

Chapter 7 - The war we are in and ecological overshoot

*"Naught's had, all's spent,
Where our desire is got without content.
'Tis safer to be that which we destroy
Than by destruction dwell in doubtful joy."*

It is a common axiom that "*generals always fight the last war, especially if they have won it,*" but, what worked in the past may not only fail to work in the present, it can also become a dangerous liability to the future. By sticking to this doctrine men have been sent to their deaths in vast numbers and nations have been committed to hugely unsustainable costs. As industrialisation increases the potential intensity of wars and the investments that are made to support these, then the dangers inherent within this axiom becomes more acute over time. Along with this well recounted axiom, is the other axiom that supporters of modern industrialisation like to peddle, namely "*things can't stay the same and you can't stand in the way of progress.*" Hidden behind this truth is the fact that not only are things changing, but the exponential rate of change that industrialisation forces means that things change faster and faster over time and with increasingly rapid change comes less predictability and more instability. A crucial area where this becomes evident is the widening gap between the perceived utility of modern weapons systems and the actual reality of their use. It means that the outcome from using military power can no longer be predicted. In the past, military power found its utility in achieving a decisive victory where the vanquished were forced to the negotiating table. The reality of using military power today is protracted stalemates, civil wars or impotence driven by the politically unacceptable consequences of war on the domestic and international stages. This drives the need for much more radical thinking on the structure of the nation state as its ultimate purpose is to provide the means to successfully wage war and keep its population safe from the threat of aggression. But if the reality of modern threats means it cannot do this, while also being unable to provide the framework for addressing the threat of climate change, then we have to question what relevance it has to today.

History is replete with examples that demonstrate both the fragility of the nation state in the face of changing strategic challenges and the danger of fighting wars past. As regards the danger of fighting wars past, between the First and Second World Wars nations continued the race to build the biggest battleships only to find the development of air power and submarines had rendered them obsolete. As a result over two thousand US sailors died trapped in their battleships at Pearl Harbour before they could fire a shot in anger. American aircraft were later to return the favour by sinking the Japanese Battleship Yamamoto, killing roughly the same number of sailors on its suicide mission to Okinawa when Japan could only provide it with enough fuel for a one way trip. It too did not fire a shot in anger. The lesson from these disasters is obvious with the benefit of hindsight; the US and Japan would both have benefited militarily

had either side invested the resources committed to the battleships into other military hardware such as submarines, aircraft and aircraft carriers more relevant to the new realities of war. At roughly the same time, France attempted to replicate their hard fought victory in the trenches of the First World War with the Maginot Line, a huge investment that gave France the ultimate defensive weapon for European trench warfare. Alas, when the Second World War came, the Germans simply went round the top through Belgium and invaded France in six weeks. They then used the Maginot Line guns for their own failed fortifications on the Atlantic Wall. In the Vietnam war, the Americans flushed with the success of overwhelming air power from the Second World War and Korean War found it ineffective against a peasant army dug into deep trenches and using bicycles for logistics. The cost of bombing bicycles using B52 bombers was crucial in simultaneously draining the US of finance and legitimacy, both of which are vital to succeeding in a modern industrial war.

Perhaps the ultimately folly of industrial warfare has been the Iraq débâcle, where America's most expensive war ever failed to deliver its supposed objective of bringing democracy to the Middle East, and has barely been any more successful in its unstated objective of improving the security of oil supplies as attacks by Al Qaeda and others on the oil infrastructure continue and are unstoppable. As hard as America may have tried to bring democracy to Iraq, its objective was doomed to be compromised by the increased support it had to maintain for the Saudi Arabian dictatorship amongst others in the region, along with their subsequent support for extremist groups such as Al Qaeda. In so doing, the Iraq war has become the ultimate example of the failure of modern military power to achieve its objectives.

Today all industrialised nations that are nuclear armed are awaking to find the nuclear deterrence their economies are being stretched to afford is ineffective against the new wave of modern threats. It does not stop suicide bombers attacking capital cities, it does not stop nuclear weapons proliferation, it will not stop terrorists from detonating a nuclear weapon they may acquire, it does not prevent nations being dragged into economically draining wars of attrition and most importantly it cannot be used to stop other nations emitting destabilising levels of greenhouse gas emissions. On the contrary, nuclear weapons make all these outcomes more likely by preserving destructive industrialisation. In so doing they are fulfilling the promises of history by becoming the ultimate liability to any nation that poses them and to the world in general.

Not only are nuclear weapons a liability, but their effectiveness as a deterrent to attack is diminished by the proliferation of nuclear weapons that the P-5 nations paradoxically use to justify maintaining and updating their nuclear arsenals. Today's combination of technological progress and political instability means a nuclear strike could be launched against a nation and the recipient of the strike would have no idea who had launched the strike. That strike could come from a submarine launched ballistic missile, a stealth drone, a stealth plane or a terrorist bomb. In the catastrophic aftermath dominated by the panic of a follow on attack, it would be virtually impossible to differentiate between these modes of attack, much less determine the perpetrator.

Climate change by being a common root cause initiator of crises makes the scenario of nations, or non-state groups, being locked together in separate and simultaneous existential conflicts inevitable. This raises the likelihood of one desperate nation or group launching a nuclear strike in the knowledge that the recipient would be unable to identify the attacker or may be too weakened to retaliate. Amongst the myriad of possibilities are Japanese and Chinese tensions escalating into warfare dragging in America under their defence agreements with Japan, while simultaneously Indian and Chinese relations are strained to breaking point over access to the water of the Tibetan plateau and European tensions escalate into military conflicts as Chinese land grabs in Africa cause food shortages in European cities. Every one of the players in this potential scenario has nuclear submarines or secretive stealth aviation technology capable of launching unidentifiable nuclear strikes into the cities or military bases of their opponents. This risk exposure is accentuated as each one of these nuclear powers have refused to sign a No First Use (NFU) policy to not use nuclear weapons unless attacked by nuclear weapons first. This is to give each one the military option of nuclear retaliation in the event of an overwhelming conventional attack. The flip side of this is that if a nuclear weapon is detonated, no nation or block of nations can be safely excluded from a retaliatory attack. It creates a world that is significantly more unstable for no significant security gain to any nation, as the prospect of a large scale conventional attack, such as a surprise Warsaw Pact massed tank attack into Europe or a NATO attack into the heartland of Russia is simply no longer credible.

This creates a situation that is completely counter to the principle behind nuclear deterrence which is to attack a known enemy with nuclear weapons. As there is a strong likelihood that in the event of future wars, as the enemy may be unknown then the concept of deterrence has already failed, even before a war even starts. It may well have been a valid concept for the Cold War with two just principle competitors, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, where an attack on one would unquestionably be identified as coming from the other and established communication channels such as the hot line were in place to allow some prospect of de-escalation, but it is not a valid strategic option for today's world.

In the event of a nuclear detonation, rather than launching what would almost certainly be a random retaliatory attack, the hopeful option is that cooler heads prevail and the impossibility of gaining a sufficiently accurate picture of who the perpetrator is, as well as the danger of escalation being too great, prevents anything further from being done. However, when the world is on the edge of the ecological abyss, predicting rational behaviours is not possible. Even when the world was not on the edge of the ecological abyss as with the Cuba Crisis, behaviour quickly became irrational. President Kennedy stunned his think tanks advisers from the Rand Corporation by threatening the Soviet Union with a full retaliatory strike in the event of any missiles being fired from the Cuba. This was counter to the strategies that they had developed which was to build flexibility into the response options by spending billions of dollars on the nuclear triad so in the event of confrontation the escalation would be

built up gradually allowing for the opportunity of de-escalation before the very worse came to pass.

Despite these inherent contradictions, all nuclear weapon nations are continuing to embark on the enormous costs of upgrading and replacing their nuclear weapons systems. Potentially the most complex and dangerous are the at sea nuclear deterrence systems of the United Nations Permanent 5 members. Technologically, these systems are extremely dangerous with nuclear reactors surrounded by hundreds of tonnes of rocket fuel, conventional explosives and nuclear warheads. They are also at the end of difficult to manage communication channels which can lead to dangerous confusion in the heat of war. This risk profile can be magnified by the technological races that all militaries are engaged in and which seeks to provide the technological breakthrough to destroy nuclear submarines. To this risk of error is added extra submarines from the Israeli and Indian navies.

All these nations are committing to this expenditure despite already being technically bankrupt with large proportions of their populations trapped in poverty. These programmes have to be funded entirely by debt, even though existing debts can never be paid off. It is hard not to come to the conclusion that the course of history is repeating itself again as the world's most powerful economic blocks continue preparation for the last war with today's technology long after the strategic risk has changed, but this time these mistakes are being replicated on the grandest scale possible and being compounded by the collective failure of governments and their populations to recognise that the very nature of war has changed.

The changing nature of war was explored by General Sir Rupert Smith in his book, *The Utility of Force*. He presented the argument that war has changed from war against the people, which was the basis of past industrial wars such as the First and Second World Wars were the people of one nation fought wars against the people of another nation, to war amongst the people which is the basis of today's wars and is characterised by intractable civil wars. Like many such arguments it is difficult to draw firm lines in the sand, but his logic provides a powerful framework.

The basis of his argument was that nuclear weapons were such a paradigm shift in warfare that they made the industrial wars such as the First and Second World Wars impossible. However, wars that are fought today using conventional munitions are able to deliver total destruction in a matter of hours, rather than the months of bombing required in the past, as demonstrated in the Iraq wars amongst others. Although these did not have the massed bomber squadrons that blackened the skies in the Second World War, the destructive capability of B52s combined with waves of precision missile attacks is in many ways as destructive as the massed bomber raids on Dresden and Tokyo. This has been demonstrated on repeated occasions were the essential services that any modern city depends on such as water, electricity and telecoms have been surgically removed leaving it as disabled as any of the hollowed out shells of cities in the Second World War. In conjunction with improved targeting ability, the cities of today are larger, more complex and more interconnected than those of the

Second World War era amplifying the damage done and causing the recovery to take far longer, despite the initial appearance of the damage not being so great. The intensity of the destruction is further enhanced by the trend towards increased urbanisation that all nations around the world have been swept up in since the beginning of the industrial revolution, thus targeting the cities of modern nations targets much bigger proportions of a nation's total population and increases the intensity of the trauma.

What is left behind is the ideal breeding ground for wars amongst the people as the effects of climate change and resource shortages within shattered infrastructures force everyone to take sides and engage in localised wars with no end. These, rather than wars against the people have already become the dominant form of conflict.

As early as 1989 the former Secretary of State George P. Schultz noted the general erosion of national sovereignty that has been prevalent since the Second World War and warned that the sovereign state was in demise due to several factors. He said,

“the financial markets are now interconnected worldwide due to modern systems of communications; people, ideas and criminals move across borders in great numbers; ballistic missiles reduce the relevance of borders; and free trade agreements and common markets render ideas of a state's self-contained economic system obsolete¹

Shortly afterwards, in 1993, Robert M Johnson also wrote in *The Baruch Plan Revisited*, on the decline of the nation state,

“In addition, the political obligations that bind states to certain international norms are further eroding the notion of a sovereign state. For instance, NATO member countries are bound to protect against attack against any of the other member states. United Nations members are constrained in their latitude in dealings with other nations. They are also obligated to support the Security Council's decisions. In both cases, the member states have given up a portion of their sovereignty to receive benefits associated with membership in each organization. Other such examples include the EEC, GATI, the Central American Common Market (CACM), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and many others”

Since these passages have been written, the demise of the nation state has continued. All nations have to find critical resources such as energy, food, technology, know-how and minerals from beyond their own borders. These are almost exclusively provided by the services and infrastructures of large multinational corporations that may not even be based in the host country and which must operate within an interconnected global network that must be kept continuously operational. Even a short term disruption in their flow of produce

¹Schulz, G.P., "On Sovereignty," Lecture on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the National Academy of Engineering/Washington D.C., 4 October 1989

or services would cause a nation to collapse and the subsequent recovery after a prolonged outage may not even be possible. It makes the ability of a government to provide security for its people an even bigger illusion; security is now coming from the continued healthy functioning of corporations, forcing the populations of nations to be at the mercy of psychopathic organisations.

In contrast to the loss of sovereignty that an increasingly globalised and interconnected world is forcing all nations to address, the populations of nations are responding to rising economic chaos and decreasing self determination by turning to nationalism. Thus in United Kingdom, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and its policies are gaining traction at the same time as more odious right wing extremist parties are also exploiting the mayhem in places such as Greece, Spain and Hungary. In the centre ground, the UK Conservative Party is being forced to pursue tougher policies on immigration as a consequence of over population and political pressure and it continues justification of Trident so the UK can continue to “punch above its weight” in an increasingly unstable world, despite the concept of the nation state becoming less relevant. The last US presidential election saw a bizarre event when a climate change protester gate-crashed a Mitt Romney speech as he toured the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy. His shouts to Mitt Romney to come clean on his climate change stance in the midst of climate change devastation caused by Hurricane Sandy were drowned out with the chants of U-S-A-U-S-A from the crowd.

In this new world with the nation state becoming a less viable political entity as it becomes unable to provide security guarantees for its people and where the application of its military power rarely leads to the satisfactory conclusion of the vanquished accepting the result, such as with the end of the World Wars, then world slides increasingly towards the mess of wars amongst the people. These further destabilise the nation state structure and the consequences are painfully evident. The quagmire of Iraq is ongoing civil war. Al Qaeda have survived ten years of war in Afghanistan by moving to Pakistan and then onto Yemen with their threat remaining as potent as ever. The Chechen war has intensified the violence of the terrorist groups that Russian forces were initially sent in to quell. Syria moves further away from a peaceful solution to its problems by the day, yet despite the wide spread human rights abuses and use of chemical weapons attacks in Syria, the US and its allies are reluctant to become embroiled in the complex network of consequences that naturally arise through modern warfare. Likewise, Russia and Iran have largely sat on the sidelines of total war despite their rhetoric.

This leads to two big questions from Sir Rupert Smith’s thesis. What are the causes of this new form of war and where will its end point be? There is really one one answer, its root cause is wide spread ecological destruction and environmental stress in the widest possible sense. Its end point will either be all encompassing total war or what is left of nations working together to firstly stem ecological destruction and then reverse its damage.

The ecological destruction plaguing us today is an unavoidable direct consequence of industrialisation. This takes many forms - over population that

industrialisation has supported; local environmental destruction from agriculture, industry or mining and global environmental destruction from climate change. Each one of these is highly coupled. We get climate change because of over population and over consumption, climate change and over population force nations to pursue intensive industrialisation to ensure that food production and international competitiveness are maintained, more industrialised food production and the need to maintain international competitiveness then drives climate change climate and so the cycle continues. These immense forces act on all the different stratas of society. The poor and marginalised see the trend in their living standards is downwards without needing any real understanding of what is causing the crisis. The rich and those that hold power in society will increasingly use the power that they have to maintain the privilege of their position, especially when they see it is likely to come under threat from an expanding and dispossessed under class. Within these groups of the haves and the have nots, sub groups form and all these groups are forced to engage in the prisoners dilemma of deciding whenever to compete or cooperate as they struggle to secure their access to local resources.

It might be because of Sir Rupert Smith's career as a soldier that in his book he deliberately decided to limit his analysis to war fighting and its management rather than discuss the causes of this new form of war amongst the people. As a soldier, his training would have prepared him kill the enemy and destroy his infrastructure as quickly and brutally as possible and before the enemy had chance to do the same to him. As a nation, this is what we expect of our military and this is what we pay them to do. Implicit in this is the acceptance of ecological destruction both in the act of using their weapons and in the act of building the industry to support them. To acknowledge that accumulated environmental destruction from industrialisation is a primary cause of war amongst the people and irrecoverable environmental destruction is its inevitable result is to de-legitimise the armed forces which are in the paradoxical position of delivering environmental destruction and managing the resulting conflicts caused by this. Even thoughtful retired generals may be reluctant to venture down this contentious path. It is instead easier to conclude, as he does, that conflicts will always happen and to prepare to manage the consequence in what ever form it takes. But the problem is that war amongst the people is a spreading phenomena, it is happening at all levels in all societies and it threatens to overwhelm societies and existing political structures.

Syria finds itself in the unfortunate position of being a prime example of this. The quagmire it finds itself in illustrates the challenges to be faced in the future by all unless radical rethinks about our society and the way that we consider war against the background of ecological destruction are undertaken. At the start of the war it was billed in the mainstream media as a battle for democracy against the tyranny of the Assad regime by people who were enabled by the wonders of social media and inspired by the promise of democracy emerging from the Arab Spring. This may have been true in the early days, but too much was at stake for the simple solution of a stable democracy to emerge from the bubbling cauldron that the Assad dynasty's rule had kept a lid on.

Syria was already being dangerously destabilised by events beyond its control. The country had suffered a devastating climate change driven drought, its water aquifers had been drained, and its oil fields had moved into the depletion phases. Its population had boomed in the good years by drawing down on available resources and reached levels that had become unsustainable now that times are going bad. At the heart of its problems is ecological overshoot. In the wake of these simultaneous but highly correlated disasters wheat crops collapsed into deserts and live stock was wiped out. This is a tragedy of unimaginable scale and explosive speed, especially considering that Syria's fertile soils and abundant crops formed the foundation of Western civilisation some 6000 years ago in what was then Mesopotamia and had been productive ever since. The subsequent environmental collapse caused hundreds of thousands to migrate from the eastern parts of the country to the cities destabilising societies in the process². Syria was transformed from being the grain basket of the Middle East into an unstable food importer at the mercy of world food prices. For a country governed by a dictatorial regime with no legitimacy in the eyes of its people or its international neighbours, all the elements were in place for a collapse into despair and violence.

This is war amongst the people laid bare for its brutality. It is a war that is also constantly fuelled by the needs of external nation-states to maintain their strategic positions. In Russia's case Syria provide a flow of military contracts which is necessary to subsidise its own arms industries. In Iran's case the war provides constant leverage against Israel. In Saudi Arabia's case it provides a way of leveraging against Iran. This is its ultimate irony, the strategic preparations increasingly weak nations make to prepare for industrial war against other people makes war amongst other people inevitable and when these happen they become war without end. This final aspect makes them as destructive as the conflicts of the Second World War for the nations that are caught up in them.

But what is happening in Syria is happening elsewhere around the world. It differs only in the levels of intensity and media coverage. In Canada the Cree Indians are being displaced and seeing their homelands destroyed for tar sands developments; in Indonesia indigenous tribes are being wiped out in the pursuit of biofuels and in Nigeria the Ogoni Delta has been destroyed by the oil industry and the violence of this was epitomised with the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa at the behest of Shell³. In each one of these isolated examples the ecological overshoot caused by the damage to the environment from industrialisation is so great that the land is unable to support the population, even if the population is kept steady, let alone exponentially growing as in the case of Nigeria. In each case, war amongst the people is the result. Thus, the Canadian Cree Indians fight against the Canadian government, the Ogoni tribes fight against the Nigerian government, the Indonesian indigenous people fight against the Indonesian government and these are all desperate battles for survival. Much of this warfare against indigenous people is carried out directly by multinationals

²<http://www.irinnews.org/report/85963/syria-drought-driving-farmers-to-the-cities>

³Shell pays out \$15.5m over Saro-Wiwa killing
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/08/nigeria-usa>

or on behalf of multinationals by governments but victories achieved can never be celebrated by either side, because in battles of this nature no side can ever win. Those that are being oppressed face such destruction of their land that no recovery is possible. Those that are oppressing never win as the cost of victory merely commits them to further exploitation and further conflict. It joins the people in the Ogoni Delta, the Indonesian Rainforests, the Canadian forests and Syria in the same battle against the same types of companies and with their governments. They may be separated by oceans but are joined in common cause. Thus, nation-states forced by the need to remain internationally competitive and to maintain the integrity of debt based financial systems are no longer able to guarantee the security of their people from the effects of industrialisation. Instead, in all of these cases the nation state is forced to side with the corporations against the interests of their own people and against the principles of natural justice, the result being that wars amongst the people spread further.

This nation-state support of corporations against the people reaches extreme levels of paradox. It was illustrated with clarity in 2012 when representatives of the governments of China, India, Japan, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, and the United States of America amongst others gathered in Moscow⁴ to stop international aviation from being incorporated into the EU-ETS. This was the EU's attempt to curtail aviation's unsustainable greenhouse gas growth after years of failure by the aviation industry to come up with a self administered global deal to cut greenhouse gases. The goal of a global agreement on greenhouse gas emissions was a nirvana that the aviation industry could easily pursue safe in the knowledge it would never come to fruition. This clever piece of propaganda fooled much of the world into thinking the aviation industry would take action, but in reality their objective was to continue the trajectory of expanding emissions. Even though the EU-ETS was virtually ineffective as it had been watered down so much by the lobbying of the aviation industry it did not stop the concerted action against it by the same nations that build nuclear weapons systems against each other and maintain these on hair trigger alert. In an extraordinary spectacle - nuclear armed competitors co-operated to protect the interests of one of the most polluting industries on the planet and thereby acted directly in contravention with their obligations to act in the best interests of the people they represent by curtailing the growth in greenhouse gas emissions. Nor is this the first time that such strange co-operation between deadly rivals has taken place to destroy the world. In the Bali round of climate change negotiations, India and China backed by the US conspired to block to the negotiations⁵. Each of these nations know that maintaining industrialisation is essential to their continued ability to compete against each other, yet seem

⁴Joint declaration of the Moscow meeting on inclusion of international civil aviation in the Eu-ETS

<http://www.ruaviation.com/docs/1/2012/2/22/50/>

⁵US Seeks Alliance with China and India to Block Climate Protection

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/bali-conference-us-seeks-alliance-with-china-and-india-to-block-climate-protection-a-521153.html>

unable to recognise the paradox that by doing so it will lead to a mutually assured destruction, the avoidance of which remains the basis and justification of their nuclear forces. It is thus the ultimate game of Russian Roulette, which distils down to seeing how far the ecosystem can be pressed and which nation collapses first in the hope that the collapsing nation does not resort to the use of nuclear weapons.

This irrational global support of high carbon industries is also happening at the same time that opposition to these is growing globally. Thus the anti-aviation movement in the UK that organised the climate camp protest against Heathrow's planned third runways has now been copied across Europe, the USA and Australia as global populations start to realise that their governments can no longer be trusted to act in their interests.

These struggles between those groups committed to the growth those against sets the strategic background for the new wave of wars amongst the people.

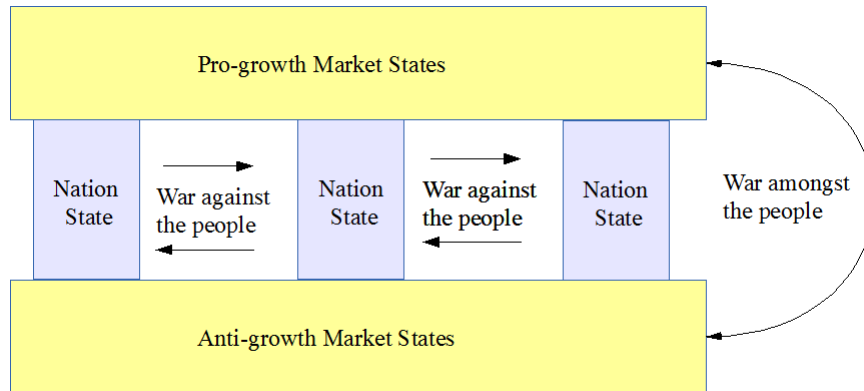


Figure 1: War against the people and war amongst the people

In the pro-growth groups are conglomerations of large high energy and carbon intensive companies such as the aviation industry, the oil industry and the defence industry. Each one of these conglomerations can be considered a nation in its own right. Each one has political lobby groups that shape national and international policies to the industry's best interest and with International Trade Agreements they have more say on how these are configured than democratically elected national governments. They have joint educational and research facilities with universities and research institutions and these are provided with so much funding they are unable to provide robust critique within their academic literature of the pro-growth conglomerates. In the new global environment where everything is for sale, they buy their own security services. These security services provide the normal day to day security that any responsible organisation would have, but increasingly they go far beyond this remit and actively target opposition groups with either intimidation or violence. As the breadth of services that nation-states provide their people decreases due to spending cuts and

austerity, then the pro growth conglomerations increasingly step in to provide many of the services that the nation states would have previously provided to their staff such as insurance and health care.

The industry blocks such as defence, oil, aviation, motor, etc are more than just groups of companies, collectively they now form “pro-growth market states” and these market states are superseding the nation states as the dominant political blocks, for it is them that pull the strings of national governments more strongly than democratic votes and it is them that ultimately determine how environmental costs are externalised to others. Ultimately, their actions determine how people live and die across the world. Like a nation-state that derived its legitimacy from the security and the opportunities it provided its populace, then the pro-growth market states derive legitimacy with their stakeholders in the same way. In today’s industrialised world, they provide security to their staff and stakeholders by offering steady incomes and are inherently the engines of opportunity.

Like a nation-state, the pro-growth industry conglomerates have the objective to compete and survive and must do this through continual growth to both ensure that interest payments are covered and stock prices are maintained in the same way that a state has obligations to pay bond holders and maintain the value of its currency. They differs only from a nation-state by not having the tangible asset of a land mass, but in the new world of virtual organisations this is no longer a problem.

In opposition to them are the anti-growth market states, ranging from the environmentalist movements to the terrorists groups of Al Qaeda. Like the pro-growth market states, these groups are increasingly global in nature and have a clear objective which is to stop the pro-growth market states. They differ only in their tactics. Those in the environmental movements based in the developed nations generally try to fight against the pro-growth states by non-violent means, by contrast those in the non-developed or never-to-develop nations fight with violence as the limitations of peaceful protest are more plainly evident to them. However, as economic growth turns into contraction and depression, even in the developed world, many peaceful protesters will increasingly realise the limits of peaceful protest and be forced to move to violent action or admit defeat.

Many are realising this already. Despite the protestations of virtue by democratic nation state governments claiming they allow protest, it is only tolerated as long as it is unsuccessful. Attempts at peaceful protests to stop damaging developments such as airports, oil pipe lines, gas fracking sites and nuclear weapon deployments are either pushed to one side by the authorities using their monopoly of violence or ignored safe in the knowledge that no election will be fought with one of these as a single defining issue. As a result, the objective to continue building and operating destructive infrastructure nearly always wins out over social and environmental considerations. However, these victories on behalf of the pro-growth nation states all take their toll on national society. The environmental damage these cause and their costs result in further marginalisation, initially with societies poorest but increasingly less so. The emerging debate in the UK on fracking is starting to prove this were the prospect of damaging

industrialisation being brought into the heartlands of the country on a large scale is challenging on an equally large scale the belief of those who once believed in the sanctity of industrial democracy. They now are quickly learning its limitations. Without shame, fracking projects succeed by corporate lobbying of government, by laws being changed in their support, by public funding through tax breaks and by the police being allowed to wilfully abuse their monopoly of violence that society entrusts them with. The result is that for many people their livelihoods are as threatened as if a foreign nation were to invade the country and they have as much say in the process as both basic security and opportunity are denied them. The irony is that the harder the nation works to compete militarily and economically on the international stage, the more it must undermine the security of its own people.

In the UK initial tremors have already been felt in the inner city riots which was the end result of increasing marginalisation. It was no accident that Britain led the way in European inner city riots. The high profile peaceful protests that had marked the previous summers at climate camps along with the very public over reaction from the police on issues of fundamental moral importance continued the de-legitimisation of the process of governance and made protest much more publicly acceptable. It was clear to much of the population that the great issues of our time, climate change and social justice, could not be reconciled within the existing political system and it was the objective of the protest camps to highlight this. If one could choose the best country in Europe to start the climate camp movement, no where would be better than the UK. It had led Europe in destructive debt fuelled capitalism and consumerism. In solidarity with the young and marginalised, the protest movements directly aimed for this huge and impossible to defend target. This opened up a political space for the dispossessed and very soon the shop fronts were in flames. The largely white educated university class at climate camps had finally got the largely non-white under educated to join them in common cause. The only difference between these groups was the choice of tactics but the objective was largely the same, to overturn the systems of power.

It was easy for the mass media to characterise the riots as nothing more than mindless thugs stealing the latest designer trainers, but it was deeply political. Violence always is. The destruction of the shop fronts was the destruction of one of the great symbols of capitalism and the pro-growth market states. It has striking and disturbing parallels to the destruction of the Easter Island statues when the population realised their fate had been sealed by their elites squandering the vital resources of the island in a futile competition to build the biggest and most pretentious statues. Destroying the symbols of power linked the desperation of the inner cities with that of Easter Island were those trapped in failing communities can see no viable future. The speed with which these took hold across the country along with their intensity is also a powerful statement that the legitimacy of the system of governance is breaking down.

At the extreme end of the anti-growth market states are the terrorist organisations such as Al Qaeda, who see no point and no place for peaceful dialogue in the pursuit of destroying the pro-growth market states. Like the pro-growth

market states it fights, it is not constrained by the borders of nation states, but can use nation states in support of its objectives such as seeking safe haven in Pakistan or funding from Saudi Arabia. It is also no coincidence that Al Qaeda's roots are in nations that are either suffering the most through climate change or subject to dictatorships that are propped up by the developed world's desperate need for oil. By not having the overheads of a state, Al Qaeda hold the trump cards as it can develop a new form of warfare; it can bleed to death its nation-state and pro-growth markets states enemies by holding them to stalemate while parasitically siphoning off money through front charities or other illegal actions such as drug running and kidnapping. As America and the West is finding out, the costs of this form of warfare are crippling. It costs the US one million dollars per year to maintain a soldier in Afghanistan, yet Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters come virtually free. It is easy to dismiss their ideology as nihilistic, but it is equally nihilistic of the governments of the industrial powers to continue prevaricating over climate change and ignoring the ecological destruction of their growth dependent policies. One set of nihilistic polices sets the environment for another, especially when its is clear that the most powerful industrial groups abuse their power and co-operate together to prevent effective climate change agreements. While this can never justify the suicide attacks of the Twin Towers, if we fail to explore the possibility that these are the likely responses to the failures of industrial democracy we will experience many more of them in the future, which in a world beset by nuclear proliferation, may also be orders of magnitude worse.

For those trapped in these new wars amongst the people, they are already finding them as brutal as anything that preceded them. In common with all other trends in warfare, if not stopped these will kill more and cost more than their predecessors. It is a form of warfare that will spread from the currently unstable regions of the world to those that are stable as people become increasingly aware that the governments that represent them are unable to provide either security or opportunity. This war driven by ecological collapse is the natural end point of industrialisation. It is already seeing the use of weapons of mass destruction such as the chemical attacks in Syria and wide spread human rights abuses. It is the new face of the Third World War and it has already started and is growing on many fronts. Its span covers the increasingly brutal fights against tar sands and fracking to the bombing runs of jets in the Middle East and the suicide attacks in city centres around the world. It is also a war that will increasingly be seen as a fight between the pro-growth market states and the anti-growth market states. It may seem fanciful to claim that this is of a World War magnitude, but it is only because the pro-growth market states are winning so comprehensively at the moment and being so successful in silencing the majority of the anti-growth market states that most do not recognise the magnitude of the war. The approximate thirty year time lag between increasing CO2 and the destructive global heating it causes also works permanently in the favour of the pro-growth market states.

Paradoxically, at the same time as the very structure of the nation state becomes increasingly under threat, the US and UK military are war gaming

the impact of climate change and probably doing so in conjunction with every other military in the world. The US Centre for Naval Assessment (CNA) has issued reports on how climate change will drive future hostilities and transform previously stable parts of the planet into instability⁶. These are not benign plans to ensure stability in an increasingly unstable world. The central premise of the CNA report is that the US remains as the world's pre-eminent economic and military power and as such it will be forced to intervene in conflicts to preserve what dominance it has left. This is fundamentally at odds with the need to cooperate to minimise collective destruction. The interventions and wars being planned for also require that a large carbon intensive industrial base is maintained which forces reliance on the destructive pro-growth market states right to the end while making any reductions in the carbon cutbacks to have any chance of avoiding the worst case scenarios impossible

The people that form the backbone of military forces will increasingly be torn between representing the interests of the pro-growth market states which or finding acceptable partners in the anti-growth market states that they can fight for and fight with. They will be doing this as nation states attempt to remain viable to the very end as billions of people across the planet are forced into starvation and will seek refuge through mass migration while developed nations become increasingly nationalistic and attempt to stem immigration, using force if need be. The future difficulty of maintaining an armed force that is loyal to a collapsing nation state and prepared to risk death in futile conflicts is a powerful motivator for the drone warfare programmes that all the main industrialised nations are embarking on.

In the short time left before war amongst the people goes out of control and spreads globally destabilising all in its path, then it is incumbent on the anti-growth campaigners to recognise what is happening and to start articulating genuine alternatives. The planet has long since passed the point that action on climate change can be limited to proselytising on hypothetical ideas such as developing a renewable green economy or introducing carbon trading, which has largely been the approach so far. The debate needs to extend into the more complex areas of understanding how security and climate change will interact when we are forced into the myriad of contradictions by attempting to maintain the integrity of the nation state with its symbiotic relationship with the destructive pro-growth market states and the military-industrial complex in particular. This is not a debate that cannot be ignored, yet it is one that has not even started and options for this are unlikely to ever be put on ballot papers during elections.

Between the warring factions of the pro-growth and the anti-growth market states lies the nation state. This is the no-mans land in the battle. It is this that both groups are ultimately fighting to seize control of. Today the pro-growth market states control it. As a result, the monopoly of violence that nation-states are based upon is used to protect the interests of economic expansion,

⁶National Security and the Threat of Climate Change
<http://www.cna.org/reports/climate>

international competitiveness and environmental exploitation in the interests of the pro-growth market states. This is the inevitable conclusion of industrial democracy. But this is a fragile battle that can swing many ways and the anti-growth market states must fight and protest together across nation state borders to regain control.

But protesting for change is a dangerous game as the Arab Spring and Britain's inner city riots demonstrate, especially when there is no widely held vision of what is wanted. As societies transform, they can either emerge into environmentally focused bodies prepared to work together to preserve the future of the planet and this will require an entirely different form of governance and security. Alternatively, they can descend into Syrian style chaos run by war lords and gangsters, from which no co-operation will be possible. The one thing they cannot do is stay as they are, yet to maintain things the way they are is the objective of much of our investments and effort. We will soon come to realise that all the preparations that are being made for nation-state economic competition and military warfare will provide no protection for what is to come. Instead, they will force societies to dwell in the doubtful joy of destruction as they descend in to chaos and violence while the environment is plundered for the remaining resources needed for further competition.