A contribution to the dialogue on social revolution and ecological defense
Excerpts from the essay: Down With Empire, Up With Spring!
Down with the Empire! Up with the Spring!

After over a decade of radical ecological resistance in Britain, it’s time to look back on our actions and look forward to the future.

It’s time to CELEBRATE our resistance: digger resin, window smashing, pleasant picknicking, office occupying, hoody wearing, GM crop trashing, squat cracking, sun lit lovin’, machine burning, treeleving - total fucking anarchy. It’s time to MOURN for our moment. Over the last decade thousands of species have been wiped out of existence. Vast forests - charred stumps. Coral reefs bleached dead by warmed seas. Millions starved within the prison of civilisation. Wild peoples massacred, enslaved and pauperised. It’s time to STRATEGISE how to make a real impact on this apocalypse. Look seriously at our strengths and weaknesses and pull together to RESIST. The empire is powerful but the spring is growing. It’s a challenge like no other, but with love, luck and hard resolve we can TRANSCEND.

* Part One: Recent Pre-History (http://eco-action.org/doc/no10/empire-history.htm)

I. Growing Counter-Cultures (http://eco-action.org/doc/no10/empire-task1.htm)

We need to catalyse living, loving, fighting counter-cultures that can sustain rebellion across generations. In both collective struggle and our everyday lives we must try to live our ecological and libertarian principles. Our counter-cultures must be glimmers of ecological anarchy - fertiliser for the growth of collective imagination. Fulfilling this task is what will enable the others to be fulfilled over the long haul. The counter-cultures must be bases from which to carry out 'thump in the dam' actions and give support to rebellions beyond the core. In times of crisis they should act decisively against authoritarian groups. The counter-culture's eventual aim should be social transcendence - (r)evolution.

II. Putting Our Thumb in the Dam (http://eco-action.org/doc/no10/empire-task2.htm)

Just as counter-cultures must open up space for (r)evolution to grow we must also open up time. The life support systems of the earth are under unprecedented attack. Biological meltdown is accelerating. (r)evolution takes decades to mature. Unless force is used on the margins of the global society to protect the most important biological areas we may simply not have enough time. The last tribal examples of anarchy, from whom we can learn a lot, could be wiped out within decades if not militantly defended. 'Thumb in the Dam' struggles aim to protect ecological diversity-understanding that this civilisation WILL be terminated, by either the unlikely possibility of global (r)evolution or the certainty of industrial collapse.


We must have the ability to defend ourselves, survive, and exploit crises in society including capitalist attempts to destroy us. The divided and industrial nature of today's society has already determined the instability of tomorrow.

IV. Supporting Rebellion Beyond the Core (http://eco-action.org/doc/no10/empire-task4.htm)

The counter-culture must act in real solidarity with our struggling sisters and brothers on other islands. Aid them in whatever we can and bring the 'majority world' battlefronts to the boardrooms, bedrooms and barricades of the bourgeoisie.
Growing Counter-Cultures

We need to catalyse living, loving, fighting counter-cultures that can sustain rebellion across generations. In both collective struggle and our everyday lives we must try to live our ecological and libertarian principles. Our counter-cultures must be glimmers of ecological anarchy—fertiliser for the growth of collective imagination. Fulfilling this task is what will enable the others to be fulfilled over the long haul. The counter-cultures must be bases from which to carry out 'thumb in the dam' actions and give support to rebellions beyond the core. In times of crisis they should act decisively against authoritarian groups. The counter-culture's eventual aim should be total social transcendence—(Revolution).

"[An anarchist society] can hardly come about when isolated groups follow a policy of resistance for the sake of resistance. Unless we can first prove that anarchism works through creating libertarian communities, the critical level of support that we seek will never materialise for the masses of workers will otherwise continue to be influenced by authoritarian propaganda..."

"[One] reason for developing a libertarian social and work structure is that it is a bulwark against authoritarian groups when the situation becomes, if we have not yet learnt the lessons of the Russian and Spanish revolutions when the communists savagely attacked the freedom of anarchism, there we do not deserve to survive as a movement. We start at a severe disadvantage vis-a-vis our authoritarian 'comrades', and they will easily destroy us again unless the seeds of libertarianism are already pushing through the crumbling remains of the old society."

The Spanish Anarchist Counter-Society

Us anarchists have a tendency to fetishise Spain 1936. In the non-intersectional times that we live in, looking back to a "golden age of anarchism" can seriously get in the way of analysing and struggling in the here and now. We are a long way off from the cataclysm and clashes of the Spanish civil war. However there is a lot to learn from the Spanish experience—less in the trenches of Aragon and more in the movement that gave them birth.

A simplified view sees the Spanish revolution as starting in 1936 and ending with Franco's victory. In fact the revolution had started decades before. Francisco Franco was military officer and the ensuing civil war was the rich's (eventually successful) attempt to stall the growth of a culture that was reaching transcendent levels in many parts of Spain, increasingly class conscious and combative workers organising in (largely) anarchist unions were immersed in a multigenerational culture which not only opposed, but replaced, much of Spain's state/church backed infrastructure; they were maturing into a movement that gelled a few more years, would have been almost impossible to destroy. In learning about the movement that Franco had to unleash a sea of blood to wash away we can see in part what needs to be done in our own times.

In that the pre-war anarchist movement Murray Bookchin has this to say.

"The Spanish anarchists left behind them a tangible reality that has considerable relevance for social radicalism today. Their movements 'heroic years' 1898-1936 were marked by a fascinating process of experimentation... (They) had evolved on astonishingly well organised subculture within Spanish society that fostered enormous freedom of action..."

"What these Spanish anarchists aimed for, in effect, was a 'counter-society' to the old one. It is easy to mistake this for an 'alternative society', one that would co-exist with capitalism as an enclave of purity and freedom... however, nothing could be further from the truth. The Spanish anarchists expressly rejected the concept of an 'alternative society' with its hope of peaceful reconstruction and its privileged position in a world of general misery... Since social or personal freedom could not be acquired within the established order, they viewed a 'counter-society' as a terrain in which to remake themselves into revolutionaries and remove their interests from any stake in bourgeois society... The bureaucracy, state, and church were the anarchists' mortal enemies; any voluntary dealings with these institutions were to be avoided. Children were sent to libertarian or union schools."

"Wherever the [anarchist movement] had a substantial following it established Centro Obrero, which functioned not merely as union headquarters but as cultural centres and, depending upon its resources, the Centro Obrero might provide literature, books, classes, and meeting halls for discussion on a wide variety of subjects. This institution accompanied the Comuneros, capital of holding thousands of people."*

"Far more important than the episodic revolutionary upsurges, individual atrocity (assassination of bosses or labourers, men), or the daring escapes of small circles of comrades was the ability of the Spanish anarchists to patiently knit together highly independent groups (united by 'social conviviality' as well as by social views) into sizeable, coherent organisations, to coordinate them into effective social forces when crises emerged, and to develop an informed mode of spontaneity that fuelled the most valuable traits of group discipline with personal initiative."

"Out of this process emerged an organic community and a sense of mutual aid unconnected by any workers movement of that era."*

"We are in a very different situation today and we are quite different people. The Spanish counterculture was an example of a multigenerational culture captivated by an ideal that reflected its rural communal past and its harrowing social present. Yet we should take inspiration and practical guidance from their example."

In Britain a similar—but significantly different—working-class culture of mutual aid grew in the nineteenth-century industrial communities. This culture sought to resist the intrusions of an industrial system into every aspect of people's lives and was the domestic sideswipe of defensive workplace struggles.

People endeavoured to mitigate for each other visitsations of sickness, the death of children, the perishing of women in childbirth and a continuing inadequacy of basic resources. Much of this was the work of women, and was possible thorough networks of kinship and neighbourhood, as well as the association in the community, through trade unions, co-operative societies, burial clubs and friendly societies.

Many radicals saw in this living worked class solidarity a model for a new socialist society. So far as the traditional socialist laboured to create a model for a new socialist society, but thanks to industry and ideology it never embraced libertarian insurrection into the force of political revolution."

"The Spanish revolutionaries, in their struggle against the forces of oppression, were a true force of the future. The workers' movement no longer exists—I mean the struggle against capitalism and for the rights of the worker."

"In the intergenerational culture of the British labour movement there has not been a breakdown of the old Italian political parties."

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Opening Up Space

More than anything else we need to open up space for (revolution) to grow. Keeping ourselves undigested within the bowels of the system is going to be difficult. Later in Task II I will talk about the need for a new society, but we must take this as a starting point. In 2017 we have to destroy our society."

"The creation of multi-generational counter-cultures is essential simply from the perspective of our network survival."

autonomous cultures—squatting, feminism, travelling, punk, back to the land, ecological direct action camps, animal liberation, anarchism etc. all have predominantly been youth movements operating in the heady (and vanishing) space of dole autonomy.

They have remained temporary because they have largely been generational; failing to either accommodate the changing needs of their ageing members or having any ability to involve younger generations. The one major exception has been the way in which it has evolved into a mulitgenerational culture—there are now three generations of 'new travellers' on the road together. Unfortunately travellers have suffered far more state repression than anyone—resulting in a mass exodus from Britain of tens of thousands."

The temporary nature of these counter-cultures—though not invalidating them—does significantly limit their scope from a (revolutionary) perspective. The struggle then is to first join the dots, link up these generations of libertarians creating multi-generational counter-cultures.

To a certain extent we have been going down this road for a few years. The inspiring actions of the '90s have brought together many different age ranges together. Yet our radical ecological circles still remain very much 'Club 18-30'. I first wrote the previous sentence around four years ago and it may be truer now to say "21-33! Rather worrying considering the next paragraph... hi hum."

The next few years will show whether our movement will share the fate of the Trots (who, bar students, are mostly in their late 40s) having been in their 20s in the '60/70 upsurge)—on isolated political generation moving through time shrinking with every year.

The creation of multi-generational counter-cultures is essential simply from the perspective of our network survival."

30 Years of Temporary Counter-Cultures

Beyond the 'First World' significant counter-cultures are arising. Yet none to the capital core since the 'Steelworkers glory days' there have been no (revolutionary counter-cultures on the kind of organisational scale that evolved in Spain. This is no surprise given that with the data in transition that the workers' movement no longer exists—I mean the struggle against capitalism and for the rights of the worker."

Since the '60s upheaval Britain has seen quite a number of anarchist/societal counter-cultures form then dissipate through inertia, state repression, or simple assimilation. These
These panaceas only further obscure the problem. Those without hope but also without the ability to fool themselves turn to larger numbers to an escape from the reality that is in no way—suicide.

"Suicide is the single biggest killer of men under 35... The rate—three times that of women of the same age—has nearly doubled since 1971. Working class men are at particular risk, with suicide rates four times those of men in professional occupations... The Samaritans believe the figures could be much worse as examination of road accidents involving just one driver suggests that some of them may well have been deliberate. Although women—especially the young—at least men as 'successful' suicides, they are much less likely to attempt.

Speaking personally I have already lost too many friends and comrades to death, depression, and drugs. Many of these were great warriors and brave, good people who became involved in the '60s anti-war struggle. But after these struggles and the culture in which they played, their spirit was taken from the world was gone. Soon after, I was myself among them... if not in body then in spirit. I believe that for quite a few the temporary culture of hedonism and struggle put off for years their NOT inevitable descent. It is from this that I take the belief that the growth of counter-culture can go some way to re-instilling and sustaining—hope and authentic human behaviour. Yet if we are to make these cultures (at least some) Permanent Autonomous Zones then we need radical spaces and communities that will hold. To a large extent we have already started building (well, buying or breaking into mostly) the structures we need.

Communes: Housing co-ops, traveler sites, big shared houses, farms, squats, direct action camps and land projects.

Social Centres: Squats, members clubs, resource centers.

Our strength is in our ability to take action ourselves and to do so inspire others to take action. To a large extent both the Land Struggle Period and the Global Resistance Period were catalysed initially by a very small number of people. Our network's strategy has been one of empowering others to replicate our activity rather than expand ourselves as such. It is both a duty and a pleasure to live our ecological and libertarian principles and if we do so coherently and consistently as possible I believe it is quite infectious. Most of us, after all, get hooked on the-hopes and commitment of others.

While counter-culture should act as partial sanctuaries we should never forget the importance of defence through attack. In the words of the SPK (the '70s armed German psychological self-help group): 'Civilisation: This sick society has made us sick. Let us strike a death blow at this sick society.'

Changing Change

Too often radicals decry others' inability to face up to the desperate need for change. A few years back, Jeremy Seabrook interviewed many radicals in an attempt to find the root of their failure to change society:

"We were becoming uneasy about the recurring theme that 'people must change'. We began to wonder if the reason why the parties advocating radical change were so unsuccessful was because they were striving against the resistance of people who had changed, who had been compelled to change, too much. The experience of industrialisation had been driven and relentless change, and continues to be so. Even countries which pride themselves on having reached an advanced stage of development, of being post-industrial, of being 'developed', constantly require accelerating change from their privileged populations. So why should we expect that exhortations to change will be welcomed by these..."
Surplus Baggage

Despite our proffered militancy and radicalism we still carry a lot of baggage from the political terrain many of us first got involved in—single issue campaigns. As has been pointed out elsewhere, our move into ‘revolutionary politics’ has often been carried out by pressure group methods.

Our responsibility to any (revolutionary) process is not to make revolution, but to evolve counter-cultures that can make revolutionaries.

Ideally counter-cultures can have enough time to evolve, through struggle, to a point at which social transcendence, total (revolution) is possible. By such a time it would be able to field considerable armed class strength and possibly defeat elite attempts to drown it in bloody counter (revolution). Of course history rarely leaves anyone alone with their plans and this is just such a case. Here lies the rub, in the words of a Canadian army military historian:

"Revolutions are not, in fact made by revolutionaries. The professional agitators, the terrible exiles of history have seldom succeeded in raising even the smallest revolutionary mob. The best they can hope for is to seize control of the course of the revolution once it has started. The thing itself is caused by the persistent stupidities and brutalities of state."

That ‘revolutionaries’ don’t (make revolution is) no bad thing considering those who executed most of the last century’s revolutionary hopes were the very people who described themselves as revolutionaries—socialists like Lenin and Hitler. As libertarians a large part of ‘our job’ is to stop these murderous parasites from seizing control of the course of tidal waves of change. How far we are away from crises of this scale is unknowable but discussed in Task III—Preparing for Orleans. By strolling on to the terrain of revolution (at least theoretically) we are confronting a plethora of leftist ideologies. Thankfully as libertarians we are inoculated against infection from some of most virulent—and stupid—authoritarian dogmas. For instance we have rightly rejected out of hand much of the (ridiculous) party building and fetishism of organisation which characterises the ‘revolutionary (NAI) left’ in particular and capitalism in general.

There is an opposing left tendency that ‘disagrees with almost any activity aimed at preparing for the tumultuous events that punctuate history. In times of social crisis faith is put in the ‘revolutionary impulse of the proletariat’. One can sum up the theory of this tendency as ‘It’ll be alright on the night’. There is unfortunately little evidence from history that the working class—never mind anyone else—is instinctively predisposed to libertarian or ecological revolution. Thousands of years of authoritarian socialisation favour the jackboot and this is the very reason why libertarian counter-cultures are so important.

Some Proposals

It means growing food on our allotments and rebuilding the land community.

It means consolidating locally.

It means if forced into jobs continuing the struggle in the workplace.

It means solidarity between groups.

It means being vigilant against cultural assimilation, patriarchy and depression.

It means safe houses.

It means acting together informally in our shared interest. Your mates tandem won’t return her deposit—a short office visit by her mates should sort that out.

It means demolishing authoritarian socialists in general and Nazis and Stalinists in particular.

It means not allowing us to drift apart.

It means training.

It means laughing together as we fight together.
Reconnecting with the Land
1) Grow the Land Community
Allotments are available to us all thanks to Nineteenth Century urban, but hundreds of sites every year are being destroyed by developers. More direct action is needed to stop this haemorrhaging of an inheritance born of struggle. More work allotments in Britain than work in farming and it is only from this land community that any hope for ecological autonomy can grow. The experience of growing your own food is revolutionary.

‘Alotments also offer a jump point for those committed to leaving the cities and towns. On these small patches we can learn many of the skills in miniature needed if we are to grow out of our dependency on the industrial. From farm communities in Cornwall to land projects in the Scottish Highlands many of our circles have gone back to the land’ in the last decade, Many more will follow. The call of the soil cannot be drowned by the cacophony of traffic.

"In the final analysis, all revolutions are fought over the question of land." - Malcolm X

2) Rewild Ourselves
Get out beyond the streetslight and join the stars. Hear the darkness and see the sounds of the night. Learn skills, light fires. Discover wild foods. Sit quietly in a wood and wait. Guide Help is the true joy of mud and spiders. Wear down the soles of your walking boots, harden the soles of your feet. Get raked in the sun and snow. Pack a heavy rucksack with everything you’ll need for a weekend camping, then lie on it, and walk out the door. Nurture saplings, plant the spring. Improvis shelters, get gritty with a knife. Don’t go to work — fuck in forests.

3) Continue Ecological Land Struggles
In Britain our struggles over ecology and wildness are powerful theatres for the growth of ecological sensitivity. Being on, and in, defence of the land, one forges an immensely strong connection. Fluorescent bibbed crops grappling with bare defenders brings out into the open the age old conflict. On one side the property/state axis, on the other wildness, diversity, freedom. By creating these situations of struggle, mythical acts become actualized with a power no essay or clever turn of phrase will ever have. Unveiling these revelatory (revolutionary) moments is at the heart of our action. With every broken illusion we take a step back from the abyss.

Task Conclusion: Grow and Live

For new worlds of land, liberty and love there will be both kisses and gunfire.

Taking responsibility for our own lives and those around us is daunting. It’s not just the cops, the bosses, the scales and the poverty that keeps people working. It’s the terror of the blank page. We are schooled to be dependent on fiction, not believe in ourselves; discovery of new worlds is a daunting task, yet the alternative is far worse. An acceptance of a tide of value that consumes species and peoples and where daily drags us down.

The aim of our counter-cultures should be total social transcendence. (revolutionary. That (revolutionism is desperately useful) (there is no point pretending otherwise) does not fundamentally question the need for counter-cultural growth. Counter-cultures are not only new worlds for the future but barriers and sanctuaries for today.

Notes
1) Simple living doesn’t make it, a reality, it may be true to say that we aspire to become ecological revolutionaries.
2) Revolution is needed at all to become increasingly radical individuals that can only exist as part of a mass. Authoritarian revolutionaries act alone often (of the need for a mass movement to create change, yet liberation change only happens in the world. Check out the pamphlet Anti-Mass — Methodology of Coercion.
3) Making a Planet a Threat Again by Profwine Cecelia,
5) Bookchin, p. 389
6) Ibid, p. 389
7) "Peasants and the Transitional Class" at the end of Task IV explains this.
8) "It's Good To Talk" Observer Magazine, 09/05/02
9) No Revolutions Against Change by Steven Blackwell and Jeremy Seabrook. ISBN 0 0903 9013, p. 3
10) Blood in My Eye by George Jackson (Penguin Books, 1975) p. 50. Black Liberation fighter Jackson was killed by the screws inside San Quentin prison only a few days after finishing this book.
13) "The Coup D'etat" by Uimonab Di Gidooop in the interesting, but slightly wonky, Climate Resistance as a National Defence edited by Adam Roberts (Pikeman).
14) A good point from another D&B editor: "In some ways, I really don’t like the extrapolation of the ‘perpetual pest’ that goes on. There’s no point pretending otherwise. This doesn’t fundamentally question the need for counter-cultural growth. Revolutionary change is desperately useful. But there is no point pretending otherwise.) Does not fundamentally question the need for counter-cultural growth. Revolutionary change is desperately useful. But there is no point pretending otherwise.) Does not fundamentally question the need for counter-cultural growth. Revolutionary change is desperately useful. But there is no point pretending otherwise.) Does not fundamentally question the need for counter-cultural growth. Revolutionary change is desperately useful. But there is no point pretending otherwise."
15) A danger currently spotted. This is why it is important to know substantive counter-culture made up of interdependent small human sized groups. A good example was the Derry Women’s Campaign. One of the factors that made it so good was that there were no hierarchies — each with a different atmosphere. Living in many different bands enabled us to be a strong temporary tribe. If we all held any part of our counter-culture we could never have held together at all. ‘Miffy groups’ structure, groups of feminist groups, counter-culture only by repeating people as much as bringing them together. Here too a major difference with生死。在大型组织内，个人的注定要成为内部分裂的死敌，为求存而消亡，为了更大的利益而牺牲自己的利益。
II

Putting Our Thumb in the Dam

Just as counter-cultures must open up space for (R)evolution to grow we must also open up time. The life support systems of the earth are under an unprecedented attack. Biological meltdown is accelerating. (R)evolution takes decades to mature. Unless force is used on the margins of the global society to protect the most important biological areas we may simply not have enough time. The last tribal examples of anarchism, from whom we can learn a lot, could be wiped out within decades if not militantly defended. "Thumb in the Dam" struggles aim to protect ecological diversity understanding that this civilization WILL be terminated, by either the unlikely possibility of global (R)evolution or the certainty of industrial collapse.

"What would the world be, once bereft
Of wet and of wildness? Let them be left,
O let them be left, wilderness and wet;
Long live the weeds and the wilderness yet"
—Gerard Manley Hopkins, Inversnaid.

"Our job is to save the evolutionary building blocks and to make sure there are grizzly bears and great blue whales and rainforests and redwoods somewhere, so that in the final thresher of the industrial monster everything else that's good on this planet isn't destroyed.
—Dave Foreman, Earth First! co-founder.

Here Come the End Days

The aim of this piece is to help prioritise and direct our action and organising. However our absolute action priorities are not left to us to determine. They have been decided for us by the point in history in which we live. For this reason I have made this task section considerably longer than the others.

Industrial Capitalism has continued civilisation's age-old attack on the wild and free—resulting in unparalleled biological and cultural meltdown. The decimation of wild peoples (cultural meltdown) and the devastation of ecological diversity (biological meltdown) are now reaching truly apocalyptic proportions.

Biological Meltdown

"Indeed, all the indications are that we are standing at the opening phase of a mass extinction event that will be comparable in scale to the five great extinction episodes that have taken place in the history of life on earth, the most recent being the loss of the dinosaurs some 65 million years ago. Impending extinction rates are at least four orders of magnitude than is found in the fossil record. That means in the order of 10,000 times greater, a frightening prospect to say the least. If allowed to continue the current extinction episode, could well eliminate between a third and two thirds of all species... (within this century)." —

"One third to two thirds of all species on earth—GONE! Stop a while, attempt to conceptualise the magnitude of the moment.

Nothing in the history of humankind has prepared us for this appalling event, but our generation will probably witness the disappearance of a third to one half of the earth's rich and subtle forms of life, which have been evolving for billions of years. In the early 1990s Michael Soule, founder of the Society for Conservation Biology, made this chilling assessment of the status of the earth's biosphere:

"For the first time in hundreds of millions of years significant evolutionary change in most higher organisms is coming to a screeching halt... Vertebrate evolution may be at an end." —Soule is
saying that humanity's disruption of the environment has been so systematic and profound that it has halted the same natural processes that have brought everything we know into existence, including our very bodies and minds.

Cultural Meltdown

It is tempting when facing this scale of doom to think of humanity as an intrinsically ecological organism. A pox on the earth. This however lets us and our society—city culture—off the hook. Numerous cultures have developed a sustainable and harmonious relationship with their surroundings: the Mbuti, the Penan, the Ikung, to name but a few. These societies chose not to dominate nature. In the larger history of humankind, they are the norm and we are the exception.

On civilization's periphery, some of these wild peoples live on. Their very existence is a serious threat to city culture; simply in the fact that they show that there is a reality outside our world. Defending their autonomy and the land of which they are a part, they are the best protectors of some of the earth's wildest places.

Just as wild nature is being denuded and domesticated, so too is wild humanity. This century will probably be the last for many cultures ages old. Civilization aims to wipe out their other worlds. Men of money and men of god conspire. If these tribes are not preserved, it will be the first time in millions of years that no human communities have lived in harmony with nature.

Guns, gold, god and diseases could make Homo Sapiens extinct in our lifetime. For when the last gatherer-hunters are hunted down, all that will be left of humanity will be in the entrails of Leviathan—having the potential for life but not living.

...Land, the mother earth from which we are born, and to which we die, on whom our lives depend, through which our spiritual ways remain intact, impose change on the ancient order would serve to destroy our dignity and identity as indigenous people. Without the land, the peoples are lost. Without the indigenous peoples the land is lost... —Declaration of Indigenous Peoples, 1987

A Critical Moment

It is in this context that we must see ourselves. Not simply as rebels against empire, like so many before us, but rebels at the most critical moment in human history.

Our generation will likely see the decimation of remaining ecological/natural cultures and the haemorrhaging of the earth's life support systems. As I outlined in Task I reformist strategies are irrelevant but (re)evolution is not only unlikely but also time-consuming. This has often been acknowledged by radicals in the past. Emma Goldman in her last years wrote that she believed anarchy was too huge an idea for her age to move to in one step. She looked to future generations; seeing in them hope for the spring. Her feelings echo that of many over the season. Looking back, an example arises from the ashes and war cries of arson and inscription in early 19th century England. One rebel anthem sung with gusto at the time resonates.

"A hundred years, a thousand years, we're marching on to spring. The going isn't easy, we've got a heavy load. The way is blind with blood and sweat, and death sings in our ears. But time is marching on our side. We will defeat the years. They fought, but like monkeys before and after, failed to get to the promised land. Yet they stood, in solace in believing their path was right and others would follow, reaching where they had not. Their belief in an almost endless future of possibility, in the unswerving progressive march of humanity through and with time gave hope to the weary.

We no longer have that luxury.

It is in this context that we must see ourselves. Not simply as rebels against empire, like so many before us, but rebels at the most critical moment in human history.

Today time is not marching on our side, but against us. We must fight at the faster. We cannot pass the gauntlet of defending the wild to unborn generations. It is that wildness and those unborn generations that are in peril today. What we do in our lives, in this moment, is of utmost importance. For no other generation on earth has the weight of the future rested so heavily on the present.

Given the urgency, the panic, the horror and the magnitude of the unfolding catastrophe, the questions that remain are daunting ones. Thankfully the way has been charted in part by the last 25 years of radical ecological action. "Thump in the Dam" strategies have been at the very centre of our activity.

How can one best defend wild areas and cultures? In the absence of significant "revolution from within" the answer lies in a combination of conservation, direct action and the strengthening of ecological cultures. Groups such as the Wildlife Trusts (in Britain) and Conservation International (globally) have adopted land purchase as their main tactic.

This has its place but the times call for a more militant attitude. Most of us have little money to protect habitats by buying them up, while 'protected' areas are often far from safe. Direct action on the other hand puts the costs onto those who attack nature not those who wish to defend it. Throwing a cabbage patch at a copse feels like a more authentic reaction to ecological destruction than any amount of paper shuffling. For most of us, well targeted direct action is the most effective and efficient use of our limited time and resources. In the early '80s the failure of reform environmentalism made clear and the radical ecological resistance was born. Militant direct action by warrior societies putting the earth first. What objectives and strategy can we base our actions around, given the scale of the attack and the minute scale of the resistance? This Task section will hopefully give at least a partial answer.

Defending the Living Land

Though it was from an understanding of the global ecological crisis that our movement was born it was in local ecological land struggles that our movement grew. As stated earlier, we can take pride in the beauty and vitality of habitats throughout Britain that are alive today because of our resistance to infrastructure growth (roads), resource extraction (quarrying, opencast coal mining, peat digging), timber cutting and city expansion (house building).

These struggles have changed forever all of us who have taken part in them. They have connected us to the earth in a deeply emotional and meaningful way. They have fostered empowerment, true human communication, anger, love, homes and a feeling of belonging in both communities and the land; they have shown us what we have been given by these struggles. I emphasise this so that I say next is not taken as a disavowal of British local ecological land struggles.

To those of us brought up in Britain's woodlands, copse, downland and dales these habitats have an immense importance—reaching deep into our soul. However, from a global perspective how important are these ecologies given the accelerating biological meltdown?

We must direct our action where it will have most effect. Trauma medica use triage to sort casualties according to priority—which lives are most threatened, which lives are most savable. In this way they can put their resources where they will have most effect. What we need then is a form of global habitat triage for the biological casualties of civilisations war on the wild. Thankfully in the last 15 years such a system has taken shape, in the form of the Hotspot Theory.

Hotspot Theory was first conceived by British ecologist Norman Myers. First-4 it makes the task of defending biodivets more "approachable" by demonstrating that we can conserve a major share of terrestrial biodiversity in a relatively small portion of the planet. Secondly, it demonstrates specifically where these areas are located, and why they are so important, entering into considerable detail on what each of them contains. Third, it elucidates the different threats faced by each of the hotspots.

... Myres Hotspots priority system uses vascular plants as the main determinant, given that plants are the primary fixers of energy from the sun and are necessary for the survival of most other organisms. Hotspots are defined with two criteria. First, biological diversity. Secondly, degree of threat. A minimum of 0.5% of total global vascular plant diversity endemic to the area in question is the primary cut-off point for inclusion on the hotspot list. The theory uses the most current estimate of vascular plants as 300,000 i.e. the cut off is an area must have 1,500 endemic vascular plants within its borders. Also bird, mammal, reptile and amphibian diversity is taken into account, in that order of importance. The second criteria, degree of threat, has a cut off measure that is; a hotspot should have 25% or less of its original primary natural vegetation cover remaining intact.

Hotspot analysis carried out between 1996-1998 resulted in a list of 25 hotspots and two exceptional mini-hotspots (the Galapagos and Juan Fernandez Islands). The hotspots are:

- Tropical Andes, Mesoamerica, Caribbean,
- Choco, Darien, Atlantic Forest Region, Brazil,
- Guinean forests of West Africa,
- Mediterranean Basin, Caucasus, Sundaland,
- Wallacea, Philippines, Indo-Burma, Mountains of Central China, Western Ghats have developed.
- New Caledonia, New Zealand, Polynesia, South West Australia.

Cumulatively, these 25 areas plus the mini-hotspots have almost 99% of their original area destroyed or denuded with only 12.28% remaining.
intact. This intact percentage amounts to just 1.44% of the land surface of the planet—a little smaller than the EU!

A staggering 131,399 vascular plants are endemic to the hotspots representing 43.8% of all plants on earth. Adding in estimations of non-endemic plant species found within the hotspots brings us to an even larger figure.

"At least 65.7% and more likely 70% or more of all vascular plants occur within the 1.44% of earth's land surface occupied by the hotspots." 4

This indicates a vast percentage of all life in other species groups—mammals, avifauna etc. In fact 35.5% of the global total of non-fish vertebrates are endemic to the hotspots. Once again, adding in estimations of non-endemic non-fish vertebrates, we come to a figure of at least 62%. Maybe perhaps 70% or more of all non-fish vertebrates occurring in the hotspots. As the authors of Hotspots say themselves: "If 50% or more of all terrestrial biodiversity occurs in the most threatened 1.44% of the land surface of the planet, it is to avoid the conclusion that these areas deserve a lion's share of our attention over the next few decades. Indeed, if... we are at risk and it, one third to two thirds of all..."

70% of the Philippines' 500 species of endangered land vertebrates are endangered. Only quick, strong action will save species like the little red fox terrier.

species within the foreseeable future, and if almost two thirds of at least the terrestrial species are in the hotspots, then it seems fairly obvious that we may make a major dent in the entire endangered species/mass extinction problem by placing very heavy emphasis on the hotspots." 5

This analysis is immensely useful, and has been refined further. Lots of number crunching later leads to a "Top 5" Hotspot list:

Tropical Andes, Sundaland, Meso-America, Indo-Burma, Caribbean, Atlantic Forest Region of Brazil, Madagascar, Mediterranean Basin & Choco-Darien (Western Ecuador).

These 9 areas account for 29.5% of all vascular plants and 24.9% of non-fish vertebrates. This in just 0.73% of the planet's land surface—around half of the size of the EU!

Further analysis on threat highlights three hotspots: the hottest of the hot. They are:

The Caribbean, the Philippines and Madagascar.

If this theory is correct, and there is every reason to think it is, some solid conclusions can be drawn:

1) At this moment in time radical ecologists around the world must do everything in our power to defend the 25 Hotspots.

2) Serious action must be taken to halt or slow the destruction of the three hottest hotspots.

3) Northern Europe, appears nowhere on the hotspot list. In fact it has a relatively low level of biological diversity thanks to a combination of climate, past glaciation and human habitat destruction. We should obviously continue to defend Northern European habitats.

However in the context of the global biological meltdown, struggles to defend Northern European habitats are entirely peripheral.

4) The appearance in the hotspots list of the Mediterranean Basin should focus us in Europe. The fact that a hotspot covers parts of the EU is a surprising revelation and one that has serious repercussions.

5) Given serious action, the preservation of significant sections of global biodiversity is a real possibility, if only because it could involve such a small percentage of global land surface.

These conclusions combined with a sensible analysis of our powers (as radical ecologists primarily in Northern
Europe) begin to give us answers to the urgent question posed earlier. Where to start?

A hierarchy of global priority setting can follow the pattern: Global > regional > national > local > specific sites. Obviously, given our location and limited powers, the priorities set by such a system cannot be transferred immediately to a list of practically realisable objectives. Beyond this we can also set a hierarchy of priorities for local habitat defence here on our island and its environs—understanding all the time these struggles' largely peripheral role in the global direct defence of diversity. For now i will talk of the global terrain. What follows is a hierarchy of top priorities for terrestrial habitat defence set in light of the hotspot theory.

The Hottest of the Hot

At the moment the three hottest are undeniably the global priority areas for defence. Unfortunately, facing reality we can have very little direct effect on these areas—present. This is likely to remain so for the medium term at least. Let's not fool ourselves. We often ignore threatened habitats in Britain because they're more than a few hours drive from an 'active centre': the Caribbean, Madagascar and the Philippines. I don't see any of our ropey vans getting there any time soon. However there are even worse.

Madagascar: This amazing island has been at the centre of global conservation concern for decades. A number of British companies are involved in trading it, our old friends RTZ for example. Actions against them would be very, very good. It is here, if anywhere, that the global conservation NGOs have some chance of using big money to big effect. Like it or not, they are probably the island's greatest hope. Many of them are using the Hotspot Theory to set their priorities so their targeting of Madagascar is increasing.

Philippines: Of the three hottest hotspots it is in the Philippines that we have most extensive contacts. A number of EFI groups are active. Growing out of anarchist Punk there is a small but growing active eco-minded anarchist scene. Peoples' Global Action (PGA) called international days saw sizeable mobilisations, and anti-GM direct action is on the up. A number of communities are resisting the logging and mining that is destroying their areas. A remnant of the original gatherer-hunter population of the Philippines survives. We need to talk more to Filipino groups to find out how we can best help. Solidarity actions, communication and funds should be dispatched their way. UK based companies are active and possibilities for joint action should be pursued. While this responsibility belongs to us all, some people from our scene need to take on acting as primary intermediaries and push this forward—cartevasing communication and action.

The Caribbean: To put it lightly, many more people in Britain have links with the Caribbean than with either the Philippines or Madagascar. At a guess I'd say that of the Major Hotspots it is with the Caribbean that Britain has most personal (rather than corporate) connections. Unfortunately environmentalism, for reasons around race and class, is almost devoid of British Afro-Caribbean involvement. Thus ecological struggles are happening in the region but are largely out of our radar.

While steps must be taken to rectify this, our potential as a (predominantly white) movement to support this region is much smaller than that of the Afro-Caribbean communities. Some within these communities are working on the issue. It's nothing to do with us if any major expansion of activity happens, so there is little point going into detail here. One thing is worth emphasising though. Mobilisation in Afro-Caribbean groups has the potential to be the biggest support work done by Brits for any of the Majority World hotspots. Given the regions position as one of the three hottest hotspots it could be the most globally important eco-action carried out here. We have a responsibility to help for such a situation, and corporate ravagers of the Caribbean based in Britain have reason to fear it.

One of our main entry points for far off lands—anarchism—is little use to us in the Caribbean where anarchist groups are pretty much non-existent. Cuba is the only island where a sizeable movement ever took root, and no organisations survive now thanks to Castro's social weeding.

The Caribbean is one of only two hotspots whose area is partly within the UK. Unsurprisingly we know more people in Florida than say, Haiti. EFIers are active in Florida and good solidarity actions for them would be great.

The Top Nine Hotspots

Moving down one level of priority to the top nine we find similar patterns to the top three. These regions are largely out of our direct reach. We can do little at the moment bar actively supporting radical ecological influenced groups in these areas. Groups in the top nine should be given disproportionate support and direct aid.

Covering less than 3% of global land surface, mostly in 'Majority World' locations, the top nine are of immense importance. In this context even relatively minor conservation programs are worth supporting—physically and financially.

Of course this kind of thing is all well and good but we've rarely shown ourselves to be particularly brilliant at sustained international solidarity. We need to build a strategy based solidly on our strengths. Stopping developments. Fucking shit up. Blockades. Sabotage. Land occupations. Broken windows and crippled corporate confidence. To be really effective we need terrains of struggle which are both easily reachable and globally important. Thankfully one of the top 9 is within our reach—the Mediterranean Basin. The Mediterranean Basin is both amazingly biodiverse and under serious threat. Due to this hotspot's direct relevance to us our activity have re-printed here an essay by M. Myers and R. M. Cowling from the hotspots book. I have shortened it due to space constraints. It's more eloquent than I, so read it and then return to me.

This huge hotspot stretches from Portugal to Jordan and from the Canary Islands to Northern Italy. It encompasses all of Cyprus and over 90% of Greece, Lebanon, and Portugal, though less than 10% of France, Algeria, and Libya. In Spain, 6,000 of the country's 7,500 plant species occur within the Mediterranean climate zone, in Israel 1,500 out of 2,200, and in Morocco 3,800 out of 4,200.

The flora of the Mediterranean Basin includes 25,000 species of vascular plants, 13,000 of which are endemic. This figure is very high when compared to the 6,000 species of non-Mediterranean Europe in an area nearly four times as large. It is also the third highest of all the hotspots, being surpassed only by the Tihcal Andes and Sundaland.

The Basin's 'violent' geographical history has produced an unusual geographical and topographical diversity, with high mountain ranges, peninsulas, and one of the largest archipelagos in the world. The Mediterranean Sea includes several hundred islands. In mammal and bird faunas endemism is moderate, at 25% and 14%. The reptile and amphibian faunas on the other hand, have levels of endemism of 61% and 52%.

The typical and most widespread vegetation type is a hard-leaved shrubland dominated by evergreens. Shrublands, including maquis and the aromatic, shrub-like and seedy scrubby pinyons, have persisted throughout the Quaternary in the semiarid, lowland, and coastal regions of the Basin. However, prior to the onset of significant human settlement, which started some 8,000 years ago, most of the Mediterranean Basin was covered by some
The Mediterranean Hotspot

form of forest, including evergreen oak forests, deciduous forests, and conifer forests.

Endemics are concentrated on islands, peninsulas, rocky coasts, and mountain peaks. The principal foci in the Mediterranean are 10 smaller mini-hotspots within the larger hotspots. These 10 areas in which unusual amounts of original vegetation has survived, and where many of the endemic species hang on, albeit several threatened. These areas cover about 15% of the Basin's total area, yet account for almost 4,800 endemic, or nearly 7% of the total tally. Cautery, these are priority sites for conservation of these plant components of Mediterranean biodiversity.

Diversity and endemism among Mediterranean Basin vertebrates is much lower than for plants. The present number of land mammals in the region is about 184, of which 46 (25%) are endemic. During the Holocene, but especially in the last few thousand years, many of the larger mammals became extinct because of habitat alteration, and persecution. The earliest victims included species of large carnivores, such as exotic hippopotamuses and elephants on some islands. These were followed by other large mammals, including the African elephant, wild ass, scimitar- horned oryx, northern harebears, and lion. Still others are so severely depleted as to be on the verge of extinction, among them the brown bear, leopard, and Mediterranean monk seal.

The region's avifauna includes about 345 breeding species of which only 47 (14%) are endemic. A few small portions of the Mediterranean Basin also appear as priorities in BirdLife International's recent global analysis of Endemic Bird Areas (EBAs). These are Cyprus, with two bird species confined to that EBA, and Madeira and the Canary Islands, with 9 species, 8 of them confined to the EBA, and one species, the Canary Islands oystercatcher already extinct.

Endemism is much better developed in reptiles, with 179 species (11% of which are endemic, and amphibians, with 62 species, 32 (52%) of which are endemic. Reptile diversity is high in the islands and North African parts of the Basin, whereas the opposite is true of amphibians. For both groups, the Mediterranean Basin is an important centre of diversity and endemicity for some species.

As is the case for the hotspots, much less is known about the invertebrate fauna. One of the exceptions are the bumble-pollinators, which have been relatively well-studied as a group. The dominant pollinators are bees, with an estimated 3,000-4,000 species.

Flagship Species

The Mediterranean Basin is characterized by its plants than its animals. Among the interesting plants are the cedars: one endemic to Cyprus and represented only by a very small population; another, fairly abundant in Morocco and Algeria but experiencing very rapid depopulation by timber cutters; and a third, the famous Lebanon cedar, mentioned below, hangs on in Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. Another interesting endemic flagship species is the only palm tree native to the Basin, found exclusively in a tiny corner of Crete and on the Dafos Peninsula in Turkey, where it is threatened by tourist development.

A number of animals qualify as flagship species as well. Particularly noteworthy are the 'Mediterranean' tortoises, four in number. Among the endemic mammals, there is a standouts as well. The Barbary macaque is now found in relatively small and disjunct habitat pockets in the Rif, Libyan, and Gland Atlas mountain ranges of Morocco, and in the Chipita, Petle, and Grands Kabyles mountain ranges of Algeria, with a small, well-known population on Gibraltar that lives in a free-ranging state but is protected. It is believed that the Gibraltar macaques were present since early times, but have been sporadically replenished by imports from Morocco. The Gibraltar macaques are now the only free-living nonhuman primates in Europe.

The Barbary douna is confined to a small area of cork oak and pine forest on the border between Algeria and Tunisia. The population is down to only a few hundred individuals, including those in captivity in both countries. The Corsican red deer is considered extinct in Corsica, and is now found only in three mountainous areas near the southern coast of Sardinia. The total population is only about 200.

The Mediterranean monk seal, though primarily a marine species, does use coastal beaches and has long been an important symbol. It was once distributed throughout the Mediterranean, the Northwest coast of Africa, and the Black Sea. Today, the approx. 500 animals that still survive have been pushed to isolated spots in Turkey, Greece, the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and Sardinia, Tunisia, and Algeria. Remnant populations of other once wide-ranging mammals include the brown bear, which still hangs on as a species in Spain, France, Italy, and Greece. The brown bear is also found in the mountains of Spain, France, and Italy. Greece, and some of the Balkan subspecies of the leopard, the North African leopard and the Anatolian leopard, both of which are considered critically endangered.

The present human population of the Mediterranean Basin is some 300 million, although population pressures have existed for millennia. Indeed, there is no other region in the world where the development of ecosystems has been intimately associated with human social systems for so long. The region has been home to Et age human settlements for well over two millennia and significant human activity for another six millennia (there was a large town in Turkey 8,400 years ago). In Roman times, the more fertile parts of Tunisia and Algeria—Rome's "bread basket"—were laid waste through agricultural overuse, and the historian Pliny warned the ancient Greeks of the dangers of deforestation. In Lebanon, the uplands were once covered with stately cedars whose height, strength, and utility became legendary throughout the Old World. Felling of the trees started as early as 3,000 BC, when the Phoenicians began a lucrative trade in cedarwood with the Egyptian Pharaohs and King Solomon, among others. Now the Lebanon highlands have lost most of their trees, and the cedars is a threatened species.

The impact of this long history of human assault on Mediterranean ecosystems has been huge. Perhaps the most severe transformation has been the conversion of forests, evergreen woodlands, evergreen woodlands, and maquis. The first significant deforestation began as early as 8,000 BC, and increased dramatically at the end of the Mesolithic. Each wave of civilization created new pressures on the forests, culminating in the rapid human population growth and, especially, the mechanized agriculture of the present century.

A crucial factor is fragmentation. The original vegetation has been reduced to only small patches. This is hardly more surprising given the vast expanse of a region that has been heavily settled for over 2,000 years, longer than any other hotspot. While some vegetation fragments still total several hundred square kilometres, many are less than 100 km², a few are 10 km² at most, and one or two are down to a handful of hectares. Equally significant are many of the 33,000 endemic plant species, which are 'narrow endemic' confined to unusually small areas. This makes them exceptionally susceptible to threats such as expanding farming, overgrazing by domestic livestock, and proliferation of urban communities. Indeed, probably more species have already been driven to extinction in this hotspot than in virtually any other. Some species have been eliminated many centuries ago, totalling probably hundreds of plant species alone. As for threatened species, the total for plants is estimated at as high as one half of the entire flora.

The outlook is not propitious, if only by reason of the surge in human numbers and their demands. While one can readily point a finger at population growth in non-European countries it is Northern Europeans that generate most of the tourist influx to the shores of the Mediterranean as the biggest large-scale tourist attraction in the world. There are around 100 million visitors per year already, scheduled to become twice as many within another two decades. The tourism sector is flourishing and expanding its disruptive impact in Spain, France, Italy and Greece, and increasingly in Turkey, Cyprus, Tunisia and Morocco. Through the spread of hotels and associated buildings, the construction of roads and airports, plus the impact of millions of feet trampling through fragile environs every day—tourism has caused exceptional damage. It is now the most serious threat to semi-arid areas in Western and Southern Turkey, and in Cyprus, Tunisia, and Morocco, a list that may shortly be joined by Greece among several countries, particularly as concerns the Mediterranean islands such as the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, Crete, and the Canary and Madeira islands.
I read that essay and was struck by its importance for us. Travel becomes ever cheaper. Less than 24 hours away on a coach is one of the nine most important terrestrial ecoregions on earth. Victories and defeats in this arena are of the utmost global importance. The same cannot be said of many of the places we have fought for in the last 10 years. As a result, I do not mean to lessen the importance of those campaigns, and our many victories, only to point to the reality that they mean little when it comes to confronting global insecurity. For the host of reasons they should continue, but it's time for us to join other battles.

Looking at the map of the Med we can quickly come to some obvious bases for our action. Though there are conservatist in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Turkey, Libya, Egypt, Jordan and Syria, there are no radical ecological groups to link up with. Israel is the only country in the Near East with a list of EFI contact. Ecological struggles are of course going on but are largely off our radar. Work should be carried out to rectify this situation, but to be brutally honest I don't fancy doing direct action in Morocco much. Ask the Sahrawis about it! We should support struggling communities to help conservative groups if and where we can. In North Africa and the Near East—just like this, we are not going to like it very much. However, unless we get stuck in to a large part of the area relatively easily. We have contacts in the European half of the Mediterranean hotspot and getting there is a cinch.

It's within this area that some of Europe's most militant ecological action has been taken. In fact at the time of writing there are eco-saboteurs serving time in Spain (looking up construction of the Italo-Danish TGV (for training a high speed rail construction site in the Sosa Valley) and Greece (attempting to bomb the Ministry of Industry in solidarity with communities fighting mega-port construction). The struggles these prisoners are part of are all being fought by anarchist/radical ecological groups our scene is in direct contact with, and there are many more.

Looking for allies lets take a trip around the European section of the basq anti-clockwise. We start with Greece. Much of it is a red alert area and has a sizeable and very militant anarchist scene with a slowly increasing green hue. Albania has no established radical ecological groups. There are smattering of anarchists and radical eco-lyres throughout the ex-Yugoslavia republics.

Italy's anarchists are pretty full on and increasingly engaged in some ecological resistance. The tiltipments of Maris (Sp red alert area is relatively near Turkey's anarchists and the area someone is in jail for defending). Southern France also has many active groups from GM trafficking.

Confederation Paysanne to anarchists, with the French Pyrenees being the site of the ten year resistance to the road through the Valley d'Aspe. On the other side of the Pyrenees in Spain there are large anarchist groups and at present probably the biggest squattting movement in Europe. The Basque country (which borders the hotspot) has a history of mass struggles against mining, dams etc. with even ETA getting in on the act. The Spanish section of the Rif/Siècle red alert area has become home for a sizable British punk and crusty exile community. The Canaries red alert area (which despite being off Western Sahara is part of Spain) has a few environmental groups and like the Basque country has a much smaller nationalisation movement with ecological tendencies.

Portugal has a number of together eco 

influenced anarchist groups and significant clashes continue between it’s peasant past and the onslaught of modernity.

Over the last few years many of our circle have increasingly turned to the continent for adventure and action. The relatively low level of struggle in Britain since the end of the anti-road period, the rising (and now setting?) sun of the Spanish squattting scene, the strength of starting, not tourist, cheaper travel and the warmer climate of parts of Europe have all been factors. In the '90s the transient tribes of anti-road activists moved from Britain with their tools and experience onto a similarly situation is evolving for which the terrain is the whole of Europe.

This situation will expand significantly over the next decade. For while some of its causes have their origin in Britain's present, others arise from the increasingly unified nature of Europe's planned future.

While this causes some problems for sustaining local organising in Britain it also opens up amazing opportunities.

Of the ten red alert areas, the ones nearest Mediterranean activist hubs are the Spanish section of the Rif/Siècle, the Maritime Alps of the French/Italian border and southern central Greece. Campaigns and targets in these areas should be relatively easy to find out about. If we in Britain added our weight to our comrades in these countries and convinced other Northern Europeans to do so, we would be moving towards serious defence of a globally important area—making an actual impact on biological meltdown.

Experience and contacts made through struggle in these 'easily accessible' three areas will chart the way forward towards action in other parts of the Med. A full scale migration is not needed. Some of our circle are planning to move to the Med's warmer climate. Many others are already wintering or taking small soljourns there. Significant contact has been made with groups in these
areas. All that is needed is that this pre-existing process be consciously and collectively shaped to the immediate goal at hand.

It is important in some areas to join local campaigns. In others, covert holiday saboteau is more in order. The latter is really just a call for the European adoption of one of North America's longest running tactics - saving money in New Zealand. With the consolidation of the European super-state, travelling across borders to get to and defend wildness seems even more like crossing US states to defend wilderness. A practice, despite the distance, our North American friends think little of.

The Remaining 15 Hotspots

I am not going to go into much detail about the remaining hotspots. I would take too much space and be rather repetitive. Of the 15, all bar three are in the Majority World; countries of the moment largely out of our direct reach. As stated earlier, active ecologically mired groups in the hotspots should be given priority when it comes to support actions and funding. We do, in fact, have contacts in most of these areas. Some Efforts do conservation work abroad and it would make sense that if it is concentrated within the hotspots. If we can be of any practical help to efforts in these areas we should make it wholeheartedly.

Three of the remaining 15 stand out, for us. It is only because they're predominately English speaking and Western. South West Australia, New Zealand and the Californian Floristic Province. In all three areas serious land battles are being fought and we have quite extensive contacts.

Australia: In Australia (New Zealand) there is a large indigenous resistance movement within the PNA. There is also a sprinkling of anarchists and radical ecologists.

South West Australia: This region has a history of aboriginal land defence stretching from the invasion to the present day. The last three decades have also been significant struggles by white radical environmentalists, defectors to the side of the indigenous and the land. When EFF first came to Britain, Australia was probably at the forefront of ecologist resistance in the West. Large-scale actions against the importation of tropical timber were carried out hand-in-hand with direct land defence. Over the last decade this scene has shrunk but is still never the less both active and pregnant with great possibility. Australians have been responsible for some of the largest summit actions of the Global Resistance Period. It has the normal assortment of anarchists - many being very eco in word and deed.

For obvious reasons there is a reasonable amount of three way traffic between Britain, Australia and New Zealand. While these areas are not as important or threatened as some other hotspots, they are the world's top seven countries and it produces half of the food the US consumes. Among the main threats faced by this hotspot are urbanisation, air pollution, expansion of large scale agriculture, livestock grazing, logging, strip mining, oil extraction, road building, the spread of non-native plants, an increasing use of off-road vehicles and the suppression of natural fires necessary for reproduction of key plant species.

In defending this region against attacks North American EFF has had some of its most memorable moments. The massive Redwood Summer campaign which led to the carbombings of EFFers Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney. The amazing direct action victory at Warrar Creek, the killing of EFFer, David Chain by a logger from Pacific Lumber. Two of the radical eco-anarchists are serving long sentences in the region for arson attacks on an off-road vehicle show room.

In the early '90s we did quite a few solidarity actions for our North American friends. More recently we have been for Majority World groups. Those actions should continue but we should not neglect supporting North American EFF, especially in its struggle over this immensely important hotspot. Apart from the Mediterranean Basin, this hotspot is the one people from our circles visit more than any other. Big wilderness, cheap flights and an impressive (English-speaking) movement will continue to be a pull for many. What we can offer those defending this hotspot is regular communication, occasional solidarity actions and inherant Brits. Well, it's better than a bag of beans.
Defending the Land: Medium Term Global Objectives

Here, I am attempting to set, using the hotspot theory and an understanding of our strengths, a hierarchy of our top global objectives for the next ten years. In many ways this seems ridiculous. However, in 1992 we set ourselves the task of stopping 600 roads through a significant proportion of Britain's most important habitats. Within five years 500 had been cancelled. I am confident that unified action can have a momentous effect. Those who believe less than I in our cumulative power should see the utility of strategising all the more clearly. Here then is what I think our top global objectives should be, in order of their importance to us.

1) Get Militant in the Med: A big push is needed to directly defend the Mediterranean Basin Hotspot. It is the only one of the "top 9" found in the "West" and the only hotspot to include part of Europe. Over the next few years we should consolidate links with Basin groups and start to engage directly in action within it. The Med's 10 'red alert areas' are of greatest importance. Of these the Maritimes Alps, the Spanish section of the Rif-Bah Bellec and Southern and Central Greece should be our main concern. Involvement in resistance in these areas should build our ability to engage and support struggle elsewhere in the southern part of the Med hotspot. Within a relatively short period of time we could be involved in serious defence of a globally important area—making an actual impact on biological meltdown.

2) Uncompromising Aid for the Three Most Threatened Hotspots: The Philippines, Madagascar and the Caribbean are the priorities at the moment, yet as we are unlikely to actually get to them they are not our highest objective. However we should target solidarity and aid to radicals, resisters and conservationists in these three hotspots as a matter of urgency. Of the three it is with the Philippines that we have most extensive links—these should be consolidated. Filipino Eiffers and anarchists should be given substantial aid. (Since this was written, Dink' contributions from Eiffers in Caine have formed the "Philippine Solidarity Group", providing practical aid for Eiff and indigenous groups there. This has included direct financial aid, on the ground solidarity, prisoner support etc.)

3) Go Wild for the 'Western' Hotspots: For various cultural and economic reasons our direct involvement will be more likely in Western countries than Minority World ones. The areas under occupation by the West largely do not appear in the hotspot list. Apart from the Med and a small part of the Caribbean, those that do are South Western Australia, New Zealand and the Californian Torrino Province. Already existing links should be solidified, solidarity actions carried out and the steady flow of our visitors to these hotspots should continue. Just remember to wrench at least one big machine for each long haul flight.

Beyond this we should do anything we can to assist the preservation of all hotspots, not just those mentioned above. Wild areas not included in the hotspots should of course be defended. However if we want to have any meaningful impact on biological meltdown, as much of our activity as possible should be aimed at the hotspots in general and the above objectives in particular.

Back to Britain, Back to Reality

So far I have charted what I believe we should do on the global terrain. Yet most of what we have done over the last decade has been defending the land of these dear isles. I am not calling for abandonment of this struggle. It is important for both us and the ecology of Britain. It is also what we have shown ourselves to be pretty good at. Hundreds of habitats remain living due to ecological direct action. Klas the earth and feel proud. We—among many—have done well.

Though many of us will take action in the global hotspots, few will spend most of our time there. One criticism of following a hotspots-based global strategy is that it lacks soul. Species diversity surveys do not engender ecological sensitivity made. While that's true, the global crisis calls for globally important action and I believe that the hotspot theory has utility. Yet acceptance of the globally peripheral nature of British habitat defence does not extinguish our desire or duty to defend our land. An authentic land ethic must be rooted in where we are. My bioregion may be 'species poor' compared to a rainforest but I love it. It's the bracing wind on its bright hills that makes me want to live wilder. On a totally practical level it's far easier to defend land nearby.

As I said earlier in Part One, throughout the 1993-1998 Land Struggle Period our action priorities were largely set by the Department of Transport. When we declared the state road building program we lost a terrain of struggle that unified and strengthened us nationally. The question posed, then, is what is the greatest and most geographically spread threat to British ecology?

The tactically unfortunate answer is Industrial agriculture. The 'great thing' about road building was that wherever you were in the country it produced a front to attack, land to defend. It bit into Britain's ecology in big bites. The terrible thing about industrial agriculture is that though it devours more, it does so incrementally, with small bites. Fronts rarely present themselves. The camps at offham, the Land is ours occupations and trespasses, and most of all the growth of anti-GM actions, are all in part attempts to bypass this impasse.

The post-1998 wave of global resistance allowed us to totally side step the question of what land to defend (of course, some camps continued but little on the previous scale). Now we are faced once again with this question. Essentially without a national programme to attack, the question divides further—at least from the perspective of strategy.

There are three categories of British land habitat defence to take into a relation:

- a) Bio-Regional Habitat Defence. Specific local sites under threat that may not be perceived as either ecologically or strategically of prime national importance, which the movement as a whole can recognise and act on.

- b) National Co-ordinated Habitat Defence. Land deemed ecologically or strategically of prime national importance, which the movement as a whole can recognise and act on.

- c) Defence of the Wild Periphery. Areas beyond the bijonciums of any local groups and far from large population centres that have some character of wilderness about them.

With roads, local bio-regional habitat defended into national co-ordinated habitat defence. Any terrains which mirror this hugely advantageous situation should be pursued. At the moment I can see no such terrain, but let's keep a look out! I'll go through each category in order with some suggestions.

Bio-regional habitat Defence: Essentially this is a question for us as individuals, and hopefully eventually as local counter-cultures. We should be intimately aware of the ecologies around us. Only through a deep knowledge of, and connection with the land, can we hope to defend our bio-regions from further damage. Looking at local biodiversity studies is worthwhile, but it is our feet across the landscape that is most informative. Get out into the countryside around you. Make sure you are familiar with the richness that is on your doorstep. Know your land and you'll know when it is threatened.

Put yourself out in peculiar circles. Conservationists, twitchers, ramblers, insect lovers; in most areas there are a smattering of nature nerds. If you’re not sure you’re friends with some. They’ll know about the housing development that’ll destroy ancient woodland or the farmer who pays less than a subsistence wage for sharefarming. Keep your ear to the ground.

Many of our most important habitats are listed as Sites of Special Scientific Interest. SSIS are Britain's ecological backbone, but nevertheless are often threatened. Make sure to keep an eye on the ones nearby.

I am not going to go into detail about what tactics are needed in local battles. After 10 years it's pretty obvious. Community mobilising, occupations, blockade, bulkier pledges, sabotage. Threatening the destroyers with costly chaos and giving it to them if they try it on.

Nationally Co-ordinated Habitat Defence: Since Newbury/Manchester there hasn’t been a piece of land that we have all pulled together to defend. This has been a great shame. Together we are a force that is not to be reckoned with. National co-ordination has some real advantages. For a start it maintains our circle's bad reputation, which is invaluable. Countless sites have been saved with just the threat of camps and direct action. However, significant and loud struggles are needed to keep this threat potential alive.

Beyond tactical considerations, some ecosystems are simply rare species that we call upon us all to cram into crummy vans, meet joyously in the mud and fuck shit up. Above all else, these moments can be bonding. Inspiring educational (when they don't go hilariously wrong).
Many targets such as the Hillgrove cat breeding farm were forced to close in a cycle of success for animal liberationists. The cycle only came to a close when the state put its full financial backing behind Huntington Life Sciences.

When deciding whether a particular piece of land should be co-ordinated around nationally, a few questions should be asked. Is it highly ecologically important? Is it winable? Is it easily accessible nationally? Is the actual physical terrain conducive to action? Will a victory or noisy defeat on this land help save habitats elsewhere?

Mid to late 2001 saw the re-emergence of direct action in defence of the Thorne & Hatfield raised peat bogs. To all the above questions this habitat answers with an enthusiastic YES! At the risk of seeming foolish from the perspective of a few years hence, I believe this campaign to be immensely important. Not only does it re-emerge to co-ordinate nationally but direct victory is quite conceivable. [Since this text was first distributed the campaign escalated and secured the end of peat extraction on Thorne & Hatfield and other sites. See the article in this issue for more details.]

Reform environmentalism has spectacularly failed to save this hugely ecologically precious habitat. If we win this battle and choose our next equally well we could end up in a cycle of successes. One noisy victory leads to another and many quiet ones besides.

A recent good example of such a cycle is when animal rights groups got on a roll after closing down Consort, who bred dogs for vivisection. Once they had shown their mettle by closing Consort they followed up by forcing closed Hillgrove (cat breeders) and Shamrock Farm (a monkey quarantine centre). By the time the cycle reached Regal (rabbit breeders), the owners were so freaked that they packed up the day after the campaign was launched.

These successes understandably led animal liberationists to become too cocky too quickly and take on a much bigger target—Huntington Life Sciences. HLS is integral to corporate Britain. The state saw the danger of animal liberationists on a roll and realised that if HLS was brought down the 'animal rights pamphleteers' would feel unstoppable. Smaller companies would crumble at the sound of their approach. Thinks in large part to the targeting of its financial backers things were getting economically dicey for HLS. The state reacted and stabilised the company by arranging a large injection of capital. From then on HLS has acted as a firebreak, stopping the spread of animal liberation. The cycle may have been broken. The teeth of this trap should not be allowed to cut into resistance again.

A comprehensive analysis of national land defence priorities is too big a job for this piece. Such a study must take place. For the moment we can concentrate on the peat bogs, but we should not wait till victory to map out our next targets. It is around our ability to act nationally that our network survival (rather than just that of our local groups) rests. Prevailing waves of national action have been defeated by either our victory in a particular battle (i.e. roads) or the pig's success in swamping us (i.e. Sea Empress, Target Farm etc). Hopefully this time we'll get the wagon rolling fast enough that it can't be stopped—at least for a while!!

One priority that can definitely be set is confronting corporations in the National Parks. As long as they succeed in one development, one quarry, one pipeline, the vamps will push on with another attack. It should be our job to make them scared enough to retreat—at least out of some of the National Parks.

The National Parks are immensely important, and the fact they have over popular imagination makes them easier to organise around than other areas. It is also often easier to find out about threats facing the Parks. If the companies are given an inch they'll take a mile, but if their profits are threatened they'll run a mile.

The present Nine Ladies action camp in the Peak District National Park stands a fair chance of success, has strengthened the resolve of local conservationists and is deterring other destructive projects.

Defence of the Wild Periphery: Our movement for the wild has evolved in a physical and political environment lacking big wilderness. Habitats near large human population centres are more likely to be defended by us than wider and more precious ecosystems far from the cities. Wilderness is everywhere from the grass between the paving slabs to the high mountains. It’s good that we defend wild poohs in deserts of development (the M11, Abbey Pond, Crystal Palace etc.)—primarily for such struggles’ (revolutionary) potential—but we should not ignore the ‘mountains’ altogether. So far this has largely been the case.

With the exception of some good work in North Wales, the stillborn (but dramatic) campaign against the Skye Bridge and the victorious defence of the Presessian Woods Caledonian remnant, defence of the wild periphery has been pretty patchy.

An example of our failures can be found in the Cairngorms—one of Britain’s largest roadless areas. For at least 8 years I remember occasional campfire/sub chat about the possible construction of a funicular railway up Cairngorm. It’s been very contentious as the train replacing the ageing chairlift (itself an aberration) will massively increase the amount of people on the Cairngorm Plateau (1,000 a day is a figure bandied about). With them we knew would come much damage and significant building work, shops and all. Plans are
even being discussed for hotels! This isn’t fucking Mayfair—it’s the summit plateau of one of the wildest areas in Britain. Many said that direct action should be used to crush the development. The project was put on hold at one point and for one presumed it had been cancelled.

Yet no one kept their ear to the ground when they learned that the work was in fact being continued. A carriage filled with smiling politicians double-timing the New Year—pass the sick bag (No wonder they were smiling—there was no way the parasitic stools could have got up the mountain in January if they had had to walk it. That would have made far more amusing TV). The glint in their eyes was the reflection of our failure. If one of the last British bastions of wilderness can become a site for development, what chance have we got of rewilding London or Liverpool?

In the Cairngorms Nature Reserve, the area below the tree line is still covered by native woodlands and is the most extensive example of boreal forest in the UK and one of the last tracts of comparatively pristine sub-alpine woodland left in Britain. If we have failed to defend the wildness of the Cairngorms Plateau it is predominantly because of the efforts of the Highlanders and the machinations of the authorities. Indeed, the area remains relatively unencumbered with development. Were it not for the engaged and tenacious efforts of the Highlanders, the Cairngorms Plateau would have been lost.

We use this example because it’s horrific and it’s in Scotland. If protecting SSISs and the like is a primary national importance, it is worth pointing to one simple fact: 20% of the total area of Scotland is designated either as SSSI, National Nature Reserve, or National Scenic Area. Scotland’s total species diversity is far less than England’s but its habitats are far less fragmented.

"We have species and habitats in Scotland that are important, in both the national and international context. Examples are the native pinewoods, the extensive blanket bogs, the bryophyte-rich Atlantic woodlands and the enormous colonies of breeding seabirds."

These areas should be militantly defended. Yet apart from the exceptional actions of some community groups, few stand up to defend these wild areas from the threats of plantations, logging, development etc. In large part this is because of the absence of people in much of the Scottish countryside—especially by one of the highest concentrations of land ownership anywhere in the world. Given this, it is all our responsibility to protect these areas. If not you, who? In the long run it would be good to formulate ways of confronting this destruction in a co-ordinated fashion. Until then, happy hikers with wrenches in their backpacks have an important role to play.

Unfortunately, what makes Scottish biodiversity globally unique—its climate edge position resulting in an amazing consistency of species from different ecologies—it itself under threat from climate change. This should not dissuade us from action but remind us all the more of the need in times of flux for massive wilderness restoration; and situate our local British struggles in the global context. As one contributor at a conference on biodiversity in Scotland put it:

"Our Scottish action on biodiversity is in danger of being reduced to trivial tinkering on the margin; another example of deckchair-shifting on the Titanic."

As in Scotland, so it is across the divided queue—many habitats main protection lies in their remoteness and the efforts of an array of often relatively powerless conservationists. Not even on this domesticated isle has the wild been vanquished, but it is under threat. I’m not going to specify the areas in need of special defence—across the wild periphery diversity is being whittled away. We are a people in love with the wild. We are committed to the wild—to its power and its defence. By spending more time ‘out in it’, we will better know which areas are threatened and gain inspiration to take the action needed.

Many thousands of years these areas, finding solace and strength in them. One of Newbury’s greatest moments was when the state’s use of climbers catalysed the involvement of many from the climbing fraternity. Those who took the state’s silver were seen by other climbers for what they truly were—scabs, traitors to the land. A leading climbing magazine stated that what Britain’s wild areas really need is a monkeywrench gang unity forged between us, two tribes of the outdoors. I couldn’t agree more.

Many committed to the wild will not engage in our (revolutionary) organising. They may support fight and fertility or simply disagree with our (political) aims. This is understandable. Thumber in the Dam resistance enables those without hope for any positive change in culture to take action, by militantly defending wilderness from negative change by culture. In this they can create hope for nature even if they see little hope for humanity. In the masses of climbers, hill runners and mountain risk freaks is an untapped force, that if unleashed could become a formidable biocenotic army for the wild. Against such a force incursions like the Cairngorm Railway would have little chance.

Through walking the wildlands we become more able to defend them and unite with others who hold them in their hearts. At John Muir said: "One day exposure to mountains is better than a cartload of books." Or a radical eco rag like this for that point.

Defending the Land: Immediate Scottish Objectives

Having gone through each of the categories in turn I’ll outline some objectives for Scottish habitat defence. These I believe are realistic objectives, some of which we have already got our teeth into.

In defending the wilderness of our isles we can find both great peace and great excitement. We have shown ourselves capable of taking adequate habitat defenders. Let us march on to the defence of many more.

1) Save-Thorne/Hatfield Moors and Kick-start a National Cycle of Successes: Despite considerable success throughout the 90s direct action is often seen as a last resort rather than a tactic that wins. As a network we should pull together for a loud and undeniable victory which can catalyse others. The defence of Hatfield Moors is an excellent test of our strength. The habitat is very precious, on the brink of irrecoverable damage and yet it is winnable. It’s strategically and ecologically in all our interests that the campaign succeeds. [The campaign has succeeded!]

3) Keep Camp Culture Alive: The high cost of evicting action camps is the reason many habitats are still alive. As recently as 2000 the state cancelled the Hastings Bypass when camps were threatened. Unfortunately the last few years have seen a steady decline in camps. If allowed to continue a decline in our threat potential to stop developments may follow. It’s make or break time. We should do all we can—as predominantly urban activists—to keep camp culture alive; otherwise much of the ground gained by the Land Struggle Period could be lost.

4) Increase Action on the Wild Periphery: Our movement for the wild has too long neglected the wild areas far from the cities. As many in our circles spend more time ‘out in it’ this action will increase. Let’s remember to pack a wrench as well as our waterproofs.

A concerted effort should be made to push militancy among the many tens of thousands who walk the wild. We should arm to empower those who don’t wish to ‘join’ our ‘movement’, but...
Defending the Living Sea

Most of this earth is covered by sea. The oceans, birth place of all life. Despite civilisation's ravaging they remain wild. Two centuries ago Byron said it.

"There is a murmur on the lonely shore. There is a society where none intrudes. By the deep sea and music in its roar. Roll on thou deep and dark blue Ocean. Four thousand fleets sweep over thee in Vain. Man marks the earth with ruin. His control stops with the Shore."

Since Byron's time the fleets have grown. Huge factory ships sweep the seas leaving ruin in their wake; fisheries which must have seemed endless now brought to the edge by machines which must have been unthinkable; giants of the sea hunted to extinction, Yet Byron is still right. The oceans are the largest wilderness left on earth, injured but untamed.

It is unlikely that the ecologies of the seas will suffer the fate of many of their land cousins; dehabilitated, denuded and finally enclosed within the prison of agriculture. Yet many are under serious threat of being wiped out. In the seas are some of the planets oldest species and systems, survivors of hundreds of millions of years. Now, they drown in man.

Climate change, pollution, factory fishing, whaling, oil exploration and increasing volumes of shipping are major threats to the oceans. How, if at all, can we combat these attacks?

As always, when looking into the chasm we have to accept that much of what is alive today will be dead tomorrow, whatever we do. Coral reefs are one example. Already climate change induced warming of high sea temperatures has killed most of the coral reefs in the Indian Ocean, Western Pacific and Eastern Pacific. Corals in the Caribbean and Brazil have also been badly damaged.2.5 Given the time lag inherent in climate change, if we had global industrialisation tomorrow (unlikely), we could still expect the death of most of our reefs and the life that depends on them. Depressing, but as the hokeynied old oiled goes: Don't Mourn Organise. We CAN take some practical action to slow some assaults on the sea.

Despite the spectacular image of Greenpeace dashing around in natty rodactes, relatively few direct action has been carried out to protect the seas. This is largely for entirely understandable reasons. We are, after all, land mammals and few of us spend much time at sea. When compared to the odd roll of polyprop the cost of running anything seaworthy is astronomical. Yet we in the British Isles are ideally placed to get to grips with the problem.

So far the only serious group to take Gaia's side on the oceans is the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. Its founder, Paul Watson, declared: 'Earth First is mother earth's army and we are her navy'. Their first action was the 1979 remaking and disabling of a whaling ship off the Portuguese coast. The whaler managed to limp into port only to be mysteriously bombed a few months later sunk with a magnetic limpet mine.

Since then Sea Shepherd has been confronting enemies of the oceans with an axe kicking attitude. Slicing the nets of driftnettists, ramming and scuttling whaliers, and sabotaging seal and turtle kills. As I write they are patrolling the waters off the Galapagos Islands. The last year has seen them make headway in eliminating the ecocidal ships attacking this immensely important area.28 If they succeed it will be one of ecological direct action's biggest victories. It should be no surprise that they might be responsible. In fact, if it wasn't for Sea Shepherd, mass commercial whaling probably would have restarted, pushing numerous species to extinction.

Though predominately based in North America, Sea Shepherd has operated all over the world carrying out many operations in European waters. Most recently Norwegian and Faroese whaliers have been targets. Its mere presence has a serious deterrent effect. The Italian fishing industry halted its most damaging practices on hearing Sea Shepherd had entered the Mediterranean.

Though a scattering of Brits have crewed, the number is surprisingly small when you think how many of our mad lot it might appeal to. There are a number of reasons. Real lasting links have never been made between us and Sea Shepherd. Personally politics is also a factor. The figure of Captain Paul Watson is both immensely inspiring and deeply off-putting to circles with a dislike for hierarchy and the media. Our height was also their low. The mild to late '90s coincided with a relatively less active period for Sea Shepherd. That period has thankfully now ended with two large boats in the fleet and a growing international organisation.

Though few links exist now, if ever there is a meaningful attempt by our circles to contribute to the defence of the seas, we will have lots to learn from Sea Shepherd. A major driving force behind their success has been good strategy and well applied tactics. So let's have a look.

Most of Sea Shepherds most spectacular actions can be divided into two categories—Sea Confrontations and Harbours Sabotage. The terrain of struggle they operate in is one of both waves and laws. A lot of what they confront is illegal and often beyond state territorial waters. Political considerations make the extraction and jailing of anti-whaling activists difficult.

Sea Confrontations: Slicing driftnests and ramming enemies of the sea is what has made Sea Shepherd famous. The keys to the success of many SSSC sea confrontations is that they're military—though non-violent, media friendly—though not merely stunts, carried out on an international level but rarely against Sea Shepherd host nations, largely against illegal activity, and regularly in international waters. The main key of course is having big fuck-off boats and crew committed enough to plough them into target ships. Keeping these ships running is expensive.

Harbour Sabotage: Sea Shepherd's most infamous action was a daring raid in 1986 that left half of Iceland's whaling fleet at the bottom of a harbour and its major processing plant trashed. This action needed only good intelligence, running, limited fund and two brave souls to open up the boats' sea water intake valves. By the time the action was discovered, the two, a Native American and a Cornishman, were on their way to the airport to leave Iceland forever. Since '86 Sea Shepherd has carried out other impressive sabotaging, most notably against Norwegian whaliers.

So far no-one in Sea Shepherd has served any major time for any of their actions! Despite SSSC glancing victories no other group has successfully copied them by taking to the seas. It would be excellent if an autonomous Sea Shepherd-like organisation evolved in Europe. But with no such groups coming into existence, those who wish to take action at sea must join the long volunteer lists of SSSC.

Readers who have served aboard Sea Shepherd or have general maritime experience should seriously consider the need for a European addition to 'Neptune's Navy'.

Offshore fish farming is set expand massively. Pictured above is the mechanical feeding of fish to fish, it takes approximately four tonnes of wild fish to feed one tonne of farmed fish.
Much money and commitment would be needed to set it up, but it would be an immense asset to ecological resistance in Europe. Such a project, if handled right, could bring together energy and resources from a range of circles—radical ecotypes, ex-members of Greenpeace’s direct action units, animal liberationists & rights groups, ex-Sea Shepherd crew etc. Indeed, the years have proven that there is significant mass support for radical action at sea—especially when it comes to oil. Two decades ago, a third of the cost of the first Sea Shepherd boat was put up by the RSPCA. The Faeroes campaign in ’85 was funded mainly by English school children who raised £2,000 in a save-the-whale walkathon.26 While Sea Shepherd is alone in carrying out militant sea confrontations, the tactic of harbour sabotage has been taken up by others. Even here in Britain serious sabotage was carried out against seal cullers in the mid ’70s, resulting in the destruction of one vessel and damage to another. In Europe a number of eco-sacred ships have been scuttled. Recently, Norway has been the prime target.

On 11/12/01, one of Norway’s main meat processing plants at Lothen Dock was destroyed by fire, causing damage totalling at least £1.5 million. Five days earlier, the whaler Nehelia had burned and sunk at the same dock costing £150,000. Another whaler, the Nyrreane, was damaged when the factory fire spread to the dock. The Nyrreane had been scuttled by Sea Shepherd agents in November 1992, for which Norway sought in vain to extradite Captain Watson.

These recent actions also follow another action on 27/2/00. Then, another Norwegian whaling vessel, the Vikdamen, was destroyed when an explosion sunk the ship at its moorings. The blast collapsed the deck and the ship sank to the bottom of the harbour half an hour later. Sea Shepherd stated publicly that they were not responsible. It has always denied the use of explosives and this is what it said about the attacks. We neither took, nor condoned actions that might result in any injuries. None the less, we are pleased for the whale!27 While putting a new fleet ashore would take a lot of work, basic harbour sabotage takes few resources bar pull. While the recent Norwegian bombing and arson were obviously very effective, monkeywrenching can be effectively done with just hand tools. An exact and proven guide to the subject has been written by Sea Shepherd Agent #013. S/he says in the intro:

"With the scuttling of ecologically destructive ships comes the possibility of doing tens of millions of dollars of economic damage. We are talking megatons here. The joy of bringing down a whaler can be one of the great pleasures in an eco-warrior’s life. It can be the most treasured of feathers in one’s spiritual war bonnet."28 S/he should know—the author was one of the team that scuttled the Nyrreane in 1992.

Sea Shepherd 'escorts' sail in bailing Mexican tuna boat away from Spotted Dolphin pod, 100 miles west of Guatemala.

We have looked at direct action tactics used in the defence of the sea and posed some possible conclusions. Now maybe it’s worth looking at the situation around the British Isles directly. Beyond the uncontrovertible catalysts of climate change and the like, a variety of processes threaten the marine ecosystems around our shores. The oil industry (especially expansion into the Atlantic frontier), factory fishing, industrial shore-line expansion, marine aggregate dredging and pollution.

In my opinion we can have little impact on pollution given the continuation of the system. It’s a hydra with too many heads/outflow pipes. The oddconcert blockade might be good for press attention and a bit of justice, but it’s not really meaningful.

Of the other threats, we have only done action against industrial shore-line expansion. The best example is the campaign against the Cardiff Bay barrage, which though unsuccessful is credited with discouraging some other similar schemes. A similar struggle could soon arise at Biddenden Bay on the edge of the New Forest. These campaigns are really just an extension of the land struggles, with the possible added excitement of zipping around in dinghies, so I will not go into detail here.

The oil industry at sea has been largely ignored by us here the ridiculous debacle that was the Sea Empress Spill Anniversary Action. As it happened it would have been far better had we ignored it. (Though all credit goes to Reclaim the Valleys, who tried to rescue the situation when the organising group “Cardigan Bay ESI” went AWOL on the day—after 70+ activists from around the country turned up!) So far only Greenpeace has done actions around the Atlantic Frontier. It is beyond me how with our present resources we could carry out direct defence of this globally important marine ecosystem—but let’s at least get our grey cells working on the issue. Though it’s not actually getting in the way on the Atlantic Frontier itself, blockades etc of Britain’s oil infrastructure may be useful.29 When jewels like the St. Kilda region are under threat, action must be taken.

As for factory fishing, Britain is both a base and a stopping port for fleets of driftnets and kolkners from around the world. Look through the eyes of agent #013 to see the work ahead. Fishing quotas are resulting in the elimination of over half of the British fishing fleet. Unfortunately this is not automatically a cause for celebration. The elite are using the collapse of fish ‘stocks’ to eliminate small fishing boats while leaving large factory boats to trawl the seas. There is potential for some level of joint action by radical ecologists and militant fishing communities against big ships and the economic forces steering them. The barriers and conflicts which would need to be overcome to build such a unity are maybe too big and it’s maybe too late already.

Aggregate dredging, polluting the sea—is set to become a significant threat to marine life around this island. Massive expansion plans are afoot which among other things threaten ‘fish stock breeding areas’. Fisheries in France have already shown their opposition, and ironically there could be a point of tactical unity between us around this.

As far as I know, no one is organising on this.

Defending the Living Sea: Medium Term Objectives

I have been more vague when dealing with defending the living sea than I was when discussing defending the living land. This is not a reflection of their relative importance; just on our position today and the powers we have developed. Though hotspot analysis does exist for the seas; it is both less developed, less accurate and, for us anyway, less relevant. As mentioned before, some of the most diverse marine ecosystems—such as many coral reefs—are probably doomed thanks to climate change. Nothing we can do will save them. However, I do believe there are some steps we can take to move towards the challenge of defending the living seas.

1) Engage with Sea Shepherd: The SSGS has a UK contact but no office. We should build connections and aid them if possible. At the very least we should distribute their material and give...
Defending Living Culture

Radical ecology has always taken its cue from indigenous resistance. Our crossed wrench and stone axe symbol holds the very essence of our movement; a fighting unity between primal people and those deep in industrial society who want to wrench their way out.

While the Fourth World survives enveloped within the borders of some First World countries, most indigenous people live in the Majority World. In Europe, only a minority of Sami live in any way similar to our ancestors. Thus as with biological meltdown, the struggle against cultural meltdown calls us 'over the water'.

Beyond the core the tribes are everywhere under attack. Many are engaged in large-scale resistance to levitation: the Papsuans, the Zapatistas and the law for example. Our circles have already done quite a lot of action to support these indigenous communities and this should continue. Here I am less concerned with them (cultures with significant populations capable of major action), than with those small shrinking wild siblings that are without allies will undoubtedly soon perish. I cover the work needed to aid struggling indigenous communities later at length

Defending Living Culture: Immediate Objectives

1) Forge Links with Allies: A real effort needs to be made to link up supporters of gatherer-hunter interests in solidarity actions and direct aid. The lack of a well functioning network is hindering activity. In the first published version of this text I advocated 'consolidating links with PCPN'. Unfortunately despite a lot of good will on the side of EFers PCPN's leader had been obstructive, rude and downright difficult to deal with from the start. Other problems specifically around PCPN and the Agta have also surfaced. Despite this believe they have done more to help out gatherer-hunters than nearly any other Western group. This should not blind us to the group's serious problems, but instead underline the need for activists from our networks to learn from and in large part replace them.

2) Provide Direct Aid to Gatherer-Hunters,

Starting with the Agta: By aiding the Agta we can have a real impact on a pernicious problem. Only £10,000 is needed to buy the adjacent land to the Dipunthinking reserve. Raising a substantial portion of the cash needed should not be impossible.

Plants from Europe plus internal connections to the reserve cost just over £400. Once there living costs are low. This is an unusually cheap opening on-the-ground support work, not to mention an amazing experience. Don't let this opportunity pass by! [People didn't - see below.]

The Agta are defenders of the local rainforest. Earlier I stated that the Philippines are one of the three hottest hotspots, in facing global biological meltdown one of our highest priorities. Here we have an opportunity to kill direct aid and on-the-ground solidarity to an endangered gatherer-hunter community struggling to protect an ecozone within one of the three hottest of the global hotspots, in 'one of the few Majority World countries with active
3) Reconnect with Young Lions E Fl: Six years ago, Young Lions EFl (South Africa) were aiding the San Bushman, setting up ‘bush skill’ training camps where elders taught the old knowledge to ‘assimilated’ San. The latest news we heard from them was they were planning to smuggle a considerable number of San back into the Kalahari desert from which they had been expelled. We have heard nothing since despite some attempts at contact. YaleFi were an exceptional group, we must hope they’re alright. Serious attempts should be made to find out what happened and aid them if they are still alive.

4) Continue to Build Indigenous Solidarity Work: Those struggling indigenous peoples we have supported so far (Ogoni, Itona, Kupang, Bougainvillians, Zapatistas etc.) deserve our support. This will involve a lot of activity, but we are well on our way. A detailed look at what is needed can be found in Task IV. The last wild peoples call us ‘over the water’. I know some of you will answer them, yet we must be very careful not to cause damage with our good intentions—Mosquito Coast’ style. These are incredibly delicate situations. Tribal people already have a plague of ‘do-gooders’, what they need is allies. Most tribes have no people like us as allies because all the other potential allies have already gone elsewhere in their pursuit for help. They are fighting for freedom, not for rights within our culture. Since freedom doesn’t exist in our culture there is truly only the same.

Notes
4) Antropo, p. 37.
5) Of a number of the hugest important major tropical wildernesses are not presently listed in the hotlist list. They are: Amazon Forest Block of Central Africa, New Guinea (i.e., West Papua and PNG), the Malayan Islands—New Guinea, Thailand, Malaysia, Pakistan, India (i.e., Bougainville and Biafra), Solomon Islands and Indonesia. These areas are all under some degree of attack—small-scale—but they still retain over 20% of their original biodiversity. The team that wrote Antropo are in the process of writing a report on these areas. While they need defence, from the perspective of global scale they are not presently areas of highest global priority. Of course if industrialisation continues for much longer these areas will almost definitely join the global habitat ‘red list’.
6) While it is a truism that does not appear in the overall top 10 list; looking at arctic ecodomes alone it is ranked ninth highest in the hotlist.
7) Caribbean Environment Watch produce a useful newsletter: CEN, 34 Cademere Road, Edinburgh, W 13 9ED.
8) Celstra grew out of the largest anarchist/protestant movements in the world. Though its height was in the 1992a it was still a significant force when Casio rose to power. Armistice resistance to the commercial counterculture revolution ended in jail for over 1000 inmates, many companies were killed and hundreds more went into exile.
9) Important events must be marked when supporting mainstream conservation programs in the Major World which too often just get lost on the backburner. Though most conservation successes are in many ways just another form of colonialism they still may be the best hope for the down and out centers. Without it, nonsense it matters little to a new coming class its agility and the sap still spills when the tree is cut with the axe of a peasant or a company that is a citizen who, in the war between humanity and nature, side with the trees. No attempt to secure viable living for the satisfaction of money will be met with money making alliances!
10) As well as numerous cases some Turkish anarchists have recently done GM-agriculture hopefully on a much greater scale that seeds.
11) This is for every reasons—best of which is that language is a living entity. It is no surprise that many of the majority world groups we lists have lined up with us in the ex-british colonies and others in our colonies. We need to go beyond this and long ago cross these borders. So far for some of the countries in the Mat the kind of work needed for most other countries of its kind. It is likely that groups in Spain, Italy etc. will be able to connect us up groups in those areas better. For example, French anarchists, for reasons connected to their own country’s colonial past, are much more aware of the situation in Africa and in Latin America than British activists.
12) The ability to escape the bombardment of much of our present activism. The state repression of travelers. The squeezing of capital into land prices and impressive planning law....
13) Antropo, p. 37.
14) Hotspot, 0.182.
15) See ‘The Controlling Indusctrial Agriculture’, Do or Die No. 7, 40.
18) Ecological and strategic importance are fundamentally different. Since the former, our strategies, our stitchids and what effect action at a specific site will have on our growth or collective. Thus importance relates to the intrinsic value of sites irrespective of our ability to defend them.
19) All the Rio Earth Summit nonsense in 1992, governments and we should catalyse their countries’ development. The nerd-

Task Conclusion: Warriors for the Earth

To the land of these families most of us will return one day—dying, rotting, giving back, they will then, the wind and soil in our skull should direct us. When our leaps halt machines, our scythe paws cut through experiments, our wrenches disable grappers and our matches start fires—we are the land.

Though we love this land, we love this entire earth and thus the global crisis calls us ‘over the water’. In the biocidal cultural meltdown Britain’s diversity is marginal. To confront the meltdown we will need to join the battle to defend the earth’s last big wildernesses—on land and at sea. However, we will be unable to reach these global ecoclogical frontlines and will have to fight to preserve fragments behind enemy lines. Above all, the wild areas in the Mediterranean call us.

To allow cows to graze, the last remaining wild peoples must be aided in every way. If most of our species are ever to break out of this nightmare of our own making and find our way back to the earth, we will have a lot to learn from them. Back in Britain, let’s expand and escalate our action. In the conflict over road building this ecological direct action took on the STATE and WCN. Let’s zero in on particular attacks on wilderness and stop one after the other. We can win.

We have the power to defeat some of capitalism’s attacks on the wild, both here in the hotspots; will we unleash it? While community mobilizing may win the day in some battles sometimes ‘vanguard’ action is called for. Here lies a contradiction for us. The militant action needed in fact also leads under the (revolutionary) process. It could result in increased state repression and a cut in public support. These are big problems but do not mean we should preclude militant action—the price is worth paying. After all, Thumb in the Dam structures can protect ecological diversity while waiting not just for the possibility of global revolution but the certainty of industrial collapse. As warriors for the earth we must put the earth first!
Appendix 1: The California Floristic Province

Direct Action Research Collectives
Using the SHAC model Bioregionally

The Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign has been effective in facilitating both widespread 'underground' direct-action (sabotage, animal liberations, vandalism, etc) and 'above-ground' actions (demonstrations, office occupations, financial investor harassment/assault, etc). And while animal liberationists may have taken on too large a target at this time, the model is still one that can be utilized to close institutions and damage industries. By collecting information (financiers, CEO's, affiliated companies, employees, other companies that provide services - office supplies, trash pick-up, etc.) on a specific institution and publicizing it via the internet and in print, it allows international mobilizing to take place.

What we are proposing is applying this strategy on a bioregional or county level. We want collectives throughout the California Floristic Province to conduct research on the institutions and activities that are destroying habitat as well as the institutions that are integral to social control.

Some suggestions for areas of research:

Strip mining, logging, development and construction plans (urbanization/roads), manufacturing plants, military installations, defense contractors, locations of cell phone towers and other communication devices, prisons, police stations, biotechnology and nanotechnology facilities, genetically modified crop locations, electricity networks, institutions essential for agribusiness and the expansion of large scale agriculture, livestock grazing, air pollution, oil extraction and distribution, use of off-road vehicles, how to stop the spreading of non-native plants, and the institutions responsible for suppressing natural fires necessary for the reproduction of key plant species.

What this involves is people who:

- Can conduct research, publish it in print and on the internet.
- Make the hard copies available through the mail and through radical infoshops/social centers.
- Are knowledgeable about security culture (especially computer security).
- Are prepared for raids by having all printed documents copied and stored at a couple of safe locations (places not likely to be raided).
- Have all electronic files encrypted, backed up, and stored in a couple of safe locations.
- Be prepared for grand juries and interrogation by studying how activists have handled these forms of state repression.

Tips on how to reduce the possibilities of you being connected with a direct action research collective

When showing up at your local planning department (for development plans) or forest service office (for Timber Harvest Plans) for examples, you will want to dress the part of the character you are going to play (student doing research, concerned citizen, etc.). Bring plenty of cash for

Appendix 2: California Floristic Province Defense Network
We wish to compile a list of social centers/infoshops, Earth First!, and other 'above-ground' direct action ecological defense groups. These contacts would hopefully be put together along with links to direct action research collective websites for a California Floristic Province Defense Network website.
copies of the documents. You may have to go through filing cabinets to get the documents you need. To avoid leaving fingerprints all over the place, you can bring mittens or gloves that are appropriate to the weather and your outfit—so as to reduce your sketchiness. Don't give them your real name. If asked for your phone number be prepared to have an explanation: my phones not working, I'm moving, etc. Being friendly but not overly memorable is also helpful.

Utilizing the Information

The purpose of the research collectives could be to make suggestions for urgent and winnable campaigns to be carried out based on the information collected. 'Above-ground' groups would use this information to carry out campaigns with the aim of causing maximum financial loss, psychological intimidation/fear, and incorporating and radicalizing sections of the populace that have interest in the destruction of targeted institution. It's also important to think strategically about the timing with which information is made available. When a specific institution is targeted you can expect increased security and surveillance of it. It's also good to have many targets and points of attack listed so that law enforcement will have too many targets to consistently watch. By making this information available, roving monkeywrenchers can take trips through regions and either stop in at the local social center for "sight seeing" opportunities or just find the information via the internet.

There is a possible danger of misinformation or dated information being put on-line. The internet is an arena of anonymity and one may not necessarily know the intentions of those doing webpublishing; monkeywrenchers should take this into account.

We are planning to develop a website with the contact information of collectives, infoshops, community centers, and individuals who wish to develop a network to protect the California Floristic Province and build a revolutionary counter-culture. If you wish to be involved, contact ecodefense-sc@ziplip.com. A listserv will also be developed soon so that people can stay in contact about various issues. In the future we are hoping to coordinate bioregional gatherings for people to discuss, critique, and plan various actions and campaigns.

Links and Resources

[Before looking at any of these websites it's recommended that you first read up on computer security: http://security.resist.ca]

Strategy:
* "Hit Where it Hurts" http://www.greenanarchy.org/zine/GA08/hit.php

D.A. Resources:
* Omnipresence Collective http://www.omnipresence.mahost.org/directaction.htm

Research Info:

*Also see www.corporatewatch.org on how to conduct research on a company.
* The SHAC model:
  Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty http://www.shac.net/SHAC
  [you can email them to ask for ideas on how to conduct research]

Recommended Reading:
* Earth First! Journal http://www.earthfirstjournal.org/efj/
III
Preparing for Crises

We must have the ability to defend ourselves, survive, and exploit crises in society including capitalist attempts to destroy us. The divided and industrial nature of today's society has already determined the instability of tomorrow.

"It is difficult for the British with their tradition of stability to imagine disorders arising beyond the powers of the police to handle, but already there are indications that such a situation could arise, and this in a time of apparently unrivalled affluence..."

"If a genuine and serious grievance arose, such as might result from a significant drop in the standard of living, all those who now displate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which was beyond the powers of the police to handle. Should this happen the army would be required to restore the position rapidly. Fumbling at this juncture might have grave consequences even to the extent of undermining confidence in the whole system of government."

—General Sir Frank Kitson, ex-Commander-in-Chief of British Land Forces.

"Imagine having no running water to drink. Chemicals contaminate the pipes leading to your sink. Just think, if the grocery stores close their doors, and they saturate the streets with tanks and start martial law. Would you be ready for civil war?"

—dead prez.

The Myth of Stability

The myth is that though we may see crisis on the TV in other countries, Western Europe will be forever stable. This is an idea that our generation holds; other living generations are not so ahistorical—they, after all, have lived through history.

Our grandparents experienced the Second World War and all of its horrors and the cold war partition of Europe. Many of our parents were teenagers during the fall of the Spanish and Portuguese fascist regimes in the '70s, the rise and fall of the CIA-backed military coup in Greece, the May '68 revolt in France and serious social conflict in Italy in the '70s, to name but a few of Western Europe's recent crises. Not to mention the recent crises involving internal conflict and policing of the streets for nearly thirty years, bombings and guerrilla warfare in Northern Ireland.

For those who think 'that sort of thing couldn't happen here' it's worth remembering that Britain came perilously close in 1968-75 to a military coup spearheaded by leading industrialists, high ranking army officers and members of the secret services.

Social crises are regular occurrences in societies based on class warfare.

The Living Earth in Crisis

The crises we've known are likely to look pretty minor compared to what's on the horizon. Climate change and biological meltdown are already kicking off serious crises, killing hundreds of thousands and the ride hasn't even got going yet. The extremes of ecological instability are most visible at the ecological extremes—the Tropical, Arctic and Antarctic zones. However the evolving global crises WILL reach us in the Temperate zone. Things are going to get a bit fucking weird. There is no way out of it; the ecological effects of yesterday's industry are already dividing the ecological instability of tomorrow.

If the climate and life support systems of the earth destabilise, you can guarantee that society will also.

The Megamachine in Crisis

Economic crises, though connected to crises arising from class struggle and ecological destabilisation, are capable of creating chaos in their own right. In the last five years of the twentieth century a wave of economic crises crashed whole economies: Albania, Russia, the Asian Tiger countries. In a globalised system the collapse of one economy can create a domino effect. For those assimilated into these fragile economies living standards get worse. Many people simply cannot afford to let things continue as they are.

The Indonesian uprising which ousted Suharto and the 1997 insurrection in Albania show what happens to regimes when their economies collapse. So, unfortunately, does the depression era rise of the Nazis.

Thanks to heavy economic manoeuvring West European societies have not experienced the destabilisation that has swept East Asia and the Second World in the last decade. Their economies are inherently less robust than those of the core capitalist countries, but that does not mean that those countries are 'untouchable'.
Crisis Breeds Change

For all the reasons stated above it is highly likely that British society will be hit by serious crises within our lifetime. Any movement that does not take this into consideration is unlikely to survive. Crises by their very nature contain truckloads of both danger and possibility. Crises are moments of the extreme and when the shit hits the fan people look for extreme solutions.

Times of sudden jolts into new social and political possibilities often arise out of war, chaos and social collapse. The period after both world wars saw massive revolutionary waves. The First World War brought us the Russian revolution as well as workers and peasant uprisings across much of Europe. The Second World War seriously damaged much of the social fabric of empire leading the way to insurgencies across the Third World. In turn the horror of the Vietnam War opened up fault lines across American society.

The Flesh in Crisis

The mass nature of industrialism—a society evolved to consolidate oppressor order—itself produces mass 'personal' disorders in the oppressed. Incremental changes in mental and physical health can seem trivial until a threshold is reached. Under certain circumstances these personal disorders can seriously re-order civilization.

With herd medicine and transport systems turning humanity ever more into a monoculture, we can expect future epidemics to reap an unparalleled harvest of heads. In the mean time a divided society will continue to create divisions, not just between people but within people. Despite the glossy charade, such a fractured society is always on the edge of implosion. As in the past, it is just a matter of time and chance how soon it will be before the personal becomes political in a cataclysmic fashion.

While insurrections have often arisen out of crises, crises may not be fertile ground for harmonious social revolution. Though people look for extreme solutions, there are no 'pre-ordained' reasons why they will turn to anarchist ideas rather than authoritarian ones. In fact libertarian tendencies in the people are likely to be heavily curtailed when confronted with the interwoven complexity of industrial society, peoples alienation from their own food and the scale of modern warfare.

"Read no more odes my son, read timetables: they're to the point. And roll the sea charts out before it's too late. Be watchful, do not sing, for once again the day is clearly coming when they will brand refusers on the chest and nail up lists of names on people's doors. Learn how to go unknown, learn more than me: To change your face, your documents, your country. Become adept at every petty treason. The spy escape each day and any season. For lighting fires encyclopaedic are good. And the defenceless can always put to use, As butter wraps you, party manifestos. Anger and persistence will be required To blow into the lungs of power the dust Choking, insidious, ground out by those who Storing experience, stay scrupulous: by you."

—Hans Magnus Enzenburger

Once again this is where I depart from what I've earlier called the 'It'll be all right on the night' tendency. Two factors that are likely to in part decide what happens in a crisis are:

1) How well known are anti-authoritarian ideas?

In crises peoples perception of the possible wider, ideas, which under normal circumstances are rejected out of hand, in moments of crises can be judged and seen to be sensible. However, they can only be judged if they have been put forward in the past. Thus anti-authoritarian educational work to the non-aligned majority today, can influence decisions over aims and forms of organisation they make in crises tomorrow.

2) How experienced and organised libertarian groups are.

In any crises in British society today the main course of events will primarily be determined by the elite and the previously non-aligned. However, history has shown that relatively small groups can have a strong impact in moments of crises. Spain in the 1920s and 1936, Northern Ireland, the Ukraine in 1919 and the French resistance provide some examples.

I am not advocating organising an armed vanguard force to lead the people to revolution in times of crisis. I'll leave these ridiculous notions to the Leninists. I am saying that as groups which understand what might be coming and have the ability in part to direct if we have a duty to intervene in times of crises. If it's our role as anarchists to stop authoritarian organisations—right or left wing—gaining ground in times of crisis. Or at least attempt to do so.

If a group is to have any effect it must:

a) Have an intimate knowledge of its local area.
b) Have a range of basic skills and resources available from those needed for fighting to medicine, printing and the use of communication equipment.
c) Consist of members who have pursued previous struggles and have pushed back their fear barriers and extended their creative operational vision of the possible.
d) Have an understanding of what actions authoritarian organisations are likely to carry out in moments of crisis.
e) Have a number of members entirely unknown to the state as "subversives".

Hope for the Best—Prepare For the Worst

"Cover main road block with automatic fire. Shoot secondary rollers and mine or body-trap street. "Revolutionaries" too often don't think about the practicalities of insurrection, never mind prepare for it.

Thankfully, actions taken under other areas of strategy from Thun's in the 19th century to the growing of a combative counter-culture prepare us in part for what might need to be done in crises. The experience of 'affinity groups' get in the present from involvement in mass actions, anti-GM sabotage, strikes, hunt sabotage, monkey wrenching, animal liberation, pirate radio, general criminality and anti-fascist activity are all useful training for the unexpected future.

The anarchist scene in Britain is growing but it's still a small shoal in a sea of sixty million fishes. Nevertheless, it's easy to underestimate our ability to present our movements in a crisis by concentrating on our present number of 'activists'. In fact one consistent aspect of crises is that when the barricades go up many 'ex-activists/militants' come out of their 'retirement'.

Thanks to dope cheques and the low level of generalised class struggle the British radical ecological and libertarian scenes have existed as 'alternative youth cultures'. These cultures have encapsulated the lives of tens upon tens of thousands of people over the last three decades. By their very nature youth cultures are cultures of the young, and when the young get older they usually leave. However, I believe that most of those who have left, 'dropped out of politics', 'got disillusioned', 'burnt out', etc. rejected not the principles of anarchism but the practice of activism. In times of social crisis those who got off the hamster wheel will know that action is not only with purpose but in their interest. Those who have once stood up are likely to stand again.
(Counter) Revolutionary Rainy Day Reads

It's raining outside and unusually you're not feeling particularly passionate. Hell, why not read up on state counter-insurgency strategy? When it comes to insurrection and revolutionary struggle the state is highly efficient at assessing and learning from its successes and defeats. Sadly, radical movements rarely are, in times of relative social peace we have the space to learn from the past. If we ever need the lessons in the future we are unlikely to be able to do the reading. As well as studying 'our own' histories it is highly useful to read the 'other side's' view of things—not the propaganda it gives the people but the analyses it gives its own armies. Some of them are publicly available if you look for them and unlike the 'pie in the sky' rubbish radicals can come out with, they are useful, relatively undogmatic analyses of confrontations of strategy.

The first book worth reading is without a doubt the one from which this section's front page quote is from: Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping by Frank Kitson, ISBN 0571161612. Anyone who joiningly might think themselves a revolutionary should read this book—without a doubt a Machiavellian masterpiece. Kitson's career culminated in being the top dog in the British land army and along the way he helped screw insurrections in Kenya, Malaysia, Oman, Cyprus and most famously of all, Northern Ireland.

Written at the beginning of the '70s, Low Intensity Operations has remained hugely influential, especially in the British and American military. In the words of the author's 1991 Preface it was written: 'primarily to prepare the army to play a part in countering subversion and insurgency...' While a tad dated, as a practical how-to book on snuffing out subversion it should be read by us all.

A good introductory (though non-specialist and therefore less useful) is Ragged War: The Story of Unconventional and Counter-Revolutionary Warfare by Leroy Thompson, ISBN 185409269X. Its author has a decent pedigree from a USAF Ranger-trained special missions unit and seems to have spent most of the last three decades training some real oppressive scumflacks. Being recently published this is by nature far more contemporary. The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War by Lt. Col. John J. McCuen, (ex-US Army General Staff)

was published in 1972 and thus like Low Intensity Operations is heavily dated but well worth reading; not least for its vast and bibliographical bibliographies.

While much of these books concentrate (understandably) on countering predominantly rural guerrilla warfare, to ignore urban counter-insurgency strategy would be a serious mistake. Northern Ireland is the classic Western case and radicals should devote anything they can find about it. The best available I'd say is The Military Strategy of the Irish Republican Movement by MR Smith (Lecturer at Greenwich Military College), ISBN 0415091616.

The only serious attempt to breach this subject by British anarchists is the wonderful—but now very dated—Towards A Citizen Militia by Cienfuegos Press, ISBN 0904564339. It's a good introductory guide to principles of armed resistance, organisation and conduct of guerrilla warfare, the tactics of security forces, and the organisation and operation of civilian resistance movements. It's written by Stuart Christie, an Orkney-based anarchist who put his money where his mouth was—among other things famously attempting to assassinate Franco. It's practical, and at 28 A4 pages, quite concise. If you need any book in this selection read this one. Beware though—state technologies have advanced a lot in the last twenty years!

After a rainy day in with that lot you should be able to join the swelling ranks of counter-insurgency warfare trainees.

Mock village on the Dungeness peninsula in Kent which was constructed for realistic military training in Northern Ireland and urban areas.

Visualise Industrial Collapse

The above sub-header is an oft used North American EFL slogan. Ecologically this civilisation (unfortunately probably not civilisation itself) is doomed—maybe not today, maybe not tomorrow but within the lifetime of our children's children, our children or possibly even ourselves. We should not mourn for the death of this tyrannical, earth destroying culture but we should prepare for its end.

For the second time in this pamphlet I'm emphasising the need—in times of crisis, in times of stability—TO KNOW HOW TO FEED YOURSELF, YOUR FAMILY, FRIENDS AND COMRADES! We will not always be able to rely on the destruction and imperialist agriculture to feed us like babies; nor should we.

George Bradford of the American anarchist magazine Fifth Estate is instructive in his essay 'We All Live In Bhopal'. In the aftermath of the 1984 chemical explosion in Bhopal in India (which killed, and continues to kill, thousands), the population fed:

The New York Times quoted one man, who said, 'They are not believing the scientists or the state or anybody. They only want to save their lives... All the public has gone to the village.' the reporter explained that 'going to the village is what Indians do when trouble comes. A wise and age old strategy for survival by which little communities always renewed themselves when bronze, iron and golden empires with clay feet fell to their ruin. But subsistence has been and is everywhere being destroyed, and with it, culture.'
Counter-(R)evolution?—We should be so lucky (lucky, lucky, lucky).

In this section I have been talking about how we should prepare for a number of types of crises. I have not mentioned counter-(r)evolution which I have largely dealt with in Task 1: Growing Counter-Cultures. To many it may seem strange that I have separated 'preparing for crises' and 'preparing for counter-revolution'—surely a type of crisis?

My answer is that in this section I have been talking about what preparation our existing movement can make in anticipation of crises that are likely to be coming. On the other hand, discussions of counter-revolution presume a revolution worthcountering—a class movement of vast scale. I have argued that in Western Europe only a significant working class counter-culture can seriously threaten the elite. That does not exist in Britain and no doubt is unlikely to in the immediate future because of our size. In other words, preparations to defeat counter-revolution could only be made by a movement as yet not in existence in anticipation of crises that without its existence are unlikely to come.

As I argued earlier in Task 1, only a combination of military disaffection and an armed people has any hope of successfully defeating a counter-(r)evolution—winning a civil war. I also argued that rebellions such as those in France in 1871 will remain only temporary when they are not products of past struggles and a strong counter-culture that can not only propel a vision of the future but hold considerable armed class strength.

Notes
1] The 1970s crisis and the secret state destabilisation of a succession of colonial governments is a rarely commented but extremely important part of recent British history. A substantial section of the secret state’s role and the métrocritique, or if you like it is amusing to pretend that the distinction is difficult to make—both the Sidgwick, the Stora, and even the complicated system itself was under threat from a resurgent left, spearheaded by the trade unions and manifested by the British Conservative Party under instruction from Moscow...—from Lister’s book.
2] Radical Right militias led by intelligence and military men were being infiltrated and trained in the situation for three years. They were equipped with a variety of armament government of ‘national unity’ led by Lord Mountbatten. No uncontradicted conspiracy theory, this was first espoused in an autobiographical essay by an ex-Daily Mirror executive who was actually at a meeting with some of the conspirators and a long time MI5 agent. Similar manoeuvres within the military continued through to the mid 70’s.

Task Conclusion: Don’t Call Up Blood

It is worth here underlining the point that we should not look forward to these moments of cataclysm with relish. Anarchist history is brim-full with stories of social crises leading to uprisings which have in turn led to the extermination of libertarians.

All power mongers are our foes and as a result anarchists have a tendency to get it in the neck. While harmony can be born of crisis, the child is more often horror.

However, an understanding that crises are likely in our lifetime shows that being in a sortet counter-culture rooted in the land yet with an ability to act in conflict is in our own interest.

Radical groupings are essentially gangs (see Cannibal) and gangs are what we need to survive and prosper in times of crises.
Solidarity is also a Weapon

All over this earth millions of peasants, workers and tribes are defending themselves and the land against constant assaults by capital. In every nation the war between the classes escalates and at present it is the rich that are winning most of the battles.

Ever since the radical ecological direct action movement emerged, one of its central themes has been support for struggles in the Majority World. The communities we have chosen to support have reflected changes in our worldview and how we see ourselves.

At first, only "non-violent" struggles were given any support. This can be illustrated by looking at the Direct Action Empowerment Video—produced in early 1993. The film (which I like, despite its cringe-worthy moments) covers ecological conflicts around the world. The only Majority World struggles given space were the Narmada protests, the Ogoni in Nigeria and the Penan logging blockades in Sarawak. At the time, all these communities confessed some sort of non-violence code. The tactic of 'non-violent' confrontation is pretty rare in the Majority World, for sensible reasons, so this selection is quite revealing. During the '90s most of our circles abandoned the idea of non-violence and as a result we have increasingly been supporting those engaged in armed resistance to the global empire. Now perceive ourselves as 'revolutionaries', we are engaged with revolutionary communities.

Originally our actions were media-centric, trying to bring press attention to the plight of our "adopted" peoples. Now that we see ourselves involved in a growing network of communities in resistance, how do we engage in real solidarity?

Direct Cash Aid to Struggling Communities

Thanks to exchange rates small amounts of hard currency can have a much larger effect in Majority World countries than it does here. Providing practical financial aid for revolutionary groups abroad should not be seen as charity. It's merely a tool of solidarity that we have available to us as a result of our position in the highly monetised capitalist core.

1) Money for Community Health and Survival

The types of low intensity warfare that many groups find themselves in are not fought out simply between soldiers and armed groups. They are fought out in the "hearts and minds" of the communities as a whole. A long established tenet of counter-revolutionary warfare is to firstly grind down the subsistence and health of a population. Secondly, at the moment of desperation, offer medical, educational and technical aid to families and villages within the conflict zone who are willing...
Recently a couple of hundred quid was sent to Papua New Guinea. This paltry amount paid for a consignment of antimalarial drugs for West Papuan refugees.

3) Money for Prisoners

Of course, any movement which gains any success will quickly find some of its number in prison. Being in prison in Europe is no picnic and our movement’s prisoners desperately need more support than they get. Most of the problems we associate with prison support here are similar outside the West but in more drastic ways. Family visits, if allowed at all, are often costly both in travel and in bribes. In many Majority World countries a prisoner will not be fed from the prison budget but will have to rely on his community to supply either food itself or money to the prison in order to stay alive. (It’s worth pointing out this used to be the case in many British prisons hundreds of years ago!) In the usually horrendously unhygienic conditions decent doctors also have to be paid for. Even the smallest ‘privilege’ can be impossible without bribes to prison officials. Legal aid will also have to be paid. This financial burden can cripple families. Increasingly, the time and energy a community used to put into revolutionary action has to be put into raising funds to keep its prisoners alive and relatively healthy.

Over the last few years British Anarchist Black Cross activists have raised hundreds of pounds for East European anarchist prisoners and their support campaigns. This money has been a large boost because hundreds of British pounds in countries like the Czech Republic and Poland translates into a lot of money. In the Third World this is even more the case. Ridiculously small amounts of money can make a real difference to those in cages in the colonies.

4) Money for Agitation and Propaganda

Why not sponsor a pamphlet, leaflet, book or poster campaign by an anarchist/ecological group outside of the West? You’ll definitely get more propaganda for your pennies! As an example a donation of $40 from anarchists in the US paid for a campaign of stickers, posters and leaflets by anarchists in various cities across the Czech Republic. Another good recent example is the funding and provision of basic radio transmission and studio equipment by Black liberationists in the US to the anarcho-syndicalist Awareness League in Nigeria.

Travelling to and Joining Their Struggle

Revolutionary tourism—a contentious subject! I would say that, despite limitations, Western activists can be very useful on the ground in Majority World struggles—as long as they take the care needed to get involved and don’t just follow their own agenda. This opinion is shared by the Mexican EZLN, the Free Papua Movement (OPM), the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA), Anti-Dam communities in India and the Rainbow Keepers in Russia; all of which have recently asked for foreign radicals to come to their lands. From the perspective of the volunteer, sojourns in others struggles can be extremely instructive.

Activists should only take part in this on-the-ground solidarity at the invitation of the communities themselves. In some situations, the presence of a foreigner can bring down nascent on the community and just be another mouth to feed. The communities will know what is needed and what is applicable.

Three years ago some EFFers and friends published a great basic guide to what one can practically do on-the-ground in Chiapas. Though much of it will be inapplicable to other struggles, I urge anyone thinking of engaging in a bit of revolutionary tourism to read this book which goes into far greater detail than I do here.

Essentially, the useful work that can be done by Western activists can be divided into work involving: 1—Specialist practical skill and 2—Work which involves very little specialist practical skill. I’ll deal with these two areas separately.

On-the-Ground Solidarity Work with Specialist Practical Skills

The nature of the struggle will define what skills outside radicals can provide that might not be available or plentiful to struggling communities. In general, external specialist technological expertise is more useful in less urban struggles. I’ll list just a few of the most obvious useful skills that have been requested by movements in recent years.
movements—especially guerrilla ones—isolated within themselves, from the people as a whole and from international solidarity. They are by no means essential—and in some situations an unnecessary danger—but they can make the way easier.

Appropriate Technology: If you’re good at turning rubbish into useful things, there is always a place for you. At whatever stage of struggle innovation is always needed. Bougainville showed how far you can get with appropriate technology—water power turbines, running lights and lamps for making home-made guns and coconuts fueling cooking. BRA unit jeep and pretty much everything else. However, beware of any tendency to push development through technology!

Weaponry and Warfare: It’s extremely unlikely that if a group has modern weaponry it will need Westerners to tell it how to suck eggs. However, if you’re an ex-squaddie, you might be useful in some struggles—not so much as some sort of unpaid mercenary, but more for any specialist knowledge the state may have taught you.

On the Ground Solidarity Work NOT with Specialist Practical Skills

If you have learnt of the skills described above you can still—depending on the struggle—be of possible great use on the ground. As an anarchist Westerner one is in the peculiar position of, upon leaving the West, being able to do certain things not merely because of the passport one carries or the colour of one’s skin. The following is just a short list of some useful roles. It is worth underscoring that these can largely only be carried out in situations no more intense than low intensity warfare.

Human Shield/Human Rights Observer: The presence of Westerners can decrease the likelihood of some forms of assault on communities. As an example, aerial bombardment and artillery are less likely if there’s an awkward Westerner who’s embarrassing to kill hanging about. In some situations making the state do its respective by hand increases the people’s in-built military advantage. Sometimes the mere presence of a Westerner can cool a situation—albeit temporarily. Such work has been very useful in various places but most solidly in Chiapas. Situations are different between countries AND within countries. One activist who went to West Papua found his presence did have a positive effect in one area, a negative effect in another.

Media Work: As Western activists we have greater access to the international media than native communities. Though liberals put too much stock in raising the profile of struggling groups, it can make a real difference. Footage and reportage of strikes, rebellions, armed struggle, riots and general chaos can be the deciding factor that convinces a company it is not worth investing in such a trouble spot.

Travel Companion: The presence of a Westerner with limited “immunity” to arrest, torture and disappearance can be very useful when exiled radicals attempt to re-enter their homeland. Airports and border crossings can be very dangerous. A Majority World friend told me once that despite being wanted by the state, he was back among the masses of his people he felt relatively safe. But entering his country was terrifying. Would the following secret police become suspicious and guess who he was? Would they check his passport was “fully in order”? Alone in the airport, he could have been picked up and nobody would know that he had been taken. No outside support would come to a man no-one knew was missing. For this reason, a British activist went with him so that at least his people and solidarity groups would know they needed to look for him. Of course, the very fact of travelling with a Westerner can arouse suspicion so it is not always a good idea. One Kurdish anarchist was asked if he wanted such a travelling companion, but she believed in Turkey it would make no difference. For her, possible torture or worse was merely the luck of the draw.

Prison Visiting: Westerners can sometimes get into places that locals cannot get to. Also for different reasons there may be no organised prison visiting programme by a native community. Prisoners could be held in far-off jails maybe hundreds of miles away from their friends and families. Visits by a prisoner’s comrades may only result in the visitor himself being interrogated and possibly jailed. This is less likely for Westerners.

Hosting Majority World Radicals

For a whole range of reasons (safety, educational, economic, operational) Majority World radicals can crop up in the core capitalist countries. More often than not they join already existing communities of radical ex-pats, (see Immigrant Communities in Rome below), but for some there may be no community to join. In these cases it is our responsibility to act as good hosts.

Arrival here can be very confusing and we can be useful simply in terms of giving orientation. Also there are basic needs such as cash, food and accommodation—all of which might be beyond the reach of lone radicals. With ever more repressive state action against economically poor immigrants these basic needs will increasingly come to the fore. If they are here legally they will probably need help dealing with visas and travel arrangements.

Depending on the period of duration of their stay they may want help in projects here in the core aimed directly at helping their people, or they may wish to start conventional solidarity campaigns with speaking tours, newsletters etc. It should be left to them to ask what they want of us, rather than we presupposing what would be useful. We can also be of use in providing many types of information—from the political to the technical.

We can catalyse communication between them and members of other similar groups from their regions who may be in the core. Ironically it is often within the core that many groups from the Majority World meet for the first time. Logistics and state repression in some can be a major barrier to inter-movement/international discussion.
A recent example comes to mind. Despite a common enemy (the Indonesian State in particular and the capitalist system in general) communication between the East Timorese and West Papuan resistance movements has been rare. The beginning of renewed communication between the two movements in part came when people from both were introduced by common friends at a British EFU Winter Meet. Such instances are bizarre but regular occurrences in history—during the 20th century anti-colonial wave it was within the core that many militants from different countries first met each other. The recent growth of a number of non-centralised libertarian 'internationalists' People's Global Action, Via Campesina, International Anarchist Federation, EFA, International Workers Association and many radical global networks, is easing communication between majority world radicals (and us in the core of course) and our minor role as inter-movement communication enablers is likely to decrease but it is still unlikely to disappear. Issues around security have to be given serious thought when hosting a foreign radical. The state(s) their groups are resisting at home are likely to have embassies and agents here. Whether or not their foes find out who they are and what they have been doing can decide life or death, freedom or prison when re-entering the home country. In many cases states share intelligence so it is not merely a case of avoiding foreign state interest but also domestic state interest. Hosting Majority World activists is not just our responsibility—it can be immensely rewarding and illuminating.

Supporting Prisoners

Writing letters to prisoners in jails outside the core is one of the easiest—and most real—ways to aid our distant struggles. U.K. and Scottish groups have been doing a brilliant job but it shouldn't just be left to them. A letter from a far off land can help brighten a prisoners day and remind the world that people on the outside are looking in.

ChipsaLink received a message from a Zapotetina prisoner organisation in response to its letter writing campaign. Jose from the Autonomous Municipality of the 17th of November stated: "Morale had been extremely low. They had taken a wave of recent arrests. We were feeling depressed. Letters from the UK helped raise morale and made us feel we were not alone. We want to say thank you."

Occasionally we would close down a petrol station for a few hours or even half a day, sometimes co-ordinated across the country, but was it really having any effect? The surprising answer is yes. After the Nigerian state/Shell executed Ken Saro-Wiwa, 21 of his "co-conspirators" lay in jail awaiting a similar fate. Against expectation after months of suffering, the prisoners were released. Once outside the bars they wrote a letter to their supporters in Britain. The letter thanked everyone for their support and specifically mentioned the petrol station blockades as a major factor in their survival.

The Shell campaign built up a head of steam over years and garnered significant mainstream support after Ken was killed (little of which turned into any meaningful aid). It was exceptional but not thankfully an absolute exception.

Sometimes, though, it could be said that we are using Majority World struggles as scripts with which we can act out our own politics.

The Clouds are Gathering?

The type of solidarity actions described above should continue but let's face it—they rarely hinder the system, but symbolically oppose it. Symbolism has a lot of power—but not as much as force.

In 1997 a British/South African mercenary outfit acting for British mining giant RTZ was planning, from their London offices on the Kings Road, to burn up the rebel held territory in Bougainville, carpet bomb the heart of the resistance. Helicopters were to rain down bombs and bullets on friends, families and forest, Poison, Fire, Blood. The mercenaries would be richer and the murdered land would be back under control—ripe for mining again. Thankfully this plan was scuppered at the last moment by an uprising on PNG that forced the mercenaries out of the country. Imagine that had not occurred and put yourself in the shoes of one of the self-described 'ecological revolutionaries' on Bougainville, looking the 1,000s of miles from the Jaba river valley to...
the streets of London. What would you do if you could be on the Kings Road in London rather than a jungle in the Pacific awaiting death? Hold a banner? Shout at a few people? Occupy an office? If such a trigger were to occur again, and it will, what will be the reaction of our circles? While British mercenary outfits were preparing to decimate Bougainville, Greek and Cuban troops were crushing the Albanian insurrection. It is likely that Western European troops will be increasingly used to counter revolutions in the Majority World. Direct action will be necessary to hinder the functioning of the militarised armies of capital when they reach out to destroy libertarian and ecological rebellions. We are where they are based. We are where the guns are produced. Sliced as we are in the heart of the beast small amounts of intense action can have a disproportionate effect.

It's worth taking a quick look back at what attempts at solidarity were made by previous generations of capitalist core radicals. In the 1960s and '70s western solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle took many forms, most of which was pretty useless. As an American Indian Movement activist put it: 'holding candlelit vigils and walking down the street does not constitute "acts of solidarity" when those engaged in armed struggle?' However there were rare actions with real effects. The German left wing urban guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Faction, attacked a whole array of US army targets. One of its most successful actions was a major attack on a key US base from which the laying of mines in Vietnam was organised. Across the water the Weather Underground bombed the Air Force wing of the Pentagon. The consequent flooding crashed the central computer of the US military's global command system. These two acts had a real effect. By 'bringing the war home' they directly joined the struggle in the jungles of Vietnam and contributed to the crimping of US military morale. That both actions were born out of a 'politics of despair', arising from the orchestrated apocalypse in Vietnam and the self-patching, racist and delusional character of 'mother country radicals', did not diminish their utility in supporting rebellion beyond the core, merely the ability of the organisations carrying them out to survive.

Became self destructive cliques that probably even regressed the building of the (revolution in their countries.

This does not however detract from the fact that some of things they did were extremely effective 'four column operations' carried out in time of war. Given the absence of generalised struggle in the capitalist core these radical choices were valid options. They effectively decided to defect. While other New Left formations immersed themselves in (largely futile) domestic (revolutionary activity (such as supporting unions) the Weather Underground concentrated on the 'global struggle'. Their (amazingly arrogant) attitude to the rest of their country was summed up well when they reacted to an opposing left wing groups slogan 'Serve the People'. Weather replied that they would 'fight the people if it to do so would further the international revolution.'

The question is not whether 'vanguard adventurism' is a way of rousing domestic (revolution (it isn't) but whether the potential gains to revolutions elsewhere outweigh the negative effect it has on domestic social evolution.

To a certain extent a pretty stupid question, but a real one posed by the contradictions inherent in the 'global struggle'. It all depends how one weighs up at this point in time (revolutionary possibilities in the core—and political activists relationship to such possibilities if they exist—and (revolutionary anti-enclosure struggles in the Majority World.

If we come to the conclusion that as a movement we were going nowhere yet were either in a position to: a) significantly aid an allied struggle with a better chance of success, or b) significantly decrease the level of violence visited on friends being drowned in blood; what would we do?

Any really effective action might bring down a level of repression that our circles could not survive. Yet if serious action is not taken solely so as to avoid personal hardship (rather than for any real strategic reason) we are guilty of 'posing as progressives' while accommodating ourselves to power. It is worth reiterating the well known quote by Black Panther Assata Shakur. Back in 1984 she said:

"It is the obligation of every person who claims to oppose oppression to resist the oppressor by every means at his or her disposal. Not to engage in physical resistance, armed resistance to oppression, is to serve the interests of the oppressor; no more, no less. There are no exceptions to the rule, no easy out..." In fact the question is not just one concerning 'armed resistance'. If 'non-violent' action is actually effective (not merely symbolic) it too results in severe repression. At present a number of Animal Liberationists are in prison for waves of fire bombings which the ALF press office would correctly describe as 'non-violent'. The repression that has followed each wave of action has been considerable. One could guarantee at least the same level of repression if ecological circles ever took the road of some solidarity movements in the past.

The guerrilla movements were crushed by state repression and hardline tactics. Jail and death was the fate of many of our forbears. For one I have no desire to join them but it is important that we look at them again and again seriously about these issues. Sadly, it has to be said that in many ways the urban guerrillas never fully escaped the symbolic political terrain they had evolved in. Looking at the targets sees again and again globally unimportant army bases, recruiting offices and the like. Despite being very direct, their actions, with some notable exceptions, were rarely very targeted. Most of the armed action was relatively minor in scale and of course armies are designed to sustain and survive mass death and destruction. Attacks on key armaments factories for instance would have had considerably more on the ground effect in Vietnam.

There are serious questions here about strategy, racism, symbolism, violence, the nature of sacrifice and our position in the global slavery pyramid. These ideas have to be thought through, all the time rejecting both a cult of violence and an internalisation of passivity.

Immigrant Communities Within 'Rome'.

The Terrorism Act which passed into law in 2000 was seen by many as part of a clampdown on the 'direct action scene'. It is likely that some of its powers will to be used against us in the future, but as targets of the new legislation we are peripheral. The main targets are undeniably Irish Republicans and immigrant communities. The newly proscribed organisations are almost all British wings of Minority World organisations—mostly Communists or Muslims. This should come as no surprise—states have always worried about immigrant communities becoming 'enemies within'.

Until last century the individuals and institutions of Western power were largely out of reach to the far off peoples they massacred. With the growth of international travel and increased immigration into the core capitalist countries this is no longer the case. These days before the attacks on the Pentagon and the WTC—I deal with these in the box opposite. Some of these organisations have been sending fighters to Majesty World battles and carrying out attacks in the core. We may have sent footballers to Chiapas but Islamists have been sending guerrillas to Yemen. No surprise who got proscribed.

Whether Islamic or Communist we should have no illusions about the authoritarian nature of many of these groups. It is hardly likely that anarchist- atheist types are likely to make common cause with religious nuts of any persuasion but there are often calls to build 'anti-imperialist unity' with immigrant community comrades. The best example of a left-wing immigrant community is that of the Kurds. Kurdish groups here in Britain retain direct communication with their respective organisations both at home and throughout Europe. The demonstrations, occupations and immigrations in London—and throughout the Kurdish diaspora—that followed the trial of the leader of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) were highly coordinated. The Kurds have been very active in supporting struggles in Britain such as the Liverpool Dockers—taking part in marches and raising money. They have turned up en masse at two arms trade blockades and were some of the most up-for-it people on Mayday 2000 in London. In Germany there is a much larger Kurdish population and though the PKK has been proscribed for years, attacks on Turkish interests
have continued. In fact the PKK remains one of the largest leftist organisations in Germany.

Another good example is the Palestinians. The 1970s saw Palestinian organisations (chiefly the PFLP) carrying out attacks on targets in the core related to their struggle. While the level of attacks in the West by Palestinians has decreased, there are still reasonably regular outbreaks. As I write two Palestinians are serving time for bombings in London in 1994.12

On the face of it there is a good argument for working with these communities, but the case of the Kurds throws up important questions which are widely applicable. The PKK and its various offshoots and rivals are largely Stalinitian parties whose political aim is in total contradiction to liberty and ecology. This reality can result in serious problems—here as well as in Kurdistan.

A few years ago members of the London 5th of May Group (Turkish/Kurdish anarchist exits) were threatened by a Kurdish Stalinitian sect. Back in Turkey the same sect has murdered two anarchists, one on the streets and one in prison. Ironically the British wing of the same sect was appealing for solidarity for the PKK prisoners in their struggle against control units.

Around the same time the flags of Turkish Stalinist parties were held aloft in Parliament Square on 'our' Mayday 2000. Had they been held up by white English people our circles would have forced them down. The emblems of authoritarian socialism are the tombstones of libertarian past, present and future. How would we feel if Turkish anarchists marched alongside the banners of a gang that had executed one of us?

‘Anti-imperialist unity’ despite its seeming attractions can be worse than vacuous. It can mean unifying with priesthoods of new imperialisms. A true opposition to Empire requires us to choose those communities and organisations we organise with carefully.

This does not mean we should not practically engage in struggle alongside groups we are bitterly opposed to. During the march for the Liverpool Dockers it would have been ridiculous for us not to be part of the demo because it contained a contingent of Kurdish Stalinitians—who were there in what I say later in ‘There is No Rosy Picture’. S11 was the first attack by Majority World militants of its scale, and it is the only first. All over the world in small towns and small towns with no future will be thinking about what can be done with a few box-cutters—not even knives for fuck sake! One of the Los Alimos Lab team which exploded the first nuclear bomb, said that there was nothing hidden which had stopped others from doing what they did. The secret was that it could be done. S11 showed what can be done. The ring side slag feed of teddy bear slaves has only begun.

During the Second World War the RAF’s first ever ‘child death’ of a civilian Germans at Dresden was justified by saying that those who worked in the factories of the Nazi war machine, were military targets as much as those who fought on the field. During the post war anti-imperialist wave Algerian guerrillas rejected this logic when they rejected a plan to crash a hijacked plane into Paris. The horrors of the unity in-opposition of 50 years of communism and capitalism has resulted now in Arab ‘anti-imperialists’, lost in the Koran, accepting the logic of Bomber Harris.


No War Between Nations. No Peace Between Classes.

an inspiring show of genuine class solidarity. As ridiculous as, say, refusing to take part in the Newbury Busboys protest because Fos is Involved, with its pro-industrial stance.) However such unavoidable contradictions arise largely within the realm of advancing (revolution at home (Task I). Here we are concerned with supporting rebellion beyond the core (Task IV).

While the dynamics of (revolutionary struggle may decide our bedfellows for us, we can still decide who to actively support. Here I am talking about actions, money, resource sharing and solidarity. Giving support to organisations here which stand in opposition to libertarian tendencies at home, (not to mention the interests of the people and planet), is worse than nothing.

Marxist authoritarian ideologies which are dying off throughout the core remain real power outside it. Radical immigrant communities reflect their political culture of origin, yet within many of these communities there will be libertarian and anti-industrial groups and individuals. It is our responsibility to seek them out and however we can help them aid their people and land.

Luddite Attacks on Evolving Elite Technology

Just as we should oppose the militarised arms of capital based here so to we must slow the evolution of new elite technologies (weaponry for the class war) being developed here. One of the major aims of genetic engineering is to purposefully destroy the social fabric that keeps the land community together and fully incorporate the peasantry into the global cash economy. The threat is neutralised and becomes fuel for the machine’s further expansion.

GM sabotage throughout the world is growing. Here in Britain we can say that we have hindered the evolution of this technology considerably. As the Luddites of today, we know that, given the continuation of this society, halting—forever—the development of new technological weaponry might not be possible. Even if we don’t succeed in stopping genetic engineering we have already slowed down the introduction of this technology. What this means in real terms is that we’ve succeeded in delaying the further degradation of the lives of millions of people. We have delayed for months, maybe years the ecological destruction, hunger, despair and domestic abuse that social dislocation brings. If that is all we succeed in then we have achieved much.

By slowing technologies of enclosure we are defending the ability of Majority World peasant communities to rebel. More will suffer as a result of these enclosures than ever do in overt global policing operations/ imperialist wars. Effective action against GM and other elite technologies are direct attacks on empire’s power of expansion. Let’s keep it.

Smashing Up the Spectacle, Spectacularly!

The recent global resistance period has been hugely successful in building solidarity across borders and in supporting rebellions beyond the core. Radicals in every part of world have fought together on the PGA-called international days of action. This physical unity is immensely powerful. Beyond direct communication the conflict on the streets has itself an important message, one that cannot be diluted by the forces of mediation.

“...
message of hope to people all over the world that right inside the belly of the beast there are thousands of people who are going against the system and are prepared to risk their own life and liberty to fight it.  

For a moment Genoa’s burning barricades effectively monkeyshined the global image factory that aims to homogenize the self-worth of peoples in the Majority World, to make more malleable fodder for the global consensus. 

The environment created by the ‘street’ at global conferences has also been an empire. The collapse of the Seattle era WTO negotiations a good example. Another is the increased bargaining power the protest has given Majority World states. They like all of their global classes are scum, but any action that opens up divisions in the global ruling class while bridging gaps between the global multitude is great.

It's Time to Defect!

At the beginning of the 21st century we all have to choose sides. Do we remain on the side of industrial civilization or do we stand with struggling peoples in defence of our earth? Across the world the fight is on, fires are flingh, arrows flying. Look around you, see the targets. Pull up your mask, it's time to defect. 

Above: Tibetan rioters block the international airport against French nuclear testing in the Pacific. Bottom Right: The 600 years of Mayan resistance lives on in the Mexican Zapotists.
Peasants and the Transitional Class

Unsurprisingly, the majority of the resistance to the global empire arises where the majority of its subjects and slaves live—the hilariously named ‘Third World’. To accept this is not to reject the reality of class struggle in the core capitalist countries but merely to accept the logic of maths and geography, The Third World is, after all, most of the world.

In the Majority World the global elite are faced with class enemies they have long since vanquished within the industrialised West—the peasantry and the transitional class. These two classes are the main human block to the elite’s expansion and consolidation over the majority of the planet.

Nearly half of the world’s population do not live in cities. Of these, hundreds of millions are hardly under the actual domination of capital at all. As peasants they retain relatively high levels of autonomy and have yet to be fully (or often even partially) encircled by capital. For the actual domination of capital to end that autonomy must be destroyed. They themselves and the land they live on must be commodified: their land turned into ‘resources’ and they themselves into wage slaves.

In localities all over the Majority World the continuing class struggle between class auxiliaries, agribusiness, oil corporations, local land autocracies and the state on one side, and peasants and tribal people on the other is, in fact, the border war between the global economy and the land community. It is a border war that, despite the heavy resistance from groups as diverse as farmers in India, river delta communities in Nigeria, the Zapotillas in Mexico and tribes in Papua, is largely being won by the wealthy. Of course people do not immediately submit to power and accept their position as wage slaves. Throughout the ‘developing’ world a telling phrase the new inhabitants of the cities fight back.

One would expect Western radicals to orientate themselves towards ‘Third World’ struggles according to their present class position, and the fact that our shared past is their shared present. Unfortunately for communists, liberals, greens and anarchists vision is still hazy, buried by the misleading mythologies of Marxism. There seems to be an unbridgeable split between those who think that social change can only arise out of the core capitalist countries and those who believe it will be fought out in the ‘Third World’. This really is a false dichotomy and both sides take their ridiculous scripts from the Left.

On one hand ‘Third Worldists’ have supported all sorts of authoritarian murderous gangs and governments on stupid基本上 the alienation of the oppressed is different than the nationalism of the oppressor. (It should be almost banal now to point out the treatment of the Palestinians or Ethiopia’s offensive against Eritrea as just two examples of the nationalism of the oppressed becoming the nationalism of the oppressor.) Anyone saying anything like this cannot in any way be an anarchist and at this historical juncture should just be the cause of mirth. Lenin’s bizarre inverted version of anti-imperialism has a lot answers for. In a sickening twist the ‘What’s a few massacres between comrades’ tendency are often the first to condemn even the most minimal revolutionary violence in the West—‘It’s alright for niggers and chinks in far away countries to go killing each other in the cause of revolution but don’t throw rocks at white English policemen—they’re human too’.

On the other hand the Manichaeism of the fully developed industrial working class as the ‘revolutionary subject’ has led many to ignore the vast scale of struggle going on in the majority of the world. This is high irony considering that the European ‘proletarian glory days’, starting with the French insurrection of 1848 and ending with the crushing of the Spanish Revolution, were fought largely by a class that today can be found throughout the Majority World but only on the social margins in the West. For the second time in this pamphlet I’ll quote at length from Bookchin’s seminal work, The Spanish Anarchists:

“The June barricades of 1848 had in fact been manned not by an industrial proletariat ‘Disciplined, united, and organised by the process of capitalist production’, [Marx] but by craftsmen, home-workers, nondescript labourers of every sort, porters, unemployed urban and rural poor, tavern keepers, waiters and prostitutes—in short, the flotsam and jetsam of French society... These very elements, nearly a quarter of a century later, were to man the barricades of the Paris Commune.”

It was precisely the industrialisation of France after the Commune—and with this process, the emergence of a ‘full-grown’ hereditary proletarian disciplined, united, organised by the process of capitalist production—that finally was to silence the ‘crowning of the French Red Cock’ that had summoned Europe to revolution during the nineteenth century. Indeed, much the same could be said of the Russian proletariat of 1917, so recently recruited from the countryside that it was anything but a ‘full grown’ working class.”

The great proletarian insurrections that seemed to lend such compelling support to the concept of proletarian socialism were fuelled primarily by social strata that lived within neither industrial nor village society but in the tense, almost electrifying force field of both. Proletarian socialism became a revolutionary force for nearly a century not because it was well organised, consolidated, hereditary proletariat had emerged with the factory system but because of the very process of proletarianisation. Dispossessed rural people and craftsmen were being removed from disintegrating preindustrial way of life and plunged into standardised, dehumanising, and mechanical urban and industrial surroundings. Neither the village nor the factory as such predisposed them to the boldest kind of social action; rather, they were moved by the disorganisation of the former and the shock of the latter. Demoralised to the point of recklessness, declassed in spirit and often in fact, they became the adherents of the Paris Commune, the Petrograd soviets, and the Barcelona CNT.”

“The very ‘half grown’ quality of the early proletariat, formerly peasants and craftsmen or perhaps a generation removed from such status, produced a volatility, intractability, and boldness that the industrial system and factory hierarchy were to attenuate in their descendants—the hereditary proletariat of the 1940s and 1950s, a class that knew no other world but the industrial one. For this class, no tension was to exist between town and country, the anomic of the city and the sense of shared responsibility in the small community, the standardised rhythms of the factory and the physiological rhythms of the land. The prestige of the proletariat in this later era were formed around the validity of the factory as an arena of productive activity, the industrial hierarchy as a system of technical authority, and the union bureaucracy as a structure of class command. The era of proletarian socialism came to an end in a step-by-step process during which the ‘half grown’, presumably ‘primitive’ proletariat became ‘full grown’, ‘mature’—in short, fully proletarianised.”

Crammed into the growing Majority World metropolises, hundreds of millions today find themselves a part of this class in transition, caught in the electrifying force field between village and city. They feel inhuman and desperate conditions as wage slaves within the city. They have memory of the communal experiences of the
The Panthers—Militants of a Transitional Class

An interesting aside, hugely influential to the radical wave that swept the west in the 1960s and 1970s was the Black Liberation struggle in America. Two examples stand above others. Germaine Greer says second wave feminism took its rallying standard—Women’s Liberation—in reflection of the concurrent Black Liberation struggles, (see her book The Whole Woman). The rebirth of Republicanism in Northern Ireland arose largely out of the Civil Rights Movement, which took its name and in large part inspiration from American Blacks.

The Black Panther Party—Itself deeply inspired by struggles in the Majority World—is often seen as being entirely urban in origin. In contradiction, David Hilliard, ex-chairman of the Panthers, cites the land-based culture of the Deep South which many Panthers or their parents were brought up in as highly influential:

“When I think about the influences that inspired the spirit and work of the Black Panther Party—many of which are still not understood—this culture figures large among them. Many of the most important members of the party—people like John and Bobby Seale and Gerolimo Pratt, Bobby Rush and Fred Hampton—were imbued with the moral and spiritual values of their parents; and the work that went into the party, our dignity as an independent people, the communal ideal and practise that informed our programs, all stem in part from the civilization of which my mother and father were so representative a part.”

I hope the conclusion to this pre-history and future strategy will not be written in words—but in action.

I went to a funeral. An ending, but it felt like a beginning. Old Mick was a veteran squatter, rebel and thief. His most successful heist was the reclaiming of his life from those bosses and jailers who think they own us. For decades he lived in the gaps. No one made him into a waggleslave. No dropout, he fought. He was no saint, but if ever there was a temporary autonomous zone, Mick was it.

His funeral was one of the best ‘actions’ I have ever been on. Mick wanted to burn in Lyminge Forest, a large part of which was saved from destruction by direct action. Funeral pyres are illegal, death rights have to be sanctioned by the state. Mick was going to take that, neither wore his mates.

Thanks to a snitch the cops had got wind of the plan and a decoy was arranged to throw them off the scent. Meet up points were organised, phones rung. From all over the country vehicles arrived at the secret destination, appropriately marked ‘Covert Woods’ on the OS map. Over a hundred were gathered. Ten foot the pyre of ‘stolen’ wood rose, Mick’s coffin astride. Night came. Fireworks shot into the sky. Crackling fire, we saw Mick’s bones burn, back to the earth. For hours he burned. Some were silly, some were silent. All of us knew that despite the petty daily bother, we were tribe and on the pyre was one of our elders. Away from the roads, fearful in the dark—authority cept. The cops knew they had no power here. In the woods, a short confrontation. We were many, they were few. Behind our line—a fire. They listed their petty rules, illegal gathering, illegal land occupation. Not to mention illegal funeral. But they could do nothing. Just then a track on the sound system announced with base certainty: “The day belongs to The Man, but we shall control the night.”

Be the Spark
When we step out of legality, when we are masked by the night, when we become the earth, we are unconquerable.

These moments of collective power, of togetherness and tribe, are not limited to those times we mass together, in the dark in different places, different times, our sparks join together as one fire. Many of us will never meet each other; all the better, we’ll still be one—but those who want to extinguish our flames will find it all the more difficult.

Sun Tsu counselled that even under attack an enemy will only fall through its own mistakes and weakness. The key to victory is not so much to defeat one’s enemy, instead it is to make oneself undefealbe.
movements. Their nightmare, our dream; but to reach our potential we must go far beyond ourselves.

Our strength is in our ability to take action and by doing so inspire others to take action. Not mass growth but cellular growth.

Rooting ourselves in the soil and the future, with keen strategy and an ever more tangible—but less visible—correlative edge, we can get far stronger. Our tribes, our counter-cultures will grow. We'll prepare for the fight. No prostituting ourselves to the media, we'll grow in the shadows, but strike when needed. New technologies will attempt to track us, we'll have to evolve to throw them off the scent. Some of the old techniques will have to be abandoned, others picked up. No faces. No names. No Compromise.

For over a decade many on this island have fought for the earth. Yet if we are going to truly defeat we will have to struggle harder, think quicker and live wider. The long trek back to the earth and each other is only beginning. In writing this I merely hope to aid our navigation. Part One showed where we came from. Part Two pointed a few routes to the future. The four tasks are huge; yet with sensible objective-led thinking, luck and hard will, they are perfectly realisable.

Imagine the machines, the pylons, the factories, the labs, the tanks—broken by you. Imagine the wind, the sun, the beautiful moments—lived by you.

Down with the Empire! Up with the Spring! ★

This is true for our aim, objectives and form. In a sense it is the ‘depth’ of our victory which is at stake: yes victory, given our aim, is not in question. For we know one thing: civilisation is temporary, an aberration. The class war is vicious—but there can be only one winner, the wild. We aim to shorten civilisation’s rule, to hamstring its tyranny, to lessen its damage. How far we succeed will in large part depend on which objectives we set and which forms we grow.

Of course our networks have not come out of nowhere, but have evolved within struggle. Many of what others see as our weaknesses, are our greatest strengths—with us thanks to a rejection of past mistakes. Our tactics are pretty direct, our immediate objectives usually achievable, our forms relatively autonomous.

As the corporations and states grow even more powerful they know they can win any ‘symmetrical conflict’. What the strategists of authority view with horror is the potential ‘network power’ of increasingly direct, decentralised, oppositional movements. Their nightmare, our dream; but to reach our potential we must go far beyond ourselves.

Our strength is in our ability to take action and by doing so inspire others to take action. Not mass growth but cellular growth.

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Down with the Empire! Up with the Spring! ★

Whatever you can do, or dream you can, begin it.

Breadth has genius, power and reign in it.

Begin it now.”

—Geoff

This small group of people have succeeded where Karl Marx, the Red Brigade and the Baader-Meinhof Gang all failed.”—The Financial Times on the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign, April 2003.

In 1997, a Channel 4 television documentary exposed Cambridge-based animal experimentation laboratory Huntingdon Life Sciences for numerous horrific abuses of the animals it was testing on, as well as for various breaches of regulations. The government slapped its wrist and let it off.

Meanwhile, the animal rights movement in Britain had just won a fight to shut down the beagle breeder Consort. It was also in the middle of a vigorous campaign to shut down Hillgrove Farm, the last commercial breeder of cats for vivisection in the UK, and the campaign to shut Sharonock Farm, the largest importer of primates for vivisection in Europe, was just beginning.

After tough battles the Hillgrove Farm and Sharonock campaigns were ultimately successful. On a roll, it was decided by some campaigners to move on from simply closing down the animal supply chain, and step up to take on a major component of the vivisection industry—Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), a publicly listed company and the largest animal testing facility in Europe.

Building on the momentum of the Channel 4 expose and the success of the Hillgrove victory, the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign, with the express purpose of closing down HLS...

Bending a Company to Your Will

For years it has been common to treat companies as giant monoliths—single entities symbolised by their great glass headquarters in which you can only ever see your own reflection, but never what is really going on inside. This was intentional on their part, to make you feel small and impotent in the face of their impressive size, and to themselves appear well armoured and invincible.

Corporations depended on keeping activists ignorant of how they really worked. But look a bit closer and you will find that their armour is really quite fragmented, and if you find the right set of cracks then you can bring even the mightiest company to its knees.

For a long time campaigns consisted of running at a company full tilt and attacking whatever came to hand. Unfortunately what often came to hand...
was precisely what the company wanted us to attack; those bits deliberately put in place to draw the attention of activists, while the real business continued unabated behind closed doors.

What SHAC, and similar campaigns following their lead, are now doing is the complete opposite. Before announcing a company as a target, careful research is carried out. A picture of the company is built up, copies of their annual reports obtained, lists of subsidiaries, offices, research and manufacturing sites drawn up. Its activities and its weaknesses are identified. The PR funnels and the lower management being paid to take the heat are ignored. What matters are the real decision-makers; the people at the top and the people behind the scenes pulling the strings are the real targets.

As well as going for HLS itself, the campaign has spent much of its effort taking out all the secondary companies that support the company, keeping it alive. Each such strut has become a campaign in its own right, and each time one collapses it causes HLS to totter that bit closer to being pushed over the edge.

Experience has shown this to be a highly successful approach, leading to numerous victories. It’s got to a point where even a phone call to a company from a SHAC activist letting them know that their involvement in HLS has been rumbling can often be enough to get them to pull out.

With HLS itself every single aspect of the company is being targeted, because there is the single goal of outright closure with no escape clause. However, the majority of secondary targets don’t require that sort of campaigning, as the aim is not to close them down but simply to break their links with HLS. This requires a more focused approach, where the supporting company is analysed and targeted at its weakest points.

Every company can be broken down into 5 main aspects:

1. Top people
2. Ordinary workers
3. Communications
4. Offices
5. Public presences.

Each of these requires a different strategy, but when hit on each front, it will leave the target reeling. Companies are not accustomed to dealing with campaigns working in this fashion, and indeed they are very hard to counter—especially if a variety of above-ground and underground action takes place. Large companies are too spread-out to protect everywhere at once, while small companies give a nice focused target where vital bottlenecks are easily hammered.

The really powerful tool we have as activists is that they never know what we will do next, and that if we all act in a united cohesive way we can take out parts of their infrastructure that they cannot afford to lose. It basically boils down to three things:

1) Putting the fear of God into them.  
2) Costing them financially.  
3) Dragging their name through the dirt.

Don’t waste your time appealing to their better nature—it doesn’t exist among the people who really matter in a company. What you appeal to is how much money you are going to cost them, how you are going to destroy their morale and how they are never going to know when and where you will turn up next with a new, disruptive and embarrassing tactic they can do nothing about. Always changing tactics and hitting them at different points keeps them confused and disoriented so they cannot fight back properly.

It does no harm to approach a company first, saying you are planning to campaign against them. But be very strict about what you actually want from them. Tell them that there is little room for negotiation, and that once the message that their company is being targeted reaches the wider public there is nothing that can be done to recall that message without announcing a significant victory or concession that has real meaning. Actions can start happening while you are negotiating, as this re-enforces the message that you do mean business.

However, it is useful to give the target a way out, an escape clause. Depending on the campaign, this may or may not be possible. But if it is, or can be manufactured by making yourself come across as the reasonable party, then this is a very useful tool to bring the campaign to a successful end.

1) Top People

These are the people at the very top of a company—the people who sit on the board of directors at the parent company, or the very senior management. They are the people with the most power, and also the most to lose. In general they start as very intransigent and hard to get hold of—but a few home demos and actions directed specifically at them can sort that out sharpish.

They, above all, have the ability to set policy for the company and all its subsidiaries, regardless of what they might say. It does not matter if it is just one of their distant subsidiaries who are actually at fault, they still have the power to say stop. Anyone lower than this can be overridden.

2) Ordinary workers

Treat these differently from the top people, as they often have little or no say in the running of the company, and quite often you will come across disaffected employees who are willing to dish out information. You do not want to alienate these potential allies. Don’t tell them it is their fault, but that of their managers that their office is being targeted. Tell them to get on the phones to their bosses and demand that they give into the campaign’s demands.

Senior management are very aware what damage insiders can do, and if they realise their own workforce is opposing them on this issue, then you have a powerful tool. Many workers will be sympathetic to your aims themselves, and won’t like the dirty side of the company they work for. In the past this has resulted in a gold mine of information coming our way. Indeed, in some campaigns it has been the actions of employees awakened to their company’s misbehaviour which provided the winning blow.

Public exposure of internal secrets is a very powerful weapon, and is much under-used. Secrets that might not seem important to protesters may be very sensitive information from a commercial point of view. In some cases whistleblowers can crash a company’s share price. It may not be quite as significant to campaigners, but from the company’s point of view it can be a deadly blow.

3) Communications

Modern companies cannot function without their communication systems. Blocked phone lines, faxes and email accounts mean that they are not doing business properly. Sales are lost; time is wasted waiting out the hoax orders; staff are demoralised and work less efficiently—it all affects the profits of the company, and that, at the end of the day, is what they really pay attention to.

Companies, small and large, often channel all messages through a central telephone number. This is a natural bottleneck—tie this up and you have a large knock-on effect, especially if it is their main number for doing business.

Companies also tend to own a whole subsection of numbers. Don’t just try their publicly issued numbers, but also the ones a digit or two on either side. This will often turn up interesting details as well, and can give direct lines to the top people.

Emails are very easy to target, as you can email a lot of people at once. After a while they will start blocking you, but being smart can circumvent that. Posting their emails to newsgroups and posting them up for free links pages can generate huge amounts of emails from other people, saving you the time and effort. We know of one target who ended up having their entire email system taken down, something which will have hurt them greatly given how much internal communication and networking is done by email. It is also a clear sign to employees that you are winning the campaign.

Next to targeting the top people, this is probably the most effective tactic, but it has to be done consistently and the pressure needs to be kept applied. When the call to action arrives in your email box don’t simply send one message or phone-call or fax, then forget about it. Keep at it, day in, day out until they cave in.
4) Offices
The stank of many protests, people often drift away from doing office demos because standing outside holding placards and banners is displeasing and little reward is seen. In the past, these were often the main form of action rather than being run in conjunction with other tactics. However, they do have a large effect, both financially and in terms of morale. It demonstrates your commitment to closing them down and putting them in a defensive position.

Even better is to meet them on their own territory by entering their offices and speaking directly to the staff. Demand to see a manager and bring videos and literature to offer them. This is a tactic they really hate. It is one thing to have a wall between you, but when you are in their workplace they cannot ignore you. Plus they don’t get much work done. Do it repeatedly and they start having to pay for increased security measures, as initially you will find most security is done on a low budget basis and easily dodged. Increased security makes for an unpleasant working atmosphere that only helps raise awareness of your cause and encourages people to come forward against their bosses.

5) Public presence
Most companies have a public presence. This comes in two forms: the sponsorship of awards and public events, and attendance at conferences. In both cases it is basically advertising for the company. This is very easy to disrupt and causes them acute embarrassment among the people they are trying to reach out to.

Activists lock onto their stalls at conferences or banner drops exposing them at public events are not things they can hide from. It costs them business and goodwill, and damages their brand name. HLS has stopped going to some conferences now because they know they will be unable to avoid being publicly humiliated—and that destroys their brand. For them, it is not just their name. It is at this point that many firms campaigns rapidly come to a conclusion.

Dealing with Subsidiaries and Affiliates
Companies that regularly arise is that it is only a part of a large company which is the problem. For example, those companies dealing with HLS know that protests are to be expected. Their parent company probably doesn’t know this though, and is never give up!

1. Once you pick your target, never give up even if it is not the one you were going for. Sometimes, the more you pursue them, the better.
2. Be innovative and effective methods of campaigning and taking action. Doing so makes you look more like a company that they can defeat you.
3. In the past too many campaigns have gone this way, and it has had a detrimental effect on the company and people involved. Striking your teach in and refusing to let go, no matter what, they throw back at you is the only way to real victory. You have no other choice. If you let them know they are weak, they are more likely to take advantage of you.

The psychology of your excess is as important as the psychology of using their fear against them.

Never give up!

not prepared for it either. However, the first thing they normally say is that it is not them that’s involved, and why don’t the protestors go and target the people who are directly connected.

The response to this is twofold. Firstly, they are all part of the same overarching and that means they all have a voice. The reason the voice is put on other subsidiaries is to make sure the message reaches the top people that the activists really do mean business. It is one thing for the top people to ignore the chants of protestors, it is another to ignore the demands of their own managers wanting to know why they are getting the grief.

The second reason is that companies are made up of separate divisions who often do not like each other. There is competition for resources and for promotion. Though we will rarely see it, behind the scenes the protests sometimes even gives rise to enmity and division to different factions within the company, allowing us to divide and rule. It makes the managers of the subsidiary dealing with HLS look to their own backs as the rest of their competitors use the opportunity to gang up on them, costing them precious resources and pay-rises.

If you do not get an outright victory, a well thought out, hard-hitting campaign can have major effects. It makes the target think twice about whether they want to deal with HLS again in the future, and whether the cost of lost business and extra security is really worth it. It also sends out a strong message to the rest of the industry that you mean business.

With this campaign the results have gone far beyond just HLS. Multinationals such as Novartis have questioned the suitability of the UK as a place for animal research, while Japanese companies have withheld £1 billion of research grants. Both cite the HLS campaign as a reason.

The Worlds of Finance and Commerce
It was often questioned why SHAC went after companies such as HLS’s insurers, bankers, auditors, shareholders, stockbrokers, market makers, etc. instead of focusing on the companies directly involved in the animal abuse.

The answer is that you need to think about the company itself, not just why you are taking action against it. Once you pick your target you need to remove all the other. Surrounding it from the company’s point of view, its auditors, insurers and share price are all important aspects, the loss of which make it very hard to function. A good campaign creates a climate of suspicion and instability among creditors and clients and is hard to shake off, as well as being disruptive of the natural workings of the company.

Clients become reluctant to invest and will not pay out millions for a contract if there is a big question over whether the company is going to be around to complete it. Large investors only invest in companies on prestigious stock markets and with recognised auditors. Companies lacking this find it hard to attract these investors, which further damages their credibility, and once in the vicious downward spiral it is hard to climb out again.

Another effect is that, the way the system is, it makes it much harder to get loans. Loans are a vital part of the process of expanding and attracting new business. They are needed to modernise and stay on top. For companies of HLS’s size, loans are very much tied into the share price—a dead share price means loans are very hard to come by. As HLS struggles to replace support companies, it is losing the battle for credibility in the eyes of the financial people who can really matter to its future. Nobody in the main financial markets will now touch HLS, and for a company fighting for its life that is a deadly situation.

Success is vital. It is better to focus on one company, gain a victory on, and use that as an example to hold up to others. Once one goes, it is easier to get the ball rolling. Though you may have an array of targets to hit, pick them off one at a time. They will all gain strength from each other, and the message that you mean business will get around of its own accord.

Internationalism in Action!
Success also breeds global awareness—and global awareness breeds more success. The HLS campaign is capturing the global imagination, and now has sister organisations in dozens of countries around the world. This means that when a new target is chosen, they’re hit on an international scale, adding greatly to the impact of the campaign, as well as helping unite the global movement. When HLS moved their shares and loans to the USA in order to escape UK activism, the SHAC campaign in the USA took off and much to HLS’s horror, crushed whatever they could lay their hands on.

This global aspect of the struggle has been a significant part of the campaign against HLS. The importance of this is when targets do not have headquarters in the UK. Headquarters are vital as they are where the real decisions are made. Having the presence of home is very influential in encouraging them to make the decision to pull out from HLS. It also means that they cannot simply escape the attention of SHAC by pulling out of the UK. HLS attempted this and were humiliated. Likewise, Japanese pharmaceutical company Yamanouchi closed down their large UK research centre only to find that there was no refuge in Holland.

The End (for HLS!)
After the last 10 or so years, animal abusers and other destructive companies now expect direct protests from us, and are ready and able to deal with them. What they are not able to deal with is the loss of the support and business keep them in business. Take these supporters out and the companies are left in a position where they can be put out of business relatively easily. The promises of governments and police are no substitutes for our tactics of cold hard economic fact, and the fear of being held personally and directly accountable for supporting animal abuse in any form.

The HLS campaign was treading on completely new ground; the learning curve was exponential, and continues to be so. Consistent and unwavering
campaigning and action, continually revising strategies and tactics, and producing glossy, professional literature kept the targets, police and government wrong footed, while keeping the public on our side. The hard work and single-minded commitment paid off, as HLS has become a household name associated with animal abuse, and other companies are quaking in fear of being publicly associated with it.

All it has required is for us to recognise that we have to move forward, embracing new opportunities and taking new forms of action. It does not mean you need a lot of people either. A few focused individuals and some time spent on background research makes for a very effective and victorious campaign. The key is to stop thinking as protestors, but to put ourselves in the position of the target and discover its weak points. A company is made up of many people and has many supporting structures. Pick the right ones and the lot comes tumbling down.

Since the HLS campaign started much has changed in the world of animal rights, but, as even their managing director recently admitted, HLS is on its knees. The media and government rant about the campaign, but it is making very little difference. Indeed, the negative press has been a very useful tool, as it helps spread the word as to just what new targets have to fear when they have the spotlight turned on them. In the last four years SHAC has made mistakes, but they have been learned from and strategies and tactics have been honed. Companies may well be able to run, but they are finding it very hard indeed to hide...★

**Marsh Inc., one of the world's largest insurers, acted on behalf of HLS. One of the toughest campaigns launched by SHAC, it took them a year to get Marsh to announce they were stopping involvement with HLS. The victory established SHAC as a force to be reckoned with, and the result is now that other companies look at the Marsh campaign and decide that they are not up for taking the same hammering.**

Following on from Marsh, HLS's auditors Deloitte & Touche clearly saw the grief Marsh had received, and 10 days was all it took for them to pull out, and no major auditing company will now touch HLS with a barge pole. It has established the domino effect in campaigning, with all the Initial hard work on one company leading to easier victories with others.

Below is a timeline of the Marsh campaign, giving you an idea of how intense the pressure on Marsh was, and showing how this fundamental victory was won. The campaign started in February 2002 and finished in December 2002. Countries involved included: Austria, Australia, the Czech Republic, France, Holland, Italy, Germany, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, UK and the USA.

**February – August** In the UK Marsh had their office windows smashed. At some points there were almost daily office demos, occupations disrupting their work, roof top demos, home visits, protest camps set up at the homes of several directors, as well as name and shame leafleting campaigns in directors' villages. Additionally, their clients were targeted, insurance companies working with them were hit, cars were coverd in paint stripper, the people who rent them their offices were targeted, and events sponsored by them were ruined.

**March – June** Boston Marsh executives receive repeated home protests, including several at 3am.

**April** Activists in Boston protest at Marsh offices as part of a weekend of action. Also, Chicago activists disrupt the Marsh office building.

**May – August** In San Antonio Marsh offices are disrupted with stink bombs and flyers.

**June** Undercover of darkness activistsicker Marsh offices and glue their locks.

**October** Homes of Marsh executives are covered in anti-HLS stickers in the middle of the night.

**November** Chicago activists visit the homes of Marsh executives wailing bullhorns, noisemakers, air horns, sizzling, and their flags for baying on doors. During the night 'Puppy Killer' slogans are spray painted on an executive's home. In Texas, 3 Marsh offices are covered in stickers and flyers.

**December** Chicago Marsh office building disrupted. Internal Marsh memos released, detailing
on Long Island, where an honorary Marsh director is a member.
5 August - Activists protest the homes and offices of Marsh executives during a Texas regional weekend of action.
9 August - 11 August Boston activists protest the homes and offices of Marsh executives as part of a regional weekend of action.
17 August - A Texas Marsh executive has her neighborhood plastered with stickers and posters informing her neighbors that she is a puppy killer.
26 August - More Marsh home visits in the UK.
27 August - Another day of Marsh home visits in the UK.
28 August - A Marsh executive gets a 6am early morning home demo. The executive does not go to work. Protesters returned at 4pm to catch the evening traffic.
1 September - Marsh directors in New Zealand get visited at their homes.
2 September - Activists protest the offices, homes, and church services of Marsh executives. Additionally, the homes of Marsh private investigators are received home visits.
3 September - Marsh director Hamish Ritchie has his windows smashed.
5 September - Nolahey late night demo at home of Marsh director Christopher Pearson. Later on in September it was reported that a demonstration had taken place at the home of Pearson on the day of a family member’s funeral.
7 September - Marsh offices across UK get visited by activists. Some are invaded and others face noisy demos outside. It was common practice with Marsh for people to just stand outside their offices; all day long banging drums, screaming and shouting, setting off sirens and air horns and making so much noise it was impossible to work.
9 September - Marsh private investigator receives a late night wake up call.
14 September - Italian ALF cell smash up a golf club where Marsh sponsor a tournament. Extensive damage caused to the golf course.
17 September - Long Island activists protest at the home of a Marsh honorary director.
21 September - The ALF paints Long Island Marsh honorary director’s home with slogans while security guards sleep in their cars close by.
22 September - Marsh executives receive home demos in California.
23 September - Phone blockade begins against a hotel in New Zealand who are hosting an event sponsored by Marsh. There are also Marsh demos in Portugal and New Zealand. In NZ offices are entered and stickers plastered everywhere. Another office has 15 people outside it handing out flyers with employees’ home addresses on them. There are Marsh demos in four German towns on the same day. Offices are besieged all day long.
24 September - As part of an Italian week of action against, Marsh 3 offices had demos outside and 3 were invaded and a week-long phone blockade took place.
25 September - Activists invade the Marsh offices in Liverpool.
28 September - Memorials to the animals are left outside the homes and health clubs of Marsh executives in California.
29 September - Activists break away from a national demo against HLS and visit Marsh directors in their homes.
30 September - At 1am activists arrived at the home of Marsh director Hamish Ritchie, shouting at him on a megaphone and setting off air horns.
3 October - Internet attack against Marsh begins. Activists set up an Internet chat room where every time a word is typed an email is sent to Marsh.

Marsh received over £200,000 due to the action and experienced computer problems as a result. For details see: www.huntingtonsquirrels.com

10 October - University job fair in London disrupted as activists besmirch Marsh’s display with chains, megaphones, posters and flyers.
19 October - SHAC is sent a letter from a Marsh employee claiming that there is a group of employees who sympathise with the campaign and have been causing damage to company property. At one point during the campaign a coffee machine fire caused the whole office to be evacuated.
24 October - Activists disrupt a party at a Country Club in Long Island, USA where Marsh directors socialise with other high rollers. Outside another protest ensues.
27 October - Marsh director William White Cooper has stickers bearing his name and address plastered all over his neighbourhood. Marsh offices in Exeter have demos outside. Marsh takes out an injunction to try and keep people away from the offices but it is constantly ignored over the following weeks as people carry on giving Marsh hell. Marsh client Exeter is also targeted and they take out a similar injunction.
28 October - A two-day conference in London is besieged by activists in protest at the fact a Marsh director is speaking at it.
30 October - Activists distribute information to attendees of a Marsh presentation at a university’s ongoing job fair. In the middle of it activists stand up and disrupt the presentation.

1 November - Demonstrators demonstrate outside Marsh offices in Italy.
4 November - Long Island activists protest at the homes and golf club of Marsh executives.
5 November - An ALF cell claim responsibility for spraying slogans all over the village of Marsh director Julian Atkinson in the UK.
6 November - Marsh director’s house in NZ is attacked by the ALF. Car paint-stripped and slogans sprayed all over and more Marsh directors are visited in the UK.
7 November - The polling places of Marsh executives are plastered the night before Election Day with posters informing the district that puppy killers live amongst them.
8 November - Marsh director Hamish Ritchie ‘retires’ from another company he is involved in (HALMA) to save them the trouble of a planned week of action against them. In Philadelphia activists protest at Marsh offices.
9 November - An honorary Marsh director on Long Island has his neighborhood, food market, and...
gas station plastered with posters educating the town that he is a filthy puppy killer!

10 November Marsh directors across the South East of England are visited in their homes despite a huge police presence to try and curb the demo.

11 November The Animal and Earth Liberation Fronts pay a visit to an honorary Marsh directors golf club on Long Island and covers the shop, surrounding buildings, and signs in painted slogans.

17 November SHAC Portugal visit Marsh offices and Marsh offices all over the UK get demos. During the evening activists find out that Hamish Ritchie and his wife sit on the board of the English National Ballet. A performance of the world famous "Nut Cracker" show is invaded and disrupted. Days later Ritchie and his wife are made to resign and the Ballet confirm that their sponsorship deal with Marsh will not be renewed.

21 November Activists hold a demo at the British Insurance Brokers Association over their links with Hamish Ritchie of Marsh.

22 November Several Marsh directors have their home windows smashed and there are home visits on Marsh directors in Austria.

23 November A witness statement by the head of security for Marsh UK is leaked. It reveals that up until September 2002 Marsh have had thousands of abusive emails and letters, up to 400 nuisance phone calls per hour, text messages sent to employees on their mobile phones, 244 office demos, several bomb hoaxes and suspect packages, 42 employees bombarded with junk mail and threatening letters. 26 directors have had home visits on a total of 58 occasions, several cars damaged, windows smashed, corporate events have been disrupted and documents removed and leaked!

26 November New Zealand Marsh director sells his house and moves out after home visits, leafleting and damage. 10 UK Marsh directors are visited in 48 hours—some of them in the early hours of the morning.

28 November Marsh executives in Cincinnati get late night megaphone home visits.

1 December Son of Marsh director phones SHAC and claims that incendiary devices were found at the family home. German activists visit Marsh directors in their homes, and demonstrate outside. Around 24 home visits against Marsh and other HLS collaborators directors take place in one day. The ALF report that Marsh in Holland has windows smashed, locks glued and acid is thrown all over the hall way.

5 December Marsh in Southampton have their windows bricked in.

9 December Posters and stickers put all over the area of a German Marsh office.

10 December Marsh offices all over the world get demos on a global day of action. It is also reported that German Marsh director is bombarded with junk mail and unwanted services as an early Xmas gift.

12 December Texas activists hold home demos against Marsh executives.

13 December Marsh demos in 3 German towns.

14 December Marsh directors in Surrey get home visits.

17 December Marsh offices in London get demos—they have been done every Wednesday for the past few months.

Unknown date in December Police claim that an activist attempts to carry out an arson attack on the property of Marsh director Christopher Pearson.

18 December Marsh announce they will sever all contact with HLS. Victory!!