



AMBIENTALISMO DE DIREITA E DE ESQUERDA: EVOLUÇÃO E TENDÊNCIAS DE DESENVOLVIMENTO

RIGHT-WING AND LEFT-WING ENVIRONMENTALISM: EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT TRENDS

ELENA KARATUEVA

Saint Petersburg State Agrarian University – Russia. Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation – Russia <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2169-3622> E-mail: e_karatueva@mail.ru

RESUMO

Objetivo: O artigo analisa a evolução do ambientalismo, desde um movimento focado na preservação do meio ambiente até seu uso para fins políticos. Examina a radicalização dos movimentos ambientalistas de direita e de esquerda, mostrando como se transformaram em ideologias mais extremas, incluindo o eco-terrorismo.

Métodos: O estudo utiliza análises de conteúdo qualitativas e quantitativas e dados estatísticos do Global Terrorism Database. A análise foca em organizações terroristas que visam recursos naturais, assim como grupos ambientalistas radicais.

Resultados:

- O artigo descreve a transformação do ambientalismo de direita em ecofascismo, que utiliza questões ambientais como disfarce para ideologias nacionalistas e anti-imigração.
- Também examina o ambientalismo de esquerda, que se tornou cada vez mais radical, com grupos como o Earth Liberation Front (ELF) recorrendo à violência e ação direta contra o capitalismo industrial.
- A análise sugere que ambas as vertentes do ambientalismo se afastaram da verdadeira proteção ambiental para seguir agendas políticas.

Conclusão: Tanto o ambientalismo de direita quanto o de esquerda evoluíram para movimentos mais radicais, com o eco-terrorismo se tornando uma ameaça significativa. O artigo destaca o uso crescente de questões ambientais para justificar ações violentas, tanto para objetivos anticapitalistas quanto nacionalistas.

Palavras-chave: Terrorismo ambiental; Eco-terrorismo; Radicalismo ambiental; Proteção ambiental; Eco-fascismo; Jihadismo.

ABSTRACT

Objective: The article analyzes the evolution of environmentalism, from a movement focused on preserving the environment to one that is now used for political purposes. It examines the radicalization of both right-wing and left-wing environmentalist movements, showing how they have transformed into more extreme ideologies, including eco-terrorism.





Methods: The study employs both qualitative and quantitative content analysis and uses statistical data from the Global Terrorism Database. The analysis focuses on terrorist organizations that target natural resources, as well as radical environmental groups.

Results:

- The article outlines the transformation of right-wing environmentalism into eco-fascism, which uses environmental issues as a cover for nationalist and anti-immigrant ideologies.
- It also examines left-wing environmentalism, which has become increasingly radicalized, with groups like the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) resorting to violence and direct action against industrial capitalism.
- The analysis suggests that both wings of environmentalism have shifted away from genuine environmental protection to political agendas.

Conclusion: Both right- and left-wing environmentalism have evolved into more radical movements, with eco-terrorism becoming a significant threat. The article highlights the growing use of environmental issues to justify violent actions, both for anti-capitalist and nationalist goals.

Keywords: Environmental terrorism; Eco-terrorism; Environmental radicalism; Environmental protection; Eco-fascism; Jihadism.

1 INTRODUCTION

Green movements have become an active component of the general anti-globalist movement, which is called anti-capitalism (McNally, 2002), "globalization from below" (Della Porta et al., 2006; Falk, 1993), or "alter-globalization" (Best & Nocella, 2006). Anti-globalism, which includes various areas of struggle against the problems of modern society, including global warming, human rights, nuclear weapon proliferation, poverty, etc., unites the need to challenge neoliberal domination in the transnational sphere. The term "anti-globalist movement" is misleading because the transnational protest movement is global and stands for global democracy and justice. It can be better described as a movement for alternative globalization.

If the corporate and political elite commit to preserving global capitalism, they have no choice but to neglect their environmental goals and continue to use the environment. Many modern "eco-friendly" projects continue to destroy the environment globally. Radical environmentalists, proclaiming environmental protection slogans, often replace environmental goals with anti-industrialism, anti-globalism, and anti-corporate movements. In this aspect, they are similar to terrorists of different political





or religious views who manipulate environmental objects while defending traditionalist values.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Right-wing environmentalism

Right-wing environmentalism is rooted in the ideas of deep ecology. In contrast to the left-wing social and ecological trends, which see excessive consumption, industrialization, and environmental exploitation as the causes of the ecological crisis, proponents of deep ecology adhere to the point of view that humanity is a disease that has struck the planet.

The first radical environmental protection organizations adhered to the classical principles of environmentalism. One of the first eco-radical organizations was Earth First!. Its founder and leader, D. Foreman, wanted to focus the movement solely on preserving the biological diversity of the Earth. Foreman (2011) did not consider himself a fighter against the entire industrial system or the Western civilization. Earth First! did not originate from the anarchist movement or another left-wing trend, but in further discussion, there were calls to destroy Western civilization and return to the traditional social structure.

According to Foreman, the long-term goal of the environmental movement should be not the transformation of society but the reduction of the world's population. Activists suggested not interfering with natural population decline from famine, epidemics, and wars. This is how nature, in their opinion, restores balance. The activists urged not to help the starving population of Ethiopia, and Foreman himself actively supported the Vietnam War.

Among other extreme measures proposed by activists, one can highlight the proposal to create a military cordon on the US-Mexican border, designed to stop the influx of immigrants from Latin America, described by E. Abbey (1975) as "morally, culturally, generally" inferior people.

Subsequently, Foreman revised his opinion on illegal immigration but still believed that mass and unrestricted movement to any country was a serious problem that delayed revolutions or the success of democratic reform movements in Latin America. Abbey held more radical views on the issue.





Although initially the supporters of Earth First! refused to solve environmental problems through social reform, Foreman still associated the statement about hunger with social organization, economic exploitation, and international relations. These views fit perfectly into the postulates of social ecology, which assumes that the Earth can be effectively and long-term protected only by reforming a society of excessive consumption and oppression.

A well-known proponent of deep ecology, B. Devall, recognized that "Marxist, socialist and anarchist concepts can help deep ecologists explore and understand the political and social factors, including the role of capitalism and transnational corporations, causing the degradation of our planet" (Devall & Sessions, 1985, p. 65). Thus, among deep ecologists, there is some inconsistency in the adherence to right-wing views; leftist sentiments were observed.

In 1989, after a split in the organization caused by a large influx of anarchists when it became clear to Foreman that Earth First! had taken an anarchic and leftist turn, he left the organization and founded the Wildlands Project and the Wild Earth magazine.

In November 1989, a debate between Foreman and the political philosopher and ecoanarchist M. Bookchin took place. Bookchin's theory of social ecology was in many ways the opposite of the philosophy of the green movements, which Foreman adhered to. However, correspondence allowed them to draw several conclusions (Bennick, 2016; Bookchin & Foreman, 1991). Bookchin was suspicious of anti-humanism in deep ecology, while Foreman was concerned that many anarchists were anthropocentric. Foreman also did not believe that nature conservation could wait until "after the revolution."

2.2 Eco-fascism

The right-wing ideologies of the unity of culture and soil complement the environmental protection agenda. The environmental theme is closely related to the national idea, and it is not always possible to separate them. When a national idea begins to parasitize environmental issues, eco-fascism is born. Eco-fascists believe that modern society, instead of caring for native nature and following traditional social roles, imposes a consumer lifestyle, multiculturalism, and tolerance on people. Concern for the environment and warnings of an imminent climate crisis are gaining momentum in far-right and white supremacist movements. From the point of view of





the Finnish deep ecologist K.P. Linkola, the planet can be saved by genocide, eugenics, and totalitarianism.

The eco-fascist movement cannot yet be called massive, but its representatives in the 20th and 21st centuries actively used terrorist methods, calling for the murder of people belonging to the "unnecessary" ethnicities. Environmental issues were used to achieve nationalist goals. Right-wing eco-radicals were extremely critical of left-wing environmental activists.

Far-right eco-fascist ideologies in the 21st century are based on the threat of extinction of the white race. Global climate change and the strengthening of corporate power play a concomitant role. The most famous representatives of eco-fascism are B. Turrent who organized a massacre at a New Zealand mosque and P. Crucius who shot 20 people in Texas.

J. Lee, the gunman who took hostages in Silver Spring, Maryland, at the headquarters of the Discovery channel, also acted as an outspoken eco-fascist who believed that immigrants were raising "disgusting human babies" and thus destroying the planet. Lee, was arrested in February 2008 during a rally he organized outside the same building, demanding that the TV channel help find a solution to the global population explosion and the extinction of many animal species. The list of demands Lee published before the invasion of the Discovery building repeatedly mentioned "parasitic infants" and "unwanted children" polluting the environment. Lee focused on immigrants as the main evil (Potok, 2010).

The argument that immigration contributes to environmental degradation is becoming increasingly popular in nativist circles. In 2010, the Southern Poverty Law Center published a special report, "Environmental Cleansing: Nativists, Environmentalism, and the Hypocrisy of Hate" (The Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010), which details how right-wing supporters of immigration restrictions tried to attract environmentalists to join their fight. The report suggests that most of those who make such appeals are insincerely declaring their interest in the environment and are simply cynically looking for allies.

Existing research by environmentalists on the right and far-right is based on a key difference between them, as the far-right movements justify and use violence as a method to achieve long-term political and social change (Perliger et al., 2010).

2.3 Left-wing environmentalism





Leftist sentiments gradually became dominant among national animal welfare organizations, which were traditional in their worldview. Their only approach to solving environmental problems was lobbying in parliament, and adherents of this direction were used as funding sources. Later, the situation gradually began to change. More radical activists, mainly from anarchist groups, began to join these organizations and occupy leadership positions, which led to the general radicalization of the movement. In 1976, C. Goodman and R. Lee gathered radical activists into a new organization demanding the punishment of those who harmed the environment and called it the Animal Liberation Front (ALF).

The actions of radical environmentalists in the first periods of activity were primarily aimed at causing significant economic damage to representatives of excessive consumption. The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) has committed more than 600 acts of sabotage and arson in North America since 1997 (North American Animal Liberation Front Press Office, 2017; Rosebraugh, 2004). Such groups abandoned traditional politics in favor of direct action, seeking to create a transnational revolutionary challenge to neoliberal globalism. Thus, the rise of radical environmentalism is an integral part of a larger anti-globalist/anti-capitalist movement.

According to ELF, it is not enough to work exclusively on environmental issues. The capitalist state and its propaganda symbols must also become theirs. The social and political ideology operating in all Western countries generates injustice on the planet and, ultimately, leads to the destruction of life. This ideology is capitalism and the mentality that allows it to exist (Ackerman, 2003). Such statements allow us to consider ELF and its supporting communities a radical branch of the broader anti-globalization movement. The ideological leanings of ELF members are difficult to establish due to their clandestine nature (Joosse, 2007). However, convicted ELF members often display anti-globalist and anarchist tendencies. C. Marshall, who served a five-year sentence for setting fire to a car dealership, admitted to a New York Times correspondent that in his youth he "held political beliefs that weren't so much pro-environment as anti-authority". In the article "The Inseparable Earth and Animal Liberation Movement", Marshall concludes that it is necessary to "attack <...> the totality of the death machine that is industrial society, AKA: civilization" (Barcott, 2002). Marshall's goal was to punish car manufacturers and consumers for their commitment to a gasoline-selling company.

The radicalization of environmental movements, which is most indicative of the





transition from Earth First! with relatively mild direct action towards the more radical ELF, was more often the result of an influx of new members who gave an environmental focus to their pre-existing sympathies for anarchism and anti-globalism, rather than increased radicalization of existing members. Despite the formal commitment to the principles of deep ecology, the radicals' statements contain elements not of deep ecology, but of superficial ecology that indirectly defended anthropocentrism using environmental protection principles. One of the communiques published after the arson of a research station claimed: "We will stand up and fight for our lives against this vicious civilization until its reign of terror is brought to an end, by any means necessary" (Best & Nocella, 2006, p. 4). The key words are "our lives", and not the intrinsic value of the environment.

Within eco-radical organizations, one can find many ideological connections with the sentiments prevailing in the broader anti-globalist movement. ELF supporters Best and Nocella claim that their efforts are aimed at solidarity with fighters for the liberation of the Earth, animals, Black people, Native Americans, eco-feminists, political prisoners, primitivists, saboteurs, social activists, etc. In the classical Marxist orientation, eco-radicals seek to make a world revolution, during which ELF members are assigned the role of destroyers of the corporate monetary system (Rosebraugh, 2004).

As scientific warnings about environmental issues became more alarming, there was a growing sense that the traditional environmental campaign was failing, and politicians were not fulfilling their obligations. These factors caused an intensification of the radicalization in the environmental movement.

2.4 Anti-humanism

A few years after the formation of the ALF, the movement split into smaller, more violent cells and spread to more than 40 countries. R. Lee, the co-founder of ALF, issued a statement in 2001 in which he openly justified the armed attack on the head of Huntingdon Life Sciences, which was the result of an international animal rights campaign called Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC). It is assumed that ALF activists were involved in the assassination attempt. Lee stated: "So far, no one on the other side has ever been seriously injured or killed. But that may change now" (Deshpande & Ernst, 2012). In 2008, Lee expressed regret that, while active, he sought to influence properties and institutions involved in animal cruelty rather than





individuals. Lee stated that if he had free time again, he would now be harassing people who, as he believed, mistreated animals at home and not at work.

Other organizations associated with The Animal and Earth Liberation Movement (AELM) have shown that they accept as the main ideologies justifying violence. The Justice Department (JD), a group that caused a public outcry with 14 attacks in 1999, split from the ALF, but, unlike the central group, sought to use violence against people (Grimm, 2019).

Representatives of the UK-based Animal Rights Militia (ARM) group have declared their readiness to subject people to violence. The militants sent bombs in the mail, placed incendiary devices under cars and buildings, contaminated food, threatened to kill people, and desecrated graves. Their ideological inspiration was the philosopher S. Best, who argued that eco-activists had the moral right to commit sabotage or even violence, acting in self-defense on behalf of living organisms. Best introduced the term "extensional self-defense" into scientific use by analogy with "necessary defense" enshrined in the legislation of many countries. Self-defense committed by humans on behalf of animals is justified because they are "so vulnerable and oppressed that they cannot fight back, attack their oppressors or kill them" (Best, 2011). This eco-protective philosophy justifies the escalation of violence but is painted in "green" tones. A person assumes the moral right to make decisions on behalf of wildlife but does not differ from those who commit crimes in the name of the planet. There is a new trend of eco-radicalism, or indiscriminate attack as an echo of the wild nature itself.

The lone terrorist T. Kaczynski, or the Unabomber, became the ideological inspirer of many terrorist groups through his activities and ideology of anti-technology (Fleming, 2021). Despite biocentric ideas in his published Manifesto, Kaczynski is anthropocentric, so the murders he committed fit into his philosophy. Kaczynski opposes modern technologies primarily not because they have become a disaster for the planet, but because they "have become a disaster for humanity". Kaczynski's core beliefs are directed against technology, not environmental protection. Kaczynski's ideas led to a new form of anti-technological radicalism. Researchers of the ideology of the Unabomber from Harvard University argued that he probably was not familiar with the works of deep ecologists and had never corresponded with anarcho-primitivists. Environmentalism had only a minor influence on him. Most of Kaczynski's radical ideas were formed much earlier.

Among the most famous followers of Kaczynski's ideas was the Mexican terrorist





group Individualidades Tendiendo a lo Salvaje (ITS, Individualists Tending to the Wild), which, in the spirit of Kaczynski's traditions, began sending bombs to scientists researching nanotechnology in April 2011. Since then, the organization and its offshoots have claimed responsibility for terrorist attacks in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Greece.

The group published its manifesto on the anarchist blog Liberacion Total. There, eco-terrorists threaten to continue bombing Mexican scientists because "they have to pay for what they do to the Earth" (Beckhusen, 2013). The main ideological message of the organization is that technology and civilization are doomed and are leading humanity to an environmental disaster. Technology must be destroyed, and people must return to the hunter-gatherer lifestyle. The further development of the organization led to a change in some aspects of the ideology and to the conclusion that any person is a legitimate target for murder. They chose the tactic of indiscriminate attack and shared a misanthropic ideology. Leftist anarchists characterized the ITS position as a symptom of the rejection of the left-wing groups and the revolution (Totale, 2020).

This is how the environmental protection trajectory can move to the level of classic terrorism. Indiscriminate violence, presented first as a means and then as an end, corresponds to proto-fascism, especially among former anarchists. R. Hunt, a former editor of the British magazine *Green Anarchist*, expressed support for nationalism, a former member of the Green Anarchy group became a fascist, and T. Southgate used primitive Internet forums to promote fascist ideas.

Thus the goal of the study was to examine the progression of environmentalism, tracing its development from a focus on preserving and protecting the environment to its utilization for political and other agendas.

3 METHODS

The main method was content analysis of the generated array of texts. Publications were selected based on the presence of an element of the content of the indicator text on a specific topic or audience. The parameters for the selection of publications depended on the set goals. The criteria for identifying reliable information were its accuracy, the degree of proximity to the real prototype of the message, completeness, or disclosure of the meaning and significance of what was happening. The authenticity





of the message was confirmed by references to information sources containing information that corresponded to reality, i.e., facts, the existence of which, if necessary, can be confirmed by legally correct procedures using documents, witnesses, expert opinions, etc.

The study used statistical analysis based on secondary data recorded in the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which includes recorded terrorist attacks from 1970 to 2020. The analysis included 43 terrorist organizations using vital resources as targets of attack and 11 environmental radical organizations committing terrorist acts in defense of the environment.

The study contains elements of predictive analytics based on observed patterns and trends.

4 RESULTS

The analysis of scientific literature and publications in the media allowed us to identify the essential features of right- and left-wing environmentalism and the reasons for their transformation. The first environmental organizations adhering to the right-wing ideology of biocentrism transformed into left-wing eco-terrorist organizations. Even among some environmental organizations, there was a transformation of right-wing ideologies into ultra-right ideologies of eco-fascism (Joosse, 2014).

As a result of the literature analysis, we concluded on the predominance of antiglobalist and anti-capitalist views among eco-terrorists concerning the problems of environmental protection. The use of environmental issues in achieving political goals can be identified as an essential sign of eco-terrorism, which can unite them with terrorists who intentionally destroy environmentally significant objects in political or religious interests.

According to GTD data (Global Terrorism Database, n.d.), periods of increased terrorist attacks on vital resources were observed from 1975 to 1993 and from 2004 to 2020. During the decrease in their activity, there was an increase in the crime rate among radical environmentalists (Figure 1).



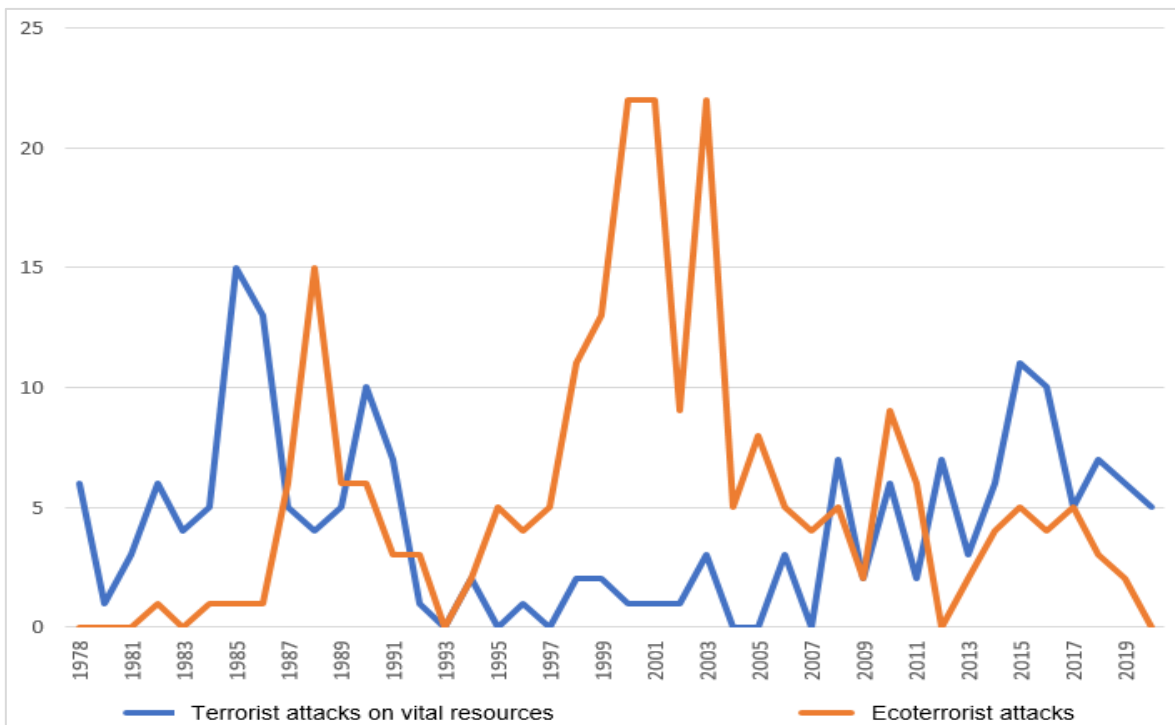


Figure 1. Terrorist attacks on vital resources and terrorist attacks by radical environmentalists by year

Based on the analysis of GTD data, 43 organizations were identified that committed attacks on food and water supply systems (Figure 2, Table 1). The largest number of such terrorist attacks occurred between 1975 and 1995 and from 2004 to 2020.

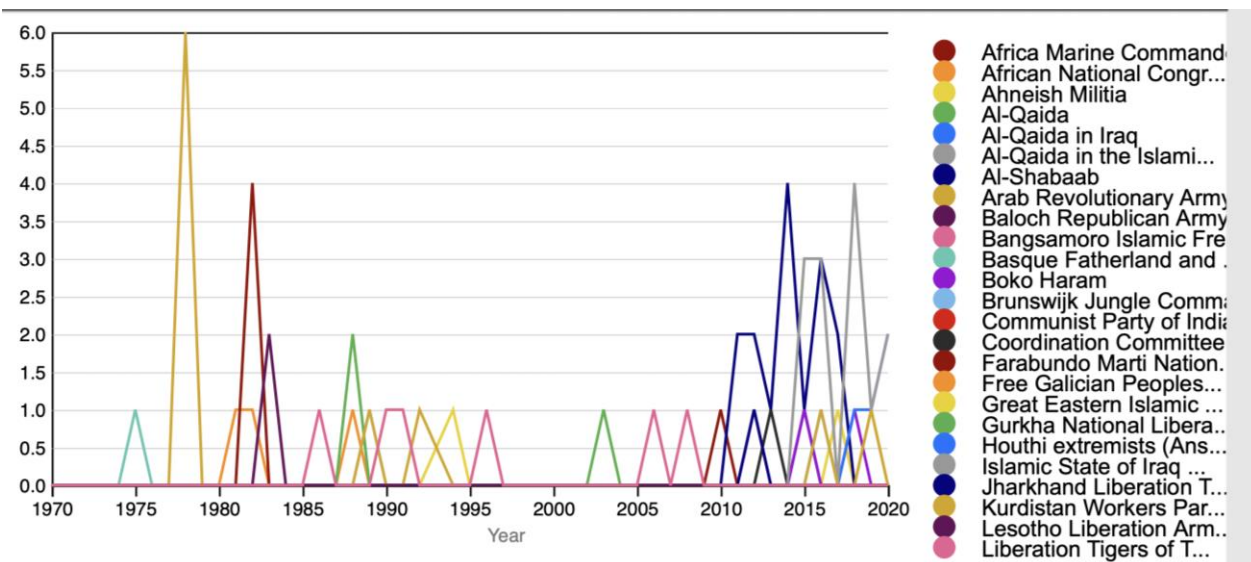


Figure 2. Frequency of incidents of terrorist organizations attacking food and water supply systems, by year



Table 1. List of terrorist organizations in Figure 2

Africa Marine Commandos
African National Congress
Ahneish Militia
Al-Qaida
Al-Qaida in Iraq
Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
Al-Shabaab
Arab Revolutionary Army
Baloch Republican Army
Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters
Basque Fatherland and Liberty
Boko Haram
Brunswijk Jungle Commandos
Communist Party of India
Coordination Committee (CORCOM)
Farabundo Marti Nation. Liber. Front
Free Galician People's Union
Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front
Gurkha National Liberation Front
Houthi Extremists
Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
Jharkhand Liberation Tigers
Kurdistan Workers' Party
Lesotho Liberation Army
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

From 1975 to 1993, 109 identified terrorist attacks on food and water supply systems were registered. Of these, 80 were committed by left-wing organizations, including anarchist and revolutionary groups.

Between 2004 and 2020, 106 identified terrorist attacks on vital facilities were recorded. Of these, 58 (55%) were committed by right-wing organizations, including Islamist terrorist organizations that are supporters of traditionalism and anti-globalism.

The analysis of GTD data allowed us to identify the terrorist organizations that committed the largest number of attacks on food and water supply systems (Table 2).

Table 2. Terrorist organizations that committed the majority of attacks on food and water supply systems

Organization	Number of attacks on food and water supply systems	Ideology	Year
Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)	20	Marxism and Guevarism	1985-1990
Shining Path	24	Marxism-Maoism	1980-1991
Al-Shabaab	15	Jihadist Salafism	2011-2017
Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant	13	Radical Islamism	2015-2020
Taliban	12	Ultra-traditionalism	2003-2020



5 DISCUSSION

The results show that environmental problems often become an instrument of manipulation of public opinion and government structures by environmental terrorists claiming to protect the environment and by organizations of other political views.

By the end of the 1980s, anarchist organizations had been gradually losing popularity and subjected to increased repression by the governments they attacked. Many eventually disbanded. Public attention was focused on environmental problems, and for radical activists and disbanded organizations, this became an opportunity to continue the anti-capitalist struggle in line with the green movement. In the 1980s, anarchists moved to right-wing environmental organizations based on the ideology of biocentrism, in particular deep ecology developed by A. Naess. As a result of the influx of new members with left-wing anthropocentric ideas, a split occurred in environmental organizations. One part remained faithful to the traditionalist ideology and moderate actions, while the other became radicalized and adopted direct action tactics. In the subsequent 1990s, there was an increase in terrorist attacks by eco-radicals, or eco-terrorists (Figure 1). The tactics of the anarchist movement, in addition to being reactive, have destructive power to counteract hierarchy, repression, and inequality. This destructive force can transcend vital resources because the main idea is the fight to achieve higher goals. Here, the opposition to class hierarchy, sexism, and ageism, as well as the tendency of capitalism to concentrate and centralize production came to the fore. Simultaneously with the development of the left-wing views of the radical wing of environmental organizations within the biocentric Wildlands Conservation movement with its anti-industrial rhetoric, nationalist processes began to intensify, leading to the emergence of organizations based on ultra-right ideologies of eco-fascism. Anarcho-primitivism or green anarchism converges with eco-fascism in their nihilistic, primitivist, and anti-civilizational ideas. Just as the ideas of misanthropy and xenophobia develop from eco-fascist ideologies, the tendency to destroy undesirable people may seem the most effective solution for eco-anarchists. Many modern fascists have "grown out" of the anarchist movement.

Since 2004, the activity of Islamist organizations has been increasing. Using environmental protection rhetoric, they carry out political pressure on the governments of the countries whose territory they are trying to control. In 2012, Islamic terrorists tried to apply an environmental protection agenda in their activities. Environmental





issues were not directly related to environmental protection but to the importance of natural resources used by the Governments of the Middle East and North Africa for sale and for their own needs. To counteract the excessive consumption of natural resources, terrorists attacked oil tankers, gas stations, and ports. The GTD database contains 640 such incidents from 1970 to 2018. 78.4% of attacks occurred between 2008 and 2018 (Zhu et al., 2021). The idea of destroying modern civilization brings them closer to radical environmentalists.

6 CONCLUSIONS

In the last decades of the 20th century, members from organizations of different ideological orientations migrated to environmental organizations. For them, the main idea is not caring about the environment, but achieving other political goals. The use of environmental trends only contributes to their greater popularization. A person cannot be non-anthropocentric, and despite the statements of eco-activists about belonging to the ideas of deep ecology, they always use superficial ecology.

Initially, the right-wing environmental movement was radicalized, to a greater extent, due to the transition of radical representatives of left-wing social movements into it. It gradually transformed into eco-terrorism where the representatives, hiding behind environmental protection, fought against industrial values. The main difference between radical environmentalists and eco-terrorists is the shift of the goal from environmental protection to revenge on its "pollutants". Eco-terrorists widely use direct action tactics, which, despite the assurances of their defenders, endangers human life, since the terrorist sees no obstacles to achieving their goals.

Recently, there has been an increase in violence by far-right organizations, combined with the growth of groups based on eco-fascist or anarcho-primitivist views that threaten or destroy vital facilities to achieve certain political goals. In addition, the green agenda is becoming particularly in demand and, probably, the only possible one for protest national movements. By 2020, there was a decrease in the activity of environmental protection terrorists and an increase in the activity of radical ultra-traditionalist jihadist organizations. The main threat to environmental facilities will increase from the latter group.

Reduction of agricultural production, shortage of water and food, and climate problems will only contribute to new terrorist attacks on environmental facilities, which





will lead to a new wave of environmental protection activities. Currently, the activity of radical environmentalists is shifting towards environmental performance, that is, drawing attention to environmental problems not through direct violence against organizations responsible for pollution, but through the threat of damage to significant cultural objects. Thus, the emergence of new environmental problems and the growing activity of environmental extremists require constant monitoring and control of their activities.

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