

## Document One. (2014)



## Document Two.

## EARTH LIBERATION FRONT

<http://earth-liberation-front.com/>

"This website will cease to exist in July, 2017. The domain name will be up for grabs. Maybe [earth-liberation-front.com](http://earth-liberation-front.com) will be commandeered by some greed-head and become a sales platform for a lame sex-enhancing pill. Maybe some enterprising ELF activist will take the reins. If so, good luck! It's been a good run but it's time for this webmaster to pass the ball. Thankfully, no one has gone to jail for a while. Remember, act alone and don't conspire. Focus on one problem and put your heart and soul into that one thing. Don't rat out your comrades and do no harm to all living beings; that includes Mother Earth. If you do choose to practice civil disobedience, be prepared to go to jail if you're busted. But keep in mind you won't be an effective "ecommando" or activist behind bars. Think for yourself! Don't follow leaders. Good luck..." [...]

"The other reason this web page was created, is to suggest a new direction for ELF. In order to win the hearts and minds of the people ELF hopes to influence and gain support from, a thoughtful, even-handed approach is necessary. Continuing the underground approach will perpetuate past mistakes. The life of an eco-guerrilla isn't heroic, romantic or courageous. It is a lonely and paranoid existence and offers no long-term achievements. It merely feeds the system with new prisoners. Before anyone chooses to embark on this perilous journey, first consider the fates of the original *ELF*, *Weather Underground*, *New World Liberation Front* and the *New Dawn Party*." [...]

"One of New Dawn's cadre was Steven Robert Scipes, a former US Marine sergeant. He and other *New Dawn* guerrillas calling themselves the *Emiliano Zapata Unit*, were arrested by federal agents in February, 1976. At the time, police discovered almost 150 pounds of explosives at their safehouse which they said was part of a larger 1,100 pound cache of stolen dynamite. The arrests effectively ended the *New Dawn Party*'s ongoing bombing campaign against Safeway stores and other targets in California. In addition, feds uncovered documents laying out plans to blow up a city's water supply, thought to be Portland, Oregon. Scipes was arrested on charges of being in possession of unregistered explosives.

The point of this tale is this: some thirty-five years later, Steven Scipes, the *New Dawn/Zapata Unit*'s revolutionary guerrilla fighter has now morphed into Steven R. "Kim" Scipes, PhD, professor of sociology at Purdue University. Although he has never fully repudiated his radical past, he has clearly

made a choice to focus his abundant energy into a more civil and effective form of activism. He has authored many books and articles.” [...]

“There are a multitude of problems facing our Earth. To wage a successful campaign, FOCUS on a single issue that means the most to YOU. STUDY the problem and formulate viable alternatives leading to a solution. Then put your plan into action. It does not help to rage against a problem without offering solutions.”

### **Document Three.**

<http://www.greens.org/s-r/48/48-04.html> (December 2008), extracts, by Kim Scipes

#### **It's Time for a Deep Green Vision for the United States — and the World**

The Green movement around the world has presented a myriad of ideas and projects, each suggesting the way forward to a Green society. However, because there is no overarching vision, we have moved in this direction and that, stumbling from one good idea to another, but never in a coordinated, determined fashion toward an overarching goal that could unify people around the world in a common project. [...]

How can we do this? Are there any standards that we must advance that are bottom-line requirements? And even after we offer some standards, how can we move forward?

I think there are three interrelated requirements that any Deep Green vision must put forth. *First*, it must have a global focus: we are part of a globalizing world, this globalization is intensifying, and thus any solution advanced must have a global perspective; thus we must be pro-globalization, not anti-globalization.

*Second*, I think any proposed vision must be based on solidarity, the principle of people looking out for the best interests of each other, and doing that collectively. Thus, any solution cannot be based on individualism, which pits individual interest against other individuals' interests, but must be based on collectivism. This takes us back to an old slogan in the labor movement: an injury to one is an injury to all!

And *third*, any vision must be based on emancipation, not domination. We must consider what will work for all the people in the world, and which will enhance their lives overall, even if some are inconvenienced. The idea is to improve the well-being of people, not worsen their lives and aspirations. We must seek to bring every one up, not down.

Based on these principles, I want to put forth a vision that seeks to affirmatively address each. The vision for the Green movement globally should be to develop a standard of living and way of life that would allow every person in the world to live comfortably in societies that are ecologically and economically sustainable over multiple generations. This vision is simple, straightforward, and based on the ideas of social and economic justice globally.

### **Document Four.**

<https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-threat-of-eco-terrorism>

James F. Jarboe, Washington, DC, February 12, 2002

Domestic Terrorism Section Chief, Counterterrorism Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Speech Before the House Resources Committee, Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health

“Good morning Chairman McInnis, Vice-Chairman Peterson, Congressman Inslee and Members of the Subcommittee. I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear before you and discuss the threat posed by eco-terrorism, as well as the measures being taken by the FBI and our law enforcement partners to address this threat.

The FBI divides the terrorist threat facing the United States into two broad categories, international and domestic.

During the past decade we have witnessed dramatic changes in the nature of the terrorist threat. In the 1990s, right-wing extremism overtook left-wing terrorism as the most dangerous domestic terrorist threat to the country. During the past several years, special interest extremism, as characterized by the *Animal Liberation Front (ALF)* and the *Earth Liberation Front (ELF)*, has emerged as a serious terrorist threat. Generally, extremist groups engage in much activity that is protected by constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly. Law enforcement becomes involved when the volatile talk of these groups transgresses into unlawful action. The FBI estimates that the *ALF/ELF* have committed more than 600 criminal acts in the United States since 1996, resulting in damage in excess of 43 million dollars.

Special interest terrorism differs from traditional right-wing and left-wing terrorism in that extremist special interest groups seek to resolve specific issues, rather than effect widespread political change. Special interest extremists continue to conduct acts of politically motivated violence to force segments of society, including the general public, to change attitudes about issues considered important to their causes. These groups occupy the extreme fringes of animal rights, pro-life, environmental, anti-nuclear, and other movements. Some special interest extremists –most notably within the animal rights and environmental movements– have turned increasingly toward vandalism and terrorist activity in attempts to further their causes.

Since 1977, when disaffected members of the ecological preservation group *Greenpeace* formed the *Sea Shepherd Conservation Society* and attacked commercial fishing operations by cutting drift nets, acts of "eco-terrorism" have occurred around the globe. The FBI defines eco-terrorism as the use or threatened use of violence of a criminal nature against innocent victims or property by an environmentally-oriented, subnational group for environmental-political reasons, or aimed at an audience beyond the target, often of a symbolic nature. [...]

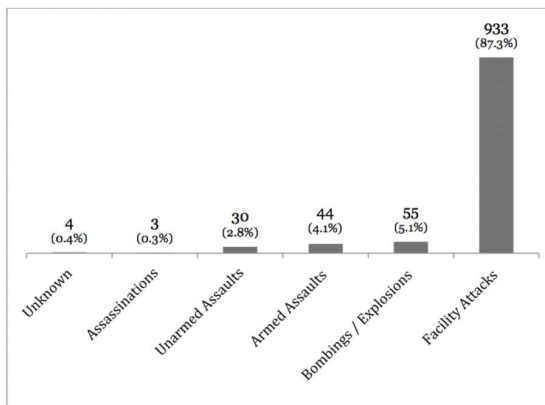
## Document Five.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/12/19/ecoterrorism-threat-or-political-ploy/>

### **Eco-terrorism: threat or political ploy?**

*By Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler and Cas Mudde December 19, 2014*

In 2004, John Lewis, deputy assistant director of the FBI Counterterrorism Division, declared in testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee: “the FBI’s investigation of animal rights extremists and eco-terrorism matters is our highest domestic terrorism investigative priority.” To most Americans this statement, if it had been given serious attention by the U.S. media, would have come as a surprise. Having been bombarded with articles and public warnings about “jihadist terrorism” ever since 9/11, the average American would not have expected the primary domestic terrorist threat to come from groups such as the *Animal Liberation Front (ALF)* and *Earth Liberation Front (ELF)*, which are largely unknown to the broader public.



A recent publication shows that radical environmentalists and animal rights activists have been responsible for 1,069 criminal acts in the United States between 1970 and 2007. The authors categorize three actions as assassinations (0.3%), 44 as armed assaults (4.1%), 55 as bombings/explosions (5.1%), 933 as facility attacks (87.3%), 30 as unarmed assaults (2.8%) and four as unknown (0.4%).

We counted a total of 5,578 criminal actions by radical animal rights activists worldwide. Most actions took place in the United Kingdom (994), Sweden (769), Italy (458), the United States (446), and Germany (379). Using a slightly elaborated categorization, we counted 247 acts of arsons (4.4%), 0 assassinations (0%), 3,695 of vandalism (66.2%), 808 house visits (14.5%), 690 animal liberations (12.4%), 80 bombs (1.4%), and 58 cyber crimes (1%).

The question which of these actions constitutes terrorism obviously depends upon the definition used. There has been much discussion among scholars about a working definition of terrorism. We argue that terrorism goes beyond mere political violence; terrorists terrorize. Essential to terrorism is a psychological process based on the power of fear, more specifically fear for the physical wellbeing of (a subset of) the population. Consequently, we define terrorism as a strategy that employs the threat or use of force or violence to instill fear in (a subset of) the population with the ultimate aim of achieving political goals. In the case of eco-terrorism, these political goals are the ending of environmental destruction and animal rights abuse.

The most straightforward positive case of terrorism is, of course, assassinations. They are the most obvious example of the use of violence against human beings. Moreover, because the assassinations are politically motivated, and victims are selected on the basis of political motivations, they instill fear in the subset of the population that meets those political motivations. The most straightforward negative case is animal liberations, which clearly do not constitute acts of terrorism. While pure animal liberations might create some economic costs, *i.e.* cutting fences and breaking locks, they do not instill fear, as there is no threat of force or violence to human beings. Similarly, vandalism and cyber attacks, of and by themselves, do not meet the definition of terrorism, even if they could have a more direct personal impact, through the invading of privacy. Even tagging (*i.e.* spraying graffiti) at or mass mailing to a home address is not instilling fear, as long as it is not linked to other acts, which are (considered as) threatening to the targeted human beings.

This leaves three types of acts that are less clear-cut: arsons, bombings, and house visits. The case for arsons and bombings is pretty similar. In both cases the question is whether the particular act can be considered threatening to the physical integrity of humans. For example, a car bomb threat at the United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP-16) in Cancun, Mexico was clearly threatening to all humans inside the targeted building and therefore constitutes a terrorist act. However, the torching of a truck belonging to the municipal dog pound in Bariloche, Argentina, in May 2013, was not, because the arson was done in the night and the truck was not close to a private residence. [...]

So, where does this leave us with regard to the term eco-terrorism? There is no doubt that certain acts of the *REAR* movement are terrorist. And there are some small groups within the movement that do not exclude terrorist acts. But despite ongoing radicalization within the movement, the vast majority of *REAR* activists and 'groups' are not involved in terrorist acts. While it is difficult to exactly establish the proportion of terrorist acts within the total action repertoire of the *REAR* movement, we estimate that less than 10 percent of all criminal actions of the movement can be categorized as "eco-terrorist."