4 full of abrasive and screw it back on to the engine.

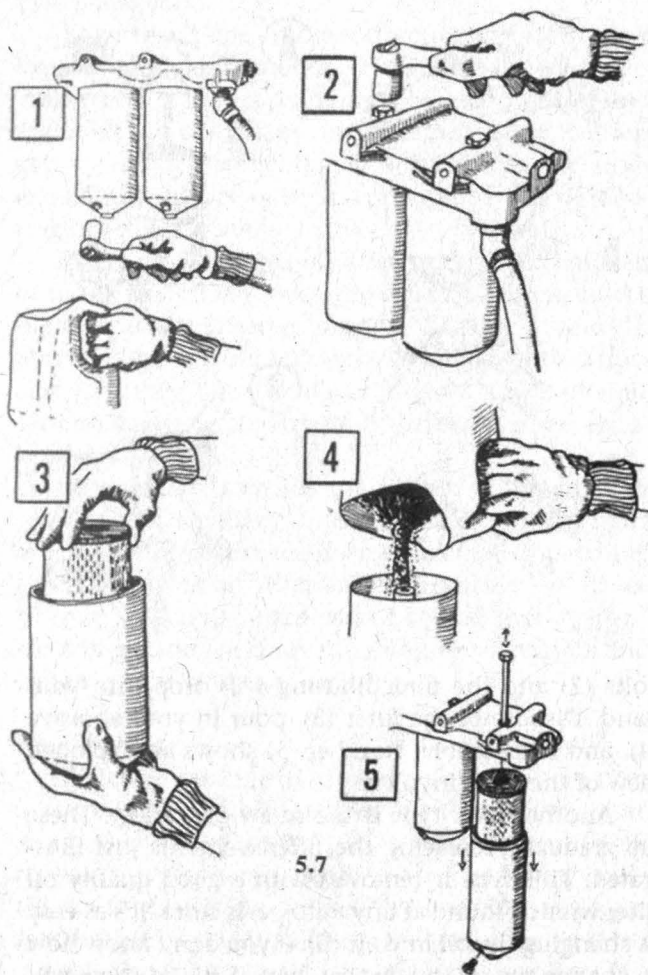
Oil-Access Points

Because of the large number of equipment manufacturers and the various models produced, it would be all but impossible to illustrate all of the oil-access points. The remaining illustrations provide a cross-section that will enable you to quickly learn what to look for. By all means, study whenever possible. When you walk by a piece of equipment, stop for a moment and practice spotting the oil filter cap. Keep your distance, though, so no one will suspect you of tampering. Once you have correctly identified a dozen or so filler caps, the rest come easily.

Remember that your equipment sabotage must not be noticed until the machines begin to break down. Carry a few dark colored rags to clean up any messes like accidental oil spills that may occur when removing filters. Don't leave things spotless, however, as an

be removed and disposed of well away from the site. In its place goes a liberal dose of abrasive. Be careful not to get any abrasive in the tube marked (B). If this becomes clogged, you will not be able to re-insert the threaded rod that secures the lid onto the filter housing.

In 5.7 [following page] is another type of oil filter set-up. First use your socket wrench or crescent wrench to remove the small drain plugs (1). Use your open top plastic bottle to catch the oil and keep it from spilling everywhere. Next unscrew the filter case



extremely clean area on an otherwise greasy, dirty machine is also a giveaway.

Lubrication Points

In addition to the oil filler caps, other lubrication points can be creatively sabotaged. Even when the machines are locked up and you are denied access to the points previously discussed, you may be able to destroy the monsters through other weak spots.

Every moving joint must have some type of lubrication to prevent overheating and premature wear out. At any auto parts store you can find a grease gun and with it you can introduce abrasives to these moving parts. First, remove about half of the grease from a standard grease tube. Replace this grease with sand or another abrasive and stir it to a smooth blend with a metal rod or dowel. You are now ready to "unlubricate" a machine at a dozen or more points. Look for the "zerk" fittings. A simple end wrench or box wrench can also provide access to these grease fittings. Begin by unscrewing the fitting. Use a stick or nail to remove some of the grease. After making room inside the hole, add a squeeze of highly abrasive "valve lapping compound" (found in auto parts stores). These handy little tubes are easy to use and allow for preci-

sion application.

Other moving parts that must be kept properly lubricated are wheel hubs and transmission differentials. While simply draining the differential lubricant could cause substantial damage, operators in areas where sabotage has occurred have been known to even check these before firing up in the morning, so it is better to introduce abrasives into the lubricant. If you can reach the machine, you can reach these points, since no one has devised a means of locking out access.

The most important tools for this work are the "breaker bar" and sockets. The long handle provides the leverage needed to unscrew the caps. A short length of common pipe, called a "cheater" can be slipped over the breaker bar handle to provide the leverage of an even longer handle.

Various types of oil filler caps are found on wheel hubs. Some have a plug in a differential through which lubricating oil (and abrasives) is introduced. A neat job will ensure that even if the operator checks, abrasives will not be immediately apparent.

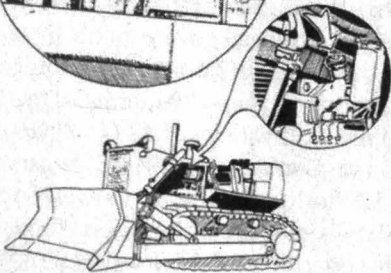
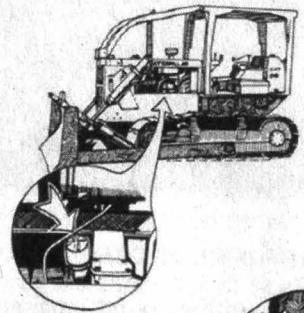
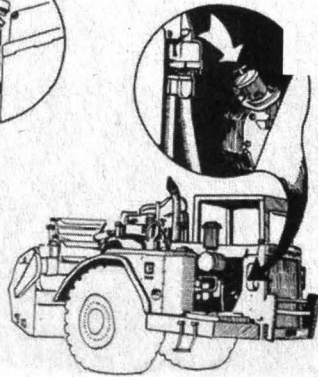
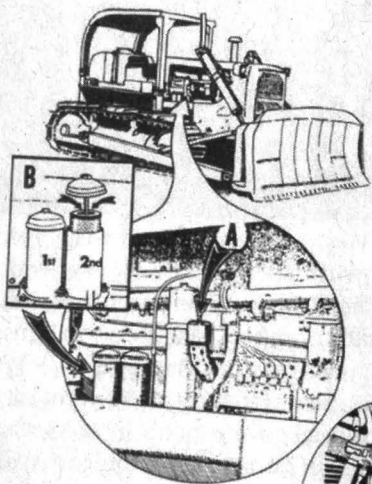
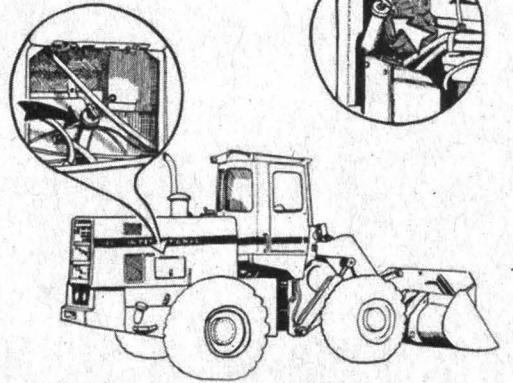
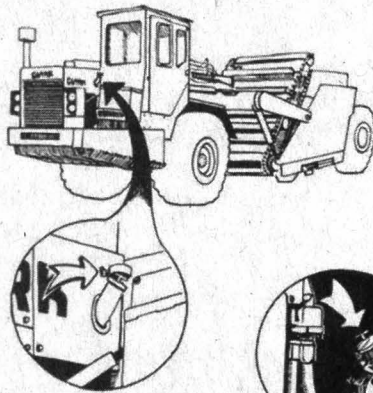
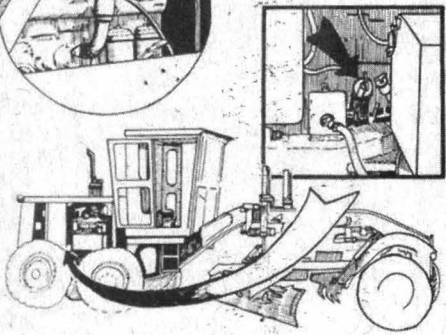
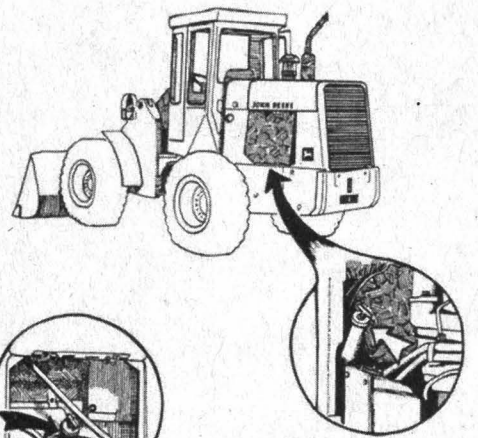
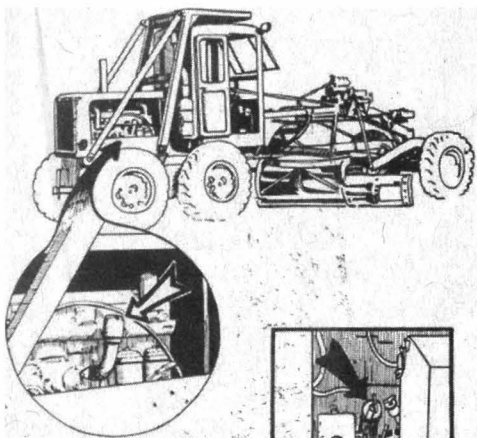
Selection of Abrasives

Common sand is the cheapest abrasive for equipment sabotage. Ideally, it is dry and free of organic matter like leaves and twigs. You can use a small piece of window screen or fine mesh hardware cloth to remove rocks and gravel that would otherwise prevent smooth flow or even jam a filler tube on an engine. Simply pour the sand through the screen and into your plastic bottle.

You should not use sand from near your home. Forensic laboratory analysis might reveal the approximate source area the sand came from. This is done by comparing it to samples collected in various drainages where differing rock formations may lead to slight variations in the composition of the sand. Although this is a complex laboratory procedure not likely to be employed, it is best to take the extra precaution. By scouting ahead of time, you may locate a source of clean sand in the vicinity of the equipment parking area.

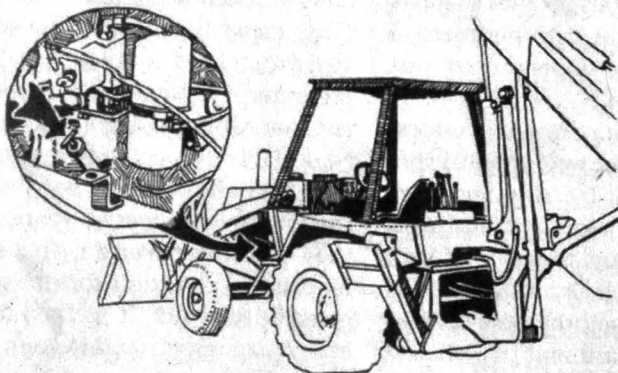
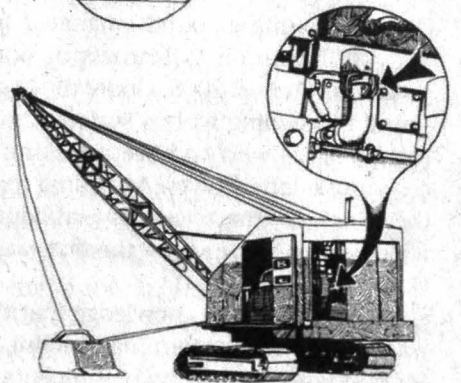
For the sake of variety, and to make it appear as though separate groups of monkeywrenchers are at work, you can purchase abrasive compounds from suppliers in big cities. Look for a medium-grit silicon carbide. Lapidary supply houses are a good source of top-notch abrasives which are used to polish stones in tumblers.

This how-to was originally published in Ecodefense: a Fieldguide to Monkeywrenching, written by the ghost of Big Bill Haywood and some other guy. It can be found in its entirety online, or through a zine distro or infoshop near you.



**Plan your work.
Work your plan.**

-Dead Prez



The Howls of Reprisal

Wolf Defense in Oregon



Yearling Wolf Killed by the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife

BY JUSTIN OF THE ANIMAL DEFENSE LEAGUE

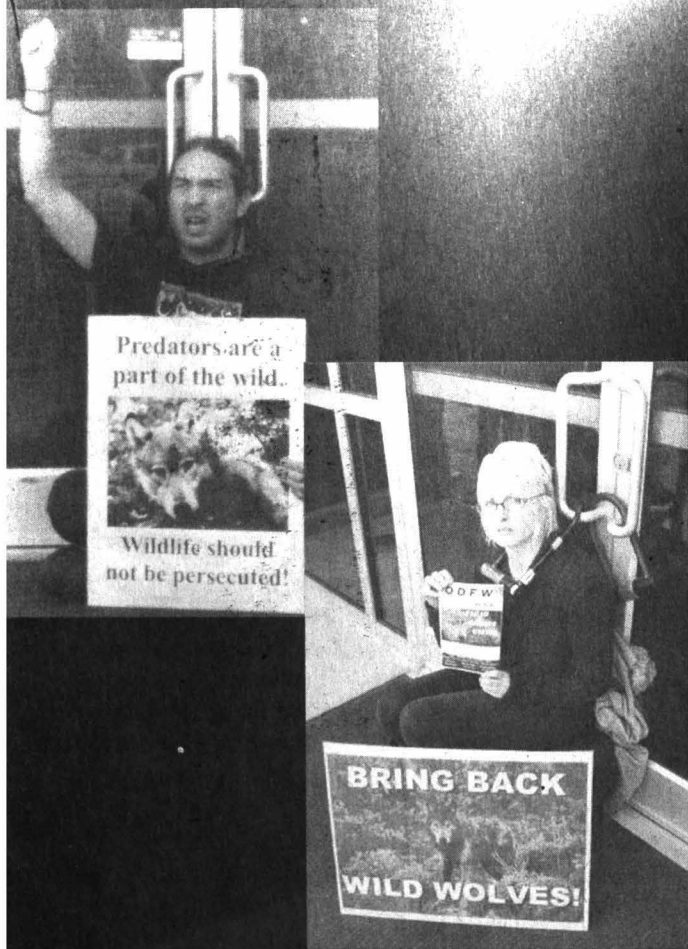
A haunting sound emanated from the Wenaha-Tucannon Wilderness of northeastern Oregon in July of 2008. Under the heavy moonlight, the sound of howling wolves surfaced, reaching the ears of the biologists who had been tracking them. It was not one or two lone wolves. According to the trained ears of the biologists, there were several adult and juveniles in what is now known to be the first wolf pack to return to Oregon.

It is not common knowledge that the state of Oregon was built on wolf extermination. But, like the abhorrent fur trade and decimation of indigenous peoples that created the modern Pacific West, it is just another piece of Oregon's history that has been buried under propaganda and misinformation.

As settlers of the new Oregon territory reared livestock, they encountered Oregon's native wolf population, which had been noted as abundant by early European explorers. By the mid-19th century, sporadic and scattered settlers began to meet to discuss the issue of wolf conflict. This group, the Oregon Wolf Organization, was one of the first to bring together the otherwise divided new community. The Oregon Department of Fish and

Wildlife's (ODFW) Wolf Conservation and Management Plan even notes, "with wolves and wolf eradication as the drawing card, meeting organizers were successful in assembling significant numbers of settlers to discuss formation of a civil government in the region." Within two months, these meetings led to the formation of Oregon's first provisional government. In 1843, Oregon established the first wolf bounty at an Oregon Wolf Association meeting in the Willamette Valley. The bounty for a large grey wolf was set at \$3.00. By 1913, the Oregon State Game Commission (OSGC) began offering an additional \$20 to the bounty for wolves. Supplemented with the 1915 formation of the federal Predator and Rodent Control division of the Bureau of Biological Survey (later to become Animal Damage Control), the fate of *Canis Lupus* had become sealed in Oregon and nationally. From 1913 to 1946, nearly 400 slain wolves were presented for payment in Oregon alone. By 1946, the last lone wolf in Oregon was murdered in the Umpqua National Forest, possibly the last in the entire lower 48.

That fateful night of howling in July of 2008 marked the first time in over 60 years that a wolf pack was calling Oregon home again. That same day, a federal judge reinstated protection for the species under the Endangered Species Act. It seemed to be the dawn of a new era, one of respect and freedom for these wild creatures.



Activists locked down to doors of the odfw office



Imnaha pack alpha male, tagged and collared

Now, only three short years later, that pack is threatened with extinction.

The Imnaha pack was the first and, up until very recently, only known breeding pack in the state of Oregon. It has become the flagship wolf pack for the state and its activities were symbolic for wolf recovery as a whole. Pictures and video of its activities circulated news media, with the state of Oregon watching the pack's every move as new parents watch every move of their newborn child.

Now the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife is issuing kill orders for "problem wolves" as if there is no other recourse of action, going as far as to issue one for the Imnaha pack's alpha male in late September of 2011. The ODFW had already killed three wolves in the state by this time. Blamed for livestock losses in Wallowa County, the pack's alpha male and a juvenile were slated to die. Once comprising a healthy 16 members, the pack was to be reduced to only two, the alpha female and her newborn pup, who will struggle to survive the harsh winters of the Wallowa Mountains. The state of Oregon is effectively destroying its first wolf pack in 60 years.

What went wrong?

Welfare Ranching

On a beautiful early summer day in Wallowa County,

endless rolling hills of native short grass prairie are set against the backdrop of the craggy and glaciated granite peaks of the Wallowa Mountains. Just to the east, the mixed conifer pine forests of the Wallowa Whitman-National Forest give way to the deep, carved valleys of Hells Canyon. The entire area is the definition of picturesque wilderness.

But upon closer inspection, this picture yields a much different story of the North American West. The Nature Conservancy owns part of the Zumwalt Prairie, the largest remaining native short grassland of its kind. In the spring, the hills seem to roll on forever, speckled endlessly with wildflowers and lush green. But as part of course, the Conservancy leases this rare land to private ranchers for cattle grazing. The same story is told in the National Forests of the Wallowa-Whitman, as cow pies litter the landscape, a landscape ravaged down to nothing but stubs of grass struggling to emerge from the harshly compacted soil.

It does not take long to see the signs of cattle on these public lands. The once rich and aerated soils have surrendered to desertification. The effects are so bad out here that the US Forest Service has had to go as far as creating Aspen enclosures that prevent any ungulates from grazing the saplings, lest the entire species be erased from these lands.

Livestock ranching rules this land. 300 million acres of public land are leased for livestock production. Ninety percent of all Bureau of Land Management holdings and 69 percent of all US Forest Service managed land is leased for livestock grazing. 184 million acres of private land are used for livestock production. Thirty-five million acres of Indian Reservation land in the West are used for livestock production. In total, 525 million acres of land are dedicated to livestock production in the western states alone (Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming). This is slightly more than one quarter of the land area of the lower 48 states. It is nearly three quarters of the land area of the West.

At the expense of native wildlife, livestock ranching expropriates the space, the plant forage, and the water of the land and leaves nothing but wreckage behind. Fifty percent of desirable plants have been eliminated, high rates of soil erosion have set in, non-native plants have invaded, and the land has been turned into a practical but not functional desert as record levels of drought have been recorded in areas used for livestock. Livestock production has contributed to the listing of 22% of federally threatened and endangered species. That is about as much as the effects of logging and mining combined. No other human institution is responsible for as much loss in biodiversity.

And the people are paying for it.

According to the Western Watersheds Project, "Direct government expenditures to administer public land grazing constitute an annual net loss to the taxpayers of at least \$123 million and more than \$500 million when indirect costs are accounted for. As much as 96 percent of these public dollars are spent to enhance livestock production in direct conflict with legal mandates to restore the health of public lands."

Ranchers and the industry in general are beneficiaries of an unofficial government welfare program. This takes its form in a variety of ways: incredibly low fees to graze public lands (\$1.35 per month for one cow and her calf), tax-funded research at western land grant universities, agricultural exemptions that lower property taxes, drought-relief programs, emergency livestock feed programs, low-interest agricultural loans, emergency grazing on Conservation Reserve Program lands, and things as minor as fencing and cattle-crossings.

For a local example, in Wallowa County in 2010, \$2.2 million was spent by the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) in just a few farm subsidies.

If that was not enough, the livestock industry also benefits from a special relationship with the corporate banking industry. The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 allows for the issuance of permits to graze public land. These permits have a market value, recognized by the Internal Revenue Service, the real estate market and economists. This monetary value allows livestock ranchers to put their grazing permits up for collateral to be eligible for bank

loans, since livestock holdings, properties and ranch buildings are insufficient. Because the Forest Service authorizes all transfers of grazing permits, banks require the agency to enter into an escrow waiver. Throughout the West, billions of dollars have been loaned out on these permits through this process. In his essay, "Mortgaging Public Assets: How Ranchers Use Grazing Permits as Collateral", Mark Salvo points out the problems with this system:

"Escrow waivers help prolong an antiquated public lands grazing program by overlaying a financial system that requires high stocking rates and low grazing fees. Since banks have loaned billions of dollars on grazing permits, they use their considerable clout in Washington, DC to oppose grazing reforms that threaten their investment. The banks also become involved in agency decision making on individual allotments where the value of an escrowed grazing permit is in jeopardy."

Escrow waivers force the Forest Service to maintain destructive management practices because those same practices often maintain the value of the collateral.

The banking industry has lobbied to keep public grazing fees low. They opposed the Clinton Administration's proposal to raise the fees a few dollars, decrying the possibility that such changes in management could cause a collapse in the financial industry.

Yet with all of this institutional support, livestock industries contribute almost nothing to local economies. A study conducted by Thomas Power, Ph.D. titled, "Taking Stock of Public Lands Grazing: An Economic Analysis" indicates that the economic presence of ranching is negligible.

It should be immensely clear when juxtaposing the political and economic leverage of the livestock ranching industry with its contributions to society on even the smallest scale that it is highly institutionalized in American life. It is cemented as a cultural and political leviathan, to the lament of the land and wildlife.

"Wildlife Services" and Animal Damage Control

Perhaps the most obvious way, and certainly the most pertinent in the case of the wolf, that this institutionalization manifests itself in relation to wildlife can be traced in the history of the USDA's Wildlife Services.

Yet another form of major subsidies to the livestock industry, the agency known as "Wildlife Services" has only existed as such since 1997, when it was decided that it needed a more publicity-friendly facelift. Before that, it was known as Animal Damage Control, more aptly named for an organization that spends millions of public dollars every year to destroy millions of wild animals, primarily predators.



Male wolf of the Wenaha Pack

Beginning in 1886, then named the Branch of Economic Ornithology and Mammalogy, the agency worked on the control of damaging birds. By 1914 under its new name, the Bureau of Biological Survey, it began its lethal predator control efforts for which it has become infamous, with a focus on wolves and coyotes. In 1931, President Hoover signed the Animal Damage Control Act of 1931, which authorizes direct and cooperative control programs. This is still the law under which Wildlife Services operates today. By the time that the name was officially changed to Animal Damage Control in 1974 the agency has made its mark as the leader in lethal control of wildlife for the sake of mitigating damage to the livestock industry.

According to Brooks Fahy and Cheri Briggs of Predator Defense in their article, "A War Against Predators: The Killing of Wildlife Funded by Taxpayers" around \$10 million is spent every fiscal year for killing predators in the name of "livestock protection." This figure does not include the money sourced from state and local taxes levied to prop up the livestock industry. Briggs and Fahy state that, "In the late 1990s, the cost of killing predators in the western states exceeded reported livestock losses to predators by a ratio of three to one."

This abundance of money certainly funds a very active agency. In 2010, USDA data indicates that Wildlife Services killed over 5 million animals, including 452 wolves. That same year in Oregon alone, the agency killed 260 thousand animals.

All of this killing requires a diversity of methods to ensure the results. Favorite among them are leghold traps, conibear traps, snares, cage traps, aerial gunning, shooting, hunting dogs, compound 1080 (an extremely poisonous compound, sodium fluoroacetate), and M-44's (spring-propelled sodium cyanide cartridges). The poison arsenal of Wildlife Services includes Alpha Chloralose, Aluminum Phosphide, Aminopyridine, Avitrol, 4-AP, Bone Tar Oil, Brodifacoum, Cholecalciferol (Quintox), DRC-1339, Fenthion, Immobilizing/ Euthanizing Agents, Mineral Oil: Petroleum Distillates, Glyphosate, Polybutene, Sodium Cyanide, Sodium Fluoroacetate, Sodium Nitrate, Strychnine, and Zinc Phosphide.

Wildlife Services states that, "We will support the most humane, selective, and effective control techniques." Yet this is simply not the case. Take the case of the coyote, the most hated of all targets of Wildlife Services. Every year, around 90,000 coyotes are killed, which is vastly more than are reported by ranchers as problematic.

In fact, nonlethal methods of predator control have been found to be more effective in protecting livestock. Yet, a 1995 US General Accounting Office report revealed that Wildlife Services almost never uses nonlethal methods. According to Briggs and Fahy, "WS routinely launches lethal predator control programs before there are any confirmed livestock losses."

Former Animal Damage Control District Supervisor Carter Niemeyer recalls his former agency's obsession with killing in his book, *Wolfer*. Those who work for ADC (or

Wildlife Services) are trappers, and killing is what they are trained to do. Niemeyer recalls the priorities of ADC, "This (killing) was the entire reason for Animal Damage Control's existence; the state director wanted to see big numbers, particularly of target varmints like coyotes and fox." He also recalls specifically the relationship that the agency had with the livestock industry, "There was a general mindset at Animal Damage Control that, as government trappers, we should hate whatever killed livestock." He refers to Animal Damage Control as the "hired guns of the livestock industry" and states that many officials in the agency "really believed it was their job to go around killing as many wolves as Ed Bangs (then USFWS Wolf Recovery Coordinator) would allow."

Wildlife Services has set a precedent with the ranching

of the 20,000 public comments wanted stronger protection for Oregon's wolves. Yet after the plan's revisions were completed, it became slightly easier to kill wolves.

In April of 2011, congress passed an emergency budget bill with a piece of Rider legislation attached. Now infamously called the Wolf Rider, this piece of legislation is the first time in history that congress delisted a species from Endangered Species Act protection.

Rod Childers of the Oregon Cattlemen's Association and Todd Nash, rancher at Marr Flat Cattle Co. (who has a few confirmed wolf predations and who also receives thousands every year in government subsidies) have become the leading voices in the new anti-wolf movement that has swept the rural west. Men like them are at the forefront, advocating for the entire removal of wolves;

Livestock production has contributed to the listing of 22% of federal threatened and endangered species. That is about as much as the effects of logging and mining combined.

community that the government takes care of all pests, nuisances and liabilities to the livestock industry. It has done so for the last 100 years and continues to do so to this day.

Predators & the Culture of Fear

In the mid-1990s, the US Fish and Wildlife Service began a program of reintroduction of grey wolves. Thirty-one wolves were released into Yellowstone National Park. Thirty-five were released into the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness in central Idaho. It was in 1999 when wolves made efforts to return to Oregon. At first they were relocated, hit by cars, or shot. But the state couldn't resist the facts—wolves were calling Oregon home again after six decades of being gone.

It was in this climate of inevitability that the state began the creation of the WCMP in 2005. Created through a compromise of various stakeholders including the Hells Canyon Preservation Council, Defenders of Wildlife, Oregon Wild, Center for Biological Diversity, and Oregon Cattlemen's Association, the WCMP allowed too much room for lethal removal and set low recovery goals. The plan lets the state kill wolves after two "depredations," within an ill-defined "area" whether or not the wolves in question are the wolves responsible. Nevertheless, many groups settled on having some kind of protection rather than no protection at all.

In 2010, the plan was reviewed and revised. Polling at the time indicated that an overwhelming 90 percent

total extermination once again.

With all of the commotion surrounding wolf return to the region, all of the fiery debate and emotional battle cries from the ranchers, one would expect wolves to have had a tremendous impact on the livestock community. Nothing could be further from the truth. In 2006, there were approximately 65,000 cattle and calf deaths in Oregon. 61,000 were determined to be from non-predator causes. Of the 4,500 deaths attributed to predators, 2,300 were coyotes, 1,500 were mountain lions, and the rest are unknown. Since wolves returned to Oregon they have killed 29 lambs, 22 calves, and 1 goat. By comparison, in 2005 alone, 700 sheep were killed by domestic dogs and 200 were killed by eagles in Oregon. In 2005, human thieves took five times as many livestock as wolves in Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming. In Minnesota, where there are 300 times as many wolves as Oregon, they were responsible for 0.65% of cattle losses in 2005.

Studies have even indicated that wolves may actually decrease livestock losses by keeping smaller predator populations down, particularly coyotes, who have seen huge population surges since the eradication of the wolf and who are by far the most responsible for predation. An article recently published in the journal of *Ecological Economics* found that wolf depredations account for less than 0.01% of the annual gross income of ranchers in Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana.

The ranching old guard condemns wolves as out of

control, invasive beasts that will devour all livestock and native prey in sight. Yet, a recent peer reviewed a study in the *Journal of Conservation Planning* estimated the state has enough suitable habitat and prey base to support 1,450 wolves. In Oregon, the population hasn't even peaked at 30.

Why then, is there is so much controversy surrounding the return of the grey wolf to the habitat that it once roamed?

Possibly one of greatest environmental catastrophes of the United States was the state-sanctioned and state-funded eradication of the wolf. Yet it was a major part in the development of the west and played a role in securing the identity of rural America as a priority of the federal government. Over the last few decades and since the Endangered Species Act, government agencies have been forced to focus on environmental recovery (as much as it seems that they don't) even as it begins to conflict with the industries that they support. What seems to be the case is that the culture of fear has taken root in the west. Irrational fears of wolf attacks on humans, on children and on pets, irrational fears of never-ending wolf predations on native ungulates, and irrational fears of the destruction of the livestock industry have taken hold of communities that have begun to feel forgotten by the modern world and by their own governments (however inaccurate all of that is). Wolves have become a symbol of fear, the scapegoat of a dying way of life, one that is being replaced by another malignant form of livestock production—factory farming.

It is in this environment that the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife must make its decisions. Pressured by the still culturally powerful, institutionalized, subsidized and furious livestock industry, they have little recourse but to yield to their desires. The industry has been conditioned to expect killing after wildlife conflicts and understands little else.

So when the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife was called out in early September of 2011 to investigate a likely wolf predation, they had their hands tied...

Urgency into Action

It was very late on Friday, September 23 when the Animal Defense League was notified of the ODFW issued kill order for the Imnaha pack. The agency had waited until Friday to announce its plans, hoping that the media wouldn't pick it up and that the news would be thrown into the "Friday Trash." This particular wolf predation occurred on land leased to Todd Nash, the state's most vocal anti-wolf activist and the wolves' greatest threat. It could not have occurred anywhere more politically charged. For years, Nash has been calling for the eradication of the Imnaha pack. With this predation occurring on the land that he ranches, it looked like he might have gotten his wish. He called the ODFW to make an official request for a kill order.

Within hours, the ODFW complied.

Nash was already going to be compensated for the lost calf. In June, Oregon passed a Livestock Compensation and Wolf Coexistence Bill that will compensate ranchers for confirmed wolf depredations. Now Nash was about to have his cake and eat it too. The ODFW issued a kill order for Imnaha pack alpha male and a juvenile male (who wasn't even confirmed to be at the predation site), leaving only the alpha female, B-300, and her newborn spring pup. You can't have a wolf pack with only half of the breeding pair. You can't have a wolf pack with only a struggling mother and her pup, trying to survive the harsh winters of the Willamette Mountains. It would be a nightmare for the state's wolf recovery efforts. But for Todd Nash and the Oregon Cattlemen's Association, it was a dream come true.

Activists from all over the region responded with coordinated call-ins and emails to ODFW directors and Governor Kitzhaber. Both the Portland and Seattle ADL attempted to coordinate these efforts as well as the Northern Idaho Wolf Alliance (NIWA), Friends of the Clearwater, Wolf Warriors, Howling for Justice, Howls Across America, Cascadia Wildlands, Oregon Wild, Northeast Oregon Ecosystems, and the Center for Biological Diversity.

With only days for the wolves to remain alive, and with the urgency of saving Oregon's most symbolic wolf pack, activists with the Portland ADL scrambled to organize a rally at the ODFW Headquarters in Salem the following Tuesday Morning, September 27. Only about a dozen activists arrived, given the very short notice. Nevertheless, a lockdown ensued and two ADL activists used bike locks to lock the entrances of the building to their necks. For two hours, the ODFW was forced to listen to public outcry and reason. Media and law enforcement of all types swarmed the otherwise nondescript office building.

After arrests were made, media had turned the small, last minute action into a major controversy. News of the ODFW's plan to eradicate the majestic Imnaha pack spread as far as the east coast and onto national outlets such as NPR. The agency was forced to make a statement to attempt to reconcile their public image as little more than pawns of the rapacious livestock industry.

The issue had finally made it into the public spotlight outside of Eastern Oregon. High tension was set and the public was mournfully waiting for the inevitable deaths of Imnaha pack wolves.

One week later the wolves had not yet been killed. The time was right for the Center for Biological Diversity, Oregon Wild, and Cascadia Wildlands to file a lawsuit against the agency. On October 5, the trio of environmental groups did just that. The legal challenge argues that in allowing the killing of two of Oregon's 14 surviving gray wolves, the state's wolf management plan is inconsistent with the state's Endangered Species Act, which specifically prohibits such action.

Only hours later, the Oregon Court of Appeals issued an injunction that would halt the ODFW's wolf hunt until both parties made their case. At the time of this writing, the Imnaha pack in the Wallowa Mountains has been offered temporary reprieve. And, as of November 1, 2011, the ODFW confirmed that a collared two-year old male from the Imnaha pack has traveled in the Umpqua River drainage. He is the first wolf to return to western Oregon since 1946, when the last Oregon wolf was taken for bounty, ironically, in the same drainage.

But this is no time to be celebrating. The Imnaha pack's future is still tied up in the courts and that is no place to rely on justice.

The time is now for the people of this region to recognize that wildlands are being strangled by industry and government. The institutionalized degradation and exploitation of the grasslands, the soil, the forests, the mountains, the rivers, the institutionalized extermination of the songbirds, the raptors, the rodents, the predators, the bears, the mountain lions, the coyotes and the wolves, and the capture, imprisonment and enslavement of those who weren't lucky to escape the casualties of war are symptoms and circumstances of our history of human imperialism. These mechanisms are part of a self-perpetuating system of domination responsible for the state of things on Earth. Also to blame are the irrational myths that are ingrained and

institutionalized in our psyches, which leads to our complacency. This story is only a sliver of truth that reflects the larger struggle for ecological freedom and dignity. If it is not the wolves it is the bears. If not the bears, the coyotes. If not the coyotes, the fox. If not the predators, the prey. If not the prey, their habitat. Every stretch of livable environment on this planet is laid to waste by the externalities of our empire. This is a call to action. Destroy your empire, destroy your concentration camps, clean up your slums, free your prisoners and your slaves. It is imperative if there is even a chance to hear the silence of the wilderness punctuated by the haunting howls of the wolves' reprisal.

The Animal Defense League is a bioregional grassroots organization. It is focused on bringing about the dissolution of human imperialism in all of its diverse manifestations. ADL endeavors to create broad networks and coalitions with other organizations and movements across the continent, in an attempt to reconcile our contradictions, strengthen our commonalities and mature as a unified movement against the consolidation of power.

Website: PDXANIMALDEFENSELEAGUE.ORG
 email: PDX_ADL@RISEUP.NET

Top Wolf Stories of 2011



as reported on the [Earth First! Newswire](http://EarthFirst!Newswire)
 read the full articles at NEWSWIRE.EARTHFIRSTJOURNAL.ORG

- **Obama's Signature to Remove Wolves from Endangered Species List** (Apr. 20)
- **Emergency Order Sought to Halt Wolf Hunts in Idaho and Montana** (Aug. 16)
- **Pressure from EU halts Wolf Hunts in Sweden** (Aug. 22)
- **Portland ADL Locks Down to Protect Wolves** (Sep 28)
- **First Ever Aerial Wolf Hunt Proposed on Kenai Peninsula, Alaska** (Oct. 6)
- **Killing Wolves: A Product of Alberta's Big Oil and Gas Boom** (Oct. 31)
- **State Wolf-hunting Season Extended** (Dec. 9)
- **Montana Using Unmanned Drones Against Wolves** (Dec. 11)
- **Gray Wolves Delisted in Midwest, Wolf Kills to Begin Soon** (Dec. 22)
- **Lone Grey Wolf Wanders into California, First Since 1924** (Jan. 3)

ECO-PRISONERS, SNARED LIBERATIONISTS AND HOSTAGES OF THE STRUGGLE



Update on Eric McDavid

Eric has been moved to Terminal Island, a low-security facility in Southern California. We are hopeful that this will mean some improvements in Eric's living situation. He can now be written at the address below. For more on his case, visit SUPPORTERIC.ORG

Eric McDavid #16209-097

FCI Terminal Island,
Federal Correctional Institution
PO Box 3007
San Pedro, CA 90731

Update on Jordan Halliday

Jordan began a 10-month sentence, starting January 10, 2012, for grand jury resistance related to ALF raids in Utah. His address is:

Jordan Halliday #201200256
Davis County Correctional Facility
PO Box 130
Farmington, UT 84025

Grant Barnes #137563, Arrowhead Correctional Facility, POB 300, Cañon City, CO 81215-3000. *(Please note new mailing address.)* Arrested 2007 for setting fire to SUVs, serving 12 years. GRANTBARNES.WORDPRESS.COM

Marie J. Mason #04672-061, FMC Carswell, Federal Medical Center, POB 27137, Fort Worth, TX 76127. Serving near 22 years for her involvement in an ELF arson and 12 other ELF actions.

SUPPORTMARIE.MASON.ORG

Steve Murphy #39013-177, FCI Beaumont Medium, POB 26040, Beaumont, TX 77720. Serving five years for an attempted arson on a

townhouse construction site in 2006. SUPPORTSTEVE.ORG

Michael Sykes #696693, 10274 Boyer Road, PO Box 5000, Carson City, MI 48811. Serving 4 to 10 years for anti-sprawl arsons, graffiti and attempting to chisel through the cement is his jail cell.

Joyanna Zacher #36360-086, FCI Dublin, Federal Correctional Institution, 5701 8th St, Camp Parks, Unit F, Dublin, CA 94568. Serving 7 years and 8 months for an ELF arson.

Tim DeChristopher #16156-081, Herlong FCI, Federal Correctional Institution, PO Box 800, Herlong, CA 96113. Sentenced to 2 years for bidding on oil and gas leases on public land to stop fossil fuel extraction. BIDDER70.ORG

Fran Thompson #1090915 HU 1C, WERDCC, POB 300, Vandalia, MO 63382, USA. Serving Life for killing a stalker in self-defense. Before her imprisonment Fran was an eco, animal & anti-nuke campaigner.

Indigenous Resistance

Leonard Peltier #89637-132 USP Coleman I, US Penitentiary, POB 1033, Coleman, FL 33521. American Indian Movement activist framed for the death of two FBI agents during 1975 Pine Ridge siege. LEONARDPELTIER.NET

Wayne Spears #64289080, PO Box 52020, Bennettsville, SC, 29512-5220. Native activist convicted of "explosives and counterfeiting US currency."

For a more complete list of prisoners that the EF! Journal supports, check out: EARTHFIRSTJOURNAL.ORG/PRISONERS

Prisoner Birthdays

Send a birthday card to these political prisoners. It's an easy way to help remind these freedom fighters that they aren't forgotten. If you make one, remember, don't use anything like white-out, stickers, tape or glitter on it. We also recommend that you put your name and address and their name and prisoner number on the card, lest the authorities "lose" the envelope and forget where it is going. If you would like to add a birthday or sign up for our poster mailing list, email us at PPBIRTHDAY@RISEUP.NET. Brought to you with love by the Chapel Hill Prison Books Collective. PRISONBOOKS.INFO

May 2: Daniel McGowan #63794-053, FCI Terre Haute-CMU, PO Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808. Charged on multiple counts of arson and conspiracy relating to the arson of Superior Lumber company and Jefferson Poplar Farms claimed by the ELF. He is serving approximately 7 years.

April 16: Walter Bond #37096-013, In Transit (check SUPPORTWALTER.ORG for his updated location.) Arrested for the "ALF Lonewolf" arsons of the Sheepskin Factory in Denver, Colorado, the Tandy Leather Factory in Salt Lake City, Utah and the Tiburon Restaurant in Sandy, Utah which sold Foie Gras. In 2011, He received a sentence of 12 years and 4 months for his actions.

April 7: Charles Sims Africa #AM4975, SCI Retreat, 660 State Route 11, Hunlock Creek, PA 18621 Chuck Sims Africa is a member of the black liberation group

(Continued on next page)

(Cont. from previous page)

MOVE and part of the MOVE 9, nine MOVE members all falsely accused for the murder of a police officer who was shot by friendly fire when the Philadelphia police raided their house.

April 13: Janet Holloway Africa #OO-6308, 451 Fullerton Ave., Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238 MOVE prisoner.

April 25: Janine Phillips Africa #OO-6309, 451 Fullerton Ave., Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238 MOVE prisoner.

April 24: Mumia Abu-Jamal #AM-8335, SCI-Mahanoy, 301 Morea Rd., Frackville, PA 17932. An award-winning journalist and co-founder of the Black Panther Party chapter in Philadelphia and vocal supporter of the MOVE organization. He was convicted and sentenced to death for the alleged shooting of a police officer in 1982. His death sentence was overturned, but he is still expected to serve the rest of his life in prison.

March 1: Richard Mafundi Lake #079972, Donaldson CF, 100

Warrior Lane Bessemer, AL 35023-7299. Richard was a long-time organizer against police brutality in Alabama. He has been locked up since September 2001 for alleged anti-American propaganda during an Islamic service. He has stated that he was leading a discussion regarding reparations for enslavement and injustices. Richard is still imprisoned as a consequence of hysteria after 9/11 although his case had nothing to do with any "terrorist" attack on the US.

LETTERS FROM THE CAGES

As the techno-obsessed culture comes to dominate every aspect of our lives and our resistance movements, prisoners become that much more isolated from friends, family and supporters on the outside. We've decided to dedicate this Journal space, separate from our Dear Shit for Brains section, to the voices of prisoners who follow the EF! movement..

We encourage correspondence with these comrades behind bars to facilitate stronger relationships through the walls of this ecocidal civilization's prison system.

Dear EF!J editors,
*'Tis the season to be jolly!
Wallow not in melancholy!
Rejoice the Solstice bringing light!
Ring an end to corporate night.
Push the struggle of the ninety-nine—
So we, the people, will be fine.*

May your Solstice season be way better than my doggerel! Sorry I haven't written you back sooner, but even in here there just aren't enough hours in the day. But how could I not think of Earth First! at Solstice? Congrats on continuing to put out a fine publication—not a common feat on our side of the barricades nowadays. And thank you and your comrades for the birthday wishes! A

fellos' shadow grows ever lighter the longer he drifts through the gulag archipelago. You ever consider doing environmental radio shows? It seems as if there would be a market for good content. Well, let me get this off. The future holds promise!

—BILL DUNNE #10916-086

USP Pollock
PO Box 2099
Pollock, LA 71467

Dunne, a former member of the Wellspring Communion, was arrested in '79 when he and Larry Giddings attempted to free fellow revolutionary Artie Ray Dufur from prison. Both were arrested after an exchange of fire with police as they were fleeing the scene. In 1983 Bill attempted to escape prison and is currently serving 90 years.

Behind Babylon's Razor-Wire:

Fraternal, Revolutionary Greetings in Resistance from within the bowels of the babylon fascist beast, in the heat of fierce struggle against the dehumanizing policies of the capitalist state, extend a warm salute and embrace to EARTH FIRST!, and my middle protruding out for the enemies of the earth, nature and

human rights! *No surrender! Smash the fascist capitalist state! Long live revolutionary anarchism!*

To tell you something about me, I am a chicano (Mexican American) revolutionary anarchist and political prisoner framed by the gestapo police-state forces in what we "militants" call the *Occupied Territories of Aztlan*, the Chicano Mexicano homeland stolen by land baron white colonial settlers in the 1800s. I am now caged in this "control unit," in essence solitary confinement, as a means to isolate me from our communities, in attempt to break my will and my spirit of resistance. I am serving a fifty years' sentence for disarming a racist, violent, West Texas Sheriff who was in the act of shooting me, to silence me from speaking out against *barrio* injustices and the brutality of the police. For more info about me and my case, please visit www.FREEALVARO.NET see also *Let Freedom Ring: A collection of documents from the movements to free US political prisoners*, by Matt Meyer, PM Press, Oakland, CA, 2008; and *Jailhouse Lawyers: Prisoners defending prisoners z. the USA*, by Mumia al Jamal, 2009, City Lights Books, San Francisco, CA (wherein my case history is cited in both books.)

(Cont. from previous page)

En solidaridad,

—ALVARO LUNA HERNANDEZ
#255735, Huges Unit
Rt. 2, Box 4400
Gatesville, TX 76597-001

To All Earth Firsters

Don't protect and pamper your own butt—and fear being in this prison! All life is at stake.

Some of you place your cell phone car apartment safety above action. Well, warriors don't think like that—not real warriors. A warrior is not a soldier. A warrior lays down their life for love and the survival of the whole. Warriors don't take orders.

Soon the whole Earth and all her water will be poisoned.

Why? Because this artificial world is operating. And its operating on coal and nuke energy. Both very, very toxic to all life. I know.

I spent six months in a coal power plant everyday. Its like a hell on Earth and you come home each day and cough up black phlegm.

As long as those coal monsters are going we are all on Death Row.

—OSO BLANCO (Byron Shane of Chubbock Clan) #07909051,
USP Lewisburg, US Penitentiary,
POB 1000, Lewisburg, PA, 17837

Oso Blanco is serving 80 yrs for charges related to bank robberies to funnel money to Zapatistas in Mexico.

Dear Friends,

Greetings from the Texas Gulag! I wanted to congratulate you on a superb issue of *EF! J* (Mabon 2011)—I never fail to learn something important in your magazine—and also to thank everyone who helps to subsidize prisoners' education by supporting prisoners' subscriptions.

When I came to prison in the late 80's for some drug-related petty-thefts (22 down, 3 to go!) I was completely ignorant concerning ecology, animal rights, and the horribly predatory, and ultimately unsustainable, nature of capitalism-imperialism. It's only

been through the amazing kindness and generosity of the radical and progressive community that I have come to see life, and myself, through a completely different lens.



Any rehabilitation I've undergone (and, in fact, I've undergone plenty!) has been in spite of the state and completely due to my radical friends (that's you!).

I just wanted to send my heartfelt thanks to everyone who donates to *EF! J*: it really makes a big difference in prisoners' lives—particularly prisoners who are indigent and have no one outside, such as myself.

Thank you... Peace,

—RICHARD OSTRANDER #502414
Estelle HS, 264 FM 3478,
Huntsville, TX 77320-3322

...P.S. Sure would enjoy an informed article on squatting and alternative housing as this looks to be my future! Occupy Everywhere!!!

Dear EF!

Ecocide, environmental racism, sex slavery, deportation industry, security, military industry, wage slavery... All these horrors can be traced back to the same names, the same ideas of centralized domination and proxy authoritarian rule and occupation of free space.

Non-violent actions, or symbolic acts of sabotage (window-breaking, heavy equipment burning...) is not going to stop corporate CEO's in ALEC from organizing, and neither will civil disobedience or rallies or lock downs or occupations.

We know this, we've seen the extremes centralized governments and corporations (what's the diff?) will go to, so why do we keep doing the very things dominant culture expects us to do; ie. play the victim, go on the defense, cry foul, whine to the courts...

There will be no justice in the courts of the oppressor. Derrick Jensen wrote in his essay "Actions speak louder than words" that a targeted assassination campaign would not work because CEOs and politicians are expendable.

Perhaps he is right, but there is a sense of power and self-respect that comes from directly challenging domination. "It's the principal," as we say in prison.

The violence of the American Revolution was kicked off because organized citizens (the Sons of Liberty) began sniping British police/soldiers who were searching their homes without warrant; that was the last straw.

What will be the last straw for us? How many more extinctions? How many more dead immigrants? How many more prisons...

—JOHN TORRES #V23813
SVSP/B-5-214
PO Box 1020
Soledad, CA 93960

Merry Mayhem

"...And Season's Greetings."
Artwork above by Toxic Tom.

Tom Fetters #JC7185, 165 SCI Lane,
Greensburg, PA 15601-9103

winged resistance

by Ron Sakolsky

Overnight train
from Montreal

to Gaspé
morning coastline
slowly clicking by
in the fog.
Clear afternoon
hiking up
to mountain lookout
in Forillon Park
I survey the lingering traces
of the families
forced
to leave
their homes by Parcs Canada,
their unwilling dispersal
still remembered
with anger
by the local
lighthouse keeper
who punctuates
his recollection
by spitting
on the ground,
then cursing
the name
of Trudeau,
his lips,
tightly pursed.
After all these years
he still mourns
their exile.
But *not* that of the uprooted
Mic Mac
before them
who he
cares little about.
For him,
the civilizing moment
of Settlement
made their destruction
inevitable.
And Today
what could be
more civilized than oil.
On local TV
talking heads
chatter on
about the potential
consequences
to migratory birds
due to the
giant oil slick

oozing out from
the hemoraging
Louisiana coastline.
The gannets
of Newfoundland
who winter
down south
are mentioned
as being vulnerable
and ominous hints
are dropped
of danger
to other
gannet sanctuaries
like the one here
on Bonaventure Island
near Percé Rock.
From my writing perch,
the Rock
hovers surreally
outside my window,
one minute,
glittering red
in the sunlight,
the next
rendered invisible
by a shroud
of white mist.
As the Rock
transforms itself
the pundits wonder
whether
the titanic effects
of the oceanic
oil eruptions
will arrive
next year
on the backs
of those gannets
who survive
the return journey
encrusted
in industrial sludge.
Mic Mac exile.
Forillon villagers' exile.
Must the gannets
be exiled too,
never to return?
All 3 exiles
imagined in the anarchic

black mirror
whose reflection
of Luciferian light
illuminated
the dark corners
of André Breton's
days of exile
in the Gaspé
during the
Nazi occupation
of France.

Lost
in the drifting
footsteps
of Breton,
I walk
among the birds
massed together
on island cliffs,
myself an exile
these last 8 years.
Breton
who had sailed from Marseilles,
fleeing fascism,
pointedly
choosing not
to join
the French Resistance
boldly refusing
to ally himself
with the same
Stalinists
who had ridiculed surrealism
and betrayed
the anarchist revolution
in Spain.
His rebellion
against both
Hitler and Stalin
expressing itself
as an act
of resistance
through flight.

Thinking of Breton,
I imagine
the gannets

faced with
a life-threatening
situation
searching
for the nexus
where
fight and flight
converge
their wingspan bridging
the gap
between
liberation and liberty
their aerial formations
heralding
a winged resistance.

In my dream
flying squadrons
fill the sky,
flee contamination,
seek sanctuary,
utter
ferocious clacking sounds,
circle overhead
launch
cross-border
attacks
on BP outposts,
relentlessly
dive-bomb
oil company CEOs
everywhere,
mix the oily feathers
of their
fallen comrades
with tar
and ride
the oil barons
out of town
on a rail
of fire
ignited by
the insurrectionary heat
of the rising sun.

Armed with Visions

at earth's liberation

by Oleta Rose

The witch-poet, the warrior-slave
offers each night her kiss
and grave of stars.

In her body's scent she records her spells—
the incantation of armpit and breath
blood and nature
loins, amaranth and moon

The ghost of a moth circles her nipple
in the flashes of lightning over the Death-Kingdom.

A wren rests on her sacrum.

Her throat, carried in the wild cougar's jaw
over the mountain of mirror and through the mirror's pass
is submerged in the skin of a creek
and is held in place by tannin-rich creek thighs
slurping and lapping creek bottom secrets

A flock of her cells
moves over the whiteness of frightening machines,
roving the heart of a felled forest

Hers is an action completed over and over
turning silence into a wild fighter
turning the nourishing of lips into the kiss of collapse,
stealing from napalm its grammar.

Her breath is the feast of harvest and the breath of
horse-bodies
Her lips are the movement of mating locusts

Her legs, her belly are the height of noon
with the sun watching a released bird.

She is the inverted tree of Beltane at earth's liberation

Her toes are a necklace of winter,

the back of her knee is the winter solstice

Through her the Death-Kingdom is contested by the
Sun's great madness
which terrorizes the empire's borders with a blood-
stream of lust

ELOHI

by Oso Blanco / Yona Unaga

WWW.OSOBLANCO.ORG

Byron Shane Chubbuck # 07909051
USP LEWISBURG
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P.O. BOX 1000
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I AM the blood made of muddy Rio Grande mud
I AM the defender of ELOHI
I AM the captive of your enemy and mine ELOHI
Mother Earth—ELOHI I AM he.

You are I, You are me.

The bark of udo cedar is my flesh
yv wi de tla gv tree people
the fur of *wa hi* is my fur

I am also brother coyote,
sly and tricky, of great skill
udo wahi.

I am the real blood, a grandson of
the trail of tears, *Tsa La gi*
Ani Wa ya. WOLFpeople Cherokee.

I am the Black Stink Bug
I am the *Ani jis qua* BIRDpeople
I am the *Di tLi hi* for ELOHI
I am the warrior for MOTHER EARTH.

the *To yo hi La* brother Lizzard
it is "I" my self, still and green
gray and Blue with yellow
and blue war paint.

I AM the TURTLE people
reading your mind for I
AM 160 years old.

I AM the Vast Southwest
Breathing the energy of your soul
I AM the wild horse spring foal.

Send poems to Warrior Poets Society / P.O. Box 14501 / Berkeley, CA 94712-5501

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Love Connection with Dr. Love

Relationship advice from famous author Dr. Love, including advice for singles, love advice, and guidance on relationships.

Email your questions to DR.LOVE@RISEUP.NET

Dear Dr. Love,

*I've been vegan for a really really long time. However, I recently stumbled across this book called *The Vegetarian Myth*. It has brought up many challenging questions for me about whether veganism is an effective way to fight against factory farming and the destruction of the planet. I really love animals, but I also want to be a powerful eco-warrior. What should I do?*

Sincerely,

Confused in the piedmont

Dear Confused,

You're right to be confused. While Lierre Keith brought up some very compelling points and difficult questions in her book she also used a lot of strawman arguments. However the parts of the animal rights movement pushing for veganism have also used quite a few logical fallacies as well. What you're left with is the knowledge of millions of tortured animals and a dying planet but no actual solutions. What you need to do is actually fight against factory farming and the murder of the planet. So my piece of advice to you is to eat what makes your body feel best; start stockpiling guns and ammunition; go get yourself a copy of either *Ecodefense* or the *Animal Liberation Primer* and study hard; go underground with a few friends and don't come back up until you're all dead or in jail. Don't worry about any kind of passe commitment to nonviolence. Those ecocidal profiteers will spare you no mercy so you should definitely return the favor in kind. With dedicated eco-warriors like yourself, the eath just might stand a chance.

Keep It Real,

Dr. Love

Dear Dr. Love,

I read your column all the time but never really felt the need to write until now. I've been doing activism for a while now but it just doesn't feel like it's going anywhere. Then a few months ago I met this person that I have a crush on who really gets me. She understands my frustrations about activism running me around in circles. Talking to her made me feel like I could push myself to do activism that would be effective. Lately though I feel like she's pushing me into taking steps in a direction that I'm not sure I want to go in. I just don't think I'm ready to make that kind of commitment but I really like her? Should I just do it despite my reservations?

**Looking forward to hearing back,
Worried in Wilmington**

Dear Worried,

From the vague innuendos you're telling me it sounds like you might be dating (or trying to date) a federal agent. Probably you should ditch her as soon as possible and never talk to her again. But I wouldn't necessarily disregard any of the things that you eluded to her pressuring you into. Sometimes undercover try to get people to do really great things. The only problem with that is that they also want to put them in jail for those same righteous things that they got them to do in the first place. So once you ditch the fed you should probably go full speed ahead with any plans you think you can get away with. Good luck.

**Don't let the bastards grind you down,
Dr. Love**

Dear Dr. Love,

My life lately has become an awful mess. I was out of work for months so I racked up thousands of dollars in credit card bills just trying to make ends meet. Since I finally found a job my life hasn't really improved because most of my money is going into paying off the minimum balances on my credit cards. Now I'm spending my free time looking for a second job. I'm having trouble sleeping most nights. Honestly, I think robbing a bank would be easier than running around in circles like this. Do you think it would be easy to get away with robbing a few banks? I'm kinda freaking out.

Please help,

Desperate in Durham

Dear Desperate,


While robbing banks is a valid option to fix your money woes, there is a much easier and less risky option. You can and should default on your credit card payments. That's right, just stop paying them. Now, those credit card companies are going to be mighty pissed about this, especially because they can't do a damn thing about it. There are a couple of things you can do to get ready for their crybaby antics. First get a disposable phone and switch that to be the number registered with the credit card company. Now, when you quit sending them their blood money they'll be frantically calling the wrong number. This is a good first line of defense. But watch out they're going

to start calling friends, and family and anyone you listed on your original credit card application. What you need to do now is tell your friends this magic phrase, "They don't live here, this is their new phone number (your new disposable cell number) never call here again." They might have to do this a few times but the calls should stop pretty quickly. A lot of debt collector fighting websites will tell you to send them a certified letter to stop the harassment but this type of thing could trigger a lawsuit (which is also no big deal). It's much easier to just never talk to them again by making it really difficult for them to get your real phone number or address. Next, don't ever give them money again, not even a dime. In seven years tops the debt doesn't even exist on your records, however if you pay them anything it restarts the clock. They also can't touch your bank account, so just stay resolute and don't talk to them. They might try to sue you, but honestly with so many people going into default that's so much less likely these days. If they do try to sue you, you should fight it in court because you might as well. Google "How to fight debt collectors and win" for strategies in court. If they win a judgment against you, don't sweat it, it's no big deal because they can't garnish your wages if you even apply for government assistance. Not if you qualify, if you even apply. Working in an endless cycle of debt is our version of modern day slavery. It's part of the viscous consumerist cycle that's devouring our planet. Just remember, "fuck them, you don't owe them shit, they can't fucking touch you."

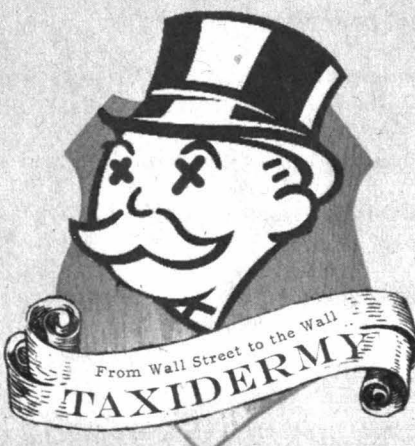
Just Say No
Dr. Love

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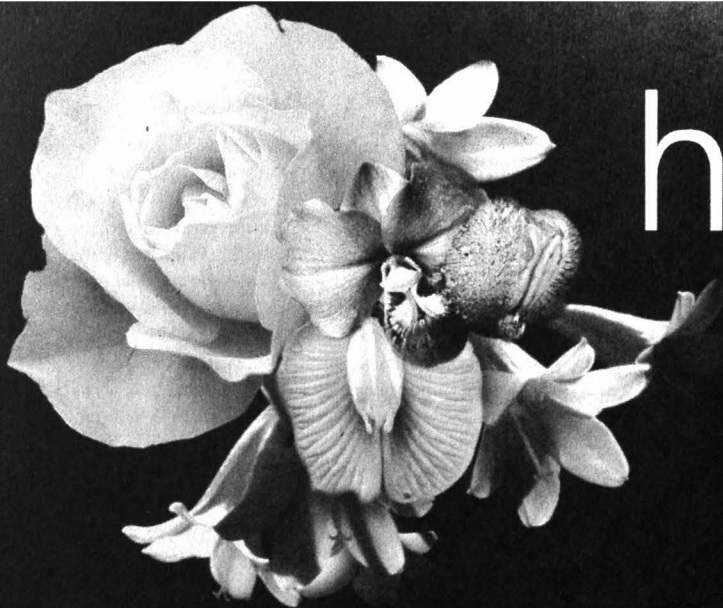


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damiana love cordial

Damiana is a yellow flowering shrub native to the southwestern US and Central America. This enchanting herb is used for relaxation and is well known as a traditional Mexican aphrodisiac. Enjoy a glass of delicious love cordial after dessert with friends or sip this treat with your special sweetie.

INGREDIENTS:

- 1 oz organic damiana leaves, dried
- 1 organic vanilla bean, split and chopped
- 2 cups brandy
- 1 1/2 cups water
- 1 cup raw local honey
- 1/4 cup organic Rose Hydrosol

DIRECTIONS:

Soak the dried damiana leaves and chopped vanilla bean in brandy for 5 days. Strain the herb and reserve the alcohol in a jar. Mix the brandy saturated damiana and vanilla pulp in water for 3 days using a separate jar.

Strain, reserve the water in a jar, and compost the spent herb. Warm the water extract gently in a pot.

Dissolve the honey in the warm water extract.

Add the sweetened water extract to the alcohol extract and stir well.

Pour into a sterilized bottle, label, and let age for one month or longer. Add rose hydrosol, serve, and relish.



elderberry syrup

Elder is one of our favorite wintertime herbs! This botanical has a long history of use, and researchers have recently proven that the berries are effective against eight strains of influenza, prevent infection, and shorten recovery times. Not only is it believed that Elder may be superior to vaccines in preventing the flu, but it does not cause the same side effects! Elderberry syrup is a proven remedy for preventing and recovering from the flu, colds, excessive mucus, sore throats, and contains large amounts of antioxidants, potassium, beta-carotene, calcium, phosphorus, and vitamin C.

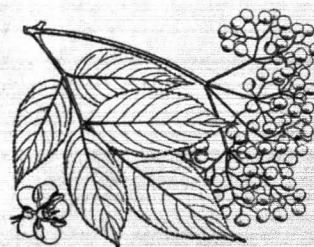
INGREDIENTS:

- 1 cup fresh or 1/2 cup dried organic elderberries
(harvest blue or black, avoid poisonous reds)
- 3 cups water
- 1 cup raw local honey
- 1 organic cinnamon stick
- 3 organic cloves
- Pinch dried organic ginger root or fresh grated organic ginger
(optional)

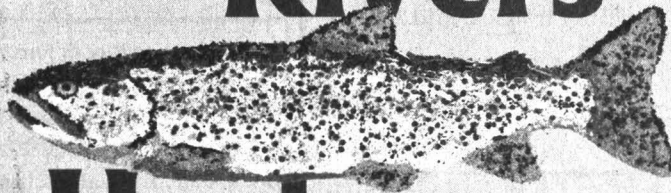
DIRECTIONS:

Place berries, water, and spices in a saucepan. Bring to a boil, reduce heat, and simmer for 30 minutes. Smash the berries to release remaining juice and strain the mixture. Allow liquid to cool and stir in honey. Will last for 2 to 3 months stored in the fridge.

Take a tablespoon daily to ward off illness and a teaspoon every 2-3 hours while sick. For children under 2, add the syrup to hot water to kill any microbes in the honey.



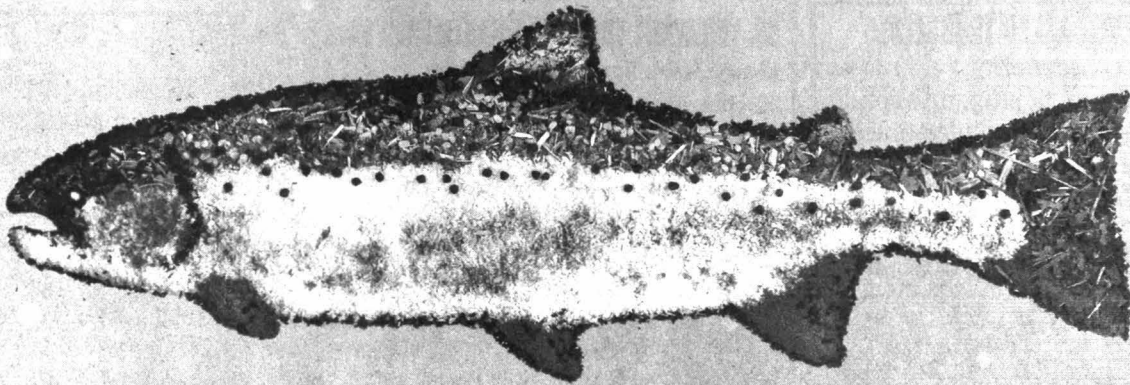
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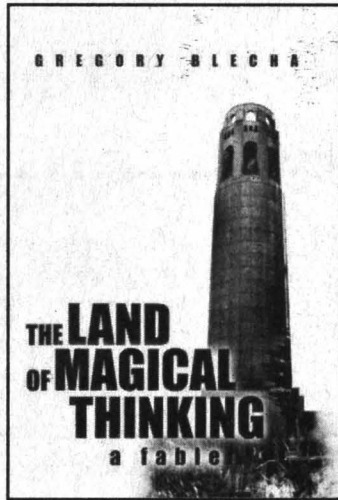

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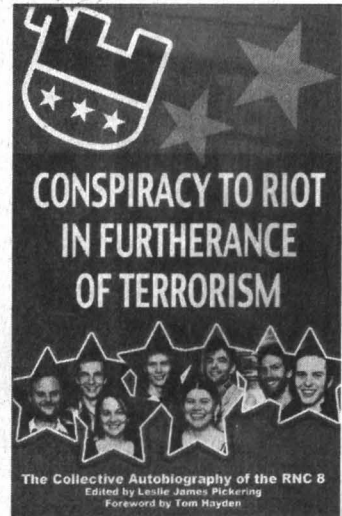
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Conspiracy to Riot in Furtherance of Terrorism is the collective autobiography of several members of the RNC 8. Charged with violations of the Minnesota Patriot Act for organizing logistics for protests against the 2008 Republican National Convention in St. Paul, the authors reveal their upbringings, early political involvements, the "RNC Welcoming Committee," infiltration, arrests, legal defense and outcomes of the case.

Authored by RNC 8 defendants, Luce Guillen-Givins, Max Spektor, Eryn Trimmer, Monica Bicking, Robert Czenik, and Garret Fitzgerald, and edited and introduced by Leslie James Pickering, *Conspiracy to Riot in Furtherance of Terrorism* offers lessons and a glimpse into the contemporary reality of dissent in America.



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- Why are skinny-dipping, mysophilia and arboreal frottage so pleasurable?
- Where is the e-spot?

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WHERE ONCE RESTED BIODIVERSITY SITS A STRIP MALL WITH AN ARMY RECRUITING OFFICE AND A DOUGHNUT SHOP FULL OF COPS. THAT'S ENOUGH TO FILL ANY GAL WITH A HINT OF LIFE LEFT IN HER WITH PISS AND VINEGAR. WE ARE GONNA TAKE BACK THE TEA PARTY LEGACY FROM THESE WHIMPERING BOURGEOIS RACISTS AND MAKE THE DESTRUCTION OF IMPERIAL PROPERTY SEXY AGAIN!"

—BILLIE ANTOINETTE BODINE

LEFTNECK MOONSHINER, PANTHER WHISPERER

My S.U.V. was torched by E.L.F.

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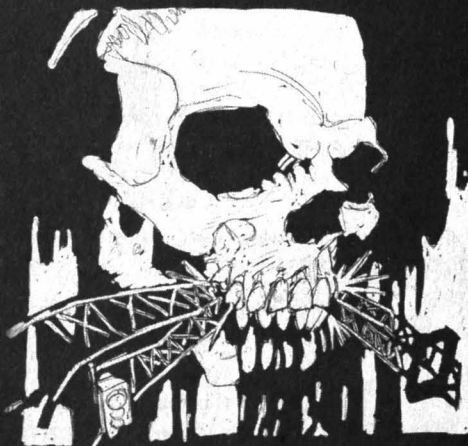
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Calling all Earth First!ers, forest defenders and rural folks! The 2012 Round River Rendezvous is on the horizon

MARCELLUS

NO FRACKING



NO COMPROMISE

EARTH FIRST!

In more than fifteen states across the country, battles are being waged by rural folks against a specific type of natural gas extraction known as hydraulic fracture drilling. The fight is for the right to clean water. Our water is being polluted by hundreds of corporations and subsidiaries engaged in a resource boom. This new boom is imposed onto farmers, conservationists and rural communities across the country by corporations like Halliburton, Baker Hughes, Exxon Mobil, Mitchell Energy, Flotek and Range Resources.

Marcellus Shale Earth First! is thrilled to be hosting the 2012 Earth First! Round River Rendezvous, July 1-7, in the Marcellus region (location to be announced). Our shadowy lair deep in the forest is the perfect place for a rowdy convergence of Earth First!ers, environmental justice activists, rural community members, and anyone else interested in a week of primitive camping, workshops, music, hiking, howling at the moon and, of course, effective direct action against fracking in the Marcellus Shale! We plan to focus on the culture of the Marcellus region, the boom and bust history of resource extraction in the area, and the rewilding of regional ecosystems increasingly affected by the rapid expansion of drilling and fracking.

We are excited to bring an uncompromising Earth First! presence to a region that has never hosted a Rondo before. We aim to craft this year's Round River Rendezvous into both a meaningful opportunity to connect activists and environmental justice campaigns from across the country, and a resounding gesture of solidarity with all those resisting the spread and effects of fracking.

What is "Fracking"? And why is it so bad?

First popularized by Halliburton in 1949, hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, is an industrial process used in gas wells to increase production when drilling for "unconventional" gas sources. First used to exploit shale gas fields in Western states such as Texas, Colorado and Wyoming, fracking came to the Appalachian Mountains around 2005, when a geologic formation known as the Marcellus Shale was discovered to hold natural gas reserves. The Marcellus Shale, which stretches across parts of Pennsylvania, New York, West Virginia, Ohio and Maryland, is a massive rock formation located 2,000-9,000 feet below the surface, and contains large amounts of gas within.

The process of fracking begins with clearcutting a patchwork of well sites into the forest, then continues with injecting millions of gallons of water mixed with chemicals, detergents, diesel fuel and sand into wells drilled deep underground to violently fracture the shale and release the desired gas, along with radiation, salt, and many other contaminants. While some of the chemically laced water is recovered, much of it is simply abandoned underground to leach into the aquifer and local waterways, while the toxic water that is recovered from the well is usually dumped into pits on site, or discarded in local landfills as "residual waste."

Drilling companies gain access to the shale by using predatory legal techniques to lease public and private land in order to build well pads for drilling, fracking, and the storage of waste and processing equipment as well as networks of pipelines to transport the gas out of the area. They source water by pumping it from local lakes, rivers, streams and ponds before mixing it with proprietary brews of toxic chemicals that enable them to extract the gas from the wells. They use tactics that can be best described as "divide and conquer" in attempts to turn pro-gas residents against those who do not wish to lease their land, causing painful, bitter divisions and disputes that corrode the social fabric of local communities. One person's gas lease may threaten the water of

many of their neighbors, whether or not they have chosen to sign their own leases.

Thousands of out-of-state workers have descended on the Marcellus region, making the drilling companies' claims of creating significant numbers of local jobs ring hollow. Truck accidents, chemical spills, forest fragmentation, contaminated aquifers, and noise, light and air pollution from round-the-clock drilling operations are taking a toll on the people and wildlife who live in the region, and the poorer rural areas are bearing the brunt of it. By its very nature, this boom will roar through rural communities, making as much money as possible for a few short years before leaving the residents with little to show but polluted water, fragmented forests and a few royalty checks.

Who is Marcellus Shale Earth First?

Marcellus Shale Earth First! emerged from a hidden forest glen several years ago when multiple newly formed Earth First! groups in the bioregion agreed to work together under a common banner when collaborating on actions and events in the broader anti-fracking movement in the Marcellus region. Working with other local groups has given MSEF! the opportunity to present trainings and workshops to a rural movement that has not had easy access to civil disobedience or non-violent direct action trainings. Creating an Earth First! presence in a part of the country that has not traditionally had an active radical environmental movement has been a complex task, but MSEF! is gradually building an action campaign aimed at both supporting anti-gas residents and defending our bioregion of forests and rivers from the scourge of the drillers.

Much of the visible activism against fracking has been focused on protesting public hearings and meetings held in larger towns and cities, and has been largely inaccessible to those living in more rural areas. MSEF! is focusing on changing that dynamic by bringing a strong presence of locally rooted environmental activists to the areas most affected by drilling and fracking. It is our goal to bring another voice, backed by effective No Compromise strategy and tactics, to the Marcellus region. Our campaign is located where the drilling takes place, and where those most affected by drilling have been asking for help for years. Other residents of the region, such as

the Short Eared Owl, the Northern Flying Squirrel, the Indiana Bat and the Allegheny Woodrat cannot ask for help, but they need all the help they can get in their struggle to survive amid the chaos of the gas boom.

Please Consider:

The RRR is an event open to all (except cops and law enforcement, of course), so please leave oppressive, elitist and disruptive attitudes at home. Elitist or oppressive behavior will not be tolerated. Our goal is a week of celebration, learning and sharing of ideas that is open to all, from rural landowners, to townies, to environmental justice activists of all stripes. Remember the saying: talk to someone you don't know – let's help our movement grow! As always, there will be spaces for alcohol and partying, and there will be spaces conducive to sobriety and quietude. It is expected that these spaces and policies will be respected. In short, don't be a jerk!

There will also be a safe space for child-care, and we could use help creating and maintaining it. There will be on-site medics with emergency medical training and herbal medicine knowledge, as well as spaces to go for health and healing. If you have any particular skills that would help with any of these things, contact us.

Police or other law enforcement agencies sometimes like to stop in and see what we are up to or try to shut down the whole camp all together. It is usually not a big deal, but please be aware of these possibilities. There will be delegated members of the camp responsible for communicating with law enforcement. As is usual at the RRR, we will be signing up volunteers to help with camp security, childcare, conflict mediation, and other tasks to keep the camp functioning.

We're calling on all Earth First!ers, forest defenders, environmental justice activists and rural folks of all kinds to mark your calendars. We need your help to give these frackers a solid kick in the guts this summer. Stand up for the forests, for the Susquehanna, for rural communities all over the world and join us to take action against the gas wells destroying our bioregion!

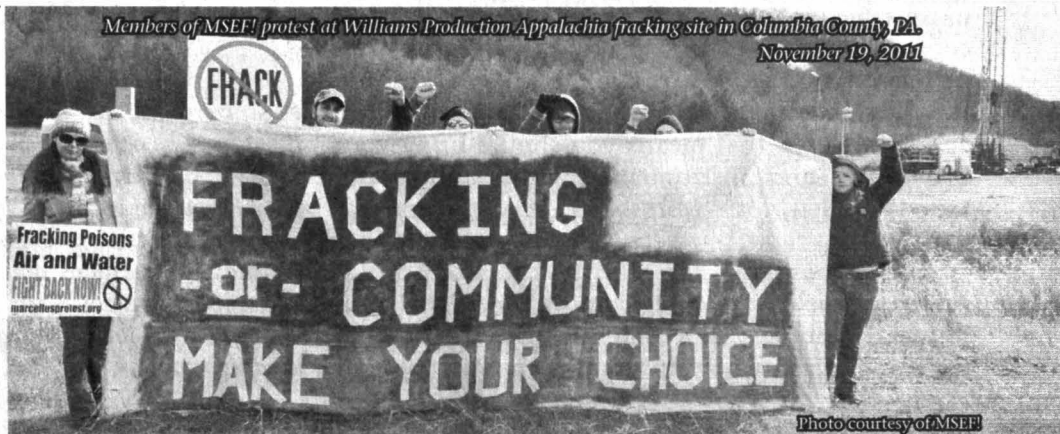
Contact us for more info, or if you are interested in volunteering, presenting workshops or trainings, etc: SUSQUEHANNAEARTHFIRST@GMAIL.COM, MARCELLUSEARTHFIRST@RISEUP.NET, MARCELLUSEARTHFIRST.ROCUS.ORG

No drilling! No compromise! See you this July!

Fight Back!



Attack the Frack!





An Invitation
for you:

2012 Winter OC and Rondy

Canyons of wind-carved rocks filled with ancient voices call to earth warriors to gather for the 2012 Earth First! Organizers Conference and Winter Rendezvous. Come explore Utah's wild raw beauty that is under constant threat from the ever-hungry beast of progress! Join us for early spring in the desert, the breath between the departure of the snow and the blooming of the flowers to soak your bones in the ancient waters of Mystic Hot Springs. In the quiet we honor our past, examine the present, and create a vision for a wild and free future.

The OC will kickoff with the Night to Howl featuring Earth First!'s own Warrior Poets. The Organizers Conference, Thursday thru Saturday afternoon, are meetings to strategize on how we most effectively create a world where the Earth comes First! Then Saturday night, after three days of meetings, it's time to stretch and play during the Winter Rondy. It kicks off Saturday with fire and music (yes, that means you should bring your inspiration and instruments) with Sunday and Monday filled with workshops, action planning, and...

A few notes on the site: Mystic Hot Springs (MYSTICHOTSPRINGS.COM) is welcoming Earth First! with minimal compensation that includes work trade. For those of you who want to do something besides

sit in meetings and go to workshops there will be a need for folks to help care for the place. Also, everyone should bring a little extra cash for the magic hat to further support our host in his efforts to care for this magical site. Monroe, UT is a small, fairly conservative community that we should be mindful of. Please, treat those you encounter with respect. Always remember, regardless of what you may think of their politics or beliefs, we are guests in their home. Temperature will be in the low 20s-30s at night and 40s-60s during the day. Dress appropriately and bring good bedding. A pad or ground cloth is essential. For those in need, there are a few rustic indoor sleeping places. Please contact us if you would like one of these and, if possible, be prepared to give a little extra for indoor digs.

To get involved with the organizing join the 2012 Organizers list by sending an email to: 2012-EFOC-ORGANIZERS@GOOGLEGROUPS.COM. For the most updated information and rideshare board go to: EFOC2012.WEBSTARTS.COM. If you are interested in being part of the work trade crew contact Stan at PERMIPREACHER@GMAIL.COM or volunteer on site. For questions and other communication, email: SKILLSTOUR@GMAIL.COM

And if you are not computer friendly (aka luddite) and need information call (406) 721-8427.

THE OBSERVER TREE

at the center of deforestation in Southwest Tasmania

BY MIRANDA GIBSON

I have been sitting up in the top of this tree for three weeks now. This giant *Eucalyptus delegatensis* that has become my home is estimated to be about 400 years old, and is situated in the middle of Tasmania's south west forest. Three weeks ago logging began in this area of forest that was promised protection in August 2011 by our Prime Minister herself, through the Tasmanian Forest Inter-Governmental Agreement (IGA). Yet, despite the promise of an "immediate conservation agreement" for 430,000 hectares of forest, including this tree, not one hectare has been protected and logging continues as rapidly as ever.

Forest negotiations are continuing. But talking about protecting the forest loses its meaning, if that very forest is being damaged beyond repair right now. To claim that they will protect this forest once it has been clear felled is absurd. It's like going into a shop and breaking something before you buy it, except this something has been evolving for thousands of years and no amount of money can buy us a new one.

And so, if the government isn't going to honour their own promises and just sit back and allow our precious irreplaceable forests to be lost—it's up to the community to step in. That is why I am sitting up here. This tree sit, known as "the observer tree" is fully equipped with solar panel, computer, video camera and internet. Through this set up I can document the values of the forest and when logging occurs, I can send images out live across the world via the internet. The purpose of The Observer Tree is to expose to the international community the ongoing destruction that is occurring regardless of government promises. And hopefully inspire people to take action to help protect our native forests.

I am updating a blog every day. Which has had a great response with over 12,000 views on the website

so far, and a continuous flow of comments of support from people around the world. I am also doing live conversations via Skype at community forums across Australia and hopefully internationally. This is a great way to talk face to face with people and show them what it is like here in the upper canopy of this amazing threatened forest.

The battle for Tasmania's forests has been going on for generations now. Seeming like it would never end until the last tree fell. And then, this past year, the so-called "forest peace talks" which brought together industry, workers and greenies, showed promise of finding a new solution that would be sustainable for

communities and for the Earth, including a transition out of native forest logging. However, something is getting in the way of Tasmania protecting its world class forests. And that is a Malaysian company called Ta Ann, which is selling our forests as veneer wood disguised under the name "eco-ply." They have a contract for 265,000 m3 of wood every year. The company is part of the corrupt Taib family, and is responsible for human rights abuses and environmental devastation across the globe. The good news is that UK company International Plywood, who was a major customer of Ta Ann, recently suspended their contract for Tasmanian timber due to the environmental destruction here. Now, it is time to keep the pressure up on other customers of Ta Ann and other sellers of Tasmanian timber such as Australian furniture



company Harvey Norman.

I am committed to staying up in this tree sit without getting down for as long as it takes to get a change for the forests here in Tasmania. I hope my presence up here will spark others to take action, rippling across the community and eventually bringing this destruction to a halt. I believe that it is possible that one day soon we will see these world class irreplaceable forests protected forever. Please help out by getting informed, spreading the word and taking action.

WWW.OBSERVERTREE.ORG

Ex-Factory Worker Turns Buffalo Defender, Swamp Rat, and Investigative Eco-Journalist

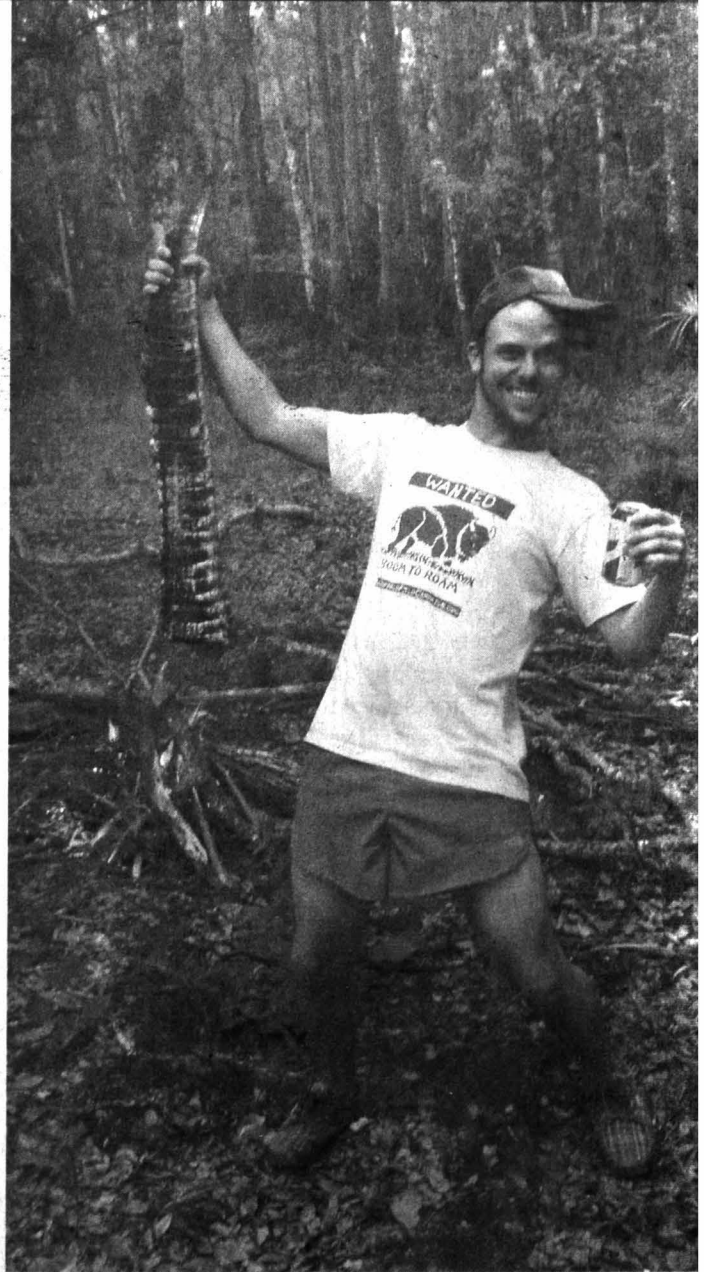
My time with the *Journal* was brief—just long enough to put out an issue, learn graphic design, wander aimlessly through a vast swamp and eat road-kill gator.

I arrived in South Florida in the middle of September and had to head back to Montana after the first week of November. I spend the winters in the frigid north of Montana's Yellowstone ecosystem standing with the buffalo on the ground they choose to be on; monitoring the cruel and unnecessary management actions implemented by the bastards at the Montana Department of Livestock. Buffalo are denied any native lands in a state that is known for its rich wildlife.

Two years ago I left my small backwoods town in western Pennsylvania where I grew up, I would never have guessed the life changing course on which I was about to embark. I had a shitty factory job but lived a good life there. But I knew that it wasn't for me—I needed out. I moved to the pacific northwest where I volunteered on organic farms for the summer, traveling, meeting rad new people, and learning incredible new things. When winter began to roll in and farm work was disappearing I headed to Montana to volunteer with the Buffalo Field Campaign. I was familiar with the issue and felt it was something that I had to do. It turned out to be an experience unlike anything I have encountered. We talk to people about the injustices these animals are faced with, and give them a voice to reach the world. This can be one of the most important steps in seeing change come about. This sparked my interest in journalism and the *Earth First! Journal*.

The *Journal* tackles hundreds of issues that the mainstream and even some indie publications shy away from. There are so many social and environmental violations in the world and having a forum to talk about them is a great first step in bringing us together to do something about it. The *Journal* welcomed me and I felt I was part of the team almost immediately. I was put to work within the first few minutes of my arrival finding newswire posts, updating the database, and finding material for the next issue. I learned a lot about what it takes to put a publication together, from the first contact with a possible contributor to the articles being edited and laid out, right up to getting it in your hands.

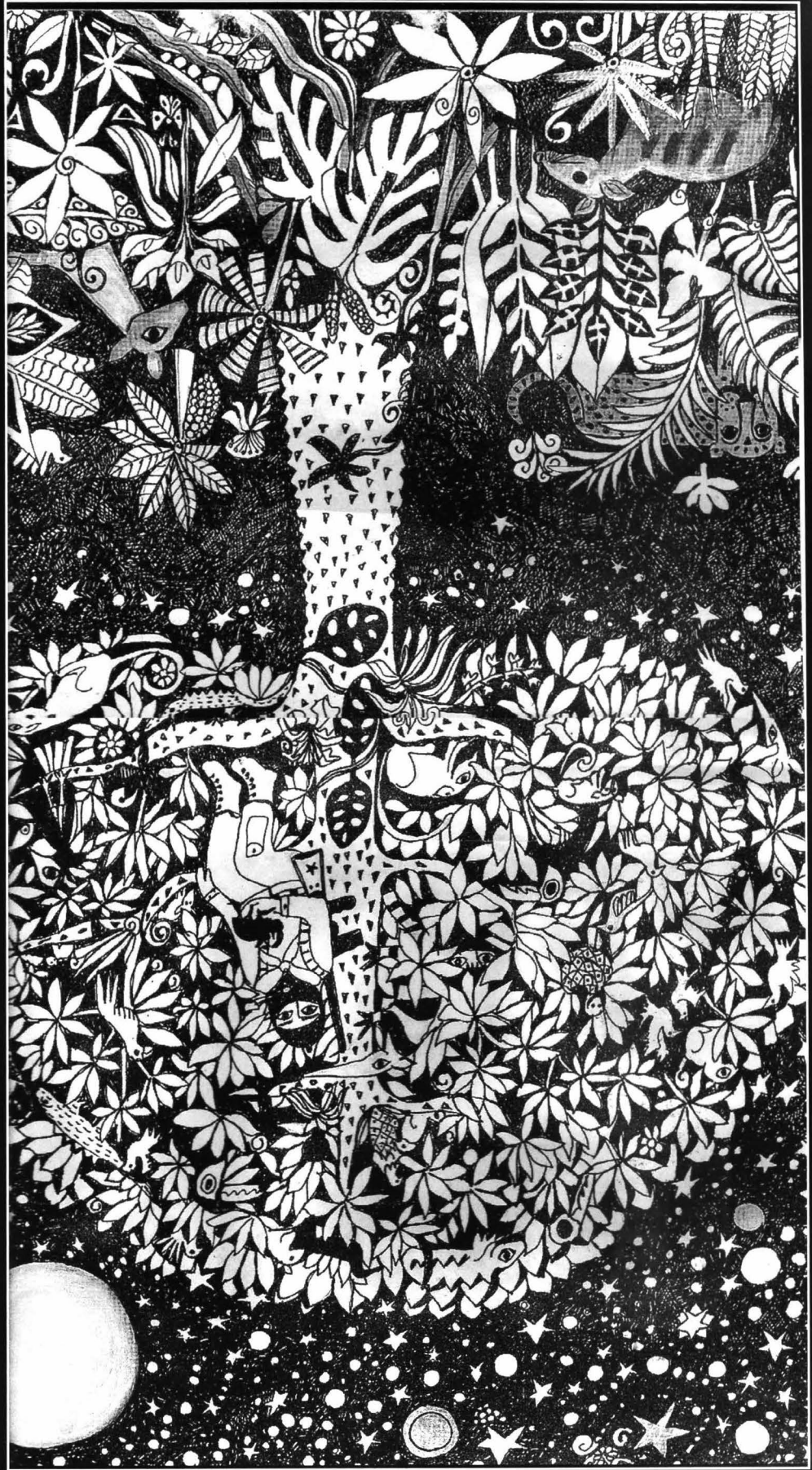
I had an amazing time with these crazy swamp




rats. No trip to Florida would have been complete without a camping trip in the mire and a sample of the native delicacy; lucky for us, not so much for the gator, we found a fresh road-kill! After saying a few words and ever so keenly slicing the tail off we continued on our way to Fisheating Creek where we fried up the beautiful animal over an open fire to feast. The next day consisted of an eight hour hike through the cypress swamp tripping on mushrooms. The fear of a gator lingering under every step has a way of bringing people together.

Eco-Zapatismo

Artist unknown



Daily Planet Publishing
Earth First! Journal
PO Box 964
Lake Worth, FL 33460



No one alive today remembers firsthand the trauma we call the first Industrial Revolution. What little we actually know about those earlier times has filtered down through distorting lenses devised to minimize this calamity and justify the suffering it caused in the name of progress. The inherited accounts of this period were formulated in response to the dramatic actions of those who fought for survival against this progress. Elite revisionists have denied the legitimacy and rationality of such opposition in order to guarantee the triumph of capitalism. The Luddites were not confused by this ideological invention. They did not believe in progress through industrial technology, nor could they have; the alien idea was invented after them to prevent their recurrence. In light of this invention, the Luddites were cast as irrational, provincial, futile, and primitive. In reality the Luddites were perhaps the last people in the West to perceive technology in the present tense, and to act upon that perception. They smashed machines.

—ADAPTED FROM DAVID NOBLE'S *PROGRESS WITHOUT PEOPLE*

\$6.50 US Volume 32 #1



Celebrate
the 200th
Anniversary
of the Luddite
Rebellion!