

PEACEPOWER

Berkeley's Journal of Nonviolence
& Conflict Transformation

**Monks Ordaining
Trees in Thailand**

TAKING A STAND FOR ENVIRONMENTAL & SOCIAL JUSTICE

Also in this issue:

**Exclusive Interview:
Julia Butterfly Hill**

**The Landless Workers' Movement
in Brazil**

**Indigenous Resistance
to Oil Imperialism**

**Legislation that Matters:
The Peace Tax Fund**



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Where Is the Intersection of Environmental and Social Justice?

Global warming has been on the tips of everyone's tongues, from cafés and classrooms to the daily news. Such concern with rising greenhouse gas emissions and their effect on the planet has brought much attention to the relationship between humans and the environment. In this issue we pose the question: "What is the relationship between environmental and social justice?"

Our exploration of this question led us to uncover a wide range of movements, debates, and struggles that we believe reflect the need to respect the environment when pursuing social change goals, and the importance of employing nonviolent means to achieve ecologically sustainable ends.

In his fresh take on vegetarianism, John Campbell exposes how factory farming contributes to environmental degradation, from hazardous runoff to intense use of resources to increased global warming. Caroline Kornfield and Matthew Taylor depict struggles over the importance and sanctity of trees, from the depleted forests of Thailand to Berkeley's very own Memorial Oak Grove. Both describe the role that nonviolent activists play in preserving the trees.

Racism and classism are two often-overlooked lynchpins of environmental oppression - environmental burdens like toxic waste often have a disproportionate impact on poor people and people of color. Ryan Curtis highlights how an African-American community rose to resist a toxic dump in North Carolina. In an exclusive interview, famous tree-sitter Julia Butterfly Hill tells the tale of her stand in solidarity with the people of South Central Los Angeles against the destruction of the nation's largest urban farm.

Lani Lee and JyaHyun Lee bring us around the world to nonviolent environmental struggles in Nigeria, Colombia, and Korea. Jerlina Love introduces us to the Landless Worker's Movement in Brazil, a group that develops farms on fallow fields in order to subsist and enact their inclusive vision of land reform. Ken Preston-Pile profiles Gandhian activist Vandana Shiva, who struggles to protect both the rights of farmers and the integrity of seeds in India.

These and many other nonviolent efforts across the globe demonstrate the inextricable link between respecting humanity and respecting the environment. We hope that these articles inspire you to explore your own relationship with the world around you.

About PEACEPOWER

What kind of power can persuade the British to leave India as friends, not enemies? What kind of power can move the hearts of white Americans to recognize the need for civil rights for African-Americans? What kind of power can persuade an air force pilot, ordered by a dictator to quell an uprising, to turn away from his target, unable to fire on a crowd of unarmed Filipinos? We call this Peace Power, also known as principled nonviolence. Rather than a negation of violence, peace power is a positive force for change and resistance. By renouncing the use of coercive force, it draws on the persuasive power people have over each other's hearts, or what Kenneth Boulding calls "integrative power." It can also be described as "person power," the dedication of each individual when they convert a negative drive to a positive drive. When those who have achieved this individual dedication come together, they enact "people power." This is the power that can transform our selves, our relationships, our conflicts, and our world.

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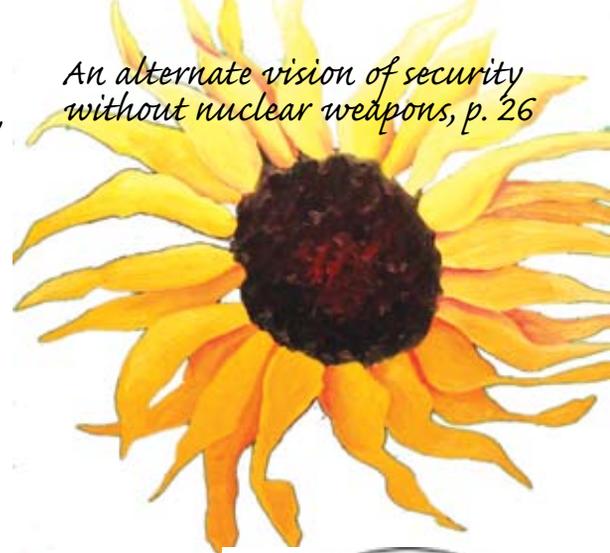
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Andrew Hawkes

A Movement of Meaning:

Peasants Struggle for Land and Dignity in Brazil

BY JERLINA LOVE

The Landless Laborers' Movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Terra or MST*) is the most important new social movement in contemporary Latin America with over 1.5 million participants. In Brazil, 1.6 percent of the landowners control roughly half of the land on which crops could be grown, and the MST is organizing nonviolently for land reform and a higher quality of living for the landless. So far the MST's land occupation struggle has gained re-appropriation of enough land to award more than 350,000 families land titles in 2,000 settlements. A further 180,000 encamped families currently await government recognition. In their effort to improve lives, the MST has worked to build cooperative living communities and farming communities, schools, and teacher training programs. Along with land occupation actions, these self-improvement projects are the backbone of the MST movement.

BIRTH OF A MOVEMENT

In Spring 1985, after 164 families won the titles to land in the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, the MTS held its first national congress.

“The MST has vigorously struggled to persuade landowners to concede their unused land...and has achieved both land rights and rehumanization for the landless workers of Brazil.”

This event brought together 1,200 men and women from 23 states to build a vision and infrastructure for their new movement. At the conference, delegates laid out four basic goals: 1) to maintain a broadly inclusive movement of the rural poor; 2) to achieve agrarian reform; 3) to promote the principle that the land belongs to those who work on it and live from it; and 4) to create a just, egalitarian society and put an end to capitalism.

The MST, which is lead by poor and landless Bra-

zilians, has vigorously struggled to persuade landowners to concede their unused land through land occupations and has chosen to organize their resistance almost completely without violence. The movement has achieved both land rights and social rehumaniza-

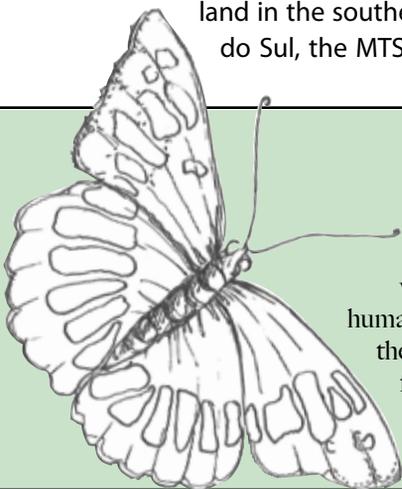


tion for the landless workers of Brazil. Brazilians of all classes are slowly beginning to recognize these masses of poor, landless people as inherently worthy. This is a significant step, considering Brazil's history of dehumanizing its poor, laboring class.

The MST is not the first organization to promote agricultural reform in Brazil but it has been the most successful. From 1950

THE BUTTERFLY EFFECT

Interconnectedness is an essential facet of life. This is a reality that is increasingly apparent in a world of globalization and climate change, where we must grapple with our perceptions of our place in the world as a species and our relationship to other life forms. Conventional knowledge is, for the most part, human-centric, but with a nonviolent worldview we can expand our knowledge to include our connection with the earth. For then we will see the humanity in all the intricate and interconnected parts of this earth. On the following pages we present you with an opportunity to contemplate your connection to a variety of different species.





Children at an MST camp, in the state of Minas Gerais .
(Photo by Joshua Thayer)

other country where people are eating lizards to survive.”

AWAKENING CONSCIOUSNESS

The MST has been fighting for land on behalf of those who have turned to stealing, selling cardboard and eating lizards to survive and has won against millionaire landlords in their struggle.

In the Amazon, where the devastation of settlers’ lives and the rainforest has been overwhelming, the internal transformation of activists has been critical in making the MST effective. In their book *To Inherit the Earth: The Landless Movement and the Struggle for a New Brazil* (2003), Angus Lindsay Wright and Wendy Wolford write,

“Their ability to make this stand [against deforestation and for land rights] will depend on the transformation of the larger society and of the people themselves... What Paulo Freire called conscientizaçao, the awakening of consciousness, is surely the most important single thing in such an adaptive process... But it is not just the consciousness of... all the MST members in Brazil.... Humanity has to have

its consciousness awakened...”

The MST has awakened both its members and sympathizers abroad to the sentience of the marginalized people, the significance of land reform and the value of the environment.

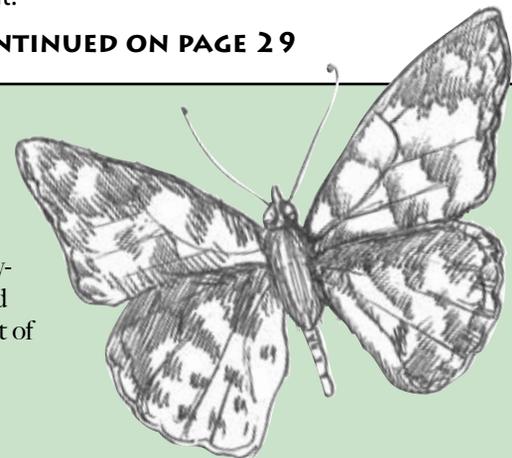
Fundamentally related to the development of this internal change is the MST’s promotion of co-operatives. Co-operative farms, living communities, credit unions and dairy plants have functioned as both a source of community building and economic efficiency. On several farms MST members have placed their houses together creating agrovilas and cultivate the land co-operatively. MST leaders believe co-ops and collective work are essential to “promote Christian and socialist values.” Co-ops also relieve farmers from the isolation they experienced as uprooted landless workers. Co-operatives are considered to be a form of what Gandhi called “constructive program,” or internal improvement.

...CONTINUED ON PAGE 29

SPECIAL REPORT

The Butterfly Effect

“The idea of ‘the butterfly effect’ comes from the science of chaos theory. It suggests that everything is connected, to the extent that the beating of a butterfly’s wings in one part of the world may ultimately contribute to a tornado happening in another part of the world. It strikes most of us as a fanciful notion – but it is more true than we realise, particularly when it comes to the environment.” – *Worldvision Australia*



Saving the Planet, One Meal at a Time

BY JOHN CAMPBELL

The environment is becoming an increasingly important topic to many people today, but one extremely relevant factor is usually left out of environmental discussions. A process that kills over 45 billion animals each year, accelerates global warming, burns hundreds of millions of barrels of oil per year, and wastes millions of tons of food and water each day receives little attention in the environmental debate. It is factory farming — the industrialized, intensive, rapid production of all types of meat for human consumption. While the meat industry's treatment of animals has received increasing attention from media and government agencies, its vast environmental degradation goes largely unnoticed.

One of the most astonishing facts about factory farming is its inefficiency, as most animals consume an enormous amount of resources relative to their edible output. In 1981, *Newsweek* shined a spotlight on this issue, stating that the amount of water required to raise a 1,000-pound steer could "float a destroyer."¹ Officials within the U.S. beef industry have admitted that 792,000 gallons of water are needed to raise a 1,000-pound steer, and that may be a low estimate. Researchers at Michigan State University found that 2,500 gallons are needed to grow a pound of flesh, which



would mean the same steer actually necessitates 2.5 million gallons of water in its lifetime.² Contrarily, only 25 gallons of water are required to produce one pound of wheat, 1 percent as much water as is needed for beef.³

Most people don't feel the air getting hotter with each bite of their Big Mac, but livestock are in fact responsible for 18% of greenhouse gas emissions.

Fresh water is becoming an increasingly limited resource. The World Bank reports that as many as 80 countries suffer from water shortages, affecting their economies, agriculture, and the health of their citizens.

This report says that 40 percent of the world's population has limited or no access to clean water. These numbers are continuing to rise, and one news report even went as far as to say that

water shortage may be the next cause of a world war.⁴

The waste of water is obviously significant to any environmental debate, but also to a larger ethical one, because depriving a person of a basic human need is one of the worst forms of violence. While most people consider violence to be direct and obvious physical harm, "structural violence" is

More serious than dry pancakes?

"Warmer winters caused by Global Warming are threatening the habitat of the maple tree, which does not thrive in milder conditions. Scientists estimate that the Northeast's average yearly temperature could rise by about 4-5 degrees over the next few decades. The warmer climate means that the maple tree - along with the rest of America's northeast forests will be more susceptible to disease, insects and drought. It's more serious than just dry pancakes. The loss of the maple trees would have a disastrous effect on New Hampshire's economy. Tourism would dry up along with syrup production. Thousands of jobs would be lost and a way of life would be gone forever." — StopGlobalWarming.org





Forests are often burned to make grazing land for cattle.

deprivation of basic human needs caused by corrupt social structures or institutions. Considering the huge waste of water caused by raising cattle and other animals, factory farming is clearly a source of structural violence. This injustice, however, can be fought individually on a day-to-day basis. A meat diet requires 4,000 gallons of water a day, while a vegetarian diet, on the other hand, requires only about 300 gallons of water a day.⁵ This is a difference of about 3,700 gallons — roughly the amount of water needed to keep 6,000 people healthy each day.⁶ Our food choices are clearly critical, as conversion to a more efficient diet helps to ensure that all humans have their essential needs met.

Factory farming also wastes food. It takes about 16 pounds of grain to produce one pound of beef, meaning that the amount of food that could feed 16 people instead goes to a sole individual.⁷ Surveys show that close to 70 percent (700 million acres) of all crops grown in the United States go to feeding animals that are raised for slaughter.⁸ Only about 6 percent of the land used to produce beef — 500 million acres (53 percent of U.S. farmland) — would be needed to feed the same number of vegetarians.⁹ Taking into account the inefficiency of all types of meat production, to feed all Americans

vegetables instead of meat would require at the most 12 percent of the 70 percent of land used to feed livestock.¹⁰ From this perspective, one could argue that more than half of all U.S. food crops are essentially wasted.

The misused resources do not stop here, as the process of growing all of these crops leads to the use of another dwindling commodity, oil. Growing crops, cultivating crops, transporting crops to be processed, processing, transportation to farms, transporting animals to slaughter houses, transporting meat, refrigeration, and distribution of meat all depend on petroleum. Cornell ecologist Dave Pimentel calculated that 284 gallons of oil are needed to raise a 1,250-pound cow for slaughter. The United States alone raises and slaughters over 25 million cows a year, meaning the total amount of oil used per year is more than 355 million barrels for cattle production and processing alone.¹¹ Considering the inefficiency of meat production, we are wasting oil. Fossil fuels are a source of environmental harm, global warming, and armed conflict.

Most people don't feel the air getting hotter with each bite of their Big Mac, but livestock are in fact responsible for 18 percent of greenhouse gas emissions, which is more than automobiles, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The hundreds of millions of cows raised worldwide each year produce immense amounts of the greenhouse gas methane, which warms the planet 20 times faster than carbon dioxide.¹² Deforestation, also a result of meat production, is responsible for 25 percent of atmospheric carbon dioxide.¹³ In the Amazon, 60 percent to 70 percent of deforestation is a result of livestock production.¹⁴ Conversely, plants, the basis of a vegetarian diet, remove carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, thus combating global warming. In addition to this, livestock are responsible for two thirds of all ammonia emissions, which directly contribute to acid rain — which pollutes water and harms aquatic animals, forests, and human health.¹⁵

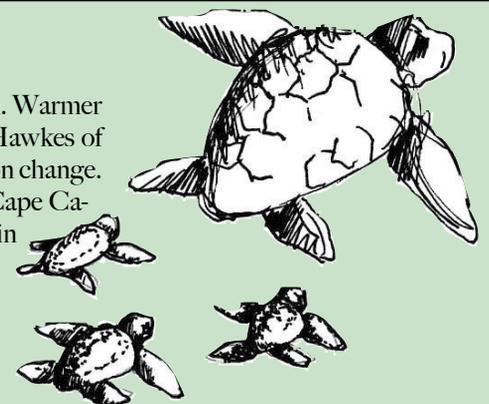
Any of us who have ever walked out in a pasture knows that farm animals produce astonishing amounts of excrement. At times, we must wonder, what happens to all of this waste?

...CONTINUED ON PAGE 29

Gender Bender

“The sex of turtle hatchlings is determined by the temperature of eggs during incubation. Warmer nest temperatures produce females, and cooler nests result in males. According to Lucy Hawkes of the Marine Turtle Research Group at the University of Exeter (UK), these ratios could soon change. “With just two degrees Celsius of warming, there would be no more males produced at Cape Canaveral, Florida,” states Hawkes. It’s widely accepted that three degrees Celsius will occur in the next 100 years, which could be disastrous for Florida loggerheads”

— International Sea Turtle Society



A Return to the Earth

Vandana Shiva's Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture in India

BY KEN PRESTON-PILE

I recently returned from a two-week Reality Tour with Global Exchange (see Jerlina Love's article on page 34) where we met Dr. Vandana Shiva, a well-respected environmental activist who carries on the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi. Shiva turned toward activism when she organized the *Navdanya* (Nine Crops) movement. Shiva founded Navdanya as a program of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology — a participatory research initiative formed to provide direction and support to environmental activism. Navdanya arose out of a search for nonviolent farming, which protects biodiversity, the earth and our small farmers. Navdanya refers to the nine crops that represent India's collective source of food security.

THE BIRTH OF NAVDANYA

Since its inception, Navdanya has been struggling against numerous challenges, including:

- The threat of chemical agriculture and genetic engineering to public health, and nutrition decline;
- The high costs of production resulting from hybrid and genetically engineered seeds, chemicals and irrigation, which combined with falling prices and decline in farm credit push farmers into the debt trap. Thousands of farmers committed suicide in India in the last two decades because of debt they were unable to repay. Navdanya arose in response to the so-called "Green Revolution" of the 1940s to 1960s when modern agricultural techniques greatly increased farm production around the world.

Unfortunately, those techniques were fraught with environmentally detrimental processes, such as the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides.

The main aim of the Navdanya biodiversity conservation program is to support local farmers, rescue and conserve crops and plants that are being pushed to extinction, and make them available through direct marketing. As an insurance against such vulnerability, Navdanya pioneered the conservation of biodiversity in India and built a movement for the protection of small farmers through promotion of ecological farming and fair trade to ensure healthy, diverse and safe food. The movement has spread throughout India through its partner organizations and farmers' networks.

NAVDANYA SHIFTS THE FARMING PARADIGM

Navdanya is actively involved in the rejuvenation of indigenous knowledge and culture. The campaign has raised awareness of the hazards of genetic engineering, and has defended people's knowledge and food rights in the face of globalization and biopiracy. Biopiracy, as defined in the American Heritage Dictionary, is "the commercial development of naturally occurring biological materials, such as plant substances or genetic cell lines, by a technologically advanced country or organization without fair compensation to the peoples or nations in whose territory the materials were originally discovered." Navdanya developed its own seed bank and organic farm spread over an area of 20 acres in Uttranchal, northern India. Over the past 20 years, Navdanya has trained 200,000 people on biodiversity conservation and organic farming, and is currently working in over 5,000 villages in India.



Stealing Beauty

Cyclamen, a common houseplant, faces a life indoors if climate change persists. Researchers predict that "the ideal climate for Cyclamen will become increasingly rare and might have totally disappeared by the 2050's. Some species of Cyclamen are adaptable enough and could survive climate change, but many would probably disappear." — Science Daily

Navdanya's pioneering research on the hazards of chemical farming, the costs of industrial agriculture and the risks of genetic engineering have led to a paradigm shift. Their research has proved that contrary to the dominant assumptions ecological agriculture is highly productive and is the only lasting solution to hunger and poverty. Biodiversity-based farming has changed the economic status of the member farmers across the country. Organic agriculture provides not only a source of safer, healthier, tastier food, but it also yields a solution to rural poverty.

NAVDANYA'S THREE SWARAJ: SEED FOOD, AND WATER

Gandhi taught the importance of *swaraj* (self-rule, or responsibility for one's own domain). The Navdanya movement focuses on three primary areas:

Seed Sovereignty (*Beej Swaraj*): Inspired by Gandhi's Salt *Satyagraha* — in which he led thousands of Indians to disobey the British Empire's unjust salt laws in 1930 — this campaign resists Seed Laws and Patent Laws that seek to make the sharing and saving of seed a crime, and make seed the "property" of Monsanto, a multinational agricultural biotechnology corporation, forcing farmers to pay royalties for what is their collective heritage.

Food Sovereignty (*Anna Swaraj*): Launched in 2001, this campaign has committed more than 2,500 villages to protect their food from multinational control through strategies such as letter writing campaigns.

Water Sovereignty (*Jal Swaraj*): Begun in 2005, this campaign protects India's water from privatization and commodification, and raises awareness of traditional water harvesting methods and India's diverse river cultures.

GLOBAL EXCHANGE TOUR OF NAVDANYA FARM

The final stop in our tour offered us a chance to witness first-hand the great work of the Navdanya farm. We learned



“Follow your heart and do what nourishes you.”

— Dr. Vandana Shiva

that more than 70,000 farmer members participate in the Navdanya program. When a farmer becomes a member, Navdanya picks up field grain at the farmer's house at 10 percent above the government price. The program offers a large seed bank to any interested farmer. Navdanya offers a training workshop for farmers in organic practices. The farm grows organic produce, experiments with different varieties, uses intercropping to keep weeds down and employs cow urine as an insecticide. Navdanya engages in sustainable practices, such as composting, rain water collection for watering and solar panels for power.

MEETING WITH DR. VANDANA SHIVA

In addition to touring the Navdanya farm, our group enjoyed a personal meeting with Shiva. She related that the massive power of multinational corporations produces the greatest challenge that India faces today. For example, U.S. companies sell cotton in India for half the price they sell it for in the U.S. The U.S. government subsidizes the farmers for the other half. Indian growers cannot compete at this price, so they go out of business.

In addition, Monsanto has marketed terminator seeds — which do not produce seeds that can be harvested and used for the following year's planting — as well as expensive chemical fertilizers to Indian farmers who cannot afford to keep buying them. These forces combine to cause farmers to go into debts they can't afford to pay. Culturally, farmers feel great shame when they can't repay their debts. So, many end up committing suicide.

The power of corporations has negatively influenced Indian politics. For example, India passed the Special Economic Zone Act, a law that authorizes the Indian government to repos-

The Canary in the Mineshaft

“Rising temperatures are responsible for pushing dozens of frog species over the brink of extinction in the past three decades, according to findings being reported...” The fate of amphibians — whose permeable skin makes them sensitive to environmental changes — is seen by scientists as a possible harbinger of global warming's effects. “Disease is the bullet killing frogs, but climate change is pulling the trigger,” J. Alan Pounds, scientist at the Tropical Science Center in Costa Rica, said. “Global warming is wreaking havoc on amphibians and will cause staggering losses of biodiversity if we don't do something first.” — The Washington Post



“You only know who you are when you know what you love.”

— Dr. Vandana Shiva



less land and give it to multinational companies who aren't accountable to India's laws. Part of India's technology boom comes at the expense of farmers, who lose land to multinational companies setting up shop both in cities and increasingly in the rural areas. Besides land, these companies use vast amounts of water and pollute the environment. In addition, the government is grabbing more and more farmland for supermarkets and housing. Shiva says she feels that the government's laws are increasingly providing more "freedom for global corporations, but dictatorship for normal people."

SHIVA'S RESPONSE TO CURRENT CHALLENGES

To respond to the negative forces, Shiva insists that the new *swaraj* for Navdanya and others to embark upon must

be multi-pronged to address the intersecting issues of land, seed, water and food sovereignty. To achieve *swaraj*, we must be inspired by the earth, and we must remember Gandhi's principle of *svadeshi* — work locally and within our capacities. By using these precepts, we can build economies at the local level.

Most recently, Shiva authored *Earth Democracy* published by South End Press. *Earth Democracy* offers a set of principles based on inclusion, nonviolence, reclaiming the com-

mons and freely sharing the earth's resources. These ideals, Shiva believes, will serve as unifying points in our current movements, an urgent call to peace and the basis for a just and sustainable future.

Shiva says she feels that the government's laws are increasingly providing more "freedom for global corporations, but dictatorship for normal people."

Shiva encouraged us to measure our actions in the following way: "Think of the

lowest person and see if your actions are impacting that person's life." Shiva's final advice to us: "Follow your heart and do what nourishes you. You can't just respond to the negative. You only know who you are when you know what you love. Activism has its fashions, too. If you follow those fashions, you will burn out. You must find your own passion. That will give you the power to resist."

Ken Preston-Pile is Training Coordinator for Pace e Bene Nonviolence Service <paceebene.org>, where he has led hundreds of trainings in nonviolent peacemaking. He also organizes speaking events for Global Exchange, a human rights organization based in San Francisco. Contact him at <kenpreston@paceebene.org>.

Resources:

Navdanya: <www.navdanya.org>

[Earth Democracy](#) by Vandana Shiva (South End Press)



“A human being is a part of the whole called by us universe, a part limited in time and space. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feeling as something separated from the rest, a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty.”

— Albert Einstein

The People vs. The Toxic Landfill

BY RYAN CURTIS

Residents of Warren County, North Carolina, spent more than 20 years protesting the placement of a toxic waste dump in their community. In 1982 North Carolina state officials surveyed 93 sites in 13 counties and chose Warren County, a predominantly rural, poor, black county as the site; the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) permitted the landfill under the Toxic Substances Control Act.

The landfill was constructed to hold 60,000 tons of soil contaminated with polychlorinated biphenyls — chemicals more commonly known as PCBs. It became necessary after a trucking company from New York dumped over 30,000 gallons of waste transformer oil contaminated with PCBs along North Carolina roadways. The company was attempting to get rid of the oil because the EPA had banned the resale of the toxic transformer oil.

After months of deliberations and consideration, it was decided that the toxic soil should be dumped in Afton, a small community in Warren County in which 84 percent of the population at the time of the construction of the landfill was black. This site, however, was not considered the most scientifically suitable. The water table under the landfill was shallow, averaging only 5 to 10 feet below the surface; this was an especially big problem in Warren County, where many residents got their drinking water from local wells.

However, Warren County residents were quick to oppose the dumpsite. The county twice took the state to court, but failed to stop the landfill's construction. Local residents then organized with civil rights leaders, church leaders, elected officials, environmental activists and others to protest the toxic waste dump in their community. The state began hauling the contaminated soil to the site in September 1982; in all, over 6,000 truckloads of soil were dumped in the landfill.

For six weeks, protestors used peaceful civil disobedience to express their disapproval of the state's choice for the placement of the dump and try to prevent the area from being filled. Activists marched in front of the site and even went so far as to lay down in front of the trucks as they attempted to deliver the contaminated soil to the landfill. By the end of September, 414 protestors had been arrested, and in all, more than 500 would be arrested for protesting the placement of the waste site.

While they were unable to stop the state from dumping the soil, the demonstrations of the local protestors caught national attention. They influenced the Congressional Black Caucus to call for an investigation regarding toxic waste dumps and the communities they were in; a report released in 1983 by the U.S. General Accounting Office reported that racial minorities



PCB and dioxin contaminated soils were treated with a high capacity indirect thermal desorption unit for the Warren County Landfill cleanup.

made up a majority of the population in three out of the four communities with hazardous waste landfills in eight southern states.

The Warren County protestors inspired the United Church of Christ to form a Commission for Racial Justice; this commission produced a report in 1987 in which they concluded that communities near waste sites were more likely to be inhabited by African-Americans and Hispanics than Caucasians.

These two reports helped to bring environmental racism and justice into the national consciousness, where it has become a big issue to a variety of people and groups.

Although they couldn't stop the landfill from being constructed and filled with toxic soil, residents of Warren County did not give up their fight. They created the Warren County Working Group, comprised of local residents, state employees and environmental organizations. The group analyzed the situation for years, finding that it was not only possible but essential that the site be detoxified. After years of continued protests and pressure on government officials, the state of North Carolina finally began detoxification work on the site in 2001. The operation cost \$18 million, and once detoxified, the soil was put back into a large pit, covered and seeded with grass. The last cleanup work finally ended in January of 2004.

Even decades after the construction of the landfill in their community, the residents of Warren County and the protestors who helped them continue to stand out as a shining example of normal people using nonviolent means to bring about change. As the first case concerning environmental racism to garner national attention, it assisted in bringing environmental justice into the public consciousness. Today, the EPA has a National Environmental Justice Advisory Council and eliminating environmental racism is an ongoing concern of the federal government. ■

Ordaining Trees in Thailand

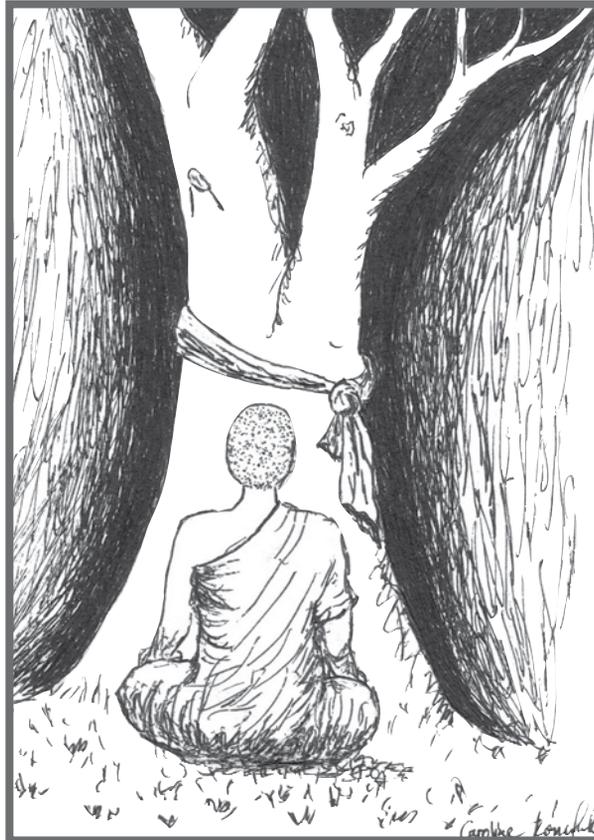
Engaged Buddhists Come Together to Save the Forest

BY CAROLINE KORNFIELD

As an Asian economic powerhouse Bangkok has become a fast-paced sophisticated city. But factories have grown across central Thailand, and heroin and amphetamine epidemics have ruined thousands of Thai families. Almost every lower class family has been affected by prostitution and the sex-trade. The environmental devastation of logging, cash crops, and slash-and-burn agriculture has been some of the worst in Southeast Asia. In response, out in the small villages of rural Thailand, monks conduct the seemingly peculiar ritual of ordaining trees by tying orange monks' robes around them. Using their knowledge of the communities along with deeply rooted religious traditions, these monks are slowly working to save the ever-shrinking Thai forests.

Traditionally, the Buddhist religious community has been detached or oblivious to these great social transformations and problems. After a century of this separation, sectors of the Sangha, or Buddhist community, have recently begun to question the legitimacy of many of the government's policies and societal norms. These individuals have used traditional Buddhist teachings and principles as foundations for their critique. Many of them have then taken these values and attempted to change the problems they see. This trend has come to be called by many 'engaged Buddhism.'

The monks see the forest as one of their closest connections to the teachings of the Buddha, who was enlightened under the Bodhi tree.



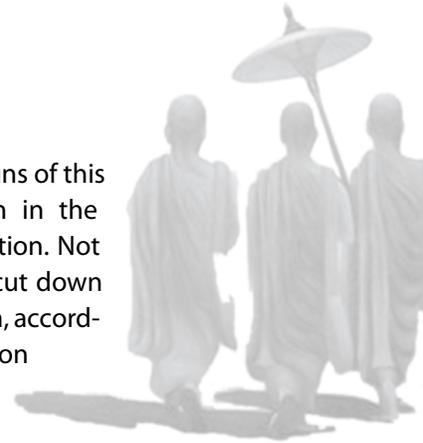
One of the ongoing campaigns of this engaged Buddhism has been in the area of environmental devastation. Not only has the Thai forest been cut down at one of the fastest rates in Asia, according to professor Susan Darlington at Hampshire College, but the statistics are staggering. In 1938, forest covered 72 percent of land, and by 1985 it covered only 29 percent.¹ Over

the last few decades, both forest monks and many lay people have attempted to address this problem. The monks see the forest as one of their closest connections to the teachings of the Buddha. The Buddha was enlightened under the Bodhi tree and for centuries monastics have used the forests as a way to truly understanding the Buddhist path.

Seeing that the forests are key to both the tangible and spiritual well-being of the population, the monks began to organize and act. One of their most concrete actions has been to go into areas of the forest where illegal logging is being done, and ordain trees. Often they will tie the orange robes of a forest monk around the trunk of the largest or oldest tree. The ceremonies are large and well publicized in a hope to discourage loggers who might not want

to make the bad karma of cutting down the forest around an ordained tree. In provinces from Korat to Changmai the movement has been very successful.

These monks have sought not only to preserve the land for religious reasons, but also out of concerns about local people's spiritual well-being and for the quality of life of the individuals in their communities. Because the monks are part of the community, they and the movement they lead can choose their actions and build projects informed by local



histories. Unlike the government environmental and agricultural policies, which are concerned with boosting the economic development of the nation as a whole, the monks are concerned with prosperity and well-being at the local level. In utilizing sustainable practices in the villages, the engaged Buddhists teach that the whole country will thrive when all of the individual parts are healthy.

The monastic environmental movement has also given birth to the Independent Development Monks' Movement. Since the 1980s, the Independent Development Movement has worked to counter the negative effects of increasing consumerism and the government-sponsored shift from subsistence to market farming, which has left farmers dependent on outside markets.

To address the decline in the rural population's quality of life, monks began organizing to promote healthy development. Movements like the Foundation for Education and Development of Rural Areas have sprung up across Thailand. These Buddhist movements work closely with other non-governmental organizations to promote alternative forms of development. One monk, Phrakhrū Pitak, writes that by 1999 over 39 community forests and 100 fish sanctuaries were established in Thailand. These monks and the environmental groups that have followed them are clearly applying their Buddhist principles in everyday social politics.

The religious and intellectual support for engaged Buddhism in Thailand has come from the highly influential activist Sulak Sivaraksa and his teacher Ajahn Buddhadasa. A professor and grassroots activist since the 1960s, Sivaraksa has challenged the Buddhist establishment to move from rhetoric and complacency to real engagement and service using Buddhist principles. In the introduction to his book, *A Socially Engaged Buddhism*, Sivaraksa is described as standing "against everything modern Thailand stands for — industrialization, technological advancement, arms buildup and the exploitation of the agricultural population."² He not only uses Buddhism to question cultural norms and development, but also goes further in identifying the duty of a Buddhist to confront the reality of these problems.

Engaged Buddhism teaches that if one exploits the land, or other human beings to gain wealth, one is not acting in accordance with the Buddhist principles of 'right action,' 'right intention,' or 'right livelihood.' While poverty is not seen as a blessing, Buddhist teachings point out that suffering is caused by unwise grasping at material things. If humans exploit nature for material gain, other humans will suffer. This is both spiritual and practical. Without 'right understanding,'



the environment — and the humans who populate it — will suffer. Sivaraksa states that, "the simpler our livelihood is, the less natural resources will be exploited." He reminds people of the values of their religion and their traditional and more integrated way of living.

In this way, the leaders of engaged Buddhism, both monks and lay people, are drawing on Buddhist teachings of non-harming, virtue and community to empower the Thai people. These projects have been successful largely because the Thai people have faith in the monks. As monastics who have renounced worldly possessions, there is a known selflessness in their acts, and their commitment to service is undoubted. Conversely, government and businesses are often seen as having ulterior motives. Instead of following a course of development that produces corruption, the growing income gap, the drug epidemic and growing environmental devastation, engaged Buddhists are both questioning societal structures and developing alternative paths. These leaders' actions are solely motivated by their genuine concern for the Thai people and local Thai communities. They are using the rich spiritual heritage of Buddhist teaching, treasured by the Thai people, to confront the problems of modernization and environmental destruction. They are using the resources of the culture to show that there is a healthier way to grow.

Caroline Kornfield is a UC Berkeley senior completing a degree in Political Science. She is also an aspiring artist, avid traveler, and hopes to pursue a career working for international human rights.

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Civil Society and Nonviolence in Korea

BY JYAHYUN LEE

There has been no Martin Luther Kim. There has been no Mahatma Lee. In South Korea, a central figure or symbol of nonviolence has never existed. The government had 'invented' and 'reconstructed' some historical figures as patriots such as Admiral Lee in order to promote nationalism, but an equivalent leader of nonviolence has never emerged.

Yet we find numerous examples of nonviolent movements in Korean History. The great Sam-Il movement of 1919 during Japanese colonial rule was one of the largest nonviolent demonstrations in the twentieth century. Korea had been under brutal and cruel Japanese colonial rule since 1910 and leaders of the independence movement engaged in various actions to liberate Korea. It was at the peak of oppression when Woodrow Wilson declared what are known as the "Fourteen Points" in 1918, which outlined national "self-determination." Affected by this idea, Korean students in Tokyo declared their demand for Korean independence. In response, the underground nationalist leaders in Korea decided it was time to act. Organized largely by religious leaders—of Christian, Buddhist, and Cheondogyo (a distinct religion in Korea) leadership—secret plans to hold demonstrations were disseminated throughout towns and villages.

At 2 pm on March 1st of 1919, 33 nationalist leaders gathered at Taehwagwan Restaurant in Seoul and read out the Korean Declaration of Independence. The same thing happened in other appointed sites throughout Korea at the same time. Masses assembled and started peaceful demonstrations, shouting out "Daehan-minkuk-manse (Long-live Korean Independence)." It has been estimated that more than one million Korean citizens poured out onto the streets to nonviolently protest against Japanese colonial rule.¹ Japanese colonialists responded by sending a police force that attacked, beat, and even shot peaceful demonstrators. Sources count that 7,500 Korean demonstrators were killed and 45,000 arrested. There were sequential demonstrations throughout Korea for about one year and approximately two million Korean people participated in 1,500 demonstrations.²

Although the March 1st movement did not succeed in liberating Korea from Japanese rule – in fact, Japanese rule became even harsher in terms of cultural dominance by

forcing Koreans to speak the Japanese language – the campaign became a model for other Asian nations' freedom struggles. It also set the stage for future Korean struggles, and March 1st is still celebrated as a national holiday.

Korea's next major nonviolent movement took place in the 1960s, when unarmed students rose up to overthrow the authoritarian regime of Rhee Sung Man. The opposition parties organized thousands of demonstrations that included students and intellectuals, who faced beatings, tear gas, and torture.

In 1987, the biggest struggle for democracy in Korea overthrew the authoritarian regime of Chun Du Hwan. Not long after college student Park Jong Chul was tortured and killed by the police, students started engaging in massive street protests. These protests reached a peak on June 26, culminating in the "Great Peace March of the People." Countless demonstrators, including students, white-collar

workers, and the middle class, literally packed the streets around Seoul and other urban centers in Korea. The human waves of demonstrators were so overwhelming that the police were running out of tear gas canisters.³ These demonstrations finally resulted in the June 29 Declaration, which ended military rule. According to the "encyclopedia of nonviolent action," the success was made possible by use of violent tactics by the radical front on the one

hand and extensive utilization of nonviolent tactics by many students, intellectuals, and members of the middle class on the other hand.⁴ (Scholars disagree on whether nonviolent and violent action can effectively complement each other. Certain political science professors believe that violent tactics can be helpful when used on the periphery in compliment to nonviolent tactics. However, Prof. Michael Nagler and other peace studies experts say that violence will always contaminate and undermine a movement in the long run and that any substantive achievement of such a movement occurs despite the unhelpful violent components.)

This was the beginning of one of the most successful stories of democratization among developing countries in the 20th century. What is even more important is that this was also a significant period for civil society and nonviolence in Korea.

After 1987, Korea went through a transition. Rapid industrialization and economic development allowed for

The great Sam-Il movement of 1919 during Japanese colonial rule was one of the largest nonviolent demonstrations in the 20th century.



A portrait of the memorable Sam-il movement. Approximately one million or more Korean citizens poured out onto the streets to nonviolently protest Japanese colonial rule.

the growth of the middle class, which in turn gave rise to Civil Society Movements (mass-based reformist movements against unjust aspects of the capitalist system.). Now that freedom of speech was allowed and a civilian—as opposed to a military—government was in power, the number of civic and voluntary associations rose dramatically. Among these associations were anti-pollution movements, anti-nuclear groups, feminist groups, teachers' associations, journalists' associations, and pressure groups for ensuring responsive state agencies. The growing civil society of Korea at this time also included peasant movements, labor movements, and various other sectoral movements.

Koreans have especially focused their activism on environmental issues. In 1991, the government decided to construct a seawall to “reclaim” the land of Saemangum — land reclamation is the creation of new land from foreshore (the part of a beach that is exposed by the low tides and submerged by high tides). This plan was expected to produce economic benefits. However, the nation was divided over the issue and opposition was fierce. Environmental organizations in Korea maintained that loss and destruction of foreshore outweighed any of the claimed benefits — securing farmland, water resources, and preventing flooding in that region.⁵ In the end, the Supreme Court wrote the final verdict that made it possible to continue the construction.

During this 15-year-long debate, there were some extraordinary methods of protest. When the construction was reaching its completion, at 8am on June 12th, 2003, some eighty courageous environmental activists (members of Saemangum Sandbank Solidarity of Life and Peace) snuck into the construction site and started digging up the seawall. (A seawall is a breakwater constructed to block the inflow of water.) Twenty of these activists used shovels and hoes to dig and tear up the seawall, while others chained

themselves to build ‘human shields.’ One activist said, “We came here knowing that this act was illegal. Keep everyone out of here so that it will be peaceful.” However, six hours later, at 2pm, some 100 members of Saemangum Promotion Council (which is in favor of the reclamation plan) arrived at the site and started using violence to stop the protests. They beat the activists, kicked them, used water cannons, and even dragged one activist to their boat and committed mob violence. The activists, however, did not resist these egregious acts of violence, saying that they would not harm other human beings. Finally, the leadership of Saemangum Solidarity decided it was too dangerous to continue and withdrew at 5 pm.⁶

Ultimately, the Saemangum Solidarity protestors were unable to stop the reclamation project, but they did manage to raise public awareness about environmental issues. Fishermen, children, students, and members of the middle class were highly mobilized. One of the protestors' most persuasive actions to reach the hearts of their fellow citizens was a 200-mile march from Saemangum to Seoul. Along the way, they practiced “three-bow, one step,” wherein they bowed three times before advancing each step on their path.

While the Korean public frowns upon violent activism as a remnant of authoritarian rule and opposition, nonviolent and self-sacrificing demonstrations evoke sympathy with their freshness and deep spiritual meanings. Recently, environmental activists have called to uphold nonviolence not only an ideological principle but as a practical measure and method to create social change.

In Korea, nonviolence has ‘evolved’ without the leadership of a great figure. Nonviolence was used not only to voice people's opinions against repressive regimes, but it is now being utilized in order to bring justice to the environment, society, economy, as well as politics thanks to the awakening and rise of civil society. It can be said that nonviolence has been resurrected and is helping to nurture public consciousness for the cause of environmental protection. We now have a great tool in promoting a more sustainable society.

JyaHyun Lee (Albert) is an international student from Kyung-hee University, Korea, studying International Studies.

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Who Speaks for the Trees?

People Unite to Save a Sacred Oak Grove in Berkeley

BY MATTHEW TAYLOR

Is nature sacred? Who has the legitimate right to declare it as such? These questions lie at the heart of a currently unfolding, multifaceted conflict over UC Berkeley's plans to cut down a much-beloved grove of oak trees in order to construct an underground athletic training facility adjacent to the California Memorial football stadium.

Following in the footsteps of Julia Butterfly Hill and Earth First! forest defense actions, the Save the Oaks Campaign has all the makings of a classic environmental struggle, including activists living for months on end in lofty tree platforms and a contentious lawsuit. The campaign's most prominent figurehead is Native American leader and mayoral candidate Zachary Running Wolf, who along with other natives and community members has declared the grove to be sacred. The campaign focuses on a broad range of issues — from respect for war veterans to the global warming crisis — revealing deep truths about how we relate to the world and why humanity stands on the brink of ecocide.

WHAT'S AT STAKE?

The Oak Grove is only a little more than a football field in length, but carries an outsized significance to the people and creatures of Berkeley. Environmental Science professor Ignacio Chapela, a well-known critic of genetically modified organisms and the corporate takeover of universities (see page 42), points out the grove is a wildlife corridor, providing animals such as Red Foxes a vital pathway between two disparate strips of wildscape to the northeast and southeast of the stadium.

This "urban forest" is also cherished because it provides a special space for the community to relax, meditate and commune with nature. Urban forests are known to improve the mental health, happiness and well-being of city dwellers whose daily experiences are dominated by a sea of concrete. The U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service has published numerous reports on the effect of urban forests on air quality, reduction of harmful UV radiation and greenhouse gasses, and mitigation of soil erosion. The Oak Grove is one of the last such groves in the city's flatlands. The oaks are also considered excellent specimens as a gene bank of native trees.

Concerned with global warming, activists state that the University's reported plans to "plant three new trees" for each one they cut down cannot possibly replace the loss of an urban forest or mitigate the loss of a mature oak tree's ability to sequester CO₂. Further, they say it sets the wrong example for students in an age of global warming. British journalist George Monbiot warns we must cut emissions 90 percent by 2030 or face an irreversible positive feedback loop of warming that causes more warming. (See <www.monbiot.com> for more details.)

The Oak Grove is adjacent to the California Memorial Stadium, which is dedicated to the memory of World War I veterans. William Lindo Jr., the son of a World War II naval combatant, sees the grove as a "cemetery without the coffins" and would view any attempt to cut the trees as akin to defacing Arlington National Cemetery. A frequent visitor to the grove, he has pledged to hug the trees if they are attacked, claiming the UCPD would have to kill him first.

"The essence of what we're doing is, 'We shall not be moved.'"

— Major Tom, tree-sitter

FROM PETITIONS TO DIRECT ACTION

When the University announced its plans to cut the trees, community activists Doug Buckwald, Scott and Beth Wachenheim, and Michael Kelly filed objections at the University's public environmental impact meetings, launched a publicity campaign, and organized a lawsuit. Berkeley alumnus Buckwald was the chief spokesperson of the movement and captured attention by parading around Sproul Plaza dressed as a black-robed Cal graduate with a mock chainsaw in one hand and a gray squirrel perched on a tree branch in the other. Buckwald's tireless outreach efforts generated a groundswell of support.

In fall 2006, Emma Fazio and other students organized a rally on Sproul plaza that culminated in Buckwald's presentation of stacks of petitions to a security guard at the Chancellor's office. The Chancellor refused to meet with students or community members to discuss the matter — according to those who attempted to contact him about it, his response was, "I only meet with people to discuss human issues."

With Cal's plans to cut down the trees set for January 2007, a group of community activists decided they had to do something. Early in the morning of Dec. 2, 2006, (the day of the "Big

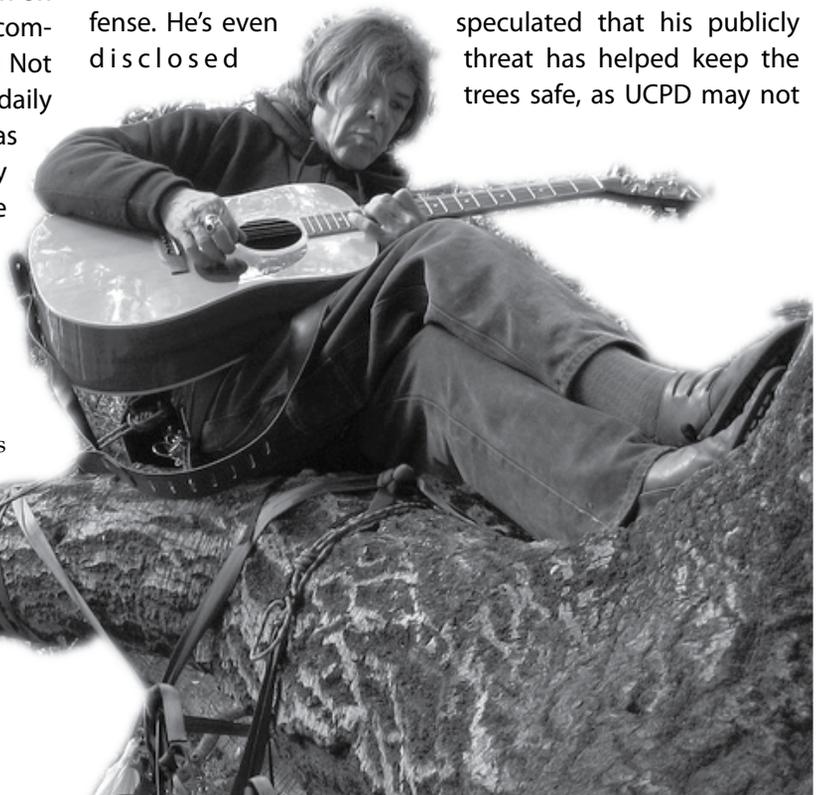


Zachary Running Wolf is a Native American elder and a prominent leader of the campaign.

Game" between Cal and Stanford), Running Wolf of the Black Feet tribe and a small group of his friends descended on the Oak Grove with the intention of occupying the threatened trees. A young woman known as "Giggles" (most tree-sitters use code names) managed to free climb partway up one of the trees and stayed there for more than thirty days. As we go to press in May 2007, over 100 activists (including a half-dozen students) have cycled in and out of seven different trees during the past four months, living on small wooden platforms and hammocks known as "dream catchers" they installed in the highest branches of the trees.

A supportive ground crew brings the tree-sitters food, water, and the basic necessities of life (hoisted up and down on ropes), empties their waste buckets, and keeps them company. Community members and organizations like Food Not Bombs have rallied to the cause and cook hot meals on a daily basis. Cop Watch supplies volunteers with video cameras to keep tabs on the UCPD, whose officers have repeatedly harassed both the regular tree-sitters and visitors to the grove, charging them with illegal lodging and trespassing. The police claim that the tree-sitters and visitors are engaged in criminal activity and an "illegal protest."

Nonviolent environmental activist Redwood Mary and musician Thomis Skotarek keep the oaks company.



In response, activists say that they are engaged in constitutionally protected free speech. Most police harassment consists of ID checks and threats to issue citations, but occasionally the police have physically assaulted activists (wounding one student, according to eyewitnesses) and made nearly a dozen arrests. Tree-sitter Major Tom, who is a citizen of the UK, has not been heard from since he was arrested a second time. His friends fear he was deported.

AN UNCERTAIN COMMITMENT

Is the Save the Oaks Campaign a nonviolent effort? Partially. A few of the activists, like Redwood Mary, embody the spirit of Julia Butterfly Hill in their commitment to dialoguing with their adversaries, respecting the humanity of the other, and acting from the heart with love and integrity. In a conversation before his disappearance from the scene, Major Tom said that he believes nonviolence is the only effective strategy. He contemplated, "The essence of what we're doing is, 'We shall not be moved.' We'll sit in place nonviolently, and they'll have to physically remove us with force, which will make things a little more difficult for them... If we did violent protest, the National Guard would be drawn in, and they'd shoot at us and the trees wouldn't be saved."

Others see things differently. Running Wolf, whose people and land have been the victims of Euro-American genocide and conquest for more than 500 years, relates that in the Black Feet culture, violent resistance is an accepted "last-resort" option. He says that if a police officer attempts to pull him out of his redwood tree (one of several non-oaks in the grove), he would consider it an attack on Native America, feel threatened, and throw the assailant out of the tree in self-defense. He's even speculated that his publicly disclosed threat has helped keep the trees safe, as UCPD may not

wish to risk the negative publicity and possible injury or death that could result from a struggle 50 feet above the ground.

What are the implications to a movement's ability to succeed in its stated objectives — and work to change the consciousness of humanity — if its participants do not embrace disciplined nonviolent resistance? History indicates that in such situations, all too often the violent actions of a few drown out the nonviolent efforts of others, especially in the media's eyes. (When 80,000 marchers in San Francisco peacefully protested the start of the second Iraq war and a few dozen "Black Block" protestors smashed a few windows, guess who captured the headlines and lead sentences of the newspapers?) When protestors resort to violence, the media covers the violence, but when activists maintain nonviolent discipline, the media is much more likely to cover the *issues*. If the Oaks Campaign is unsuccessful in the lawsuit and the struggle gets decided in the tops of trees, a lack of nonviolent discipline could seriously undermine activists' capacity to accomplish their objectives.

THE TREE TRIBE AND THE "SPACESHIP"

Over the past four months, the Oak Grove has been transformed from a quiet corner of campus into a radical community of resistance. According to a prominent ground support activist known as Ayr, a wide range of people have come together to "live free from society's boxes" — no landlords, no rent, no bosses, no jobs. Musicians, artists, current and former students, those who have devoted their lives to activism, people who are otherwise homeless, and a few dogs have descended on the Oak Grove to live, laugh, create community,

and resist ecocide together as a "tree tribe." They have thrown numerous parties and special events, including the "Hundy Sunday" celebration of 100 days in the Oak Grove, educational nature walks organized by Prof. Chapela, and conversation salons. The Oak Grove is known to some of its denizens as the "spaceship": a location of spontaneous experience that is totally disconnected from oppressive capitalist reality.

According to Running Wolf, the grove has become sacred over the past few months as a result of the community that has arisen to defend it. He reports that the grove is a place of healing and transformation for individuals. Prominent tree-sitter Giggles — who recently renamed herself "Everything" because she wants people to see the 'big picture' — came to the Oak Grove not to save the trees, but to save *herself*. She had a profound spiritual experience during her initial 30-plus day stint in the trees, and those who know her consider her to have attained a heightened spiritual awareness, or enlightenment.

Chancellor Birgeneau said he disagrees with Running Wolf on the sacred status of the grove. On a cultural level, this is perhaps the heart of the conflict: Who has the right to make a claim about sacredness, and how is that claim socially understood? Another layer of sacredness was revealed when Running Wolf and other natives announced that the grove is an Ohlone burial ground, given that several skeletons were removed during the adjacent stadium's construction in the 1920s.

Running Wolf and other natives bring into focus the conflict between the modern patriarchal capitalist ideology of domination and conquest, as compared to a native understanding that says everything is interconnected and trees are as worthy of respect as humans. In Ohlone tradition, trees are known as "tree people." Given that all violence begins with dehumanization, it is quite easy to see how a native culture that view trees as humans would do a much better job of protecting them than our culture, which views them all too often as an extractable resource.

PERCEPTION AND REALITY

University administrators see the grove as expendable because they plan to "enhance" the area after cutting the trees by daylighting (or bringing to the surface) the underground Strawberry Creek in at least one area and planting new trees after building the underground training facility. The building would serve athletes from numerous programs, from football to gymnastics, and provide locker rooms for some athletes who reportedly change their clothes in their cars due to a lack of convenient facilities.

Although the mainstream media has dehumanized parties on both sides with stereotyped depictions of intractable opposition, the reality is not so simple. Numerous athletes who support the Oak Grove protestors have dropped in to dance,



Tree-sitter "Fish" camps out on a high platform at the top of one of the threatened oak trees.

sing and party with them late at night when the cameras are turned off. At least one football player I spoke to refused to identify

Few laws exist to protect nature for no other reason than because people love it.

himself for fear of losing his scholarship. Similarly, several of the regular Oak Grove protestors are athletes who play sports such as lacrosse (a Native American sport). Although many question the University's priorities when it chooses to spend hundreds of millions on corporatized athletics, none told me they would voice an active objection if the new facility is built in an alternate location. Thus, the debate is not "The Oaks v. the Gym" but "Why put the gym here and not there?"

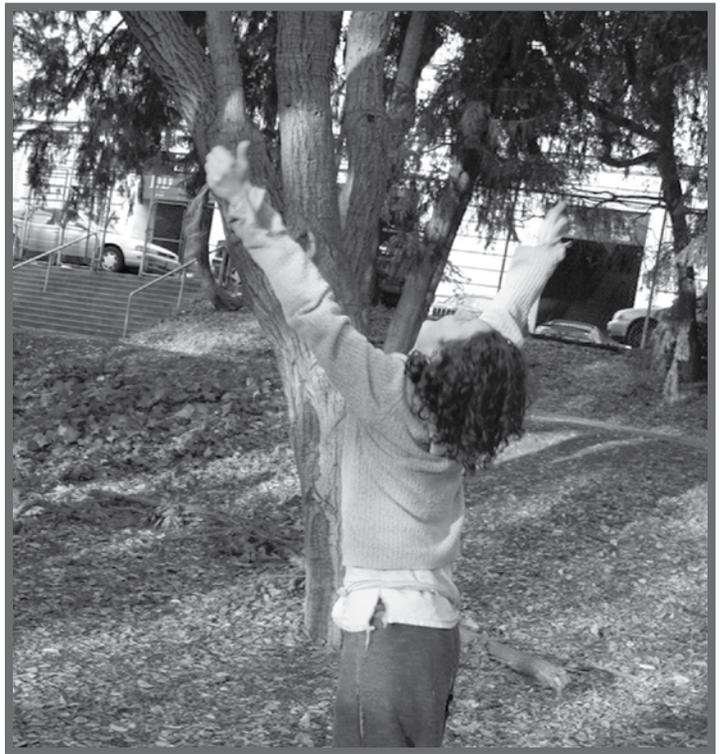
AN EARTHQUAKE OF A DISTRACTION?

According to the University's attorneys and documents obtained from the UC Regents, the primary reason that the University wishes to build the gymnasium in this specific location is so that the back wall of the facility can act as a partial retrofit for the western wall of the football stadium. UC attorneys claim that the University has been unable to raise the funds necessary to conduct the retrofit because donors would rather give money to build new things than fix old ones. However, Cal's "bear backers" are thrilled about the new training facility because it might attract the caliber of football players needed to win a Rose Bowl. By building the facility adjacent to the stadium, the University gets an essentially "free" partial retrofit — if built anywhere else, the retrofit won't happen unless the University raises additional funds.

Chris Thompson in a recent *East Bay Express* editorial called out the elephant in the room by labeling the stadium a 'death-trap' because it straddles a major earthquake fault — thus making the retrofit a wasted effort. He suggested Cal should play its football games at the Oakland Coliseum, which is accessible to public transportation, available on Saturdays, and not located on an earthquake fault.

With Cal intent on building the new facility, attorneys who represent the California Oaks Foundation and other plaintiffs have an ace in the hole: the Alquist-Priolo Zoning Act, which prohibits certain modifications to any structure that straddles a fault. If Judge Barbara Miller decides the training facility constitutes an "addition or expansion" to the stadium, Cal will probably lose the lawsuit. If not, the tree-sitters will likely face some very determined UC police officers and grounds crew in cherry picker trucks, at which point Running Wolf's threat — and other tree-sitters' commitment to nonviolent resistance — may be put to the test.

Given the previously discussed "big picture" issues, earthquake safety is a change of topic — and perhaps an unwelcome one. A cleaner confrontation between the people and



the powerful without the distraction of earthquake safety might produce a greater ripple in the consciousness of humanity. After all, while legislatures have written zoning acts to protect people from earthquakes, few laws exist to protect nature for no other reason than because people love it.

HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE TO SAVE THE TREES?

For now, a preliminary injunction prohibits UC from cutting the trees while the lawsuit proceeds to a full trial. In the meantime, the tree-sitters remain in the trees, having vowed to stay "as long as it takes." That might be a long time. The common wisdom of the forest defense movement holds that, "There are no such things as permanent victories, only permanent losses." As long as our world continues to be driven by a cultural ideology that treats nature as an extractable resource, activists like Giggles and Major Tom will always find trees in need of human occupants whether or not this particular grove stands or falls. Perhaps the greatest lesson to be learned from the Save the Oaks Campaign is the simple wisdom of Running Wolf and his native sisters and brothers: "Earth is your Mother."

Matthew Taylor is writing a book about the Save the Oaks campaign, details available at <www.matthewtaylor.net>. He frequently passes the oaks while cycling around Berkeley's hills.

Resources:

Save the Oaks Campaign: <<http://www.saveoaks.com>>

Canyon Walks: <<http://canyonwalks.blogspot.com>>

Zachary Running Wolf and Redwood Mary webcast:

<http://webcast.berkeley.edu/course_details.php?seriesid=1906978403>

(PACS 164B Spring 2007 - click on March 20th Guest Speakers)

Lives Uprooted by Oil:

Indigenous Peoples Rally to Resist Exploitation

BY LANI LEE

From the meandering rivers and mangroves of Africa to the diverse tropical rainforests of the Amazon basin, the oil industry implants seismic lines, builds pipelines and dumps toxic waste in pristine ecosystems. Petroleum, which is commonly referred to as the world's "black gold," has a high demand in the global market. Consequently, the oil industry has increasingly resorted to exploitation of poor people in the most resource-rich regions in the world. Both the environments and indigenous people of Africa and South America in particular have suffered from the cost of the world's dependence on oil.

Transnational corporations enjoy unregulated privatization of natural resources. Led by multinational organizations like the World Bank, the oil industry targets less developed, politically and economically vulnerable regions like Nigeria, West Africa, Columbia and Ecuador. The imposition of massive industrial projects on indigenous peoples — without their consent and often against their will — has led to a loss of control over their own development as a people.

Indigenous communities are leading the battle to defend their rights and protect their homelands in the face of unregulated privatization. They have created cooperatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), forged allies in Congress, filed lawsuits, blocked oil roads, and shut down wells, rigs and drilling sites. This activism and solidarity of indigenous peoples echoes a rising call for Northern countries to wake up and take notice. This article is dedicated to those who have resisted big oil interests and continue to serve as catalysts for social change in local communities and around the world.

NIGERIA AND THE Ogoni PEOPLE

Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa and the 11th largest producer globally. The country generates roughly 2.5 million barrels per day and is a major supplier to Western Europe and the United States. While Nigeria's

proven oil reserves are some 35.2 billion barrels, the government plans to expand to 40 billion by 2010.¹ Most of these reserves are found along the coastal region and Niger River Delta, home of the third-largest mangrove forest in the world.² The Nigerian economy is heavily dependent on oil revenues. Nigerian oil production provides 80 percent of government revenues and accounts for 95 percent of exports. However, Nigeria's oil wealth has not trickled down to the people. The

World Bank estimates that 80 percent of oil revenues accrue to only 1 percent of Nigeria's general population. Despite the country's oil revenues, more than 70 percent of the population lives in poverty.³ More than anything, the oil industry has had a negative effect on the lives of its citizens.

The Ogoni nation is located in the ecologically rich Niger Delta. This region contains abundant wildlife, forests, agricultural land and more freshwater fish species than any other coastal system in West Africa. Since Royal Dutch Shell began extracting oil from the delta over 60 years ago, the company has shown little concern for the environment or the 500,000 Ogoni people.⁴

Oil production activities such as flaring, oil spills, construction of infrastructure, and waste dumping have brought the Niger Delta to near collapse. Gas flares are elevated vertical stacks found in oil wells and refiner-

"I harbour the hope ...that in encouraging the Ogoni people to a belief in their ability to revitalise their dying society, I have started a trend which will peacefully liberate many peoples in Africa and lead eventually to political and economic reform and social justice." - Ken Saro-Wiwa



Ken Saro-Wiwa, leader of MOSOP



Indigenous Ogoni pay tribute to murdered/martyred activist Ken Saro Wiwa, who led opposition to Shell Oil's destruction of the Nigerian Delta and was hanged with eight other Ogoni activists by the military dictatorship. Ogoniland, Nigeria.
(Photo by Gopal <artactivism.members.gn.apc.org>)

ies that burn 24 hours a day. The constant intense heat and gasses released from the flares destroy crops and cause acid rain in the Niger Delta. Oil spills occur because most of Shell's pipelines have not been replaced since the 1960s.⁵ These rusty and poorly maintained pipelines have contaminated the Niger Delta's drinking water supplies. Pipe explosions and leakages are common and kill thousands. The 1992 oil blow, in the village of Botem, lasted for one week and represents 40 percent of Shell's total worldwide spills.⁶

In response, the Ogoni waged nonviolent resistance against Shell to reclaim their lands and protect what little remains of their endangered environments. In 1990, they launched the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) to put a stop to the ecological terrorism. Led by Ken Saro-Wiwa, MOSOP became an umbrella of mass mobilization of Nigerian youth groups, women's associations, professionals and traditional rulers.⁷ Together, they drafted the Ogoni Bill of Rights, which calls for nonviolent action to promote the political, economic and environmental control of the Ogoni people. The document was submitted to the Nigerian government and charged Shell with "full responsibility for the genocide of the Ogoni."⁸

In January 1993, 300,000 Ogoni peacefully protested against Shell's destruction of the Niger Delta. This marked the largest demonstration ever organized against an oil company. In April, a Shell contractor began bulldozing farmland in preparation for the Rumueke-Bomu pipeline. Ten thousand Ogoni protested the construction. The construction company called government troops to the site to respond to the Ogoni demonstration. Eleven people were injured as a result of open fire.

A few months later, over 100 Ogoni were killed in the town of Kaa and 8,000 were made homeless.⁹

In 1994, Saro-Wiwa, the MOSOP president, was arrested with eight other Ogoni leaders on fabricated charges, and accused of murder by the Nigerian military. Saro-Wiwa was awarded the 1994 Right Livelihood Award, and was declared a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International. The next year, Saro-Wiwa and the other leaders

were executed. According to evidence found in 1995, Shell had bribed the witnesses in the trial to testify against Saro-Wiwa. The executions provoked international condemnation of Shell. Nevertheless, the U.S. Senate bill that would have embargoed Nigerian oil died for lack of Senate sponsors.¹⁰ In 1996, hundreds gathered at an Ogoni Day rally in the town of Bori. Soldiers fired tear gas and ammunition into the crowd killing four youths and injuring many.¹¹ Military actions spread terror and turned thousands of Ogoni into refugees. Yet, massacres and executions have only hardened the resolve of communities to put an end to oil production.

In the following years after Saro-Wiwa's death, demonstrations occurred daily all over the Niger Delta. The Ijaw community, whose population totals 12 million, joined the Ogoni and drafted the Kaiama Declaration, which demanded the immediate withdrawal of oil companies and military forces. In 1998, Ijaw groups took control of 20 oil stations, cutting Nigeria's oil production of 2 million barrels a day by one-third. Since 1993, Shell has spent millions of dollars on advertising and public relations to save its reputation.¹²

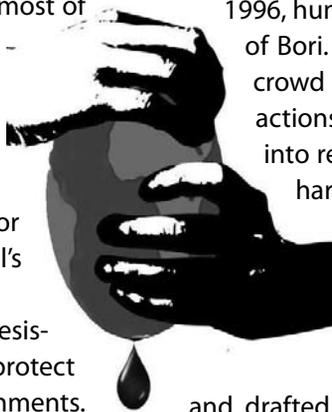
In a recent visit to UC Berkeley to express his opposition to a proposed British Petroleum/UC Berkeley collaboration (see page 42), Nigerian human rights activist Omoyele Sowore related that women play a prominent role in anti-oil exploitation protests. One of their frequent actions is to remove their clothes and occupy oil rigs. In the Nigerian culture, a naked woman sends a message of shame to men who, by implication of her nakedness, have done something horrible to her and her community.

RESISTANCE IN COLOMBIA AND ECUADOR

The most intense resistance to new oil development thus far has arisen from the native community of 5,000 U'wa who

*Ogoni is the land
The people, Ogoni
The agony of trees dying
In ancestral farmlands
Streams polluted weeping
Filth into murky rivers
It is the poisoned air
Coursing the luckless lungs
Of dying children
Ogoni is the dream
Breaking the looping chain
Around the drooping neck
Of a shell-shocked land*

(Ken Saro-Wiwa)





A protest against Texaco in Lago Agrio, Ecuador.

live in Eastern Colombia. Pipelines in Colombia have spilled over 1.7 million barrels of crude oil into the soil, rivers and sacred lands, devastating the livelihood of these people. Since 1992, the U'wa have nonviolently resisted Occidental Petroleum Corporation (Oxy) from the Samore block. The U'wa Defense Working Group (UDWG) was formed in 1997 from a coalition of NGOs. In 1999, UDWG organized the International Week of Action for the U'wa, which included widespread protests at Oxy headquarters. The following year, the Colombian court ordered Oxy to halt all construction on the Gibraltar 1 drill site. Oxy quickly appealed the injunction. In response, the U'wa joined forces again, and this time formed a blockade around the drilling rigs. Oxy silenced their rallying cries for peace and justice by ordering the demonstrators to leave and installing landmines to keep protestors off the site.¹⁵

In nearby Ecuador, the 310-mile Trans-Ecuadorian Pipeline was completed in 1972 by a Texaco-led consortium. The pipeline served as the primary conduit for oil extraction from the Ecuadorian Amazon, also known as the Oriente.¹⁶ The Oriente consists of over 32 million acres of diverse tropical rainforest. Oil spills from the pipeline have poured an estimated 18.5 million gallons of crude oil into the Amazon River, 1.5 times the amount from the Exxon Valdez spill. Additionally, Texaco has built over 200 wells and 1,000 toxic pits in the rainforest, which have generated more than 3.2 gallons of waste each day. Other ecological impacts of the oil industry have included: logging, clear cutting for roads, and shockwaves from seismic testing that kill aquatic life and threaten animal habitats. Hunter-gatherer communities that depend on natural resources and live in the forest face major health problems from bathing in contaminated rivers and inhaling vapors. These issues attracted more media attention in 1992, when 1,500 natives from Ecuador's Amazon rainforest walked 140 miles to Quito, the country's capital. This march served as a powerful moment and symbol of peaceful nonviolent

Texaco has built over 200 wells and 1,000 toxic pits in the rainforest

resistance, and created an inspiring, deeply resonating energy within the movement. As a result, actions spread and the government began to take notice. A greater movement to unite all 12 indigenous groups, resulted in a massive well-organized protest that shut down the country for two weeks in June 1994. The mobilization proved successful when the revised Constitution in 1998 included the protesters' demands and acknowledged Ecuador as a "pluricultural" and "multiethnic" state. The new Constitution called for the recognition of and respect for the sacred ancestral lands of indigenous groups.¹⁷

Despite this accomplishment, oil extraction continued, and nonviolent resistance became subject to violent opposition. On the eve of the "March for Peace and Defense of the Collective Rights of all Nationalities of the Amazon" in 2003, several Sarayacu villagers and protesters were attacked and killed. An alliance of five indigenous nationalities, representing

over 30,000 rainforest residents, filed a lawsuit against ChevronTexaco. In October of 2006, attorney Steve Donziger and Director of Communications for Amazon Watch, Simeon Tegel, spoke at UC Berkeley Boalt Law School about the historical trial. The lawsuit, *Aguinda v. ChevronTexaco*, represents the first time in history that tribal communities have forced

a multinational company to clean up their mess and has the potential to benefit millions of other people who have been victims of human rights abuses by private corporations. In March of this year, the Ecuador judge ordered that the final phase of the trial, which includes a damage assessment, be completed in 120 days. The decision to the \$6 billion class-action lawsuit is expected early 2008.

INDIGENOUS UNITY

As the indigenous peoples of Africa and South America have illustrated, the connection between the assault on the environment and the assault on human rights is inseparable. Unfortunately, oil companies operate under an ethic of production and profit, not fulfillment of indigenous peoples' rights or environmental justice. Indigenous groups, like all people, have the right to determine their own future and be informed about the impacts of oil exploration and development on their land. Through both education and inclusion in decision-making processes, indigenous people can make the choice about getting involved in petroleum projects, protect their natural resources, preserve their farmlands and profit from trade. Most importantly, they can live a life without violence, fear, corruption and the false promises of corporate industry.

The resistance movements in this article share two core principles, nonviolence and solidarity. The Ogoni, Ijaw, U'wa and Sarayacu are linked by the same essential struggle against an asymmetrical system of development. Tribes that once didn't get along are now united in a single movement.

When neighboring communities march together in solidarity, the anti-exploitation movement gains momentum worldwide. Hand in hand, the chorus of chanting voices grows louder and the legacy of nonviolent resistance and solidarity lives on. Although there have been tragic deaths and brutality, protests against oil industries remain nonviolent and peaceful. The aims of such protests are simple: to inspire equitable solutions to our energy needs and respect human lives.

Lani Lee is a Comparative Literature and Conservation Resource Studies major at UC Berkeley. She is an environmental activist and delegate for the National Organization of Women.

Resources:

Amazon Watch:
<www.amazonwatch.org>
Amazon Alliance for Indigenous and Traditional Peoples of the Amazon Basin:
<www.amazonalliance.org>
Art Not Oil: <www.artnotoil.org.uk>
Chevron Toxico:
<www.chevrontoxico.com>
Corporate Watch:
<www.corpwatch.org>
Friends of the Earth: <www.foe.org>
Project Underground:
<www.moles.org>
Oil Watch: <www.oilwatch.org>
Rainforest Action Network:
<www.ran.org>

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- 2 Gedicks, Al. Resource Rebels: Native Challenges to Mining and Oil Corporations. "Big Oil, the Environment and Human Rights." South End Press, 2001. 43.
- 3 Kretzmann, Steve and Nooruddin, I. Drilling into Debt: An Investigation into the Relationship Between Debt and Oil. Oil Change International, 2005.
- 4 Douglas, Oronto and Okanta, Ike. "Ogoni People of Nigeria vs. Big Oil." Mander, Jerry and Tauli, Corpuz, Victoria, Eds. Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization. International Forum on Globalization, 2006. 129.
- 5 Douglas, 130.
- 6 Gedicks, 45.
- 7 Douglas, 131.
- 8 Gedicks, 46.
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- 10 Gedicks, 47-48.
- 11 All for Shell Timeline. <www.moles.org/ProjectUnderground/motherlode/shell/timeline.html>.
- 12 Rowell, Andres. "Crude Operators: The Future of the Oil Industry." The Ecologists. Vol. 27, No.3, May/June 1997. 105.
- 15 Gedicks, 55-63.
- 16 "10 Controversial Pipeline Projects." Drillsbits & Tailings. Vol. 5, No. 10, 19 June 2000. Project Underground.
- 17 Gedicks, 71-75.

Eriemu Gas Flare

— George Osodi, Niger Delta, 2004, Courtesy of Art Not Oil



Alternative Service for Drafted Dollars

Peace Tax Campaign Works to Expand the Rights of Nonviolent Taxpayers

BY CHRIS FRETZ

On Nov. 29, 2006, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the Pentagon is considering an "emergency supplemental" request of at least \$127 billion in war funding.¹ As government spending for waging war becomes increasingly exorbitant, especially compared to health care and education, many Americans are realizing that currently there is no legal alternative for taxpayers who are morally or ethically opposed to having their taxes used to commit violence. Americans who practice principled nonviolence, that is, nonviolence as a way of life, must break the law and refuse to pay for war, live below the taxable income level, or pay for state-sponsored violence in spite of their beliefs.

In addition to funding the war in Iraq, American tax dollars are also being used to fuel violence between Israel and Palestine, to staff and maintain over 770 military "sites" outside of U.S. territory, and to maintain an arsenal of 5,735 active or operational warheads.² In addition to the overt violence of waging war, the buildup of weapons also causes structural violence by denying essential infrastructure and social services necessary to meet needs at home and abroad.

HISTORY OF WAR TAX RESISTANCE

One of the earliest known examples of people practicing principled nonviolence regarding the payment of taxes was in 1637 when the Algonquin Indians resisted taxation by the Dutch to help improve a local Dutch fort.

War tax resistance became a mainstream issue when author and philosopher Henry David Thoreau refused to pay to fund the Mexican-American war of the 1840s. In his essay, *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, he wrote, "If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood."

During the Vietnam War, war tax resistance surged immensely in popularity after folk singer Joan Baez announced that she

withheld 60 percent of her 1963 income taxes in opposition to the war. Later, 300 celebrities and high-profile figures, including Baez, Dorothy Day, the founder of *The Catholic Worker*, and linguistics professor Noam Chomsky took out an ad in the *Washington Post* announcing their intention not to pay all or part of their 1965 income taxes.⁴

WAR TAX RESISTANCE TODAY

Today thousands of conscientious citizens hold beliefs that prevent them from participating in war, both physically and financially. Many conscientious objectors (COs) agonize over the dilemma between following their beliefs and following the law. Some of these people impoverish themselves so as not to owe taxes. Others face IRS-imposed penalties for their refusal to pay for violence. Two COs from New Jersey, Joe Donato and Kevin McKee, are currently serving prison sentences of 27 and 24 months respectively, for refusing to pay taxes for war, and Donato's wife, Inge, recently finished a 6-month sentence.

"We would have gladly paid our full share of taxes if only the government could assure us that the amount we paid would not go to fund war making," Joe Donato said. "The lack of any provision like that forced us to either violate our religion or risk being branded as criminals. At that point, we saw no choice but to honor our beliefs."⁵

THE CAMPAIGN FOR A PEACE TAX FUND

The movement to create a legal provision for conscientious objectors to military taxation was organized by a Quaker physician named David Bassett. In 1971, Bassett convened various peace and civil rights groups and religious denominations to discuss the creation of legislation that would enable COs to pay their federal taxes into a fund earmarked for nonmilitary purposes only. Former U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums introduced the bill in 1972 as the World Peace Tax Fund Bill. It has been reintroduced each congressional session since then, with several name and wording changes over the years.

Many conscientious objectors agonize over the dilemma between following their beliefs and following the law.

The legislation, now called the Religious Freedom Peace Tax Fund Bill, had 46 cosponsors in the past session of Congress, and U.S. Rep. John Lewis of Georgia is planning to introduce the bill into the current session of Congress in April or May. The bill would be a win-win situation for American citizens and the U.S. government. It would increase religious freedom and civil liberties for citizens while increasing tax revenue for the federal government that would not be used for military purposes. Money paid into the fund would be appropriated toward any nonmilitary government activity.

The National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund is a nonprofit organization established to advocate for a peace tax fund through grassroots lobbying.

"In a usually divisive political atmosphere, we see this bill as a real unifier," said Alan Gamble, the executive director of the Campaign. "It blends practical peacemaking with a fundamental freedom to practice one's faith. For those who believe they, as taxpayers, are equally responsible for violence as those who manufacture or use weapons, this bill offers a way to practice good citizenship without violating deeply held beliefs."

"For those who believe they, as taxpayers, are equally responsible for violence as those who manufacture or use weapons, this bill offers a way to practice good citizenship without violating deeply held beliefs."

— Alan Gamble,
executive director of the National
Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund

THE MOVEMENT CONTINUES

Gamble and Campaign staff are working at building and renewing relationships with supporters of the bill. They are currently working to find local organizers across the country to lobby for the bill and to publicize the need for increased religious freedom and civil rights. Recently the Campaign also received endorsements from several public peacemaking figures including Pete Seeger, Medea Benjamin, and Father Daniel Berrigan.

Gamble believes the Campaign will play a critical role as a watchdog group after the bill's passage.

"Just as several organization are working to ensure the rights of conscientious objectors to military service, there will need to be an organization which guides taxpaying citizens in making legitimate claims of belief in and practice of nonviolence," Gamble said. "We also plan to monitor the bill's requirement for an annual report from the U.S. Treasury on

the amount of taxes paid into the Peace Tax Fund and how it was allocated, and to publicize the results widely. We are also aware of the effect this movement has on similar campaigns around the world."

The Campaign is working for passage of the legislation, but is dependent on grassroots support. It would be a watershed event if a major military power acknowledged that its citizens who conscientiously object to paying military taxes have a just claim, and would be a great step forward in creating a more just, peaceful world.



Chris Fretz is the former outreach and development assistant for the Peace Tax Fund Campaign and he is currently working with Mennonite Central Committee in Bolivia.

Resources:

National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund:
<<http://www.peacetaxfund.org>>
National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee:
<<http://www.nwtrcc.org>>
War Resisters League Pie Chart:
<<http://www.warresisters.org/piechart.htm>>
Center on Conscience and War:
<<http://www.centeronconscience.org>>
Conscience and Peace Tax International:
<<http://cpti.ws>>

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- ² <www.defenselink.mil/pubs/20050527_2005BSR.pdf, http://www.thebulletin.org/article_nn.php?art_ofn=jf06norris>
- ³ *ibid*
- ⁴ <<http://www.peacetaxseven.com/history.html>>
- ⁵ <<http://www.peacetaxfund.org/resources/newsletters.htm/2005-3.pdf>>

Nukes Kill...But Can We Live Without Them?

Alternative Security Theories to Break the Nuclear Addiction

BY CHELSEA COLLONGE

I saw a T-shirt the other day with a picture of people linking arms. It said, "Guns don't protect people... people do." I've been spending my days organizing for a shift in nuclear weapons policy through my work with Nevada Desert Experience. We don't like nuclear weapons — so much so that we'd like to see every last one dismantled and don't mind saying so. Decades of nuclear testing in Nevada have shown that nuclear weapons are a vast suck of public money (\$6 trillion since 1943) that poisons the environment on which we all depend. Thousands of people in Utah and Idaho, downwind of the test site's radioactive fallout, have paid for nukes not just with their taxes, but also with their lives.

But despite the nastiness of nuclear weapons production, can we really say with sincerity, "Nuclear weapons don't protect people, people do"? I believe we can, using alternative concepts of security that are more realistic for the world's security needs than the so-called realism of the deterrence theory.

NONVIOLENCE

Nonviolence is more than a tool for creating change; it is a way of keeping people safe, based on a belief in the inefficacy of violence for creating security. Quaker William Penn wrote in 1682:

"We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by Love and Information. And yet we could hurt no Man that we believe loves us. Let us then try what Love will do: For if Men did once see we Love them, we should soon find they would not harm us. Force may subdue, but Love gains."

My favorite example of protective love in action is from Michael Nagler's *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*. An old woman was walking to her apartment with grocery bags when she saw two people approaching her threateningly. Suspecting that they intended to take her purse, she said to them, "Excuse me young men, I am wondering if you would be willing to help me carry these bags up to my apartment." Caught off guard and touched by her respect for them, the men did just that.

Nonviolent security can also operate on a larger scale. Un-

armed, human rights accompaniment by groups like Peace Brigades International has kept many activists safe from government repression. Gandhi took this idea of third-party non-violent intervention further when he proposed developing a *shanti sena*, or peace army, to protect a country from invaders through mass nonviolent interposition. The world saw a version of this in Czechoslovakia in 1968 during Prague Spring, when Czechs nonviolently resisted Soviet occupation. This technique of rehumanizing relationships with occupying soldiers while resisting the regime is known as "civilian based defense."

TOTAL SECURITY

Also called human security and comprehensive national security, the theory of total security postulates that true security requires much more than freedom from attack, but also economic and personal well-being.

Jackie Cabasso, director of Western States Legal Foundation and chair of the Redefining Security working group of United for Peace and Justice, uses this concept to show the self-defeating nature of nuclear security. "Since the nuclear age was born, in secret, some 60 years ago, workers at nuclear facilities and populations living outside their fence lines have borne a disproportionate share of the risks associated with nuclear weapons, often without their knowledge, and always without their consent... When community members raise questions about the justification for nuclear weapons programs or activities in public forums such as hearings and comments on environmental impact statements, they are silenced with one response: 'national security.' ... [Human] security, which is universal, cannot be brought about through nuclear weapons and military might. It can only be ensured through the equitable distribution of adequate food, shelter, clean water and air, health care, and education."

COMMON SECURITY

The "soft" security of human needs is important, but what about "hard" security, like protecting people from nuclear attack by another state? The answer lies in Emma Goldman's ob-

servation that “the freedom of each is rooted in the freedom of all.” Common security posits that no group can be secure without other groups enjoying security at the same time. It is more secure to have a former opponent who does not want to attack than to have a present opponent who can’t attack you.

Since the end of the Cold War we have seen increased nuclear proliferation by states that feel vulnerable to attack by current nuclear weapons states. The 2002 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review explicitly names seven countries — Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, China, Russia and North Korea — as targets for first use of U.S. nuclear weapons. With this in mind, it makes sense that some of these states have sought their own nuclear deterrent. North Korea’s Kim Jong Il declared, “The Iraqi war teaches a lesson, that in order

to prevent a war and defend the security of a country it is necessary to have a powerful physical deterrent force.”

The U.S., with its plans to spend \$150 billion to revamp its nuclear complex and produce 125 new nuclear weap-

ons per year under the Complex 2030 and Reliable Replacement Warhead programs, claims that its 10,000 nukes are for deterrence purposes. Yet in addition to making other countries feel unsafe, the U.S. is reinforcing the notion that nuclear weapons are a prerequisite for status on the international scene (look at the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council) while undermining its own ability to persuade other countries to forsake the nuclear option.

NUCLEAR ABOLITION

We have seen how nuclear weapons undermine international security, especially in an age of terrorism where proliferation increases nuclear materials accessible to groups that are nonterritorial and therefore undeterrable. But is there any alternative to nuclear deterrence? Now that nuclear weapons have been invented and “the genie is out of the bottle,” is there any way to safely disarm? Is nuclear abolition possible?

In 1997, civil society groups developed a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention (MNWC), which Costa Rica has submitted annually to the U.N. General Assembly. Modeled on the effective conventions against biological and chemical weapons, the MNWC is an addition to the 1970 Nonproliferation Treaty regime, which has been eroded by the nuclear weapons states’ refusal to implement their end of the treaty’s grand bargain: good-faith movement toward disarmament under Article VI.

The treaty answers many questions about verification, irreversibility and how to deal with potential breakout by states.

www.calpeacepower.org

The 2002 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review explicitly names seven countries — Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, China, Russia and North Korea — as targets for first use of U.S. nuclear weapons.



Photo courtesy of National Nuclear Security Administration Nevada Site Office

What happens if a state is able to secretly re-arm, and no other country has a nuclear deterrent? The draft provides answers to such questions and can be found at <www.middlepowers.org/mpi/docs/model_convention.pdf>. It states, “The real risk of breakout inherent in a nuclear disarmament regime must be measured not against a perfect nuclear weapons free world — where breakout is impossible — but against the world we live in today... The development of a nuclear weapon free regime will itself change the security situation. In the longer term, owing in part to the Nuclear Weapons Convention, global collective security arrangements may develop that are capable of effectiveness against any state breaching the NWC.”

Nuclear abolition is not just possible and not just desirable, but it is also essential for global human survival. Nuclear weapons are meant to “never be used,” but their development and testing has been a 60-year secret war by nuclear weapons states against their own people and the environment. Whether it’s

accidental nuclear use, deliberate attack by a terrorist group, or a pre-emptive counter-proliferation nuclear strike by a nuclear weapon state like the U.S., one hydrogen bomb of the kind we have today would permanently destroy everyone’s hope for a secure life. We can’t put the splitting of the atom back in the bottle, but there is a way out of the nuclear maze if global civil society pressures our governments to invest in the global security that comes through international law. Our willingness to explore alternative security theories may just make the difference in the choice Martin Luther King offered us, “the choice between nonviolence and nonexistence.”

Chelsea Collonge is a recent UC Berkeley graduate who currently works for Nevada Desert Experience
<www.nevadadesertexperience.org>.

Resources:

- Downwinders United
<www.downwinders.org>
- UN Commission on Human Security
<www.humansecurity-chs.org/>
- Model Nuclear Weapons Convention
<www.lcnp.org/mnwc/index.htm>
- Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons
<www.dfat.gov.au/cc/cchome.html>
- Peace Boat – Youth Ambassadors’ Plan for Nuclear Disarmament
<www.peaceboat.org/english/nwps/sm/arc/050829/index.html>
- Civil Society Review of Hans Blix’s WMD Commission Final Report, 2007
<www.wmdreport.org/pages/policymemo.htm>

Update on the Department of Peace from Dennis Kucinich

“We are in a new millennium, and the time has come to review age-old challenges with new thinking wherein we can conceive of peace as not simply being the absence of violence, but the active presence of the capacity for a higher evolution of the human awareness, of respect, trust, and integrity; wherein we all may tap the infinite capabilities of humanity to transform consciousness and conditions which impel or compel violence at a personal, group, or national level toward developing a new understanding of, and a commitment to, compassion and love, in order to create a ‘shining city on a hill’, the light of which is the light of nations.”
— Excerpt from the DoP legislation

BY CARRIE BRODE



The proposal for the Department of Peace (DoP) was recently reintroduced into the House of Representatives by Dennis Kucinich, D-Ohio, making it an active debate supported by 60 representatives and many people across the nation. I was lucky enough to speak with Kucinich on the phone about the current efforts for the DoP. Although the movement faces skeptics, its focus on the Iraq War emphasizes that immediate action is necessary. President Bush's days in office are numbered, and the opportunity to

“The only way you can truly bring about change is through human relationships.” — Dennis Kucinich, D-Ohio

promote the movement and delegitimize violence altogether is gaining strength among Americans from many different political perspectives.

When I asked Kucinich what he says when faced with resistance and criticism, he answered, “War is impractical.” As the truth of Kucinich's claim becomes clear in the trails of the seemingly endless Iraq war, our society is accepting the idea that war is an inefficient use of resources and a waste of human life. “You can't change the minds of people in another nation by killing them,” he continued. “The only way you can truly bring about change is through human relationships.” He went on to explain that the dominating cognitive authority has given the science of war some legitimacy, but what about the science of diplomacy or human relationships? The DoP

aims to understand and utilize these two ideas clearly, scientifically and effectively.

He continued, “The DoP reflects a desire to create a culture of peace and have our government confirm that, with a powerful intention to take a new direction in our relationship with other nations and with our own people here domestically.” It has passion, reason and support, but it faces an almost insurmountable task in teaching people that war and violence are ineffective, costly and damaging to society.

The DoP has been a long time in the making. Even the framers of the constitution debated the idea; George Washington himself had declared, “a large Army in time of Peace hath ever been considered dangerous to the liberties of a Country.” Although we have always had the resources to make the DoP a reality, the American people must first understand the myths of war and violence, and how they are a reproduced and self-perpetuating legacy in our society.

With enough public support, this bill could overcome both domestic and international violence. In addition to being an issue decided by Congress, it is about the society we envision for ourselves. Kucinich stressed that the public's support is crucial, and he emphasized, “Student involvement is essential.”

“Young people,” he insisted, “as the exemplars of the future, understand how critical it is that we take a new direction.”

Carrie Brode is a senior at UC Berkeley graduating with a degree in Peace and Conflict Studies. She enjoys playing backgammon, even when she loses.

Resources:

The Campaign to Establish a Department of Peace:
<www.thepeacealliance.org>
The Student Peace Alliance
<www.thepeacealliance.org/content/view/186/163/>
Dennis Kucinich:
<<http://kucinich.us/>> and <<http://kucinich.house.gov>>
Americans for a Department of Peace:
<<http://www.afdop.org/>>

MST IN BRAZIL CONTINUED FROM P. 5

In *The Search for a Nonviolent Future* (2004) Michael Nagler elaborates:

“The central projects [of Constructive Programs] sought to weave back into the community the economically depressed, marginalized, or rejected, using the simple but potent concept of heart unity.”

While the MST seeks to develop “heart unity” — a form of unity among people that also celebrates their diversity — this has been a challenge at times because of the intense individualism that has developed as a survival strategy for the rural poor. Also, some sem-terra believe that land acquisition is a form of freedom and they do not want to take on the obligation of building community, unity or solidarity. Nevertheless, the MST has continued to promote *agrovilas* and various other kinds of co-operatives to create the unity and self-transformation among its members that enables the movement to be effective and sustainable.

CIVIL OBEDIENCE?

The MST has not only struggled to maintain their unity, they have also struggled with their commitment to nonviolence during their direct actions. During land occupations, police and hired gunmen often harass MST members. While their response to such harassment is generally free of violence, it is not always the case. Also, when the MST’s requests for land are not granted by the courts, they remove their settlements instead of continuing their struggle for justice “illegally.” Because of the mixed commitment to nonviolence among MST members when confronted by authorities as well as the decision not to engage in civil disobedience in the face of unjust court orders, we can only wonder how much more MST would accomplish with a more sophisticated and concrete “obstructive program” (nonviolent direct action to resist oppression). The MST’s constructive programs are dynamic and significant but the obstructive programs so far have failed to demonstrate the same sort of traction.

For the MST, the use of nonviolence has in many cases “succeeded” in getting land throughout Brazil redistributed and in improving the lives of MST members — but not in every case. In 2005, the MST lost a legal battle in Para, which left 10,000 homeless, and more than 64 people died in the struggle. But ultimately, the actions of the MST always work on a profound level by bringing to light the truths of interdependence and the value of life by planting seeds for the improvement of the lives of MST members and Brazilian society. They have triggered a social transformation where the poor are being rehumanized and empowered, while the wealthy are provided with opportunities to redistribute their land and improve the quality of life for everyone.

Jerlina Love is a graduate student in the African Diaspora Studies program at UC Berkeley with a love for peace, vegetables and dancing.

Resources:

MST: <www.mstbrazil.org>
Strong Roots (Raiz Forte): a documentary on the MST
Wright, Angus and Wendy Wolford. To Inherit the Earth: The Landless Movement and the Struggle for a New Brazil.
Oakland: Food First Books, 2003.

References:

1 Wright, Angus and Wolford, p. x 2 IBID, p.xv 3 IBID, p. 259-260 4 IBID, p. 86 5 IBID, p.183 6 <www.mstbrazil.org>

VEGETARIANISM CONTINUED FROM P. 7

Pigs in North Carolina alone produce a staggering 19 million tons of waste a year, which is 5,000 pounds of waste per human citizen.¹⁶ Excrement becomes runoff during winter and flows into streams and rivers, and the effects are severe. Pollution in 71% of the rivers studied in Nebraska exceeded the standard for recreation, aquatic life, agriculture, and drinking supply, and this pollution can be traced back to the nearby pig farms.¹⁷ The farms on the Delmarva Peninsula in the eastern U.S. produce about 600 million chickens, but the University of Delaware calculated that the land can only naturally cope with the manure of 64 million chickens.¹⁸ The result has been that one-third of the underground aquifers used for drinking water have dangerously high nitrate levels, too high for human safety. In the Chesapeake Bay, the offal has caused an explosion of algal growth, creating “dead zones” that cannot support fish, crabs, oysters, or most other aquatic animals.¹⁹

Vegetarianism has been proven to be one of the most peaceful life practices. The base of Gandhian nonviolence is the Sanskrit term *ahimsa*, the lack of the desire to harm, which implies practice towards not only humans but all creatures. Factory farming, on the other hand, is one of the most cruel institutions known to humans, as billions of animals are inhumanely raised and slaughtered each year. Without going into much detail, this brutality includes: living spaces hardly larger than a pig’s body, bolts injected into cows’ brains, dumping of live chicks into dumpsters, geese living their entire lives with feed tubes forced down their throats, and more. As we work towards a more peaceful world for humans, we cannot accept this kind of inhumanity towards animals or any kind of beings. As Leonardo da Vinci has said, “As long as men massacre animals, they will kill each other. Indeed, he who sows the seeds of murder and pain cannot reap the joy of love.”²⁰

While the drive to promote vegetarianism as an environmental solution may initially seem complex, it is an effort based simply on love. Whether it is love for animals, the Earth, or all human beings, eliminating or at least reducing factory farming would realize tremendous benefits. Many environmentalists have known that becoming a vegetarian would further their efforts but, to this point, may not have been motivated enough to act. Now, facing the bleak future of the environment, what more reason do they need?

John Campbell is a UC Berkeley student who likes eating at Cha-ya, a vegan Japanese restaurant.

Resources:

Go Veg: www.goveg.com
Vegetarian Resource Group: www.vrg.org
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals: www.peta.org
The Way We Eat by Peter Singer and Jim Mason

References:

¹www.centerforfoodsafety.org ²www.askfarmerbrown.org/environ_destruction.htm
³www.duke.edu/web/plant/realities.html ⁴www.ecoearth.info
⁵www.goveg.com/environment-wastedResources-water.asp
⁶Based on info found on www.nutrition.about.com/od/hydrationwater/a/waterarticle.htm
⁷www.goveg.org/environment.asp ⁸www.veganoutreach.org/whyvegan/resources.html
⁹<http://www.beeftechnologies.com/environImpact/impact-resources-land.html>, calculation based on information found on www.goveg.org/environment.asp
¹⁰Based on information found on www.civf.org/publications/reports/The_Global_Benefits_of_Eating_Less_Meat.pdf ¹¹www.vegsource.com/articles2/mad_cow_us.htm
¹²www-gatago.com/soc/retirement/41869087.html ¹³www.ecobridge.org/content/g_cse.htm
¹⁴www.mongabay.com/brazil.html ¹⁵www-gatago.com/soc/retirement/41869087.html
¹⁶Singer, Peter; Mason, Jim. *The Way We Eat*, p.43 ¹⁷*ibid*, p.65 ¹⁸*ibid*, p.29 ¹⁹*ibid*, p.30
²⁰<http://www.veganoutreach.org/advocacy/quotes.html>

The Future of the Gandhian Movement in India:

Constructive Nonviolence

BY YELENA FILIPCHUK

“Gandhi was fully committed to the belief that while nonviolence had an impressive power to protest and disrupt, its real power was to create and reconstruct.”

— Michael Nagler, *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*

Dr. M.P. Mathai, a world-renowned Gandhian scholar and professor at the School of Gandhian Thought and Development Studies at the Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala, India, recently came to speak at UC Berkeley about the history and future of the Gandhian movement in India. His talk encompassed the far-reaching possibilities of constructive nonviolence, including a positive international response to 9/11 and different strands of Gandhian thought in India. Mathai continues to work with those who directly contributed to the independence movement and hopes to replicate the same type of liberation from centralized, authoritarian power for the villages of India. Fully embracing Gandhi’s idea of self-sufficient improvement, he wants to bring development and personal empowerment back into the hands of the people.

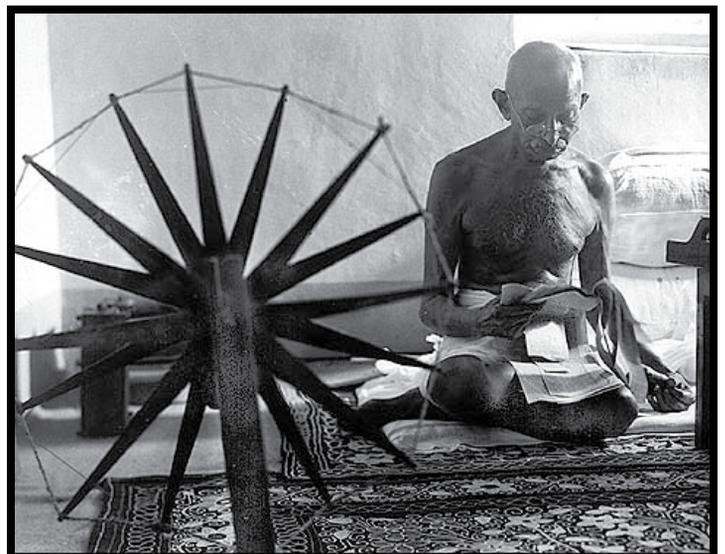
Mathai opened with a historical overview of the Gandhian movement. At the beginning of India’s fight for independence, all members of the *Satyagraha* (holding fast to truth) campaign were united under the common goal of ending British colonialism. There were those, of course, who were more active in the political realm, practiced civil disobedience, and led the direct nonviolent resistance against the British. The other stream of the movement, who Mathai called “the silent service,” helped pull the rural population, bereft of resources, out of extreme poverty. Gandhi’s Constructive Program at the time of independence had over 80 arms and included aiding the cause of the untouchables, women, the elderly, and educating the youth in the methods of nonviolence.

However, the movement began to split and the members of the Indian National Congress distanced themselves from Gandhian ideas of social justice and the duties of the *Satyagraha* in favor of political and public

life. So before his death in 1948, Gandhi expressed his vision for a nonviolent, peaceful, egalitarian Indian society and set up the *Sarva Seva Sangh* to carry it out. The organization, whose name means, “to serve all people,” was to coordinate, provide funding for, and carry out all aspects of the Gandhian movement.

When Gandhi said, “corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy, as they undoubtedly are today,” he expressed his faith in self-rule but was cautious of the political process itself. Corruption on the national and local level soon began to wear away at the social fabric of India. Mathai explained that Gandhi had always been wary of the National Congress, perhaps because he foresaw a conflict between the government and his vision of development. Although, initially, *Sarva Seva Sangh* actively participated in the political process, in the atmosphere of rapid industrialization and economic progress, it was quickly marginalized.

Amidst the political emergency of the early 1970s, the Gandhian movement surged to the forefront of national debate. When Indira Gandhi began to centralize power in response to economic instability, opposition parties began to rally en masse. People took to the



Gandhi wanted all Indians to spin their own clothes and engage in other forms of “Constructive Program” (self improvement).

streets, union workers began to strike and plunged the country into a state of emergency. However, despite draconian government measures that attempted to stamp out popular resistance, Gandhi's influence could be seen everywhere. The right-leaning Janata power called on the police to resist the call of breaking up protests, and a huge rally surrounded Indira Gandhi's residence, demanding accountability and her resignation. Fearing the nonviolence movement's perceived radical nature, the government instituted a "commission of inquiry," what Mathai called a witch-hunt, to persecute the movement's supporters.

However, those in the "silent service" never ceased to serve the population of India and they became the base of the movement's second revival. Workers struggling for economic opportunity, farmers organizing for sustainable agricultural practices, and

women coming together for social justice formed pockets of resistance to an increasingly deregulated market. Mathai expressed his apprehension about the economic growth that the government promised as the main channel to eradicate poverty and adamantly professed his fear that this would leave the rural population without any recourse to activate civil society organizations and reclaim access to their resources. To give these people a political voice, the Gandhian movement was reborn in the countryside. Organized officially in 1994, the National Alliance of Peoples' Movements struggled on behalf of those people who had been pushed to the periphery by economic globalization. The most triumphant victory for the movement was the closing of a Coca-Cola production facility that was poisoning river waters, draining underground reserves, and polluting the environment in Kerala, one of the most densely populated and poorest states of India.

However, the movement again began to lose steam without the guidance of a leader and a set of goals to which to aspire. This was when Mathai said he realized the problem plaguing any kind of progressive development was the lack of participation on the part of the younger generation. The trouble is not that they are apathetic or lazy; the trap that the youth falls into, he says, is the desire to live a propitious career life. Wanting to

make a difference, they join political parties and are then co-opted by the system of power and corruption and forget their desire to change the system itself. He says that many people pay lip service to the movement but refuse to associate themselves with it. Radical intellectuals and Gandhian scholars sit comfortably in professorships or publishing houses and refuse to connect with the people they are trying to help. He derided this kind of armchair activism, saying that the most important part of the nonviolence movement was the practice of constructive work.



Activists from the National Alliance of Peoples' Movements in India meet for a conference to build solidarity in anticipation of struggles such as the one against Coca-Cola.

Mathai's greatest hope for the movement is what he called a global nonviolent reawakening. He wishes for the Gandhian movement to mark the point in history when a transformation begins to take place and people will unite under the goal of ending poverty and suffering all over the world. Mathai left us with the example of several students he knew that, immediately after graduating from one of the top engineering universities in India, moved to villages in rural India to work on water conservation and bringing renewable electricity directly to the people. These students contributed a couple years of their lives for the betterment of the world around them and embodied the Gandhian model of development.

His speech carried a resounding message for college students today: To make a difference in the world, one may have to sacrifice superfluous material things, "live simply so that others may simply live," and commit yourself to what you believe in.

Resources:

National Alliance of Peoples' Movements: www.napmindia.org
 Dr. M.P. Mathai Speech (webcast, Oct. 19, 2006):
http://webcast.berkeley.edu/course_details.php?seriesid=1906978360
 Mahatma Gandhi's Worldview by M.P. Mathai
 Mahatma Gandhi University: www.mguniversity.edu

Nonviolent Economics: From India to the L.A. Eco-village

BY AMY ELMGREN

For adherents of principled nonviolence, the law of *ahimsa*, or non-harming, is more than just a tactic to attain short-term goals: it is a systematic way of life, aimed at building a lasting peace from the individual to the global level and contributing to the welfare of all. In a society of individuals who truly want to refrain from harming one another, the distribution of resources would be managed in such a way as to reduce excessive concentration of wealth, and provide everyone with basic needs. Market capitalism, the dominant model of economics today, is diametrically opposed to this picture: capitalists maximize profits through the continual expansion of production and consumption, which results in a high concentration of wealth. In fact, 20 percent of the world's population uses 86 percent of its resources, while many people are left to survive on only a dollar or two per day. Mahatma Gandhi, who dedicated his life to the betterment of humankind, realized the problems inherent in this system and its ties to dehumanization and violence. The legacy of his ideas and work offers a guide to transforming market capitalism into a more humane system of economics.

In his treatise *Hind Swaraj* (Indian Home Rule), Gandhi comes to an ominous conclusion about the "Western" way of life, stating, "This civilization is such that one only has to be patient and it will be self-destroyed."¹ He believed that a lifestyle based upon continual material profit was unsustainable because it relied on environmental exploitation and emphasized the needs of the market over humans' livelihoods. In place of this flawed system, the Mahatma promoted an economic and social order based upon decentralization, needs-based production, a system of "trusteeship" drawing on the principle of non-possessiveness and the concept of "bread labor." The goal of such a society would not be industrial growth or the enhancement of unnecessary privileges for a few, but the spiritual and material "uplift of all." *Svadeshi*, meaning "own region," is a key element of Gandhian economic theory.¹

To prevent dependency on foreign countries and economic exploitation, Gandhi insisted that small communities must become self-sufficient in meeting their own basic material needs. Thus, he appealed to Indians to boycott British products and instead take up the practice of spinning *khadi* — the Urdu word for cotton — and supporting cottage

industries. From the Gandhian point of view, local autonomy is not "backwards" but actually leads to healthier international relationships: with the freedom of self-sufficiency comes the acceptance of responsibility for one's actions. In a system based on *svadeshi*, the consequences of negative actions are contained within smaller communities. Local production is also inherently democratic, because it decentralizes power and allows small groups of people to make the economic, political and social decisions that best fit the specific needs of their community. In addition, followers of Gandhian economics balance the regional focus of *svadeshi* with a recognition of and respect for interconnectedness and equality at the global level.

Gandhi is known for making the statement, "There is enough in the world for everyone's need, but not for everyone's greed." In this spirit, overconsumption in one region of the world means that many people elsewhere will be forced to live in poverty, which is a form of violence in itself. Therefore, self-control is essential to a nonviolent system of economics.² Any production in such a system would be geared towards meeting basic needs, replacing the capitalist tendency towards excessive consumption. E.F. Schumacher refers to this type of production as an "economy of permanence," based on careful wisdom rather than blind "progress."³ A simple lifestyle allows one to respect others' needs and live in harmony with the human community, the animal community and the environment.

The Gandhian institution of trusteeship is related to the idea of a simple and compassionate lifestyle. The Mahatma considered this a realistic solution to the problem of world poverty, and a painless way of allowing the upper and middle classes to "reform themselves" through selfless aid to the less fortunate. In the system of trusteeship, individuals would be expected to act as "trustees" and use their wealth for the benefit of others. In formulating his economic theory, Gandhi denied the existence of personal property rights, but did not alienate property owners by coercing them to give up their possessions. Instead, he believed that nonviolent persuasion could affect a "change of heart" in these capitalists.

A central assumption in the heart unity paradigm is the ability of human beings to self-improve; all nonviolent activity is geared toward awakening this universal impulse. In this sense, trusteeship allows each individual to unleash their full potential to render selfless service, and enhance their ability

to contribute to the well-being of humankind. On the other hand, Gandhi reasoned that if the economically privileged consciously continue to maintain a sense of personal ownership and use their resources for selfish ends, they will ultimately be hurting themselves by isolating themselves from other human beings for the sake of an attachment to impermanent material possessions.

Another component of Gandhian economics is the universal requirement of "bread labor." Gandhi felt that it was necessary to recognize the "dignity of labor" and to carry this recognition into action by performing a minimum amount of physical labor, despite one's main occupation or position in life.⁴ Whereas capitalist economists see labor as a necessary evil and a means to the end of consumption, Gandhi viewed it as useful and fulfilling in itself. Additionally, he believed that mutual constructive labor was the best way to bring people together in a spirit of harmony. Gandhi promoted this principle on his ashrams, where community members worked to cultivate the land and shared equally in performing daily chores. "Bread labor" is very egalitarian because everyone contributes her part without sacrificing her dignity in performing physical tasks that are considered inferior by the rest of society. In addition, bread labor resonates with the ideal of a simple lifestyle based on meeting the basic needs of the community.

Living in an advanced industrial society, it may be less realistic for Americans to grow their own food or make clothing than it was for inhabitants in the villages of Gandhi's rural India. However, more and more people in the developed world are finding creative ways to incorporate equitable and sustainable economics into their daily lives. Eco-villages are one of the best examples of current attempts at shifting to a nonviolent method of living. In these "human scale neighborhoods," residents and friends work together to "create a healthy community socially, physically and economically."⁵ The 500 residents of an urban ecovillage in Los Angeles, founded in 1993, have initiated environmental education programs in K-12 schools, planted small gardens and over 100 fruit trees, established a tradition of potluck meals, and carried out several other projects to transform their urban community into a "soil-regenerating, food-producing, soul-healing environment."⁶ Lastly, they conduct regular tours to expose other Americans to this sustainable lifestyle. The L.A. Eco-Village Demonstration is only one part of an international network of sustainable neighborhood groups that seek to model healthier ways of living based on environmental sustainability and socioeconomic justice.⁷



Members of the Los Angeles Ecovillage hold a weaving workshop in their courtyard. Gandhi believed everyone should practice one hour per day of 'bread labour' - the basic work to meet survival needs.

On a smaller scale, seemingly insignificant changes in consumption patterns and daily life can make a big difference. Buying organic produce from the local farmer's market is *svadeshi* in action. The residents of the University Students' Cooperative Association contribute five hours of "workshift" per week, performing a variety of tasks such as cooking, cleaning, garden work, or house maintenance to keep their system of student-owned housing and cooperative living running smoothly.⁸ Also, community service organizations such as Habitat for Humanity exemplify the Gandhian ideal of manual labor performed in the service of others.

Martin Luther King once stated, "The good and just society is neither the thesis of capitalism nor the antithesis of communism, but a socially conscious democracy which reconciles the truths of individualism and collectivism."⁹ The foundations of this "socially conscious democracy" can be found in the principles of Gandhian economics outlined above. While government reforms are certainly necessary, these are ultimately top-down measures that are not sufficient to provoke a "true revolution in values" and cause human beings to change their own economic behavior. Gandhian economics, on the other hand, place an emphasis on human agency or "person power," appealing to the grassroots nature of sustainable economic and social change. This approach is, in the end, both more revolutionary and easier to realize in practical terms.

References:

- ¹Gandhi, MK. Hind Swaraj.
- ²Diwan, Romesh and Sushila Gidwani. "Elements in Gandhian Economics." Essays in Gandhian Economics. 56-60.
- ³Schumacher, E.F. Small Is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered. 31-32.
- ⁴Murphy, Stephen. "Brief Outline of Gandhi's Philosophy". http://www.gandhiserve.org/information/brief_philosophy/brief_philosophy.html
- ⁵<http://ena.ecovillage.org/English/region/index.html> ⁶Ibid ⁷Ibid ⁸www.usca.org
- ⁹King, M.L. A Testament of Hope. 630.

Travelogue: The Buddha Path & the Gandhi Legacy in Contemporary India

BY JERLINA LOVE

In December 2006, I took the opportunity of a lifetime to travel with my friend Kelsey to India, the birthplace of Buddhism and Gandhian nonviolence. These are the two strongest philosophical forces in my life, and I was tremendously excited to see, feel, hear, taste and touch the physical and cultural contexts from which these philosophies and practices had emerged. Kelsey and I traveled across the north of India for two weeks studying Buddhism in Sarnath, Bodh Gaya and Kushinagara. The following two weeks, I joined Global Exchange's "Gandhi Legacy Tour." This tour was led by Arun Gandhi, who is both the founder of the M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence and the Mahatma's grandson. Traveling to India woke me up to a rich land, history and people, who have contributed immensely to the world and our conceptualization of peace and non-violence. I can't wait to go back!

SARNATH

After Siddhartha Gautama (the Buddha) defeated his *mara* (internal demons) and attained enlightenment, he was faced with a new challenge: would he continue to sit or would he teach others to free themselves from suffering? He wisely chose to set out and teach others, and the small town of Sarnath was where he delivered his first lecture to his first five disciples. It was also in Sarnath where I shook hands with the Dalai Lama! His Holiness currently lives in Dharamsala, India, which has become an international hub of Buddhist peace activity.

Seated in lotus position, Gautama attained enlightenment underneath the bodhi tree, which is located in what is now the town of Bodh Gaya. Today, Buddhists from across the globe pilgrimage to sit, meditate, chant and pray beneath its branches. I sat for hours and chanted the Nichiren Buddhist mantra *nam myoho renge kyo* (meaning, the teaching of the lotus flower of the wonderful law) as I contemplated the message of the Buddha: to achieve enlightenment one must battle and win against the *mara* that haunts one's consciousness. Gandhi's bril-

liance was to use this method of "fighting" to successfully liberate India from the British in 1947.

MUMBAI

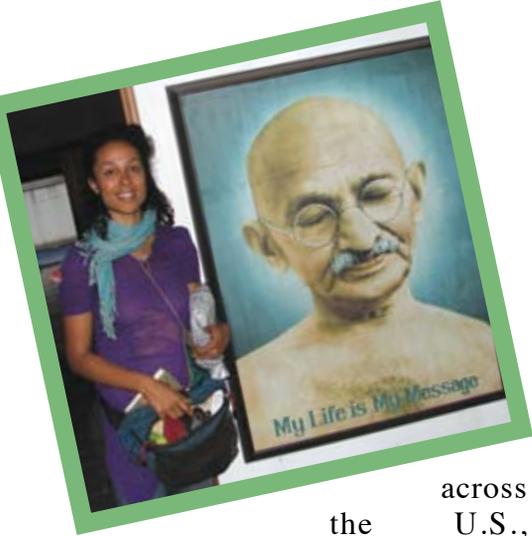
I took a two-day train ride from Northern India to Mumbai where the Gandhi Legacy Tour commenced. The first day of our tour, we visited the Women's India Trust. This organization is a co-operative that provides women with empowering work opportunities, such as making linens, paper products, handicrafts, and jams. The second day of our trip, the group visited Mani Bhavan, where Gandhi resided from 1917 to 1934. His bedroom is still preserved, and it was there that Martin Luther King Jr. spent the night in 1959 and deepened in his commitment to nonviolence and the civil rights movement in the U.S.

SANGLI

Every day, our group visited co-operatives and schools where Indian men and women, inspired by Gandhian ideals of self-improvement, empowerment and village uplift, work to transform their lives and society. My group was composed of activists involved in similar activities



A visit to Sarnath, where the author met His Holiness the Dalai Lama.



across the U.S., Mexico, Nicaragua, Palestine and Switzerland. Sami Awad, the founder of Holy Land Trust, a Palestinian nonprofit that educates and trains people in non-violence, was one of the many illustrious members of my group. Awad had come to India to deepen his own understanding of Gandhi's teachings, and share his findings with other Palestinians struggling against Israeli oppression.



The famous Bodhi Tree, where the Buddha attained enlightenment.

AHMEDABAD

I had been most excited about visiting the Satyagraha Ashram, the legendary birthplace of Gandhi's *Salt Satyagraha*, in 1930. This stop in the Legacy Tour was also the most enlightening for me, as it gave me much insight into Gandhi's daily life. The Mahatma worked very hard, starting his days at 4 a.m. He dedicated his time to cleaning, cooking, studying, meditating, writing for *Indian Opinion* and *Harijan*, meeting with liberation leaders from across the globe and taking care of his own physical health. Not only did Gandhi work steadfastly, but he also led a simple material life. Such a peaceful, frugal lifestyle was a true feat, especially considering that the Satyagraha Ashram is on the outskirts of Ahmedabad, a bustling city.

DELHI

Raj Ghat, the site of Gandhi's cremation in Delhi, has become a pilgrimage site for Gandhi students from all over the world. Although Gandhi was the "Guru" of the movement, it took the actions of ordinary people across India for the liberation movement to succeed.

At the entrance of the site, a plaque commemorates Gandhi's ideals:

I would like to see India free and strong so that she may offer herself as a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world. The individual, being pure, sacrifices himself for the family, the latter for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation, the nation for all. — M.K. Gandhi

GORGAON

The final few days of my tour, I stayed with Preeti, Maneesh, Yashua and Namya at their home in Gurgaon, a suburb of Delhi. I met this family in California where they had come to live for a year and practiced Buddhism with my family. They moved back to India a few months before my trip and invited me to stay with them. This exchange was a beautiful manifestation of grassroots "globalization from below." First, they served as citizen ambassadors from India; then we met again during my tenure as a citizen ambassador for the U.S. What a powerful experience!

Resources:

Global Exchange: <<http://www.globalexchange.org>>
 The Gandhi Institute: <<http://gandhiinstitute.org>>
 Navdanya: <<http://www.navdanya.org>>
 Holy Land Trust: <<http://www.holylandtrust.org>>
 The Buddha Path: <<http://www.buddhapath.org>>
 His Holiness the Dalai Lama: <<http://www.dalailama.com>>
 Women's India Trust: <<http://wit.org.in>>

Is a “Blood Diamond” Forever?

BY ANNA KALLETT

Hollywood can't seem to get enough of Africa. Academy-award nominated “Blood Diamond” is just one of the recent blockbusters set in a war-torn African country (think “Hotel Rwanda” or “The Last King of Scotland”). Starring Leonardo DiCaprio as a Zimbabwean diamond smuggler, “Blood Diamond” examines the tangled relationship between the illegal diamond industry and Sierra Leone’s decade-long civil war.

Sierra Leone’s civil war ended in 2002, the same year the United Nations established the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS). The KPCS is a self-enforced system that inhibits “conflict diamonds” from entering the market.

To be considered “conflict-free,” a diamond may not be mined in a war zone or sold to finance a rebel army. But the KPCS does not place any restrictions on diamonds mined in inhumane working conditions.

Diamond miners in Sierra Leone today make an average of less than \$1 a day, placing them in the category of desolate poverty. Unfortunately, Web sites like <www.diamondfacts.org> declare that more than 99 percent of diamonds sold today are “conflict-free,” perpetuating the misconception that habitual traditions like buying diamond is ethical. Miners’ working conditions are therefore not publicized.

In addition to concealing inhumane working conditions, the diamond industry has always publicized diamonds as a rare gem. This common belief, however, is false. DeBeers Diamond Mining Company founder Cecil John Rhodes monopolized the international diamond trade, on the deceptive premise that diamonds were precious and unavailable.

Rhodes was also successful in marketing engagement diamonds as a necessary tradition, which is really a form of cultural violence. Cultural violence is the process by which demonizing and polarizing ideologies are propagated to prepare people to participate in direct violence (physical harm) or structural violence (systems of oppression such as economic exploitation). Cultural violence includes nationalism, militarism, and materialism, and can be manifested in such innocuous forms as songs, flags and advertisements. One example of cultural violence is the tradition of buying a diamond engage-



Leonardo DiCaprio, Djimon Hounsou and Jennifer Connelly
Courtesy of WarnerBros, Inc.

ment ring. All over the world, people buy diamond engagement rings without considering the direct or structural violence that results in the diamond’s country of origin.

Environmental degradation is another example of overlooked effects of the diamond industry. The diamond mining in Sierra Leone is extremely detrimental to the land, leaving it unsuitable for farming. In addition, mining on hilly areas may result in severe erosion, crippling an already fragile ecosystem. Water collecting in already-mined areas accumulates into ponds, providing a breeding ground for mosquitoes, which increases risks of malaria and other water-borne diseases. The siltation caused by mining also reduces coral and fish populations. Contaminated marine life is unfit to eat, eliminating a healthy diet option for the two-thirds of Sierra Leoneans living in absolute poverty.

Just as opening a soup kitchen will not eradicate hunger, placing voluntary regulations on diamond smuggling does not come close to fully eradicating the harmful effects of diamond mining. The KPCS needs to be seriously restructured so that the legal diamond trade is scrutinized as much as the illegal diamond trade.

While “Blood Diamond” denounces the corrupt entanglement between the diamond trade and Sierra Leone’s 1990s civil war, it does not touch upon how the industry has reproduced itself as an elitist enterprise for over a century, or why consumers have not questioned what makes diamond wedding rings a traditional part of our culture. If diamonds cannot be mined in an eco- and people-friendly manner while still economically benefiting poverty-stricken African miners, the entire enterprise — illegal or legal — should have no valid place in our society.

Anna Kallett is a Peace and Conflict Studies major with an emphasis in Human Rights. She enjoys stacking Russian dolls according to size and unraveling wool sweaters.

Resources:

- Kimberley Process: An Amnesty International Position Paper: <<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGPOL300572006>>
- Kimberley Process Official Website. <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com>>
- Global Witness and the Combatting Conflict Diamonds Campaign: <http://www.globalwitness.org/pages/en/conflict_diamonds.html>

Imagine Coexistence:

Restoring Humanity After Violent Ethnic Conflict

REVIEWED BY JAMIE ROWEN

Imagine Coexistence tells the story of a new effort to foster peace in countries emerging from war. The book provides insight into the complex needs of people who have undergone traumatic experiences and shows the importance of building peace at all levels of society, from the individual to the government. Although the authors don't discuss non-violence by name, their comprehensive approach reflects theories of nonviolence, from *svadeshi* (local reliance) to constructive program (internal improvement).

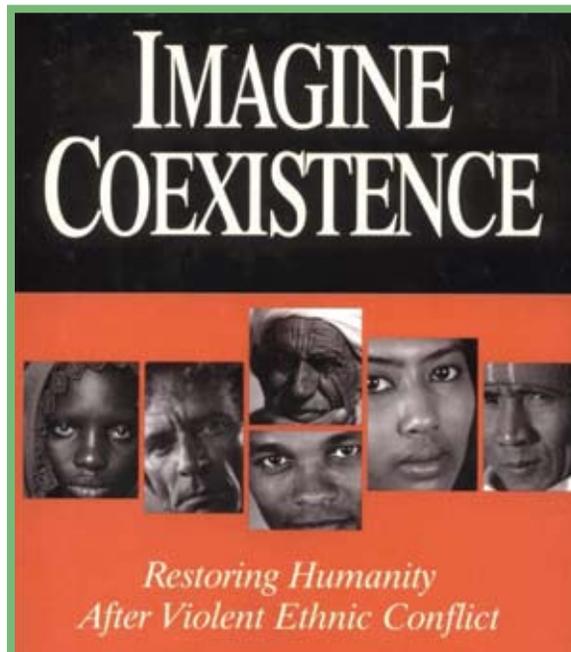
This book shows a clear need for *svadeshi*, local community building, to help individuals feel interconnected.

Imagine Coexistence explores the theme of social repair in Bosnia and Rwanda, two countries that experienced and continue to experience significant social tension on account of ethnicity. Martha Minow and Antonia Chayes, both affiliates of The Negotiation Project at Harvard, edited this compilation of studies on the Imagine Coexistence project implemented by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The project involved the joint efforts of academics, policy makers and local organizations to apply ideas of community building to a real world situation.

The contributors highlight the specific projects in Bosnia and Rwanda that offered economic opportunity, conflict resolution, problem-solving skills training and other programs to promote interethnic cooperation. They show the importance of humanizing the "other," a common theme in the writings of Gandhi and other *satyagrahis* (activists who use the firm implementation of truth and love to promote social change). The project focused on changing individual perceptions, an important step towards realizing the goals of nonviolence.

The bulk of the book focuses on the obstacles faced by these projects, leaving the reader informed but overwhelmed by the challenges of social repair after violent conflict. Making peace is not an easy task and can't be solved by a war crimes court or a dialogue group. Bosnia and Rwanda need leadership, financial support and commitment from all levels of society. Peace is possible in Bosnia and Rwanda but it will require greater efforts by local communities.

This book shows a clear need for *svadeshi*, local community building, to help individuals feel interconnected. People need to be able to imagine peace, to know that peace is possible. From this first step, they will be able to make peace in their local communities and, hopefully, change their governments. Nonviolence offers great insights about how we are



— By Antonia Chayes, Martha L. Minow, Editors

all interconnected, how violence stems from dehumanization, how people must be the change they wish to see.

Hopefully, there will be more projects like *Imagine Coexistence* to bring individuals together and rehumanize former "enemies."

Jamie Rowen is a JD/PhD student at Boalt Hall School of Law-UC Berkeley, currently studying peace building in South Africa and Bosnia.

The Legacy of Luna:

*The Story of a Tree, a Woman,
and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods*

REVIEWED BY MATTHEW TAYLOR

When God's Creation is in the process of being destroyed, what do you do? Julia Butterfly Hill's story of love, compassion, resistance, and persistence is a powerful testament to how one dedicated individual can change the world in the face of growing violence.

Her story begins in the middle of an ecological catastrophe: on December 31st, 1996, the rustic town of Stafford, California was buried by a mudslide, obliterating seven homes. The cause of this mudslide was Maxxam/Pacific Lumber's newfound taste for clearcutting Redwood Trees. Among countless benefits to the environment and the world, Redwood Trees absorb moisture that causes erosion. With the trees gone, the mountain crumbled.

Formerly a well-regarded, family-owned practitioner of sustainable logging, Pacific Lumber was turned into a destroyer of forests after being acquired by the Maxxam Corporation in a shady financial transaction involving junk bonds, a leveraged

buyout, and allegations of robbing the company pension fund. Maxxam's ecocidal agenda was like a flame that attracted activist moths - or shall we say butterflies - determined to protect life.

A child of Arkansas, Hill fell in love with the Redwood Forests of California, in love with trees that are thousands of years old and whose beauty can only be understood by being under them, or perhaps in them. Deeply spiritual and the daughter of a preacher, the twenty-five-year-old Hill heard a calling to come to Humboldt County and defend the trees from their death sentences.

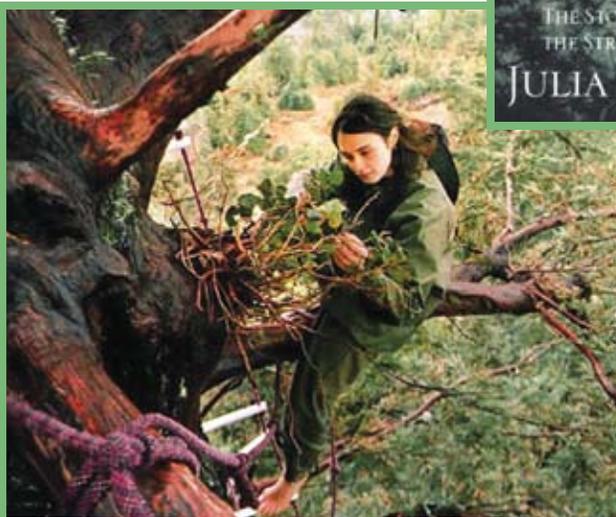
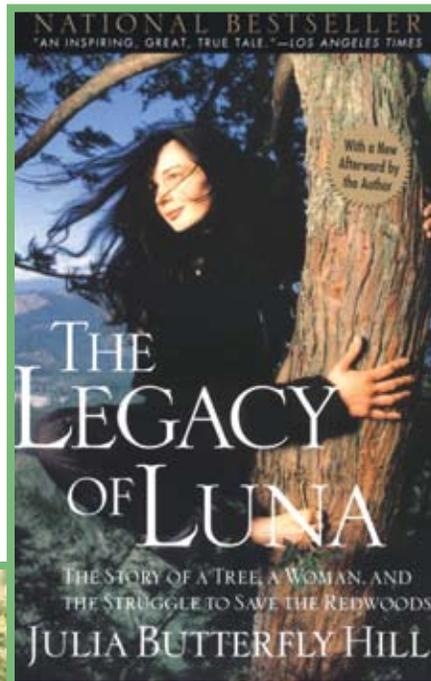
As Hill observes, "These majestic ancient places, which are the holiest of temples, housing more spirituality than any church, were being turned into clear-cuts and mud slides. I had to do something.... Since I was raised in a Christian background, driving a wedge into a tree [while cutting it down] reminds me of the crucifixion."

After arriving in Arcata, California, Hill met a group of environmental activists and eventually found her way into the last-ditch action of forest defense: tree-sitting. By building a semi-permanent residence (usually a platform high up in the branches) and living in the tree, tree-sitters put their lives on the line to protect defenseless beings who have no say in

their own destruction. Hill ended up in Luna, a particularly beautiful, majestic Redwood on the edge of a cliff, with a breathtaking yet somber view of Maxxam's wasteland.

Hill, whose codename was "Butterfly" (all tree sitters have such codenames), ended up living in Luna for two years. She was subjected to threats of physical violence and assault, helicopter fly-bys, several attempts on her life, repeated harassment, severe weather, frostbite...and she endured. She knew that few if any tree sits had ever before succeeded in saving a tree, yet she believed in herself, in Luna, and in the goodness of all people - including Maxxam's corporate executives - to do the right thing.

Although she never identifies herself as such, Hill is clearly a Gandhian Satyagrahi, a believer in the power of love and



"Through life's trials and hardships
we arise beautiful and free."

— Julia Butterfly Hill

Photo courtesy of the Circle of Life Foundation

nonviolence to persuade the heart of even the most committed oppressor. As she reveals, "I had to find it within myself to have that feeling of unconditional love not only for the Earth as a planet, but also for humanity – even for those destroying the gift of life right in front of me." Hill made every effort to soften the attitudes of Maxxam's hired intimidators, and sent photos of herself and snacks down on a rope to open dialogue and companionship with those who were being paid to try to force her out of the tree. She was able to reach many of them on a human level, and at least one became her friend and eventually quit the Maxxam Corporation.



photo by Shaun Walker/OtterMedia

Ultimately, Hill was able to dialogue and work with Pacific Lumber's top executive, John Campbell.

Hill's story also explores a personal transformation. According to Hill, "All I wanted to do was find a direction and purpose in my life."

Her time in Luna was as spiritually transformative as a caterpillar's time in a cocoon. "True transformation occurs only when we can look at ourselves squarely and face our attachments and inner demons, free from the buzz of commercial distractions and false social realities. We have to retreat into our own cocoons and come face-to-face with who we are.... When I almost died in that mother of all storms, my fear of dying died, too.... I began to live day by day, moment by moment, breath by breath, and prayer by prayer."

Hill's is a well-written, gripping tale that will leave you unable to put the book down even for a moment until you, like she, knows that her beloved Luna is safe. You will feel yourself alongside Hill shaking and swaying in Luna, at first with white knuckles and fear, and then with release and wild abandon and even laughter. The Legacy of Luna is alive today among many activists, including the Save the Oaks tree-sitters profiled on page 16 of this issue.

www.calpeacepower.org

"When I almost died in that mother of all storms, my fear of dying died, too.... I began to live day by day, moment by moment, breath by breath, and prayer by prayer."

In the Spring of 2002, two years after her tree-sit ended, Hill returned to observe "how beautifully the entire area we protected is healing and rejuvenating! Where there was once a lot of brown, trampled Earth, there are now lush ferns and mushrooms of so many shapes, sizes and colors, and new redwood saplings.... A lot of people have focused so much just on Luna that they forget there is actually a tiny forest we saved too."

"Unfortunately, as one hikes up the mountain Luna stands on, there are massive burnt, destroyed clearcuts in every direction. Pacific Lumber continues its egregious slaughter of entire watersheds.... Going to visit Luna always reminds me that this action always has and always will be about more than just one tree and one woman. Our collective future demands that all of us become involved in shifting to a healthier, more respectful and sustainable way of living. We each have our own tree to climb. All of us, wherever we live, have a responsibility to preserve our Earth."

Like the song of an egret as it crests over a hill returning to its young, Hill's message calls out to tell us: The work is not done. There are many more creatures great and small to be saved if we are to keep precious Creation alive and thriving.

Resources:

Circle of Life Foundation: <www.circleoflifefoundation.org>
Bay Area Coalition for the Headwaters:
<www.headwaterspreserve.org>
Earth First!: <www.earthfirst.org>
Tree Sit: The Art of Resistance: a Documentary about Julia Butterfly Hill and other Humboldt County tree-sitters

Julia Butterfly Hill:

To Live Fully and Completely in Love...



BY MATTHEW TAYLOR

While researching the “Save the Oaks Campaign,” I spotted Julia Butterfly Hill hanging out at the Berkeley Oak Grove for a party to commemorate 100 days of tree-sitting (see *Who Speaks for the Trees?*, page 16). Julia’s reflections on living a life of pure love follow...

What’s at stake here at the oak grove?

I’m passionate about making our cities more livable so people stop leaving cities in order to live. An area like this with a green space with trees is a critical piece... What else is at stake here [are] the kind of people who you’ll never know, who are having a difficult day, and they come here, and they breathe, and they breathe peace, hope, love and possibility. Those people and experiences cannot fit on an environmental impact report or a chart or a graph when the city’s making its budget for things like crime prevention.

John Quigley and I launched a tree-sit in a farm in South Central Los Angeles, where there were 3-year-olds running around completely safe just like there are here today, but unlike Berkeley, in South Central it was dangerous... and six blocks away people are shooting each other. When that farm went in, the crime in that neighborhood dropped by over 65 percent. After they bulldozed that farm into the ground — the first week after that farm was bulldozed — crime went up 20 percent. It was not crime related to people reacting about the farm, it was just because that farm brought peace into the neighborhood... The more parks we have, the less crime there will be.

What happened with the South Central tree-sit?

The tree-sit was part of a 14-acre farm, the largest working urban farm in the country... We’re still working to get that land back; it’s in court, and we’re working to get other areas within their district to farm on and areas outside their district. One of the results of the positive publicity [generated with the tree-sit] was that a landowner who owns an organic agricul-

tural land trust contacted the farmers, and he was willing for them to farm up to 150 of his acres. They’ve actually started their own community-supported agriculture; by selling to the communities of wealth, it helps offset and supply the funds necessary to grow the food for their community, who are people who live well below the poverty line.

So even though the tree-sit did not succeed in its stated objective of saving that farm, it worked in a longer-term sense to open up other possibilities.

We went in with the commitment to do everything we could to save that farm, but there were a whole lot of forces 15 years in the making that were set on destroying that farm. South

“We wanted to empower that particular community and those farmers to not feel alone, and to feel that in watching over themselves, they could grow in what community meant.”

Central is a community of color. When people hear South Central, they think, ‘a disposable community.’ Part of our biggest commitment in starting that tree-sit was actually to just raise awareness, and say, ‘If something’s going to happen to this community, it’s not going to happen in silence.’ That’s one of the ways racism is still alive in our world today is in the media, you know: ‘Who cares about some farmers in South central?’ But you bring in some celebrities, you start a tree-sit and get attention happening, and all of a sudden people care.

It’s a sad reality.

We wanted to empower that particular community and those farmers to not feel alone, and to feel that in watching over themselves, they could grow in what community meant. And that’s why we called the tree-sits ‘community watchtowers.’ We raised \$10 million in a month — we did everything you could imagine to save that farm. It got bulldozed, but the beauty is it didn’t get bulldozed in silence, and other farms continue to go up around that community. For me, what these tree-sits are about is taking a stand for what we love. We want to achieve results, but it’s beyond results... It’s about living our lives on purpose and having meaning that lights us.

You seem to embrace nonviolence on a deep level. What do you think about the role of nonviolence in a tree-sit campaign? And what do you think about someone who



Butterfly took to the trees and fasted for over 22 days in June 2006 in an effort to help save the South Central L.A. Farm. (Photo by Joel Carranza)

approaches it differently, such as Running Wolf, who is willing to defend himself and the tree with physical force?

There is no one tactic that works everywhere, every time. If I'd done my tree-sit in certain parts of South America, they would have cut me out of the tree and killed me long before I'd been up there enough to become a martyr for a movement. One of the reasons Gandhi was so successful was he was extremely strategic. His *ahimsa* philosophy was about 'soul force' as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. put it. Both of them were brilliant people. It wasn't just a philosophy of people who had their feet firmly planted in the clouds, but of people who had their feet firmly planted in reality.

I personally don't use the word 'nonviolence.' Why would we use two negative words to describe a very positive movement? Why would we choose to define ourselves by what we're against instead of what we're for? Nonviolence is the people's way to try to articulate *ahimsa*, which is better defined as: 'To live so fully and completely in love that there's no room for anything else to exist,' which is much more powerful. It gives me goose bumps every time I say it! *Ahimsa* is to breathe so much oxygen into love that there's not enough oxygen for the fire of hatred to exist. That to me is revolution; that to me is activism.

It looks different everywhere you go, because sometimes there's a conversation of: 'What kind of soul force is loving and yet firm? And what kind of soul force is more malleable, like water wearing away at the stone?' That's where the strategy comes in. If you're a tree-sitter in Berkeley, and you're in a tree

“To live my life so fully and presently in love that there's no room for anything else to exist' includes everything, every act, every word, every thought, and my entire life is transformed from that awareness.”

-Julia Butterfly Hill

things because that's not an expression of love, you know? And it's dealing with people who are trying to take my life and being present with them; it's dealing with my own humanity, because I'm a human being, and sometimes I get frustrated or angry, and choosing to be present in love with myself when myself is showing up as something other than loving. It's a much more empowering way to live your life versus, 'How do I not react to something somebody else is doing to me right now?'

Resources:

South Central Farmers: www.southcentralfarmers.org
 South Central Farm photos:
<http://www.flickr.com/search/?q=south+central+farm>
 You can listen to the full interview at www.calpeacepower.org

that a cherry picker can come get your butt out of, there's not a lot of strategy in fighting. You're going to get taken down, and if you fight it [with physical force], you're going to end up with felony counts. So for me it's do everything I can do [without] getting caught, and then when I get caught, make them do the work. I was arrested in Ecuador, and when I was arrested, I was forcibly removed from the country — the president demanded I be removed. But I didn't willingly walk. The way for my love to be firm [in that situation] was to sit down... and I know you're going to remove me, but I'm not going to walk, and I'm not going to fight, and I'm not going to attack. So that's my view on soul force.

'To live my life so fully and presently in love that there's no room for anything else to exist' includes everything, every act, every word, every thought, and my entire life is transformed from that awareness. I don't use disposables — not because I'm trying to be 'granolier than thou,' it's because to live so fully and presently in love, I can't cut down a tree for a napkin. I can't extract the life force of Mother Earth in the form of petroleum for plastic, I can't do those

Berkeley Deserves Better than British Petroleum

BY HILLARY VIOLET LEHR



On Feb. 1 of this year, Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, UC Berkeley Chancellor Robert Birgeneau, and the CEO of British Petroleum (BP) held a giddy press conference announcing their plans to create a “moon-shot” for their generation. Under the auspices of “fighting” global warming, our university slipped into bed with the very perpetrators of the problem we now are offering to “solve.”

Actually, it is unclear whether or not BP’s plans to create the UC Berkeley Energy Biosciences Institute (EBI) are actually aimed at redressing climate change, especially since two proposed labs would focus on finding new means (including the use of genetically engineered micro-organisms) to extract additional fossil fuels. The non-oil focus of the lab is on plant-derived biofuels, the energy source that George W. Bush calls “the future.”

Here is where we need a reflective moment. It’s true that our society has engineered itself into this mess, and to a certain extent, we must engineer ourselves out of it. However, we also need to begin engineering *consciously*, by making space to investigate all safe sources of alternative energy and by taking our socio-environmental impacts seriously. By allowing the interests of a corporation to sway our focus and deprioritize the values of true sustainability in favor of BP’s standard of “green” we seriously compromise our university’s integrity.

A public university is responsible to the public. While the public may for the moment enjoy guilt-free unlimited driving, we would only do so if we ignore the effects of biofuel cultivation on the Global South. Anticipated biofuel consequences include widespread deforestation and diverted food agriculture that is putting corn in our gas tanks instead of in hungry bellies. Already, people in Mexico are rioting over the 600 percent increase in corn prices. People can’t afford tortillas. These sorts of problems will only increase with the expansion of corporate monocultures of biofuel crops as aided by the unjust policies of the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund. These consequences (and how to avoid them) are what an independent university should be studying.

Our university has a responsibility to help the world, not to be corralled into a corporate guise to control the post-oil future.

One EBI lab is slated to have a “socio-environmental” element. This focus area lab would have the ability to publish research, but the findings would have no teeth. If a researcher discovered biofuel cultivation somehow increased climate change or skyrocketed world food prices, BP would have no obligation to heed the ethical stipulation of this research nor alter its destructive behavior in the slightest.

The true violence of the EBI initiative lies in its own unbridled optimism: in the tacit assumptions of the ability of Western technology, government, development, and leadership to “save” yet another part of the world. Meanwhile, the rest of the world is burning genetically modified corn and fighting to stay alive in a hegemony that doesn’t listen to their ideas, their demands or their desperate pleas. Amazingly, EBI protagonists call the plan a “second Manhattan project.” Do we need another atom bomb to learn that we are not always right? Our university has a responsibility to help the world, not to be corralled into a corporate guise to control the post-oil future.

UC Berkeley can do this right. We have the resources and the brainpower to pursue true sustainable energy use. We could focus on energy demand reduction, large-scale public transportation innovation, and renewable energy sources such as solar, wind and tidal. Awareness of global climate change is here. People are ready to take individual action. Our job should be to accommodate the public, not corporations profiteering from an illegal war.

Hillary Lehr is a Conservation and Resource Studies and Anthropology double major at UC Berkeley and a founding member of The Phoenix Coalition to Free the University of California.

Resources:

Stop BP-Berkeley: <www.stopbp-berkeley.org>
 The Phoenix Coalition to Free the UC:
 <www.FreeTheUC.org>

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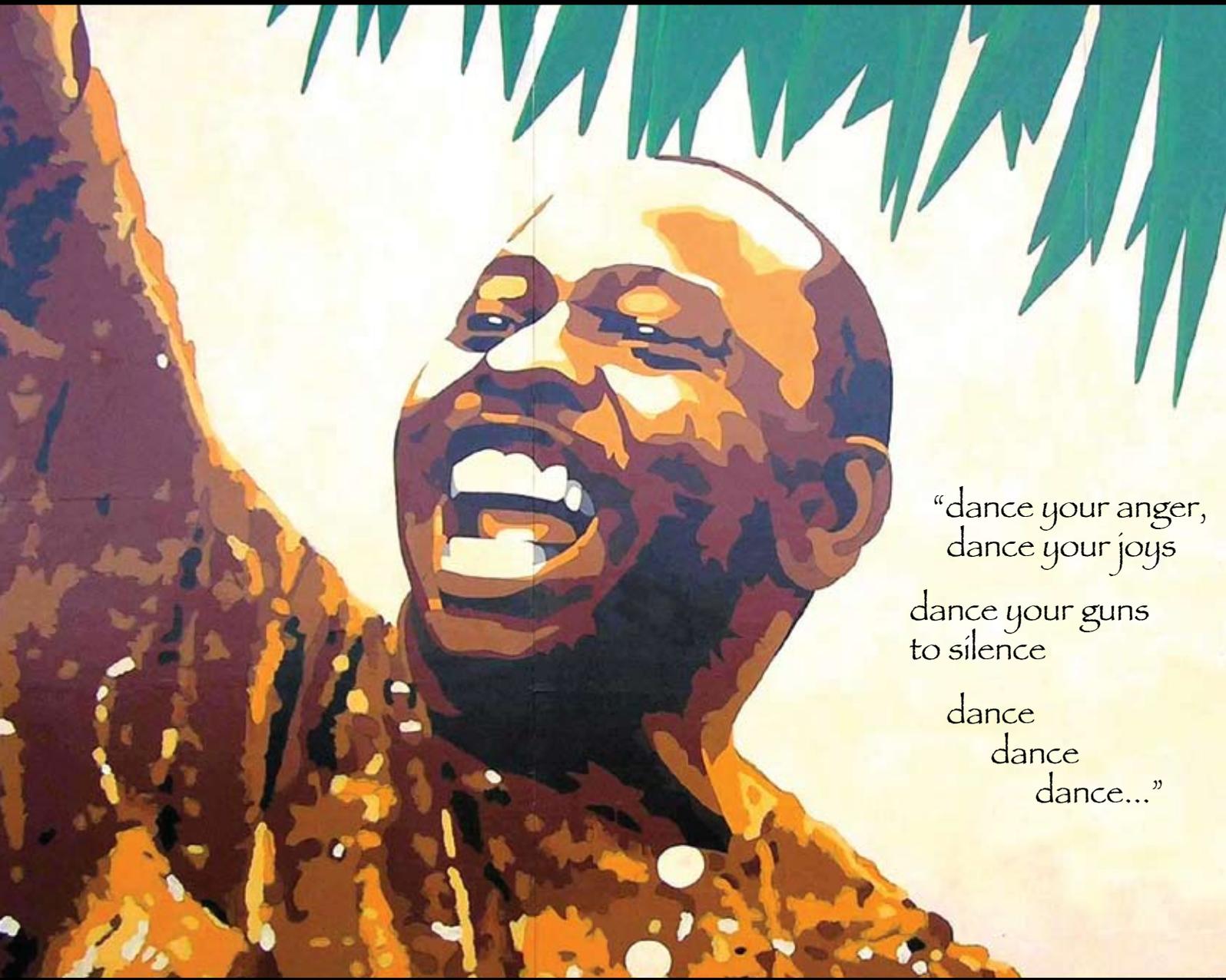
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“dance your anger,
dance your joys

dance your guns
to silence

dance
dance
dance...”

“Damhsaigh...” by John Monaghan & Chris Philbin

Mural on public display in the Irish village of Ros Dumhach (Rosspport) to celebrate Nigerian and Irish resistance to oil imperialism. Visit Shell to Sea <<http://www.corribsos.com>> and Rosspport Solidarity Camp <<http://www.struggle.ws/rsc/>> for more information.

“The writer cannot be a mere storyteller; he cannot be a mere teacher; he cannot merely X-ray society’s weaknesses, its ills, its perils. He or she must be actively involved shaping its present and its future.”

--Ken Saro-Wiwa (1941-1995)