



# THE BASE AMONG THE JACK PINE

*notes on the  
Camp Grayling Expansion  
on Anishinabewaki*

*1st edition*

## NO CAMP GRAYLING EXPANSION!

Camp Grayling is a Michigan Army National Guard training facility located at the headwaters of the so-called Au Sable River in Northern Lower so-called Michigan, on lands stolen from the Odawa and Ojibwa. At 230 square miles, it is the largest National Guard training site in the country - larger than the cities of so-called Detroit (139 sq. mi), so-called Grand Rapids (45 sq. mi), and so-called Lansing (37 sq. mi) together. The massive training facility is used not just by the Army and National Guard, but by police departments, private security forces, and foreign military units.

In Jan. 2022, the National Guard proposed an expansion of the land-use agreement with the Michigan Department of Natural Resources. The new agreement would add an additional 250 square miles of National Guard base to the wetland forests of Northern Lower so-called Michigan. The expansion would bring the total size of the base to 490 sq. miles, twice the size of the city of so-called Chicago.

The military claims the massive land grab is to provide training space for emerging threats, requiring “immersive, multi-domain exercises which integrate land, air, maritime, cyber, and space domains over greater distances than those afforded with Camp Grayling’s current size. The newly proposed training areas, if approved, would be used for periodic low impact activities such as drone operation, cyber, electronic warfare, space, and communication system installation and operation.”

In addition to advancing new technologies, the Army and National Guard are also offering their training facilities to private companies. What’s known as the “National All-Domain Warfighting Center” includes the current 230 sq. miles of training space at Camp Grayling and 17,000 sq. miles of airspace over the Alpena Combat Readiness Training Center. These facilities are rented out to private companies hoping to test war-making technologies such as surveillance systems and weaponry.

Camp Grayling has already polluted the groundwater beneath so-called Grayling, MI. PFAS chemicals were first found in 2016 near the Army Airfield, on the northern half of the base. In 2019, the wells of 1,100 nearby homes were tested, and 300 of those samples tested positive for PFAS. The military only paid for 18 of these homes to have water rerouted

from the municipal water supplies, while the other 282 are periodically given tap-filters by the city's health department. Many residents feel abandoned, left to find their own solutions for their poisoned water. As recently as 2021, stormwater runoff from Camp Grayling into so-called Lake Margrethe was found to have 439ppt PFAS chemicals, over 6 times the EPA guidelines.

Both sites continue to operate dangerously close to two of the largest waterways in so-called Michigan, the so-called Au Sable and Manistee Rivers. Two rivers flowing opposite directions, one toward Naadowewi-gichigami (aka Lake Huron) and the other toward Ininwewi-gichigami (aka Lake Michigan). Two rivers separated only by a mile and a half wide portage just west of so-called Grayling. Hundreds of miles of cold shallow waters carrying generations of trout and perch upstream and then back down. Two rivers surrounded by vast wetlands carved out by retreating ice sheets, just like the Gichigamiin (aka the Great Lakes) themselves. Forests that are sprinkled with Hemlock, Yellow Birch, Black Spruce.

And the Jack Pine, where a tiny yellow-breasted bird makes its home in the base of the tree.

A Camp Grayling expansion is a bet on a future without the Kirtland's Warbler or the Black Bear. It is a quiet, empty river that gets lower and lower each year until it finally dries up completely. It is a fighter jet that breaks the sound barrier and no one in the forest is startled, because no one is around to hear it. It is a bomb dropped thousands of miles away on relatives we have yet to meet, from a sky that is also without birds. Or from space, burning ocean and rock just to get there and look down on a faceless earth, wondering where to conquer next.

It is an escalation by those who make war against those who don't.

**We say "fuck no" to the Camp Grayling expansion and any expansion of the United States war machine.**

**against all empires  
and for the steady streams and rivers  
no soldiers in the forest  
no space race on stolen land  
no camp grayling  
stop the military dystopia**

## THE RIVERS, A TIMELINE

*The so-called Au Sable and Manistee rivers and their watersheds were formed by retreating glaciers about 13,000 years ago, around 11,000 B.C. Meltwater from the surrounding ice sheets carried away finer silt and clay, but left behind heavier deposits. Over time, deep deposits of these heavy sands and gravel accumulated in the upper watersheds of both rivers. Glacial drainage ways created by the flowing waters formed the river valleys there today.*

*7,000 to 500 B.C. - As the ecosystem rapidly changed after the last glacial retreat, fish, game, and food stuff like nuts became seasonally available in the area to the people living there.*

*500 B.C. - Large all-season camps are established along the lower reaches of the rivers and coastline. Smaller camps further upstream and upland were used for seasonal hunting, harvesting, and fishing. The river and its tributaries provided a primary transportation route between villages across the Lower Peninsula. An inland travel route from Naadowewi-gichigami (aka Lake Huron) to Ininwewi-gichigami (aka Lake Michigan) followed the so-called Au Sable and Manistee rivers, making a short portage (1.5 miles) between the two via so-called Lake Margrethe (formerly Portage Lake) and so-called Portage Creek.*

*796 A.D. - According to Midewiwin scrolls, Potawatomi elder Shup-Shewana dates the formation of the Niswi-mishkodewinan - the Council of Three Fires - at Michilimackinac. The three tribes are the Ojibwa (older sibling, keepers of ceremony and song), the Odawa (middle sibling, keepers of trade), and the Potawatomi (younger sibling, keepers of the fire). The three tribes are all part of the Anishinaabeg, meaning "original human". Anishinaabe people speak variations of Anishinaabemowin.*

*900 A.D. - The Migration of Anishinabe peoples from the east coast of Turtle Island to Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin (The Five Freshwater Seas, aka the Great Lakes) region takes place over 500 years. They kept a sacred fire burning this entire period, travelling by the thousands and stopping at several major landmarks.*

*(History of this period difficult to find due to colonization)*

# ENDANGERED RELATIVES

1820 A.D. - The so-called Au Sable and Manistee rivers start appearing on settler maps.

1828 A.D. - American Fur Company established a post in so-called Au Sable.

1836 A.D. - Treaty Of Washington is signed by the Ojibwe and Odawa and the United States. This treaty ceded an area of approximately 13,837,207 acres in the northwest portion of the Lower Peninsula and the eastern portion of the Upper Peninsula. The treaty guarantees natives hunting and fishing rights to the land.

1848 A.D. - Settlers establish an extensive fishery in the delta of the so-called Au Sable river. These boats caught up massive amounts of trout, walleye, and whitefish.

1865-1900 A.D. - Settlers begin extensive lumbering in the area, using the streams to carry logs to downstream lumber mills. By the turn of the century, the logging industry faded away due to over-logging. Vast swaths of land were sold to the state and reforested. This reforestation accounts for much of the forests we see today. At the height of this logging period, the fisheries dwindled due to waste in the river from logging practices.

1873 A.D. - A railroad was completed to so-called Grayling. This led to an increase in fishing tourism to the area, as well as the settler discovery of the Arctic Grayling in the world-renowned waters of the so-called Au Sable river.

Early 1900s A.D. - The Arctic Grayling disappears from the waters of the so-called Au Sable river due to over-fishing. Brook and Rainbow Trout are introduced to the river, stocking it for the area's important fishing and tourism industries.

1920s A.D. - Colonization opens up more areas of the rivers to settler populations, bringing more anglers, hunters, canoes, and industrialization to the area.



The Wee Rubus is here to talk “legally protected”. The settler-colonial class society we live in loves to prescribe value and priority to some lives over others. They love creating metrics to dictate who dies and who lives, to keep the beings of this world on the edge of death and masquerade about when some nearly-eradicated lives manage to survive and resurge in the dystopia the state’s created.

All that being said, we can exploit the state’s weird fucking colonial perversions to stop Camp Grayling (realistically, only a little bit). I believe there are vulnerable animal/plant buggers that the state has nearly driven to extinction and are looking to ‘protect’ within the CG expansion areas. This means we can L.A.R.P. as conservationists (kinky!), find, and document these friends as a means of fighting the expansion.

If you are interested in learning about what kind of “Legally Protected Species” might be out in the expansion areas, here are some resources to soothe your curiosity:

- <https://mnfi.anr.msu.edu/species/plants> ; a list of protected plant friends, includes links to detailed descriptions, pictures, info on where they’ve been found before, and what plant community types they are associated with.

# THE GRAYLING

- <https://mnfi.anr.msu.edu/species/animals> ; a list of protected fishies, buggies, mammals and more, with detailed description, pictures, and habitats.

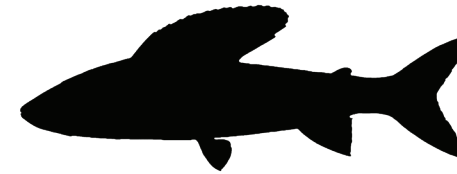
- if it is more enjoyable or efficient to learn about “legally protected species” through plant community types and habits, you can find more info on community types on the same website! It’s a pretty dang good website for the make-believe conservationist.

How do you summarize the ecology of 500 square miles of proposed Camp Grayling land? Either you don’t, or it’s a whimsical endeavor. People sometimes dub the area “the woods” - what kind of woods are they? They are surely not a single wood; you could walk a quarter mile in any direction and meet multiple woods distinctly different from one another: white and red cedar forests growing from dark and deep packed mud; white oak and white pine amongst a blanket of sweet and oak fern; fir and hazel poking out from an expansive aspen stand; cherries and aspen; jack pine standing alone in a recent cut; a jack pine army; uniform red pine plantations next to feral maturing forests, dry and wet, sick and happy.

There is so much more than forest here too. There are barrens: tracts of grasses where all the people are young. The grasses can be higher than the trees where they’ve recently clear cut. There are meadows, fens, prairies, and seas of fern swaying in the winds. The Rivers! They rip through the land and nearly meet! Follow them for miles and they, just like the woods, take new forms.

I can go on and on in poetic musing about what is in the “woods” but I’m not sure I can provoke an adequate vision in a stranger’s mind of what it is or what you’ll find there. I’m not a scientist and I’m not sure latin-names and eco-lingo would help me summarize the seemingly endless and magical convergence of life that I’ve been romping around in lately. If science would help, ask a scientist, but if you’re asking me, friendly woods-dwelling anarcho-crustbucket, I’d say you’d just have to get here and fight off the national guard in order to figure out what this place is all about!

*Signed, Wee Rubus*



One species of note is the Arctic Grayling. It is a native fish to the cold upper rivers and streams of this place and is a member of the salmon family. Because of its renowned availability in the beloved waters of the so-called Au Sable river, it was overfished. Thanks to that, and the booming lumber industry just before the turn of the century, the Grayling disappeared from the water sometime in the early 1900s.

The colonial entity now known as Grayling, MI began when a settler named Michael Hartwick built a hotel along the railroad tracks. He had originally planned to call this place he’d decided was his “Crawford”, but many of his patrons preferred to call it “Grayling”. So it stuck. Through the years since, Grayling (the colonial entity) grew due to its proximity to both the so-called Au Sable and the Manistee rivers, and the industries built on them.

Trophy anglers from all over the world came to fish for the Grayling. In those days, it was easy to catch a hundred pounds of Grayling in a single day. Some anglers didn’t pull in their reels until there were 4 or 5 Grayling attached to their hooks.

Only a couple decades pass and the bodies of trees would fill the rivers, who would carry them from inland to the coasts like they have for so many others. Whole communities of living things ripped from the ground, from the streams, from their homes. By the time the railroad was built, the



# THE NATIONAL GUARD

*cw: anti-Black, anti-Indigenous violence*

settlers had long been displacing the people who made homes in this geography. Entities like Grayling, or the Hanson-Singer Lumber Co., or the United States cannot exist without generations of colonization taking place.

Officially, the land between the lakes was ceded to the colonial entity “the United States” in 1836, a whole generation before the railroad that led to Grayling was built. The generation before the land was ceded, Tecumseh was resisting colonial expansion, fighting alongside British soldiers against the occupying empire of the so-called United States in the siege of so-called Detroit.

Entire histories are lost to settler expansion, to extraction, to the insatiable thirst for accumulation. New names are given to places and old names are forgotten. Perhaps ironically, these new names are references to an exotic past, something foreign and un-American (non-colonial entity). Perhaps, they are simply named after a rare fish that was once found in this place that settlers couldn't keep their hands off. One whose history is lost, seeming to begin with its discovery by settlers and ending shortly after.

Conservationists proclaim that the Arctic Grayling should return to the rivers here. I wonder what their goal is. Is it to once again feel the thrill of discovery? To accumulate more wealth? Is it a political performance? Is it being revitalized just to be made extinct again?

What about the rivers and forests - are they just here for the recreational value? For the military to test their weapons in? What will they be saying about the place a generation from now? What about 7 generations from now?

*The National Guard was founded informally in 1636 and is the oldest unit of the so-called US military. It originated as a coalition of settler militias unified to exterminate Pequot Indigenous peoples and “provide security and structure to early colonies.” The National Guard began as a genocidal force against righteous resistance to the US settler-colonial state and marked the beginning of one of the most repressive, brutal imperialist militaries the world has ever seen.*

*The National Guard went on to protect settlers during conquest and western expansion; suffocating Indigenous resistance to colonialism by murdering entire societies*

*Then the Insurrections Act of 1807 passed, which gives the president the power to call for National Guard intervention to suppress civil unrest, insurrection, and rebellion. The National Guard can use any means necessary to maintain order and enforce the law and/or protect constitutional “rights”.*

*The National Guard became officially recognized in 1901 in what was called the Dick Act and they really lived up to that name.*

*The Air National Guard was created in 1915 and has supported the so-called US in imperial conquests like the Korean War, Vietnam War, Counter-terror after 9/11, War in Afghanistan, and much more.*

*National Guard Interventions:*

- Deployed to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion, an insurgent response to aggressive and predatory tax laws as well as settlers wanting the federal gov't to enact stricter violence toward Indians*
- Deployed to break the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, a worker's protest to poverty wages and terrible labor conditions*
- Deployed 4 separate times (!) during desegregation of schools in response to Black students crossing “color lines” to prevent those students from entering segregated schools. Guardsmen were eventually federalized in order to enforce desegregation*
- Deployed to patrol, police and escort protestors in the Selma to Montgomery Voter's Right march, a reaction to racialised police violence*
- Deployed to control 1967 Detroit Riots, an insurgent response of Black residents to police and racist state brutality*
- Deployed to crush riots in response to the assassination of MLK*
- Deployed to distribute mail and break the US Postal Worker Strike of 1970, a reaction to anti-union laws*
- Deployed to repress student anti-war protests in 1970, killing 4 and injuring 9 students at Kent State University*
- Deployed to control and deter the immigration of Cuban refugees in 1980*
- Deployed to reinstate state control in climate emergency; Hurricane Hugo in 1989*
- Deployed to suppress insurgency in response to the police murder of Rodney King in so-called LA in 1992*
- Deployed to reinstate state order and suppress riots during the George Floyd Uprising, a response to police execution of an unarmed Black man in 2020*
- MANY MORE...*

# COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN SO-CALLED MICHIGAN

cw anti-Blackness

## so-called Hillsdale, 1964

Employees of the Essex Wire Corporation walked off their jobs in so-called Hillsdale, MI in February 1964. Fights broke out between strikers, company men, onlookers, and scabs. Police chose to be present but not intervene and escalate. Essex Co. blamed the workers for the violence and hired private guards to protect property and personnel, as well as hired in scabs to continue production. The company intentionally hired Black workers from out of town to aggravate the racist all-white strikers, using marginalized people as pawns, to provoke the police to intervene.

The workers escalated, setting off a bomb in the plant and attacking cars and trucks carrying scab workers and guards. Fifteen masked men broke into the power plant and tried to force the employees to cut power to the plant, leaving peacefully when told it would cut power to the entire city.

On May 26, a scab crashed their car into the car of a union higher-up and slashed him in the face. Pro-strike spectators turned into an angry mob and 2 scabs were arrested by police. The mob descended on the jail and only dispersed when told to do so by the union president. At midnight, the arrestees were released and sent home with two armed guards, both of whom were Black. Leftover parts of the mob attacked the guards, shooting one.

On May 28, Governor Romney proclaimed a "state of emergency" and banned all firearms in the city, evicted the armed guards from the plant, and limited public gatherings. All this, as well as ordered the Essex Plant be shut down.

Then, suddenly in June 2nd, after a visit to so-called Hillsdale, Governor Romney reopened the plant under the protection of a heavy National Guard and police presence.

A total of 668 National Guardsmen were deployed for 2 weeks to prevent strikers from destroying company property and attacking Essex Co. higher-ups. The scabs however, we left to fend for themselves once they left the protection of the Essex Plant.

## so-called Benton Harbor, 1966

So-called Benton Harbor and so-called St. Joseph, MI are known to many as "twin cities," but those who live there know this isn't true. The two cities are separated by a physical divide, the Senathwen Zibe (aka St. Joseph River), as well as a stark racial and economic divide. So-called Benton Harbor is predominately Black, while so-called St. Joseph is predominately white. Famously, an example of this violent cultural border is the 1991 drowning of a 16-year-old boy who was either running from the police after breaking into a car or lynched for dating a white girl, depending on where you live.

In 1966, like most cities in the so-called US, the cities both touted an entirely white police force. Racial tensions between the divided cities marginalized Black residents, who were harassed by the police, as well as white residents. On August 29th, 300 Black youth from so-called Benton Harbor gathered to protest the harassment. They were met with resistance from white residents as well as the police, and were eventually attacked by both groups.

The youth fought back, hurling rocks at police. A riot broke out and a young man named Cecil Hunt was shot by a white man riding in a truck full of armed white counter-protestors. The police intervened, but never convicted the murderer. The rioting persisted until Sep 5th when Governor Romney ordered the National Guard into so-called Benton Harbor.

## so-called Detroit, 1967

Detroit Police raided an after-hours bar in the city's west side, which was hosting a homecoming party for Black veterans. They attempted to arrest everyone present. A crowd gathered and began throwing bottles at police. State Police and National Guard were alerted, but couldn't make it in time. The riot grew for the next few days.

8,500 MI National Guardsmen were deployed to assist Detroit and State police in squashing the uprising. National Guardsmen were federalized, allowing them to make arrests, and fire their weapons at civilians.

On July 25, Guardsmen had positioned a tank directly out front of Tanya Blanding's apartment. They had falsely identified her family's apartment as the source of sniper-fire, and after seeing the flash of a cigarette lighter, opened fire on her apartment with rifles and the tank's .50 caliber machine gun. Tanya was 4 years old. The sergeant in charge was exonerated, and continued to serve in the National Guard.

During the riots, 43 people were killed in total. 9 of those people were shot by National Guard rifles; 14 by the police. The Guardsmen were exclusively white, from rural backgrounds, and inexperienced. Many remark on their serious mishandling of the situation, though the authors of this zine feel the existence of any army is a serious mishandling of the situation.

## Dr. King Assassination, 1968

After the assassination of MLK, many people, militant and pacifist alike, erupted into protest. 8,397 Michigan National Guardsmen were deployed into the streets of several major cities for 5 days to once again quell anger felt by colonized people living under occupation.

## so-called Benton Harbor, 2005

A Black man named Arthur Partee died as police tried to arrest him in April 2005. In June of the same year, another Black man, Terrance Shurn, led police on a high-speed chase on motorcycle when he died. A few years prior, 7-year-old Trent Patterson also died in a police chase. Residents who were still grieving other deaths at the hands of the state did not believe the stories given by the police, and again rioted in response. On June 17th The National Guard was again dispatched to so-called Benton Harbor, sending only 3 guardsmen and an armored van because of the outpouring of assistance from State Police and other jurisdictions, who had been accumulating militarized equipment from the military for many years prior.

## George Floyd Uprising, 2020

During the uprisings that occurred after the police murder of George Floyd in so-called Minneapolis in May of 2020, the National Guard was deployed to several cities in so-called Michigan. In so-called Grand Rapids, a curfew was declared after a riot had broken out the night before, where thousands of dollars of nice shit was liberated for everyone. At the time of curfew, police and National Guardsmen donned gas masks and began firing "safe smoke" (glorified smoke bombs) into the crowd, striking one protestor. The sight of dozens of police standing in front of several National Guard humvees discouraged further protest. The same happened in so-called Kalamazoo, where National Guardsmen were stationed all over downtown to intimidate and discourage further protests.

## Jacob Blake Uprising, 2020

In August of 2020, so-called Kenosha, Wisconsin erupted in unrest after Kenosha Police shot Jacob Blake 7 times in his back and side, seriously injuring him. Michigan National Guard was deployed to Wisconsin, alongside Guardsmen from multiple other states, after two days of rioting, and the murders of Joseph Rosenbaum and Anthony Huber by a far-right counter-protestor.

# THE BASE, A TIMELINE

1913: Lumber baron Rasmus Hanson gifts original Camp Grayling acreage to the Michigan Army National Guard (MIANG). At the time, it was customary for logging companies to pay their taxes by giving land that had already been cleared to the state

1914-1918: Camp Grayling is used as a mobilization center before and during WWI

1917: Camp Grayling Officer's Club was built for military higher-ups; it is still in use today

1920's: While CG is mainly an infantry training center, because of its size, pilots begin training there as well. Extensive training by infantry, cavalry, and airborne groups continue through the 1930's

1937-1939: Major influx of NG troops arrive at CG in preparation for the US entrance into WWII

1960's: CG becomes significant training center for marines preparing to go to so-called Vietnam

1975: DNR approaches MIANG regarding seasonal activity restrictions in Kirtland's warbler nesting habitats, which included a tank range. DNR asked for a halt in training near their habitats between June 1st and August 15th, angering the military, as well as local business owners, who felt their revenue would be threatened by the restrictions

1983: Clarence and Norma Davey are killed on the evening of August 6th when their car is hit by a Michigan National Guard truck near Camp Grayling (CG)

1984: CG is expanded when an additional 47,000 acres is leased from the DNR

1986: The Maneuver Area Training Equipment Site (MATES) facility is built

1987: Trout Unlimited and AuSable, Inc. file a lawsuit against MIANG stating they violated the MI Freedom of Information Act by not supplying requested documents regarding CG expansion

1993: Michigan State Police begin training at CG

1994: Army National Guard troops accidentally fire a 105mm artillery shell from Camp Grayling two miles past its target and into a subdivision in the next county, causing severe damage and sending shrapnel flying through a house owned by a couple from so-called Otsego County

1996: Members of the Michigan Militia were banned from training at CG

2001: Northern Michigan Law Enforcement Training Group is created and headquartered at Camp Grayling; they will regularly conduct urban combat training on the base

2011: Camp Grayling and Alpena Combat Readiness Training Center holds the first Northern Strike joint training exercise

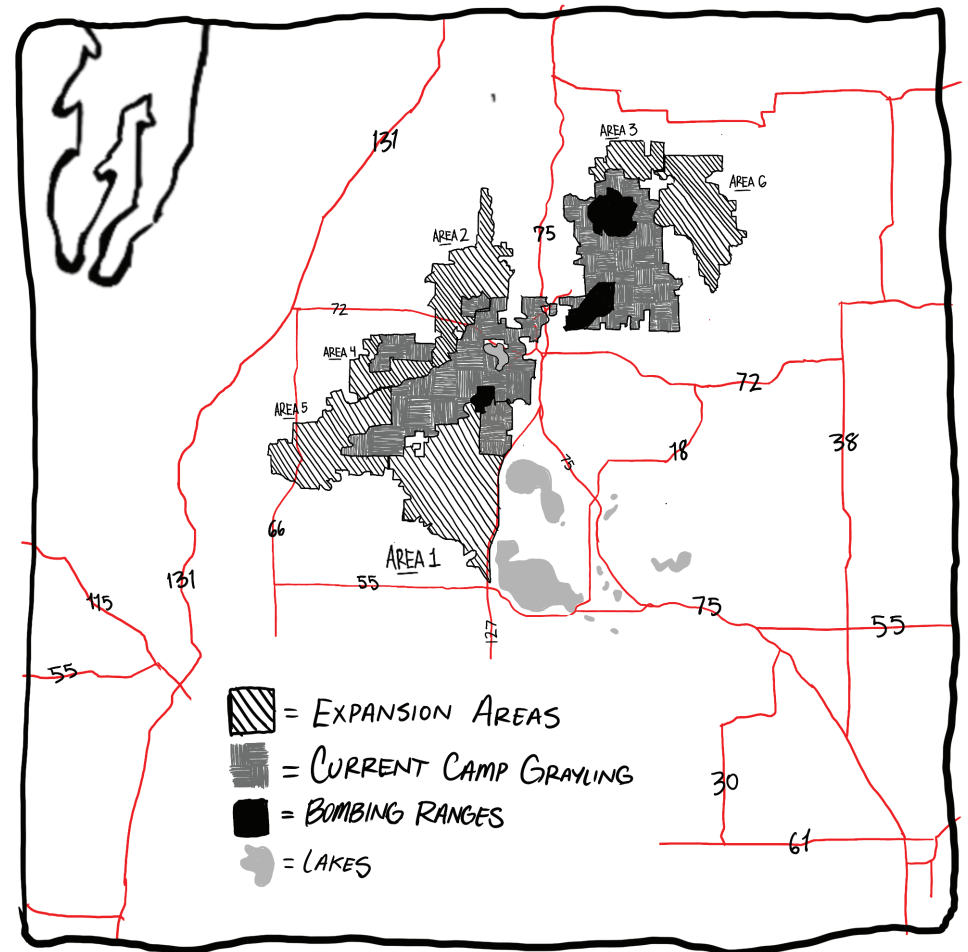
2014: MIANG troops accidentally drop a 155 mm M777 howitzer, a canon type weapon, off of a helicopter near Lovells

2014: 7 CG employees, including two lieutenant colonels, are dismissed on allegations of "rampant" theft, moonlighting, and nepotism

2015: Armed forces from so-called Latvia, Denmark, Lithuania, Liberia, and Canada attend Northern Strike exercises at CG

2016: Six training bombs and one training missile accidentally fall from a military plane near so-called Grayling

# THE EXPANSION



*Area 1 (52,000 acres):*

*Potential site for Electronic Warfare Range due to minimal privately owned lands*

*Area identified for additional mounted and dismounted maneuver areas*

*Expanding operations south allows for simultaneous operations within the 30-complex; ranges would no longer be limited by current Surface Danger Zones*

*Increased land availability decreases environmental impact overall*

*Area 2 (31,000 acres):*

*This area would primarily be used for maneuver and bivouacking (short-term camping) operations.*

*Area 3 (11,000 acres):*

*This area is already within the current restricted airspace which allows more flexibility with missions and scheduling*

*Facilitates firefighter aircraft training at nearby proposed austere runway*

*Assault strip/austere runway is near for expeditionary airfield operations*

*Unmanned aerial systems within restricted airspace*

*Area 4 (11,000 acres):*

*Lands are contiguous with current Camp Grayling boundary and support maneuvers*

*This area allows for additional movement between Camp Grayling training areas west of I-75*

*Area 5 (31,000 acres):*

*Additional dismounted training areas among contiguous lands*

*Potential site for Electronic Warfare Range due to minimal privately owned lands*

*Area 6 (32,000 acres):*

*This area would be utilized as a maneuver area for sustainment and operational depth around the northern training areas*

*Potential site for Electronic Warfare Range and Counter UAS*

*168,000 total additional acres*

*148,000 current acres*

*316,000 total future acreage*

*\*The expansion area agreements are still undergoing review processes, and size and shape change often. This map is an artists rendition, and doesn't exactly reflect what land is included. The DNR has an interactive map resource called "Camp Grayling Public Viewer" that gives up-to-date information on individual land parcels. Once an agreement is reached, each parcel will be reviewed individually.*

The Department of Natural Resources (DNR) is the government bureaucracy endowed with broad authority over all land considered public domain. Another sick twist of the settlers' knife, they may buy, sell, lease, exchange, or condemn land for any purpose they deem necessary. The way the DNR gives land access to entities such as the National Guard are through dense legal documents called land-use agreements (LUA). Camp Grayling and MIANG have had multiple ongoing land-use agreements with the DNR over the current CG territory for decades. They outline conditions and standards of use for each parcel of land, and they are renewed every twenty years.

On January 11, 2022, Camp Grayling "major general" Paul Rogers met with DNR director Dan ("Little Dan") Eichinger to discuss

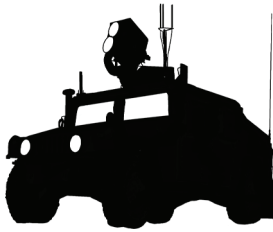
an expansion to the existing LUA. The plan they have come up with is that, should the land-use agreement be approved, the DNR will lease the expansion area to the National Guard for free. The DNR reports they would work out an additional 20-year lease for the expansion, subject to annual review. The DNR is not responsible for conducting annual reviews, instead they trust military personnel to plan and execute the yearly undertaking. As you know, the proposed expansion would more than double the size of the existing camp, and it would become the largest land lease in state history. The DNR and MIANG have not yet released how much money the state will make off of the proposed expansion.

Much of the local critique against the expansion is the threat it guarantees to the water. While the new LAU would specify that no exercises can be done within 1,500 feet of specific bodies of water--such as streams, rivers, and lakes--there is no such protection for the wetlands. Essentially, the LAU will allow the military to run training all over these delicate and unique ecosystems. As we all know, the water in this area is connected: through tributaries, watersheds, and runoff. Even if MIANG actually respects the 1,500 foot buffer-zone, contaminants from the polluted wetlands will find their way into the systems that connect the streams to the rivers to the lakes.

There is little information available on the expansion timeline. The DNR stated that, should the land-use agreement be approved and if the expansion passes environmental and parcel reviews, completion of the expansion proposal "could be more than a year away." The DNR and the MIANG hope to have the land-use agreement settled by the end of 2022 so that reviews may begin in 2023. Some reports suggest, since allegedly there will not be any major permanent structures built on the expansion, that the project could be complete as early as 2025. It will likely take much longer than this, one reason being that, on average, it takes approximately three years to complete an Environmental Impact Statement report. Until we know whether or not the land-use agreement for the expansion is approved, we will not know for certain when the reviews will begin, or exactly what reviews will be required.



# NADWC AND OTHER MONSTERS



## NADWC

The National All-Domain War-Fighting Center (NADWC) was established in 2020 as a military interface to the private and commercial sectors to get new technologies tested by military personnel. As the domain of space is integrated into military actions, both here and globally, the Army National Guard and the Department of Defense see Camp Grayling and the network of military bases across so-called Michigan as the perfect place to test new technologies, including weapons, communications, surveillance, vehicular, AI, robotic, and electromagnetic systems.

The NADWC encompasses the capabilities of Camp Grayling as well as the Alpena Training Center, combining their ranges, airspace, and waterways, including 17,000-square-mile special-use airspace that extends over a portion of Naadowewi-gichigami. They see this system of training areas as a premier location to replicate the future war-fighting environment, offering training across all domains. Because of its similarity in climate and natural features to eastern and central Europe, technologies can be tested in an environment that resembles the terrain of near-future wars. Military allies from all over travel to so-called Michigan to train alongside US empire forces.

Michigan Army National Guard (MIANG) bases are also very accessible for visiting units. Surrounded by the Gichigamiin, there are several deep-water shipping ports, including one in so-called Alpena, that

enable efficient transportation of equipment. Shipping lanes such as the so-called Saint Lawrence Seaway make it possible to efficiently ship vehicles and equipment to and from Northern so-called Michigan from countries in Eastern so-called Europe in less time than other major U.S. ports.

Camp Grayling also features a railhead that can accommodate the loading and unloading of 50 railcars and allows units to efficiently move vehicles and equipment to and from the training area. An adjacent equipment site has 125 maintenance and storage bays for support.

The MIANG works closely with other government agencies, industry, and academia, to test systems such as autonomous vehicles, high-tech guidance systems, and communications equipment, at its training facilities. Entities within the defense industry can pay just \$147/day to rent access to NADWC facilities, knowledge, and personnel, making it an extremely cheap option for weapons manufacturers and paramilitaries to test their stuff.

The tactics for all-domain warfare span a wide range: from employing troops and weapons systems to leveraging functionality between space systems, fifth-generation aircraft, offensive and defensive cyber operations, electronic warfare, artificial intelligence, hypersonic technologies, and unmanned platforms. All of which are being tested and trained for at Camp Grayling.

## Electronic Warfare

“Electronic Warfare” (EW) is a phrase used by Camp Grayling officials when they state what they intend to utilize the expansion area for. It’s a broad term that describes a range of military action designed to manage awareness of the battle space through control of the electromagnetic spectrum (EMS) and the denial of enemy access to it. Signal jamming, electronic intelligence collection, and electromagnetic and direct energy weapons all fall under the umbrella of EW.

While EW capabilities are generally not platform dependent, access to ground, air, and naval training areas and facilities make Camp Grayling an attractive place to conduct live and simulated maneuvers to further develop these technologies. EW in the 21st century is heavily dependent on artificial intelligence and machine learning programs to identify specific threats to EMS superiority and classes of threats, and because of the learning nature of cognitive system technologies, the private military technology industry requires government furnished equipment and operational data to train the systems in development. Weapons contractors like Raytheon, Northrup Grumman, and Lockheed Martin are already heavily invested in EW systems. The contracts they receive from the DoD to design and manufacture EW systems are an important source of revenue for these merchants of death.

Advances in EW do not always come from weapons contractors or necessarily stay on the battlefield, though. Private tech companies such as Anduril, Palantir, DeDrone, and Fog Data Science play a role in creating EW software, hardware, and data management solutions for the DoD. However they also provide these technologies to their customers in the prison industrial complex, law enforcement, Department of Homeland Security, and in the commercial corporate space. A recent shift in hardware acquisition by the defense industry away from proprietary systems and towards “off-the-shelf” commercially available hardware will further blur the line and deepen the partnerships between the the defense industry and its state and corporate customers.

During the 2020 George Floyd Uprising, state law enforcement, various federal agencies, and the National Guard frequently used EW tactics to control crowds, surveil protestors, and assist in counterinsurgency operations. The LRAD that many state forces used frequently in an attempt to exact compliance, through pain, from rowdy crowds are a Direct Energy Weapon. Stingrays and dirtboxes that snoop on people’s electronic data, ripping identifying and sometimes incriminating information, are an EMS surveillance tactic. EW exercises conducted at Camp Grayling will undoubtedly play a role in advances in AI and machine learning capabilities that will make these already sinister tactics faster, more accurate, and more effective.

Military, police, and private forces around the world readily acknowledge that EW is a key component of dominating the battle spaces of the future. Hidden behind their obfuscating language and industry practices is also an acknowledgement that what they mean by “battle space” is not limited to state-on-state warfare. The battle space they seek to dominate is prisons. It is borders.

### **Drone Tanks**

In April of ‘21, eight Remote Combat Vehicles went to Camp Grayling for initial tests in combat. Four of them Light Units, built by QuinetiQ and Pratt Miller. The other four, Medium Units, built by Textron Systems. All Eight were reconfigured with army software to allow for effective combat and are currently manned like a Drone aircraft. However, the army is hoping that through improvements in AI, the tanks can be completely autonomous.

The RCV-L are hybrid-engine platforms that can carry seven tons of cargo and have one mounted Javelin rocket launcher aboard. The RCV-M is also a hybrid-engine 12-ton mini-tank with a 30-mm cannon mounted on top.

Camp Grayling offers plenty of space for unmanned ground vehicle systems to be tested. This includes rough natural terrain, obstacle courses, and ranges that integrate live-fire threats to ground vehicles, from

air or ground.

With the expansion, we are expecting to see these units tested on public roads (with a military escort, of course).

### **Silent Swarm**

Silent Swarm is a joint military operation testing electromagnetic systems at the NADWC. Over two weeks, more than 17 technologies in electromagnetic spectrum-related capabilities were employed on small unmanned systems. These technologies included communication systems, light detection and ranging mapping devices, radio frequency sensors and signals, cyber networks, and electronic battlefield deception systems. The different technologies were assigned to operating teams that competed against each other to discover the effectiveness of overcoming simulated military obstacles.

### **Northern Strike**

Exercise Northern Strike is an annual three week military readiness training event hosted by Camp Grayling and the Alpena Combat Readiness Training Center (ACRTC). Every summer since 2011, nearly 8,000 reserve officers, soldiers, pilots, sailors, and marines gather in so-called Grayling for what is one of the Department of Defense’s largest joint training exercises. Northern Strike has expanded over the years to include foreign armed forces as well; troops from the so-called United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Estonia, Jordan, Canada, Denmark, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Latvia have participated in previous Northern Strike exercises.

### **Law Enforcement Training Center**

Michigan State Police have been training at Camp Grayling since at least 1993. In 2001, Camp Grayling introduced the Northern Michigan Law Enforcement Training Group, a coalition whose membership currently stands at 75 law enforcement agencies from the region. They have a permanent office and training center located within the current Camp Grayling boundaries. Police and corrections officers are welcomed to Camp Grayling to train in such practices as electronic simulation combatical structures, urban assault courses, tactical firearms, and emergency vehicle operation. The training group’s facility is equipped with a 2.25 square kilometer mock city, complete with 26 buildings (including a school, a church, stores, a jail, and houses), roads, alleys, parking areas, underground sewers, parks, and athletic fields. This is known as the Combined Armed Collective Training Facility and it is designed to conduct multi-echelon, full spectrum operations, or, to train cops how to imprison/kill you more effectively.

### **Shawono School (content warning: Child Sexual Assault)**

Within the current boundaries of Camp Grayling sits a maximum security youth detention center called “Shawono Center School”, operated by the state. This facility cages youth ages 12-21 who have been convicted of felonies, specifically for sex or drug crimes. The Shawono Center uses “True North Therapy” that is commonly associated with programs that kidnap youth in the night and take them to facilities in the wilderness. The current population is majority Black, despite the Black community of Northern Lower so-called Michigan being so small. The facility has one of the highest rates of sexual assault of any facility in the country, with 27% of the youth reporting SA by other youth or staff. In 2008, a survey reported 21% of the youth were specifically sexually assaulted by staff.

### **Camp Lehman**

Camp Lehman was a low-security prison camp just 10 miles north of so-called Grayling, within what is currently known as the Hartwick Pines State Forest. It sat on 19 acres of land donated by the DNR. At capacity, it caged 582 adult men, the majority of whom were Black. It was established as one of the original Corrections Conservation Prison Camp Programs in 1948. Various conservation projects under the direction of the DNR needed huge amounts of labor to be maintained. The Corrections Camps were granted permission to use old Civilian Conservation Corps camps for prisons after the program lacked volunteers to sustain conservation labor. In 1987, a 12 foot high fence was constructed around the facility, and in 2000, it was enhanced to detect suspicious movement on the fence.

In 1997, the Correction Camp Program disbanded, and the prison camps were put under the responsibility of the nearest correctional facility. For Camp Lehman, that was originally Standish Correctional but then transferred to Pugsley Correctional located in so-called Kingsley.

Originally, the camp was meant to provide labor for the Conservation Department but evolved into a full-diservice correctional facility - providing labor to various public authorities including local townships, cities, road commisions, the Michigan State Police, the DNR and the Michigan Department of Military Affairs at Camp Grayling.

In 2009, it was announced that Camp Lehman would be closing. Prison Admin also closed the other four remaining prison camps in so-called Michigan: Camp Cusino, Camp Kitwen, Camp Ottawa, and Camp White Lake. Additionally, the state announced it would be closing Hiawatha Correctional Facility, Muskegon Correctional Facility, and Standish Maximum Correctional Facility, all in 2009.

# **THREATS TO LAND AND WATER**



It is well known the US Department of Defense is the largest polluter on the planet. Since 2001, the military has produced over 1.2 billion metric tons of greenhouse gases and accounts for 80%+ of the US federal government’s fuel consumption. It alone consumes more fuels and emits more carbon than most countries. The environmental effects of US military activities worldwide include chemical contamination of soil and ground water, dramatic habitat alteration, pollution, population declines, and biodiversity losses. Training facilities in particular face repeated and ongoing use, which leads to consistent site-specific degradation and contamination; it should therefore come as no surprise that so many current and former military bases and training facilities are designated superfund sites.

Superfund sites are areas of land contaminated by hazardous materials identified by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as so severely polluted they need immediate and intense remediation. Chemicals commonly found in soil and water samples from superfund sites include per-and polyfluoroalkyl substances (PFAS), polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), petroleum hydrocarbons, and heavy metals. Superfund sites require long-term planning and response to clean up the contaminated land. Of the 1,334 active superfund sites in the country, over half (700) of them are current or former military training sites or bases.

## PFAS

PFAS are a group of manufactured chemicals containing fluorinated surfactants that are resistant to heat, water, and oil. They do not break down in the environment (hence why they're known as forever chemicals), they move through soils and contaminate ground water, and they bioaccumulate over time, meaning they build up in the blood and organs of wildlife and human populations. Starting in the 1970s, Camp Grayling used Aqueous Film Forming Foam (AFFF) as a fire suppressant, as well as for dust suppression on unpaved roads. Research on the dangerous effects of AFFF on the environment, as well as in human/wildlife populations, emerged in 1974; however, it wasn't until the beginning of the 21st century that the military began conversations regarding possibly replacing AFFF with a foam that didn't contain chemicals known for bioaccumulation. In 2002, environmental consultants released information naming the chemicals in AFFF as some of the most environmentally persistent substances ever created, "impervious to biological and chemical assault." Regardless, foam creators and enthusiasts asked the EPA to exempt it from regulatory processes which would limit or ban certain compounds found in AFFF. Since then, the military has continued to use AFFF domestically and abroad with little involvement from the EPA or pressure to restrict or phase out the chemicals. It's worth mentioning here that the military still owns the patent for AFFF, and worked with 3M to develop the dangerous PFAS compounds.

The MIANG first tested for PFAS in the groundwaters near the Camp Grayling Airfield in 2016. In 2017, Environment, Great Lakes and Energy (EGLE - a rebrand of the the Department of Environmental Quality) took over testing and found additional contamination in so-called Lake Margrethe and an area near Range 30, a live-firing range. According to state records, 1,100 drinking water samples were tested in 2019 and 300 of those samples were positive for PFOS, PFOA, and PFHxS. Only 19 of those homes had levels beyond federal EPA guidelines - 70 parts per trillion, while hundreds more had less than 70ppt but more than 0.

The military is only helping those 19 households get clean water, while the health department provides filters to a few dozen more. Many people who live near the base say they can't drink their water and detection efforts are still underway.

AFFF will allegedly be phased out of use by the military in 2024. While Camp Grayling representatives claim no AFFF is currently stored or used on the base, the foam is not the only source of pollution produced by the military.

## Jet Fuel

For example, jet fuel is a notoriously dirty resource to produce and consume. It is a complex mixture of hundreds of chemical compounds and is known to be toxic and carcinogenic. Jet fuel accounts for 70% of operational energy use by the US Military. The US Military's main source for jet fuel is Repsol, a Spanish multinational energy and petrochemical company worth nearly \$60 billion based in so-called Madrid. Repsol touts itself as an environmentally-friendly petrol company (things that make you go hmm...), but has drilled dozens of oil wells in the Peruvian rainforest, impacting many Indigenous communities including the Aymara, Quechua, Shipibo-Conibo, Aguaruna, Machiguenga, and Yagua peoples. The land, human, and non-human inhabitants are made vulnerable by any sort of contact with outsiders, especially for the purpose of extraction. Additionally, Repsol is responsible for the worst ecological disaster to have ever happen in so-called Lima. 6,000 barrels of petrol were spilled just off the coast at the beginning of 2022, affecting over 18,000 sq kilometers of coastline.

The two main types of jet fuel used by the military are JP-5 and JP-8. Both fuels are kerosene-based jet propellants. Because the exact composition of jet fuel varies widely based on petroleum source, it is impossible to define jet fuel as a ratio of specific hydrocarbons and is therefore defined as a performance specification rather than a chemical compound. Both JP-5 and JP-8 contain chemicals that move from the soil into ground water, attach to other particles, then sink down into the sediment. The exact impact of these fuels on the environment isn't fully known, but research suggests that when spilled, both JP-5 and JP-8 will be detectable in soil for decades. Like AFFF, there are very few environmental regulations or standards specific to JP-5 and JP-8.

Jet fuel and chemicals such as AFFF are just two examples of the ways in which the military industrial complex pollutes and sickens our land and relatives. There are countless other ways in which the military enlarges its carbon footprint, bringing suffering to our planet. Wherever you look, whether its at burning explosives for training at Camp Grayling, flying jet-engine drones to drop bombs in the middle east, or conducting nuclear weapons tests on Navajo reservation land, the truth is the US military industrial complex will always choose accruing more and more power over protecting the land and water, and it is an easy choice for them to make.



## Lithium

Another example is Lithium. So-called Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina are known as the “Lithium Triangle”. Lithium is the lightest metal on the planet and is used in most electronic devices, especially batteries. According to The National Mining Association, “lithium batteries are found in nearly every system used by the Department of Defense. Market analysts claim that the demand for military grade lithium batteries is going to increase by 30% in the next six years. This is due to changes in warfare techniques, demand for contemporary combat systems, increased demand for surveillance drones, and increased reliance on mobile technologies and remotely operated unmanned machinery. The areas that lithium is found tend to be arid, with water being a scarce resource for the surrounding communities. Mining the dirty metal uses enormous amount of water. 1 ton of lithium requires 58,000 gallons of water. This egregious thirst for profit has led to numerous water-related conflicts in northern so-called Chile, where access to clean water is an evermore scarce experience.

## Nickel

Nickel is a metal that is needed to build batteries like the ones found in cell phones, laptops, and electronic vehicles. Mining it is also a very dirty process, leaving massive pools of water contaminated with iron, sulphur, aluminum, and nickel. The vapors released by smelting nickel are linked to cancer and have devastating impacts on the surrounding wildlife. Like many kinds of mines, nickel mines are built by stripping away giant chunks of land, layer by layer, using trucks to haul back metal deposits. This loss of habitat is another example of how extraction and colonialism work together to displace entire communities of relatives.

Right here on land stolen from Anishinaabe people, in the Upper Peninsula of so-called Michigan, Rio Tinto subsidiary Kennecott is selling land it stole to another mining company under Rio Tinto, Talons Metals. In 2009, land defenders made a stand at Eagle Rock, a sacred site along the shores of Anishinaabewi-gichigami (aka Lake Superior), that was to be mined for nickel sulfide. After a year of fighting for the mine to not be opened, Kennecott eventually was able to evict the land defenders and begin work. Now in 2022, 13 years later, the same land package Kennecott had bought is trading hands again. This time, Talons Metals will be attempting to open 625 sq. miles of Upper Peninsula forests to nickel mining, including Eagle Rock. Talons Nickel exclusively provides Tesla Motors with nickel. While gasoline is certainly not a clean fuel, neither are batteries.

## Sound

There is another kind of pollution that should be mentioned here, and that is sound. The impacts of war are far-reaching, and the noises of war are no different. Increases in electromagnetic radiation and noise can lead to adverse changes to wildlife and plants, and can also ultimately lead to extinction. Research on the effects of sonic boom and jet aircraft noise on domestic and wild animals shows a connection to physiological and behavioral changes: damage to auditory mechanisms, as well masking auditory signals where animals cannot hear environmental signals from pack, mate, predator, or prey. Additional contributions of war sounds on wildlife include: stress, interference with mating and reproduction, and impaired ability to obtain food, water, or shelter.

On the human population, the constant reminder of wartime is ever-pervasive. Whether it's hearing gunshots, explosions, fighter jets, or seeing humvees everywhere you go, the influence of military in this area is impossible to ignore. While many residents attempt to dissuade anti-military sentiment, some hesitantly express displeasure with their windows rattling and late-night fire fights. To some, the sounds of military might are a constant reminder of a traumatizing past. To others, it is a reminder that the force of the military is waiting just outside the prison walls, should they ever choose to rebel.

And still, to many, the sounds of the largest military in human history training in their backyard inspires a certain pride: for the troops, for the army, for the nation.

# WHERE THERE IS GAS, THERE IS OIL



A quick 'petroleum prelude' from Michigan Oil & Gas magazine:

- Since 1925 more than 50,000 oil or natural gas wells have been drilled in so-called Michigan.
- Wells in 64 Michigan counties have cumulatively pumped 1.248 billion barrels of oil and 6.591 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.
- In 2004 crude oil accounted for 20 percent of so-called Michigan's principal mineral production while natural gas accounted for 29 percent, together amounting to almost half of so-called Michigan's mineral resources.
- So-called Michigan's geology provides the largest natural gas storage capacity of any state, with 47 percent of the U.S population and more than half of the nation's manufacturing capacity within a 500 mile radius of so-called Detroit.
- The productive capacity of so-called Michigan's natural gas industry has been estimated at 6 to 8 trillion cubic feet over the next 20 to 30 years.

So-called Michigan sits on a natural gas deposit shale called the "Antrim Shale". This deposit spans the width of the great lakes basin, and crosses beneath the Northern Lower Peninsula. In the 1990s, the Antrim Shale became the most actively drilled gas shale in the so-called United States. In 2007, the Antrim gas fields produced 136 billion cubic feet of gas, making it the 13th largest source of natural gas in the the so-called US.

In 1968, Shell Energy drilled seven separate exploratory wells in Northern Lower so-called Michigan, in so-called Kalkaska and Otsego counties. This laid the groundwork for Niagaran pinnacle reef discoveries in northern and southern reef trends in the 1970s, and the Antrim Shale. Due to rapid industrial computerization, seismography

interpretation technology made finding pinnacle reefs easier. Additionally, the development of directional drilling, used mainly for offshore drilling, was developed for onshore use. This enabled energy companies to drill beneath "sensitive areas" like the wetlands, swamps, streams, and rivers. These technologies helped pave the way to horizontal drilling and fracking - significantly more wasteful and dangerous gas extraction techniques developed in the next decade.

In 1970, Shell announced it had discovered a major gas reserve in the area now known as the Pigeon River State Forest (northeast of the expansion). This was met with opposition from local conservationists, who completely opposed any drilling in the big forests of Northern Lower so-called Michigan. After years of conservation efforts against oil and gas exploration in Northern Lower Michigan, Tom Washington, director of the Michigan United Conservation Clubs, conceded with Michigan Oil and Gas Association to continue drilling for oil and gas in the so-called Pigeon River State Forest in exchange for the revenue created by oil leases and royalties to be used to buy more lands for the use by sportsmen.

In 1976, Michigan Natural Resources Trust Fund was created by state legislature. The fund earmarked revenue generated through oil and gas industries for the acquisition and improvement of environmentally sensitive land, or meeting community needs for outdoor recreation. The fund served six purposes: protecting natural resources, providing public access to so-called Michigan's waterways, improving outdoor recreation in urban areas, stimulating economies through recreation-related tourism, meeting community needs for outdoor recreation, and investing funds into projects that will yield the best long-term public recreation return. This included purchasing 70 miles of river frontage and more than 25,000 acres along two of the nations top trout streams - the so-called Au Sable and the Manistee. (Also, 10,000 acres of 'undeveloped' land in so-called Mackinac County, including 5 miles of so-called Lake Michigan frontage).

Decades later, in 2022 the DNR launches the Big Wild Forest Carbon Project, aiming to offset emissions produced by residents of so-called Michigan and businesses by allowing them to purchase carbon credits. Trees in the Big Wild (so-called Pigeon River State forest, surrounding state forest land) absorb thousands of tons of atmospheric carbon every year, and purchasing a credit funds the DNR to maintain that forest land (plus a profit, certainly). One ton of emissions absorbed is equal to one credit. Companies like DTE, which provides energy services to the entire state, purchase carbon credits to put in their investment portfolios and appear as if they are offsetting their gigantic footprint. DTE has committed to buying all Carbon Credits produced by the project for the next 10 years, in an effort to become net zero carbon emissions by 2050.

However, this means that DTE can greenwash itself. It appears to keep 'pristine' wilderness like Northern so-called Michigan clean while not doing anything to curb pollution in urban areas, where Black and immigrant residents continue to face the devastating health affects of carbon emissions. It doesn't actually reduce emissions, it just pays for some trees to stay planted.

The story of the Pigeon River Project reminds us that while compromising with capitalism may benefit us (settlers) in the short-term, state and capital will continue to erode these efforts over time. It can be argued that while so-called Michigan has many state forests and outdoor recreational areas, the cost was allowing oil and gas companies to jeopardize the health of our land and water relatives. Now, the US Military, the largest polluter on Earth, hopes to expand its training grounds into these state forests. A full circle where settler conservation efforts like the Michigan United Conservation Corps and the DNR continue to give over land to entities that actively harm relatives in other parts of the world.

We say this to note: fuck the DNR.

While the expansion does include areas on the Antrim Shale, it is a less immediately obvious resource grab than the large oil fields to the south. The current Camp Grayling boundaries include significant oil fields in the southern area near an artillery shelling range. These fields are operated by BreitBurn Energy Partners. The expansion area "Area 1" includes two more significant oil fields in the area, both currently operated by Missaukee Oil and Gas. According to the DNR, the new land-use agreement would not affect these fields. However, if new oil or gas exploration were to occur, the permits must be approved by both the DNR and the MIANG, thus giving the military a seat at the table for the potential future development of extractive industry.

To say there is a history of harm in the US military's hunger for natural resources would be an understatement, and perhaps eludes the perview of this zine.

# ONE NATION, SIDE-BY-SIDE



*"On a chilly fall afternoon a flock of migrating starlings stop to rest a moment before continuing south. In the middle of a great pine forest that is cut into sections by copper-red river and dry sandy two-track, they land next a mysterious clearing. They sing out to one another - warning, or wondering, or both."*

*The clearing is marked by dead oak and pine branches, their trunks gone and their roots pulled from the earth. The soil here is soft, rich with centuries of healthy forest but vulnerable to what could come next.*

*A far away hum startles the resting birds, who leap back into the sky. A living beacon that signals to everyone that something is approaching on the winding sandy paths. The hum gets louder. A cloud of dust rises above the canopy at the edge of the clearing, following the starlings into the bright morning sky.*

*A brightly colored head ornament appears, floating along the border of standing pine and fallen oak. Its shape is mechanical, something foreign to these woods, something manufactured. A jet black screen covers the place where this creature's eyes would be. The screen mirrors the landscape in front of it, a bright sky, a sandy path, a disembodied oak branch drying in sun. The path curves upward and the creature's body follows. A baggy t-shirt, covered in dirt and rippling backward in the wind. Basketball shorts, equally dirty but just as brightly colored as its head ornament. Finally, its legs, wrapped around what looks like a separate 4-wheeled beast. The hum over takes the songs of the birds, the rustling of the leaves and the echo of autumn morning wind. The beast roars, the creature wrapped around it stands as if trying to find its balance atop the thing. It slows and comes to a stop in front of the very trees the starlings left just moments before. The creature looks over its shoulder and two more creature-beasts appear in the clearing, floating toward the first and finally stopping. The beasts growl with one another, warning, wondering, or both."*

The humans who currently live in or near so-called Grayling, MI tend to be very poor, very conservative, and very white. The town still benefits from tourism due to the many rivers nearby, and now, from the soldiers, cops and mercenaries that come to train at Camp Grayling. The

water brings canoers, kayakers, anglers and sight-seers. The State Forest land surrounds the town and the base, bringing in hunters, birders, conservationists, backpackers, and students. Winding through these forests, almost anywhere you go are miles and miles of off-road vehicle trails.

Any shop keeper in town will tell you that most of the strangers who walk through the doors are tourists. It comes as no surprise that the people who live here are protective of the natural wonders that bring so many people and money into so-called Grayling and other towns along the rivers. While many residents disapprove of the expansion, they will tell you that they love their military and respect the troops. They will say that fly fishing is their entire livelihoods, and that they can't risk the water becoming poisoned. They will remind you that they aren't anti-military, just anti-expansion.

Within the actual town of so-called Grayling, the economy is less vulnerable. The steady stream of soldiers traveling in keeps the lights on. Some people forgive the fact that the water there has already been poisoned and see the base as a tourist attraction itself. However, in the smaller and poorer towns downstream, people aren't as lucky and rely more on the rivers.

Anywhere you go in so-called Grayling, you see the influence of the National Guard. A recruiting advertisement here, a humvee on the highway there. A train rolls through town carrying massive tanks painted tan from their time bombing children in the Iraq war. The military spirit is ever-present.

Speaking ill of the military isn't something respectable to do in any part of the country (for now), but especially not here. Dissenting against a land-grab? Sure, but naming plainly that the United States Military is an occupying white supremacist force on stolen land hasn't exactly been popular.

I am looking around myself right now and seeing the shape of this movement so far. I am a trans settler, and there a few of us here. There are Indigenous comrades working alongside us, along with first-generation immigrants. There are people who normally work above ground who are sitting down for the first time with people who stay completely off the radar. There are seasoned water and land protectors, as well as people who were radicalized during the 2020 uprising. There are anarchists and socialists, liberals and progressives. The movement so far is a coalition that is writing its own history as I type these words.

As we sit next to the fire discussing strategy, the question keeps coming up: what about the majority of people who live in so-called Grayling that are against the expansion? Are they to be included in our coalition? What does it mean to be in solidarity with them?

To be completely honest, I find myself tired of this question. A much more interesting and important question for me is: what does it mean for me to be in solidarity with all these other wonderful people around me, and them with me? Can I truly join hands with local sportsmen who won't let their children transition, and what would they make of me? Or the white woman who is on facebook raving about how much she loves the police, with a thin-blue line profile picture - can I be in solidarity with her and my Black comrades at the same time? What about the radicals from so-called Puerto Rico or so-called Haiti, who know all too well the horrors of US militarism, or the people of so-called Sudan and Somalia, who were being bombed by the US while the world's eyes were on Russia and Ukraine? How am I in solidarity with them if I am compromising on anti-military messaging while trying to stop this expansion?

The US war machine isn't just a bunch of tanks on a train, or billions of dollars in weapons to Ukraine. It's not just army recruiters in schools or police occupations in Black neighborhoods. The war machine is also the cultural force of white cishetero-patriarchy. It's the agents of respectability that shush opposition to the colonial project. It's the anti-BLM truck decals and the trans debate. It's the lack of care for people in Africa or the Middle East on whom technologies being tested at Camp Grayling will be used in earnest. The bigotry of the white folks who oppose the expansion but still support the troops is a vital part of this horrible machine.

This is certainly not to say everyone who lives in this part of the world is a bigot, or even tries to silence anti-military sentiments. There are good people everywhere you go if you look hard enough. But there are good people sitting around me right now, right here. People that I love dearly and know they love me. So I don't agree to disagree for the sake of fighting for a few hundred miles of forests. Unity be damned! I am fighting for everything and saying it with my whole chest - fuck the troops and fuck the united states.

#### Ukrainian, Latvian Far-Right

At the time of writing this, (October 2022) the Russian-Ukrainian war still rages on, with escalations happening weekly. At the beginning of the war, the United States seemed to hesitate taking a side, watching intently to discern which empire to support - implicitly or explicitly. Now, the US and NATO nations back Ukraine, sending them billions in military goods, with more on the way. The war-makers in the US and elsewhere gladly churning profits while everyday people living under these empires suffer.

Since the invasion, Ukrainian government has declared martial law in the entire country. Protests are forbidden, whether anti-war, anti-fascist, or workers protests. Ukrainian youth are conscripted when



they reach 18 years old and find their only way out to be applying to leave the country to study elsewhere. Under war-time conditions, the government of Ukraine has suspended student leave, forcing mostly poor young men to fight in the military. Ukraine is a popular place to study for African students, who account for a quarter of all foreign students in the country. They are regularly met with discrimination when receiving aid, and in many cases are left stranded in war-zones while they try to flee. Some Black students report being subjected to beatings at the borders by Ukrainian soldiers and civilians. It isn't uncommon to find fascist insignia in Ukraine, with an alarming number of soldiers pictured in US media sporting the black sun or other symbols of far-right ideologies. Some would say this is intentional - a way to normalize these symbols and ideas in the American populace, propping them up as victims to Russian imperialism, and forming sympathy for a white soldier defending her homeland.

Meanwhile, anti-war protestors flood Russian streets and are arrested by the hundreds, facing heavy charges for simply holding signs and attending protests. Anarchists in Russia sabotage train tracks, preventing military goods from traveling to their destinations where they will be shipped to war like so many Russian youth. The notorious "Z" symbol, symbolizing support for the invasion, starts popping up in nationalist veteran groups, then in more fascist circles. Finally, it is painted on military vehicles by emboldened soldiers. Eventually it is even being hung in the west, among pro-Russian red communist groups.

While these two nations are at war, both sides have far-right nationalist contingencies. They may be at odds in this horrible invasion, but the fact remains that far-right nationalism is on the rise again, globally. The so-called US is no different.

We think it is worth noting that the Michigan National Guard has a long-standing and close relationship with the Latvian military. Troops from so-called Latvia often travel right here to Camp Grayling to train alongside the Guardsmen. It's often pointed out that this is because the climate and terrain is so similar the lands in Eastern and Central Europe. It is not pointed out enough that the rise of the global far-right is calculated by its participants.

In so-called Latvia, an annual celebration honoring Nazi Latvian SS veterans takes place once per year. The country's ruling party sways toward a historical revisionism that claims Jewish and anti-fascists were to blame for the Holocaust. During the celebration in 2017, two anti-fascist protestors were arrested for holding signs depicting the horrible violence that Latvian Nazis inflicted on Jews living in so-called Latvia during the war. The court cases that followed were highly politicized, with the judges ruling that the signs disrespected veterans and could have caused a mass riot. Furthermore, they proclaimed that protesting is illegal during remembrance days and that the signs could have hurt the image of Latvia

among international community.

Fast forward to 2022, the far-right governing party tears down a monument in the capital, Riga. The monument was in remembrance of Soviet soldiers lost during the war. About one-third of people living in Latvia are Russian and many say this was meant to further their marginalization while the government of Russia invades the neighboring country, Ukraine. The Latvian ruling party was using the actions of other states to punish their own minority Russian populations.

But the obelisk also served as a monument to anti-fascism. A place where the sacrifice of soldiers fighting the Nazis could be remembered by Jews, Roma, and Russian minorities. Its destruction also signals a political shift toward the country's deeply embedded far-right movement and government.

Latvian officials, as well as some NATO member nations, express concern that the Russian invasion of Europe may continue, eventually bringing war to Latvia's doorstep, leading the empires of both Russia and NATO nations to send more young and poor draftees to war with one another while heads of state and industry sit comfortably out of reach. It comes as no surprise that US war-mongers salivate at the prospect of selling more weaponry to these militaries, which brings us back to Camp Grayling, and the all-too-timely expansion.

To be clear, we think that the expansion has many secret intentions. We think they are attempting to do business, as well as train in more advanced technologies. We think it may have something to do with resources in the ground, or how so-called Michigan will fare when the effects of climate change ravage other parts of the country. We think it is because the communities that surround the base are so supportive of empire, and have, through conservation efforts, created a niche that is easily exploitable by the army. But we also see the rise of far-right tendencies across the globe as part and parcel of this expansion of the US war machine.

Regardless of its intentions, this expansion can't happen.

# JOIN THE FIGHT



At the time of writing this, most of us are still in shock at the gravity of the situation. The land-use agreement is likely to be signed by the end of the year, which will result in the military gaining jurisdiction over vast swaths of forests and wetlands. The technologies they are developing will be implemented not just in foreign wars, but wars right here in the so-called US - in jails, prisons, ghettos and protests. Companies like Lockheed Martin pocketing billions of dollars in arms sales to countries the world over. The war machine keeps churning, and bloodstained hands wait in line in the cafeterias of Camp Grayling.

Our movement is young and so is the night. So we are calling on you, future comrade of ours, to attack the state wherever you stand. Define the parameters of your fight - don't wait for the state to come to you. Become ungovernable. Attack the social relations at work or school. Attack the monuments to gentrification in your neighborhoods. Make it impossible for the state to send one more bomb overseas, for one more surveillance technology to be tested, for one more arrest to occur. But don't forget to dream! Another end of the world is possible, and the fight has been going on for centuries.

Support those fleeing war, harboring draft-dodgers and deserters. Support youth across Turtle Island who demand the police be abolished and are going toe-to-toe with riot squads and winning. Support

those defending the waters of Oahu and the rice lakes of Anishinaabewaki. Support those defending the lands from unwanted pipelines running through Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh, and Coldwater territories. Go all out for Wet'suwet'en.

We call for the land of Camp Grayling to be returned to Anishinaabe stewardship where it will be cared for alongside all living things, out of the hands of colonial entities that only seek to dominate, exploit, and oppress. Indigenous lands belong in Indigenous hands! All stolen land must be returned in order to stop the destruction of mother Earth by the colonial governments that depend on occupation and exploitation to oppress Black, Muslim, Latine, and Indigenous people not just on Turtle Island, but all over the world.

Right here in so-called Michigan, where simply resisting arrest results in an automatic felony (as many have learned throughout the years) we must resist Enbridge's Line 5 and the tunnel they want to house it in.

There is much to be said about how the fight against Camp Grayling and the fight to shut down Line 5 are interconnected. Line 5 is two parallel pipelines that currently pump millions of gallons of tar sands oil across the Upper Peninsula and then along the bottom of the Straits of Mackinaw - a delicate water system that connects Ininewewi-gichigami to Naadowewi-gichigami. Enbridge is currently attempting to get permits to construct a vehicle-sized tunnel beneath the straits to rehouse the pipeline and increase its pumping capacity. The current pipeline is just sitting along the bottom of the straits, vulnerable to damage. Currently, the Governor and the Attorney General disapprove of the pipeline, and have ordered it shut down; however, Enbridge continues to pump oil through it despite the executive order. Many people say a Line 5 tunnel would alleviate environmental concerns, making the operation safer for the lakes. We know, however, that no pipeline is safe. Tar sands extraction is an inherently catastrophic process, poisoning land air and water wherever it goes. The companies that operate them force them through Indigenous territories, treaties or not. The oil is processed into things like fuel, asphalt and plastics - and capitalist production rages on.

During the fight against Line 3 (another part of the Enbridge pipeline system that was built through Anishinaabe lands of Northern so-called Minnesota) Enbridge paid off municipal police departments to focus resources on suppressing protests. In some instances, Enbridge paid for new gear, overtime wages, and even training for officers to deal with protestors. A multi-agency "fusion center" was established just to fight water protectors, which had elements of local law enforcement, FBI,

Border Patrol, National Guard, and private Enbridge security forces. It is not a far stretch to say that Enbridge would pay for training at Camp Grayling.

But our strategies are connected too! The knowledge and experience we've gained in the fight for Indigenous sovereignty, for clean waters, and for abolition are all interconnected. These lessons can and should be leveraged against things like Camp Grayling.

As land and water defense projects proliferate, so too do the tactics employed in them. We know that the state will target leaders of movements, and in some instances, it is strategic to install them to take on that risk; however, not all the time. We know that things like social media are useful for us to spread the word, but also to the state to gather information on movements, like who is involved, where they live, and what their networks are. We know that a concise and well thought-out campaign can save a few acres of forest, or stop a pipeline from being built in a specific area, but it is always subject to the rules and boundaries it creates. People within these movements are encouraged to follow leadership, to stick to the script, to not act when they feel the burning urge to act.

In the Stop Camp Grayling movement, when we say we are decentralized, we essentially mean that our tactics, our paths of resistance, are self-determined, unpoliced, and diverse. Everyone is encouraged to plug in. We hope to cultivate empowering environments where folks can rebel boldly and creatively within their skills and interests; taking action with the folks they know and trust. We don't have leadership, we don't ask each other for permission to do things. We don't even need to agree on everything! The beauty of decentralized movements is that it can represent many different politics, levels of involvement, or experience. Even within this zine you may find contradicting views. This does not mean that we don't give each other feedback, quite the opposite! We are constantly sharpening our analyses by talking about action together, but at the end of the day you will do what suits you and I will do what suits me.

Want to put together marches full of chanting and sign-waving? Canvass door-to-door? Call in to public officials' offices and yell a little? That's all wonderful and very much contributes to the movement!

Are you an artist? A writer? A good orator? Don't wait for permission, make that art and write that piece! Stand on that soapbox!

Are you wanting to build and sit in a treehouse, or construct barricades across roads? Maybe you just want to throw things at the cops when they show up? Maybe you are good at rendering construction equipment unusable? No one is going to tell you not to.

Perhaps you just want to engage sometimes, you are unarrestable, or you have obligations to your family and friends. Anyone who tells you that is not okay is no comrade of ours.

We are going to try our best to make as much information and as many resources as possible available to each person who wishes to resist in this movement. We are not a political party, nor are we a well-orchestrated campaign. We are messy, and chaotic, and inconsistent - but this is our strength. No one knows everything, and no one can predict what comes next. The movement is multi-faceted and ever-changing, and you are invited in whatever way you see fit.

See you in the woods, friends.

*the zine you are holding is the 1st edition. it was authored by several different people of different circumstances and political perversions.*

*while fighting the expansion, we hope to learn so much more about the land so that we may share it with you, so the information in this zine may update periodically.*

*we hope these updates only get better as time goes, the military being disbanded and the united states dissolved, so we may close this chapter entirely.*

*for now, check back for updates!*

*thank you so much to everyone who contributed their voice, and everyone who sharpened their knives waiting for a first draft. thank you to the movements and campaigns we grew within before this one, and to the people who come with us to this one. thank you to the woman at the grayling taco bell who loves to small talk. thank you to the dozen or so slugs that slept in our camp chairs*

**Target list:** *The military knows its targets, so should you!.. and so should we. While it is admirable and encouraged to attack without reason, its nice to have a guiding list to work from! This list doesn't quite exist yet, or at least it is nowhere as long, detailed, or useful as I'd like it to be. So I am going to string something haphazardly together to get us started!*

**Michigan DNR offices:** *They are everywhere around the mitten! Let them know they are colonial dinguses that wouldn't adequately steward land if they knew how to. Here are some complimentary DNR locations to work off of:*

*-Roscommon DNR office: 8717 Roscommon Rd, Roscommon, Michigan 48653; this is the DNR office that works with Camp Grayling and manages expansion areas*  
*-MI DNR Grayling Field Office: 1955 Hartwick Pines Rd, Grayling, MI 49738*  
*-Natural Resources Department of Roscommon County: 180 S Harrison Rd, Houghton Lake, MI 48629*

*-DNR main administrative offices: 525 W Allegan St, Lansing, MI 48933; this is where you'd be likely to find DNR Director Dan Eichinger. He has the power to approve or disapprove the Camp Grayling Expansion. It'd sure be nice to know more about him*

**National Guard:** *Here is another target that seems to exist in abundance! Recruitment Centers are everywhere and they are pretty fucking evil! Let them know that the military is fucking vile with a good ol' smashy smashy :)*

*-On Camp Au Sable Rd in Grayling, right before the intersection of Wrangler Rd, Manager Trail.*  
*- NG recruiting office; 1402 Carlisle Rd, Traverse City, MI*  
*- Clinton National Guard Office: 10600 W Eaton Hwy, Grand Ledge, MI*  
*- Michigan National Guard Armory and Office: 1620 E Saginaw St, Lansing MI*  
*- Michigan State Army National Guard Recruiting Center: 229 Dem Hall Rd, East Lansing MI*  
*-Michigan Army National Guard EMU Recruiting Office: Roosevelt Hall, West Forest Ave, Ypsilanti, MI*

**Velocity Management Solutions** *(helps other private companies interface with the NADWC at Camp Grayling - CEO personal friend of Major Meyers): 102 E. Middle St. Chelsea, MI 48118 (front address, real location needed)*

**CG Contractors:** *We could really stand to know more about this but here are a few contractors we've learned about!*

**QinetiQ** *(Technical engineering/ robotics): Offices/factories can be found all over the east coast; Lorton VA, Waltham MA, Pittsburgh PA, Ottawa ON, Franklin MA, Kilmarnock VA, Devens MA, Hampton NH.*

**Textron** *(Drone and aircraft manufacturer):*

*-750 Stephenson HWY #200, Troy MI*  
*-5329 CLAY AVENUE SW SUITE A*  
*-210 E Citation Way, Milwaukee, WI*  
*-HEADQUARTERS: 1 Cessna blvd, Wichita KS*  
*1643 S Maize RD, Wichita KS*  
*2121 S Hoover Rd, Wichita KS*

*(Aviation Defense Building) 201 S Greenwich Rd, Wichita KS*  
*7121 W Southwest Blvd, Wichita KS*  
*And many more locations in Wichita KS*  
*-6911 W Pierson Dr, Indianapolis IN*  
*-8402 Nelms St, Houston, TX*  
*-3 Express Dr, Newburgh, NY*  
*And many more!!!*

**EOTech** *(electro-optics and surveillance manufacturer):*

*-2207 Traversefield Dr, Traverse City MI*

*-3340 Parkland Ct, Traverse City MI*  
*-46900 Port St, Plymouth MI*

**AM General** *(military vehicle manufacturer):*

*-13200 McKinley Hwy, Mishawaka IN*  
*-105 N Niles Ave, South Bend IN*  
*-1399 Pacific Dr, Auburn Hills MI*

**Orb Aerospace** *(electric aviation)*

*730 Lincoln Lake Ave, Lowell, MI 49331*

**Virtual Sandtable** *(VR tech to plan military missions)*

*9717 Cottontail Rd., West Olive, MI 49460*

**OTHER:** *(here are some targets that exist in the intersection of our struggle and others):*

**-ENBRIDGE, Energy Transfer Partners-** *With offices and infrastructure around Turtle Island it's easy to act in solidarity with a variety of anti-pipeline, and Indigenous struggles like the battle to stop line 5.*

**-Michigan Department of Corrections:** *206 E Michigan Ave, Lansing MI*

**-Flock Safety:** *1170 Howell Mill Rd NW Suite 210, Atlanta Georgia; only able to find headquarter address but these fuckers are inventing and manufacturing abrasive 'crime stopping' surveillance tech all over Turtle Island and many cities in so-called Michigan. There is current pushback against the company in Ypsilanti Michigan.*

**-Project Greenlight Cameras** *are all over detroit. They are a surveillance system that works directly with dpd. You can identify these cameras by their bright green light.*

*All of Stop Cop City targets! Here are some in our bioregion:*

**Atlas Technical Consultants**

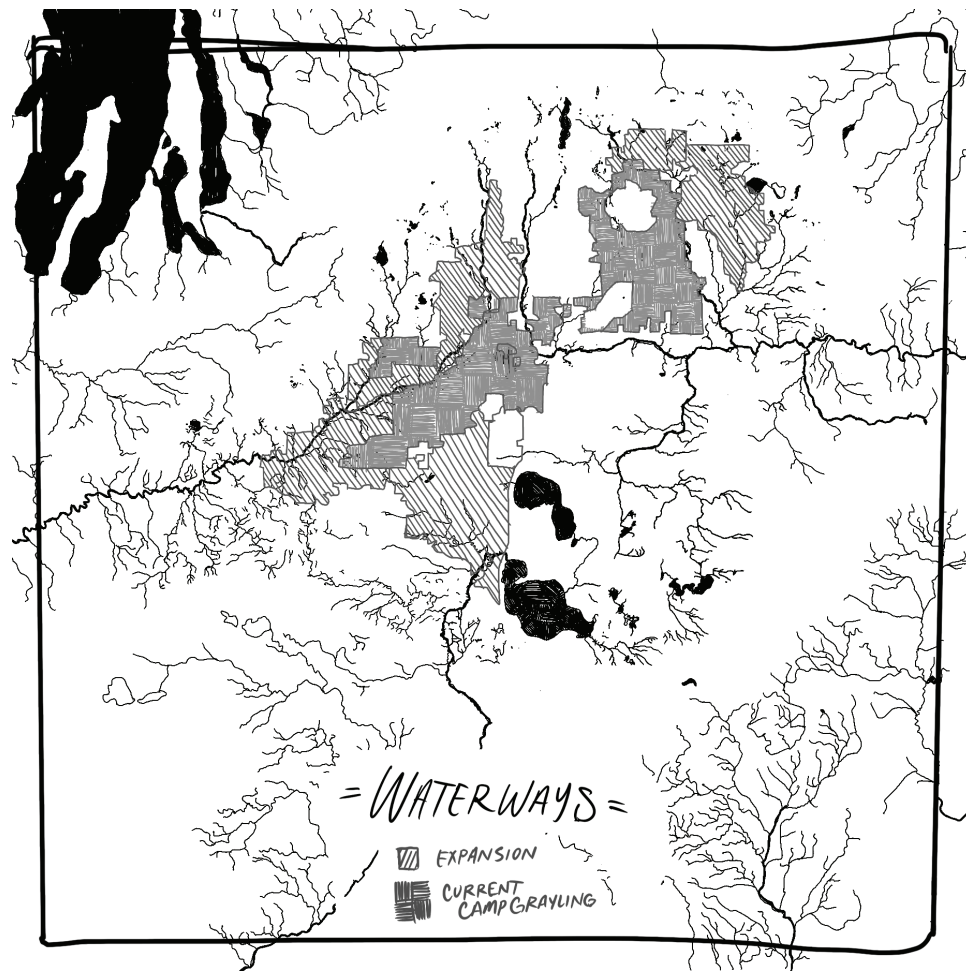
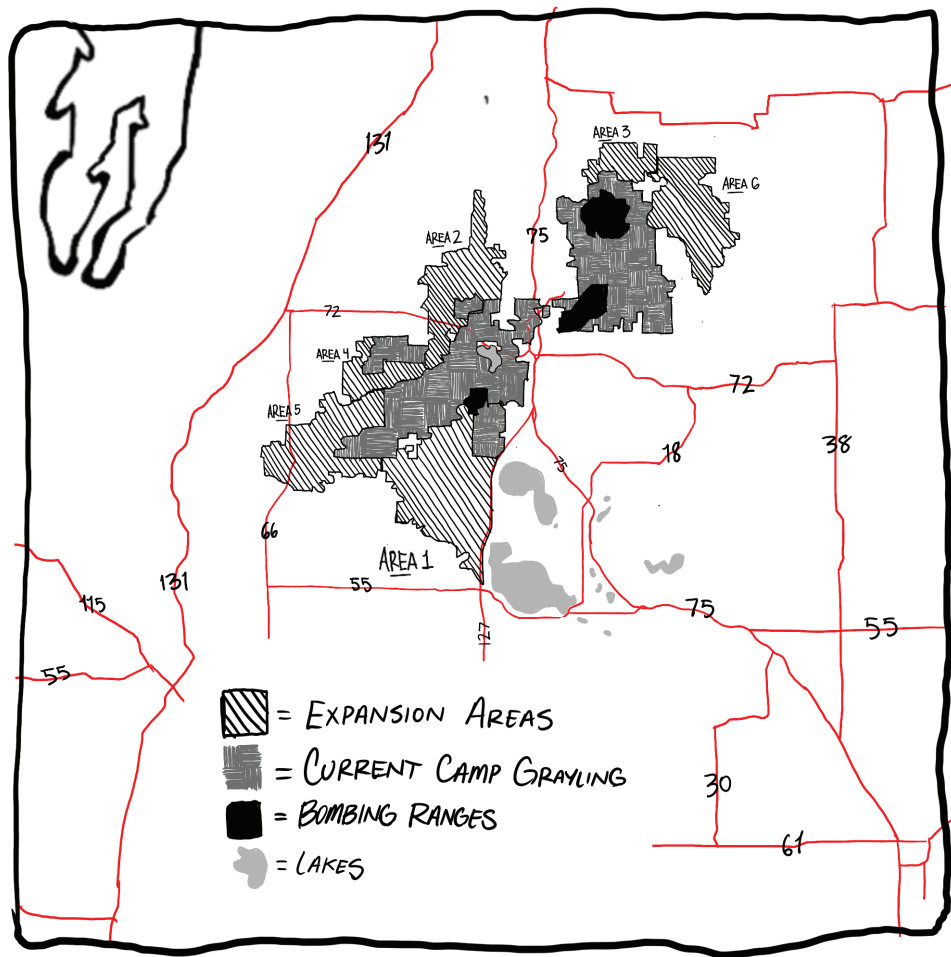
*-46555 Humboldt Dr Suite 100, Novi MI*  
*-1735 E McNichols Rd, Detroit MI*  
*-2650 Horion Dr SE #110, Grand Rapids MI*  
*-5690 W M-72 Hwy, Grayling MI!*

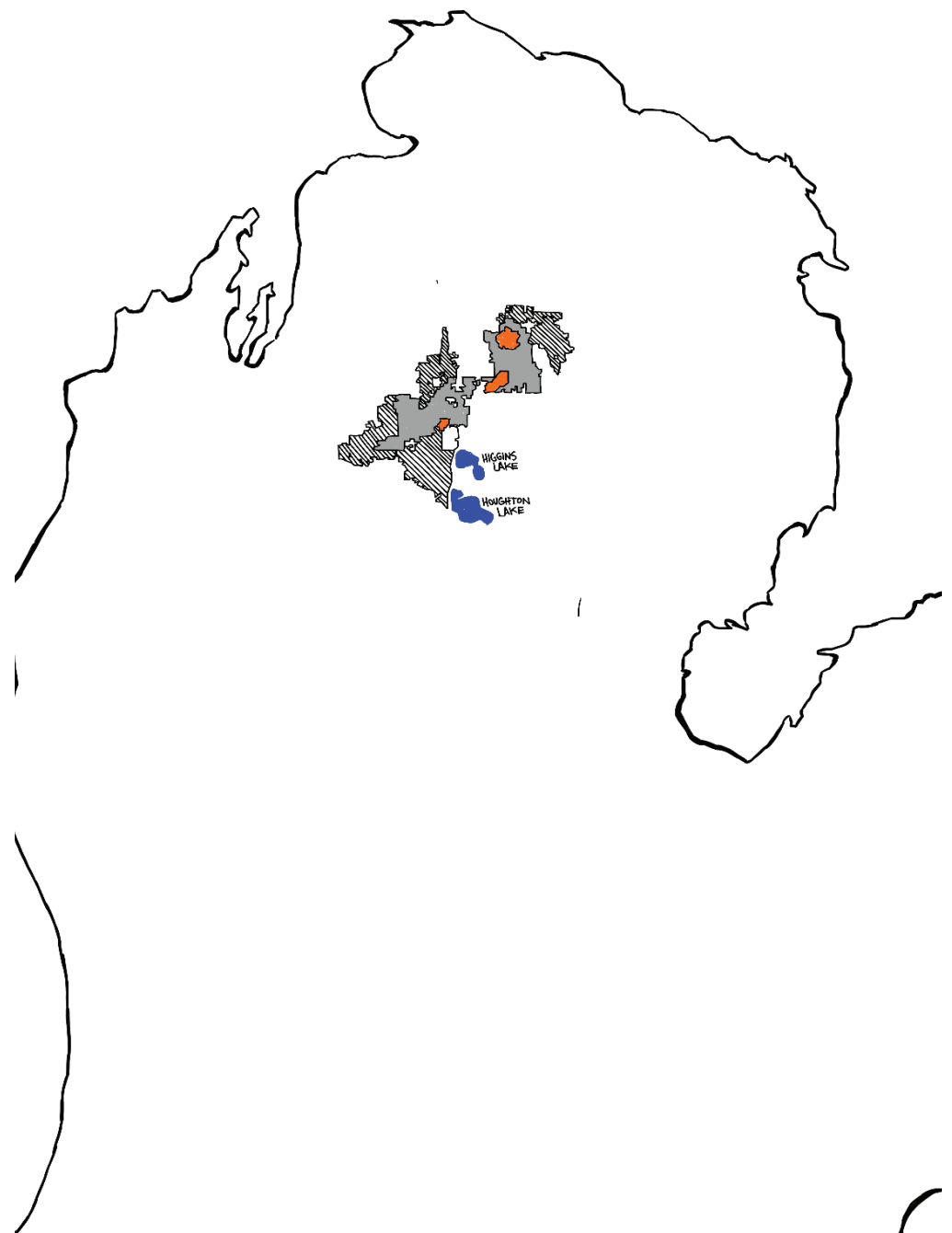
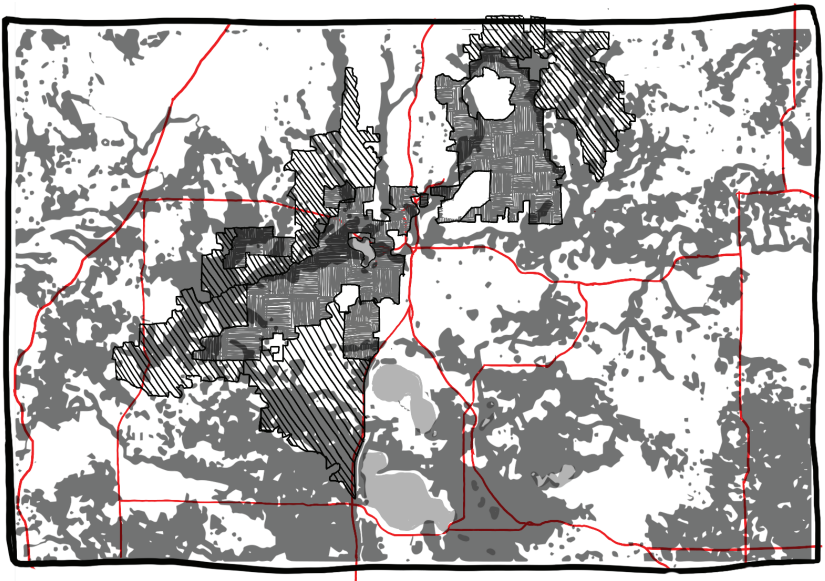
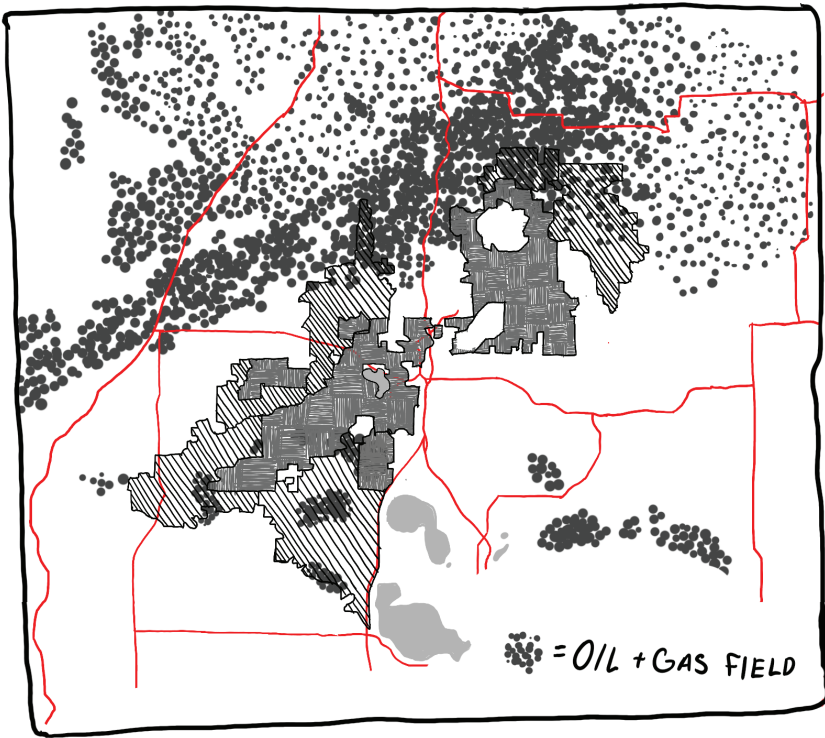
**Brasfield Gorrie General Contractors**

*AT&T, Chase, Coke, lots of other places with outlets in every town. Look up Defend Atlanta Forest for more info and scenes.noblogs.org for inspo!*

*Don't forget to do your homework! Scouting is an important step. Please help us build this list and disperse information about our enemies. Our hope is that this list expands until it includes every institution, every piece of infrastructure that upholds the state and makes life impossible to endure. I hope that this battle against Camp Grayling transcends far beyond Camp Grayling; that it mounts a generalized antagonism and insurgency against all things brutal!*







*compiled by: river valley revolt*