

The Broken Rifle #105

Antimilitarism &
climate change

Editorial

HANNAH BROCK

'This changes everything', Naomi Klein famously says of climate change.

Has it yet changed us? How have antimilitarist movements responded to the challenge of current and future climate change? It's a challenge that, yet again, uncovers enormous global power inequalities, with the activities of industrialised nations actively destroying communities all around the world, and especially in the global South, who have barely contributed to this problem. Industrialised nations in the north are turning to their militaries maintain the status quo (see our recent edition of *The Broken Rifle* on border militarisation).

And how do we weigh this enormous consideration – not one our antimilitarist predecessors have previously had to consider – against the other urgent world-changing work we are called to do? How do we work towards a 'climate lens', in which environmental activism does not overtake the liberation struggles of feminists, people of colour, queer groups, indigenous people and others, or the system-change work of antimilitarists, but is understood and incorporated within all of them?

After all, the disrespect *The Machine* has for the earth is mirrored in the disregard it's had for all of those humans and other species who lose out in this militarised, capitalist system.

We hope you get some food for thought in this edition of *The Broken Rifle*.

We chose the theme of climate change and antimilitarism for this edition during the Paris climate conference last December – a meeting that, on the surface, seemed to mark a shift in how governments are dealing with environmental crisis. This is the first edition of *The Broken Rifle* on this topic, though other

editions have looked at different intersections between militarism and the environment, such as militarised and colonising extractive industries, land-grabbing and militarism, and how climate change and energy security relate to the arms trade.

This edition is in three parts. Firstly, we explore military and state approaches – seeing how militaries are a driver of climate change, and are embracing militarised solutions to it. Suad Badri looks at the flourishing 'activism academia' in Sudan, and their take on the links between conflict and climate change across the Horn of Africa. Shin Soo Yeon from Green Korea United and Cristóbal Orellana González from Red Antimilitarista y Noviolenta de Andalucía describe the adverse environmental impacts of military activity in Korea and Spain respectively. To end the section, Nick Buxton asks whose future it is that is being secured by militarised responses to climate insecurity, and cautions against the drift towards hawkish responses to climate change.

Secondly, we look at the connections between climate change and antimilitarism, with Quincy Saul's 'Towards an ecosocialist horizon', Milan Rai on Just Transition, and an author focusing on the anthropocentric roots of both environmental disaster and militarism, in *Animal agriculture: the concealed cause of climate change*.

Finally, we look at movement and activist responses to climate change. Ron Ridenour calls for greater connection between peace and environmentalist struggles, and Adi Winter describes the need for understanding the connection between different types of violence – for example against humans, non-human creatures, and the earth itself – in 'Blood is Blood'. We then finish with some inspiring examples of activism that has connected environmental and antimilitarist concern: Jo Ram explores the use of the tactic of calling for divestment from fossil fuels companies, especially in the UK; Arni describes the work of EcoMe, an 'intercultural living experiment' in the West Bank, and we end with an inspiring interview with Samantha Hargreaves from WoMin, a network of African women working on extractive industries and gender across the continent.

Contents

The military and climate change

Securing whose future? Militarism in an age of climate change, pg 3

Militarism and environmental justice, pg 6

Environmental, health and safety risk to the civil population bordering the Naval Station Rota in Cádiz, pg 8

Peace studies in Sudan: flourishing activism academia combating the climate change-conflict nexus, pg 9

Making connections

Towards an ecosocialist horizon, pg 11

Proposals to unite for peace and the environment, pg 13

Animal agriculture: the concealed cause of climate change, pg 16

Activist and movement responses

Blood is blood, pg 18

Move the money, pg 20

Converging on conversion, pg 22

This land does not belong to us, pg 24

Mining, gender and militarism in Africa, pg 26

Cover image: activists in Wales, UK, occupy a coal mine as part of the international #Breakfree 2016 actions. Credit: Martin Watters



Securing whose future?

Militarism in an age of climate change

*Photo: Protesters run away from charging riot police in Peru at a demonstration against the Tia Maria mine.
Photo: Miguel Mejía Castro*

NICK BUXTON

For anyone concerned with militarism, news of the terrorist attacks in Brussels brought a familiar sense of dread. We ache as we hear the stories of more innocent lives lost, and we feel foreboding from the knowledge that the bombings will predictably fuel new cycles of violence and horror in targeted communities at home or abroad. It creates the binary world that neocons and terrorists seek: an era of permanent war in which all our attention and resources are absorbed – and the real crises of poverty, inequality, unemployment, social alienation and climate crisis ignored.

It was unusual, therefore, in March 2016 to hear President Obama in an interview with the Atlantic magazine, repeat his warning that “Isis is not an existential threat to the United States. Climate change is a potential existential threat to the entire world if we don’t do something about it.” While predictably ridiculed by the reactionary US Right, it seems to epitomise Obama’s seemingly more strategic approach on foreign policy – the so-called ‘Obama doctrine’ that seeks to entrench imperial power by firstly, in his own words, “not doing stupid shit” and secondly not ignoring

the long-term challenges to US interests.

President Obama’s emphasis on climate change has also been a feature of his foreign policy priorities during his final term in office. While initially couched in lofty rhetoric of ‘healing’ the planet, Obama has more consistently framed climate change in terms of ensuring US national security. Addressing coastguard cadets in Connecticut in May 2015, Obama argued: “Climate change constitutes a serious threat to global security, an immediate risk to our national security and, make no mistake, it will impact how our military defends our country. And so we need to act – and we need to act now.” In doing so, Obama has set a tendency that has been picked up by US allies worldwide. UK Prime Minister, David Cameron has also said that climate change is “not just a threat to the environment. It is also a threat to our national security”.

Within the US, the framing of climate change as a ‘national security’ issue is typically understood as a political tactic. As one Washington insider told me, it’s one of the few ways to get policy in the corridors of US power moving faster than glacial speed. It has also been seen as a way of getting climate-denier Republicans to stop blocking action on climate change, even if this has clearly failed. (The most enthusiastic US



Photo: US military install a solar panel.

supporters of climate as a security issue have been progressives: Democrat left hopeful Bernie Sanders has been vocal in defining climate change as the number one security threat to the US).

Regardless of the advocates and detractors, climate change is being entrenched into US military policy; a process that will almost certainly continue regardless of who is elected in the next US presidential elections. This is because ultimately the military concern with climate change is about ensuring its future 'operationability', rather than because it has become enlightened and decided to 'go green'. A Department of Defense Directive, agreed in January 2016, that requires climate change considerations to be at the heart of all military strategic planning, says as much: "The DoD must be able to adapt current and future operations to address the impacts of climate change in order to maintain an effective and efficient U.S. military."

For the US, integration of climate change into military planning is being enacted in three significant ways. The first is in ensuring that US' vast military infrastructure – made up of at least 800 bases in more than 70 countries - continues to function in the face of hotter temperatures, rising seas and more extreme weather. A US Government Accountability Office (GAO) report in 2014 showed that climate change was already affecting military assets. One Alaskan radar station faced issues of accessibility after roads and runways were destroyed when the coastline receded by 40 feet due to a combination of melting permafrost, disappearance of sea ice, and rising oceans.

The second is the US development of 'green' fuels to power its

vast military arsenals. This is often sold as evidence of the military's environmental commitment, but again is ultimately rooted in concerns about operationability. The Pentagon is the world's single largest organisational user of petroleum: one of its jets, the B-52 Stratocruiser, consumes roughly 3,334 gallons per hour, about as much fuel as the average driver uses in seven years. The transport of this fuel to keep its hummers, tanks, ships and jets running is one of the biggest logistic headaches for the US and was a source of major vulnerability during the military campaign in Afghanistan as oil tankers supplying US forces were frequently attacked by Taliban forces. Alternative fuels, solar-powered telecommunication units and renewable technologies in general hold the prospect of a less vulnerable, more flexible military. US Navy secretary Ray Mabus puts it frankly: "We are moving toward alternative fuels in the Navy and Marine Corps for one main reason, and that is to make us better fighters."

The third and probably most significant way in which the US is preparing for climate change is through its planning for 'security' threats. These are typically done through war-gaming scenarios, the most famous of which was the Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Global Climate Change. Published in 2007 by a coterie of former Defence ministers, security analysts and establishment think-tank researchers, the report sketched out three potential climate scenarios. The 'severe' and 'extreme' scenarios paint visions of state meltdown, civil conflicts, scramble for resources and mass migration in the kind of dystopian colours you would expect to see in a bad Hollywood B movie. But the dominant theme that emerges is that climate change is a "threat multiplier", which "will aggravate stressors

abroad such as poverty, environmental degradation, political instability, and social tensions – conditions that can enable terrorist activity and other forms of violence.”

These scenarios have been followed up with ever-more detailed plans by the many different arms of US military and intelligence. The U.S. European Command, for example, is making preparations around potential conflict in the Arctic as sea-ice melts, and oil and shipping in the region increase. In the Middle East, U.S. Central Command has factored water scarcity into its campaign plans for the future. While the US is ahead of the game, where it leads, its allies tend to follow.

US climate security planning has encouraged similar efforts elsewhere, particularly in the UK, the EU and Australia. All have adopted the same framing of climate change- seeing it as a catalyst of conflict and also a cause of potential further terrorism. Notably they are all Western countries with significant militaries; attempts to make security the framing for climate change at the UN have met with short shrift from developing countries that rightly see climate change as an issue of responsibility, one in which the most polluting nations have an historic debt to the Global South.

This military planning for climate change is paralleled by ever-growing numbers of national risk strategy assessments, critical infrastructure protection planning and emergency power planning – in part in response to climate change but also reacting to ever-more complex emergencies and awareness of the systemic vulnerabilities of a hyper-connected globalised order. Major corporations are also in on the game – developing risk and resilience strategies – notably developing long-term scenarios that in some cases mirror the dystopian visions of the military.

Suddenly risk is everywhere and control is everything. The UK Civil Contingencies Act 2004 – drawn up in the aftermath of 9/11 and the fuel crisis 2000 and the outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease in 2001, allows the UK government to declare a state of emergency without a parliamentary vote. These grant the executive powers to "give directions or orders" of virtually unlimited scope, including the destruction of property, prohibiting assemblies, banning travel and outlawing "other specified activities." The UK emergency powers review – and many elements of the subsequent legislation - were mirrored in Australia and Canada and share much in common with US emergency powers statutes.

In the wake of the war on terror and in military plans for a climate-changed world, what we see emerging is a maximum security state, one that goes beyond Eisenhower's warning of a military-industrial complex to a broader military-industrial-security complex – one which security expert Ben Hayes calls a "new kind of arms race, one in which all the weapons are pointing inwards." Certainly Black Lives Matter protestors in Ferguson or indigenous protestors in Peru – along with many other frontline communities worldwide – would recognise this arms race as they face off against ever more heavily-armed police.

And for some the new arms race is proving very lucrative indeed. As if the record heights of global military spending (\$1.8 trillion in 2014) wasn't enough, it has been accompanied by a massive expansion of the homeland security industry, which since 2008, has grown at 5% annually despite a worldwide recession. Many involve the same well-known arms

dealers: US defence contractor Raytheon openly proclaims its "expanded business opportunities" arising from "security concerns and their possible consequences," due to the "effects of climate change" in the form of "storms, droughts, and floods".

The merging (and blurring) of military and police, state and corporations, along with the emerging dominance of security as the framework for so many issues nowadays – think food security, energy security, water security and so on - carries its own logic and consequences. It soon becomes clear from studying security strategies that while protecting human lives and supporting social needs are the declared objectives, some needs and some lives are clearly worth more than others. Migrants, frequently posed as threats, are clearly disposable people – as we can see so visibly in Europe today. The frequent references to shipping routes and supply chains in Defence strategies also unveil that ensuring the smooth flow of commerce of capital is an overriding priority. Moreover the expanded search for threats all too easily encompasses any group that seeks to resist injustice. It is hard, for example, to envisage that a US Department of Defense Minerva Initiative, which funds US academics to uncover “the conditions under which political movements aimed at large-scale political and economic change originate” is anything other than an attempt to forestall such necessary radical social change.

Of course, this is the reality of nearly all security policies, particularly national security policies. They seek to secure those who already have wealth, and in the process often dispossess those without, turning victims into threats. Which is why turning climate change into a security issue is so disturbing. It creates a double injustice. Not only are those who had the least to do with causing climate change suffering the most from the consequences of climate change, but they are now being targeted with security responses to those very climate impacts.

It is why it will be critical that peace, civil liberty and climate justice activists and movements join together to oppose the securitisation of our future. A climate-just world will not be possible if our response is based on security, and a peaceful world will not be possible if we don't fight for climate justice. For a long time, there has been a tendency for our movements to operate apart in different arenas, but this is starting to change as movements realise the need to link our struggles and confront the same power structures. At the Paris climate meetings – in which environmental activists were also swept up under the state of emergency laws in the wake of the bombings – the beginnings of a network emerged bringing climate and peace activists together. As environmental and peace activist, Tim DeChristopher, cogently argues, “Our challenge has changed. It is no longer about just reducing emissions. We have to work out how to hold on to our humanity as we head to increasingly difficult times.”



Militarism and environmental justice

Photo: South Korean military rehearse entering a building, during the Key Resolve/Foal Eagle war games.

SHIN SOO YEON, GREEN KOREA UNITED

Translated from the original Korean by Patrick Cunningham

South Korea is presently conducting large-scale joint military drills, the annual Operation Key Resolve/Foal Eagle, with the United States (between 7 March - 30 April 2016). The United States mobilised nuclear aircraft carriers, nuclear submarines, strategic bombers, and other military assets in the operation. This year's military drills involved US and ROK (Republic of Korea) troops have been enormous, involving 17,000 US and 300,000 Korean troops. They are strategically aggressive in nature, seeking to formulate a pre-emptive attack on North Korea, striking at its leadership while simulating plans for a direct capture of its capital city, Pyongyang.

The media views the scale of these exercises as signalling a strong warning from the United States in response to North Korea's fourth nuclear test and long distance rocket launch. However, these aggressive military exercises cannot be viewed as a route to a new

stage of North-South relations. Every time a massive military exercise is conducted, it sets in train a vicious cycle that only leads to heightened risk of North-South military conflict and crisis. Peace activists shout slogans like 'Stop banging the drumbeats of war. Stop war exercises' in front of the United States Embassy in Seoul, and are also engaged in one person protests and marches to put a halt to the war exercises.

The military base causes a wide range of environmental problems

Environmental problems caused by military activity need to be highlighted urgently. Korea's citizens are threatened by environmental problems, manifested in different forms as a result of militarism. From noise pollution - caused by the constant take offs and landings of the warplanes, as well as shooting ranges; soil and groundwater pollution caused by oil spills; water pollution due to wastewater discharge; heavy metal pollution caused by live ammunition firing, as well as numerous other instances of environmental damage in

residential areas including the Ohgyeok accident, have been extensive and widespread.

South Korea's land mass is small, and most of the increase in land utilization for residential use happens to be nearby military installations. Last year there were numerous instances of stray bullets being fired through the windows and roofs of houses of residents in the Pocheon area. In areas where there's a high concentration of US military bases, such as Pyeongtaek and Daegu, there have been high levels of soil contamination with oil and heavy metals. Around areas of returned US military bases, the development of sites for parks, schools and industrial facilities has often led to the discovery of further contamination. In 2014, the citizens of Chuncheon were so suspicious and distrustful of government efforts to ensure the clean up of contaminants in the vicinity of US military installations that they decided to form a radiation monitoring team themselves. At the time, when Camp Page (a former US military base, now used by the Republic of Korea as an aviation base) was being reused in Chuncheon, the level of oil contamination was deemed very serious, with the level of Total Petroleum Hydrocarbon (TPH) pollution over 100 times the permissible level. In 2011 a retired US soldier claimed that he witnessed an accident involving a nuclear tipped warhead at Camp Page's nuclear silo in south Chuncheon. This would suggest a nuclear discharge.

Military exemption

The main reason for citizens' concerns and distrust when it comes to environmental pollution can be attributed to the lack of access to information. Information in relation to environmental pollution at military installations has been regarded as a state secret and very difficult to obtain, even more so when it comes to United States Forces Korea (USFK) installations.

Last year there were two incidents. One concerned the Pyeongtaek USFK military base and the import and testing of anthrax samples. When it came to light that Anthrax (known to be used in the making of weapons of mass destruction) samples were imported, tested and used in training, a number of activists organized a mass network. Within a week, 8,500 people had called for the prosecution of those responsible. Furthermore, a petition demanding that various allegations be investigated was signed by 10,500 people and submitted to the Department of Defense. A subsequent request for an interview was denied. Not only did shipments find their way to Pyeongtaek USFK military base, but it has also been revealed that experiments on Anthrax and plague bacteria samples have been conducted at the Yongsan US military base in Seoul as well. However, the South Korea-US government's position is that the samples have been safely disposed. Due to the associated high risks, such experiments are normally conducted by the US military in deserts. It defies belief that such experiments were allowed to be conducted in a highly densely populated city, and that no one has taken responsibility for such actions. Furthermore, the government stated that it will make findings of an investigation into internal pollution at Yongsan military base known in a private disposition. What is at stake is obtaining objective findings/data with regard to the environmental investigation, but due to the sensitive nature of negotiations around the return of military bases, the government says it is concerned that public disclosure of its findings would jeopardise the

process. A lawsuit is currently being brought against the government demanding full disclosure of its findings.

Who pays for environmental clean up?

It is not only humans that bear the brunt of the costs of operating military bases. Gangjeong residents and peace activists have been engaged in a nine year struggle in opposition to the construction of the Jeju Naval base, along a pristine coastline that is home to endangered species and soft coral colonies comprising a 'natural monument'. The navy received authorisation to proceed with the construction work on the condition that the soft coral colonies comprising the 'natural monument' would be protected from damage. However, the results of ongoing monitoring conducted by residents and environmental groups over the years have shown that soft coral habitats have suffered noticeable damage and deterioration. Under the pretext of national security, the US-ROK alliance today is presently carrying out joint military exercises. Tensions run very high on the peninsula, and the saber-rattling continues unabated, the government and mainstream media see promoting militarism and fuelling the arms race as the only solution. Access to information is denied to the public, and yet the tax payer gets to foot the bill to pay for environmental damage caused by militarism. Is this just or right? Will money indeed ever restore the environmental damage?

Bryan Farrell, in his research on the 'environmental costs of militarism' has come to the conclusion that the greatest single assault on the environment all around the globe comes from the Armed Forces of the United States. Military activity is laying out acres of depleted uranium and other toxic substances in ecosystems across the world. Also, environmental security policy of the national research institute states that "...although there is no concrete evidence based on concrete research, there is little doubt about the role that militarization plays in being an important factor that contributes to global warming and the destruction of the ozone layer..."¹ (claim based on historical data). Indeed, when one looks at national and international data estimates of oil consumption by militaries, both during and outside of war time, there is no doubt that militarism is justifiably seen as a main contributor to climate change.

The claim made by governments to promote and work for peace on the one hand, while destroying ecosystems and continuing to prepare for endless war on the other, wasting valuable resources in the process of laying waste to the planet is a scandal. If we merely stand by as passive observers we are also complicit in postponing 'environmental justice' and 'climate justice.' The time has come for the peace and environmental movements to work together in solidarity if true 'justice' is to be realized.

Environmental, health and safety risk to the civil population bordering the Naval Station Rota in Cádiz



CRISTÓBAL ORELLANA GONZÁLEZ

In 2013, Ecologistas en Acción de Cádiz wrote an open letter to the central government titled “Environmental, health and safety risk to the civil population bordering the Naval Station Rota in Cádiz”. The letter outlined 19 different environmental concerns the group had about the base, which is a Spanish naval base fully funded by the USA on the south coast of Spain. The base houses US Navy and Marine Corps military personnel.

In their letter, the group requested either a detailed response to these questions or a meeting where this information could be provided, but to date, they have not received a response. The original report is available online: <http://www.ecologistasenaccion.es/article26364.html>

Some of the issues highlighted by the group were: In 2013, there was clear danger from an accident of a Galaxy cargo plane at the Naval Station Rota. The possibility of a nuclear accident in Rota (this possibility is recognized in a treaty between Spain and the United States). The Bahía de Cádiz community - around 700,000 people surrounding the base - and the Bahía de Cádiz authorities are totally unaware of any type of emergency and evacuation plan in the event of disaster, accident, or military attack on the Naval Station Rota.

There are inadequate evacuation routes planned for the population of Rota in the event of a serious emergency situation occurring at the Naval Station Rota.

Pollution from kerosene and other fuels: in 1997, a serious accident occurred resulting in the ship J.P. Bobo spilling 300,000 litres of diesel fuel onto the beaches around the

military base. This could happen again.

The seawalls separating the military base from the villages of Rota and Puerto de Santa María damage the ecological balance of these beaches.

Cases of marine pollution in the area: dead fish have been seen around the Naval Station Rota.

There is no information about safeguards and prevention regarding the treatment of materials with asbestos in the base.

A report from the Ministry of Agriculture shows the largest problem of the naval air station is its internal use of pesticides, but the environmental repercussions that their use can have on the surrounding population are ignored.

Possible fires on naval units, in an area very close to a large population.

Noise pollution is a significant problem.

Pollutants and toxic products; corrective measures and provisions in case of an accident: although the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement covers this, it is unknown what type of pollutants and toxic products may be used in the base and therefore it is unknown what “Corrective measures and preventions in case of an accident” are in place.

The document presented by the ecologists to authorities ends with a question: “While this overly dangerous military installation - located in the heart of a large civilian settlement - remains can you consider drafting a Comprehensive Plan for Public and Environmental Safety for the Bay of Cádiz that deals with the scenarios we have laid out in this paper?”



Peace studies in Sudan: flourishing activism academia combating the climate change-conflict nexus

SUAD BADRI

“There is no doubt that impoverishment and human insecurity may arise as a result of climate change, if preventive measures are not undertaken. However, there is missing evidence that global warming directly increases conflict.” - Dr. Vesselin Popovski, Senior Academic Programme Officer and head of the United Nations University Institute of Sustainability and Peace and Security Section.

During the past decades, we have witnessed growing interest among Sudanese scholars in the field of Peace and Conflict studies. A growing peace research activity covers different areas; from the macro-level, examining the influence of international peace issues; to the micro-level, exploring internal conflict and peace dynamics. Key topics are linked to researching the root causes of conflict and environmental degradation in Sudan. That same era also witnessed the development of several Peace Studies programs, within old and emerging Sudanese universities. Reputable international peace organisations, world universities, and research institutions have supported this trend; including USIP, the Mennonite University, UN University of Peace and others. Academic links and sponsored consultations allowed for multiple program provisions; such as awareness campaigns, research activities and training workshops.

The University of Dilenj in Western Sudan was the first (well before separation) to establish a “Peace Centre”, followed by the University of Juba in the South, as a symbol of national unity between the North and South. Nine more centres followed suit; cohorts were mostly professionals, coming from different backgrounds. Fresh graduates are a tiny minority among those batches, and women are a minority among a

minority. It is worth noting that apart from Ahfad University for Women (AUW), which offers peace and conflict courses as part of its gender undergraduate/graduate programs, all those peace programs belong to government universities.

The focus of those peace studies programs include: identifying the root causes of conflict, defining Sudan's identity, and directly addressing the challenges for Sudan to break free from its conflict tradition and achieve peace, democracy and fair distribution of national wealth and power, through sustainable environmental governance.

Sudanese universities have historically served as vital voices for political change and community engagement. They have been the incubators of political change in Sudan, and student unions in particular have retained a tradition of vibrant, and sometimes violent, political activity. AUW is a private, women-only, community-based university. Their peace studies program focuses on meeting the needs of the community by linking peace activism with social change, realising basic human needs, nonviolence, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. AUW peace studies program, as a complement of Gender Studies, is centred on teaching students to become peace activists. This emphasis is highly regarded in the field of peace studies, and supported by theoretical frameworks that argue for experimental knowledge and activism. Students master the means of conflict management by analysing the root causes of conflict and its prevention. As well as integrating theory and experiential learning into practice, emphasising contributions of activists, peace researchers and educators.

The insights on the analysis of the linkages between conflict and environment in Sudan; as well as resolving climate change-related conflicts, has so far been largely confined to contributions of local and international environmental studies

circles. Those contributions come in the form of field studies and publications covering the impacts of the country's long history of conflict on its environment, as well as the impact of environmental degradation on instigating conflicts. The most severe consequences - well studied to date - have been the indirect impacts, such as population displacement, lack of governance, conflict-related resource exploitation, and underinvestment in sustainable development. Other studies cover areas such as competition over oil and gas reserves, Nile waters, timber, and land use.

Despite numerous efforts to study the relationship between conflict and the environment there is no consensus on an effective remedy, fit for Sudan. Several writers have listed a number of theories with the notion of remedying resource scarcity; these ignore technological change, scientific means for increasing agricultural yields and the impact on community development. In particular, most of those studies are lacking focus on the link between environmental factors and intertwined range of social, political and economic issues. Those studies shy away from advising the integration of environmental governance into the policies of national and state authorities in Sudan. In particular, they neglect climate change themes, legitimising local management of resources, and how this process can be supported by the government.

From the 1950s, the government of Sudan adopted strategies for conducting basic studies on natural resources as a first step for the development of national and regional plans of action. The majority of those studies are either relatively unknown to current leading research institutions, or not easily accessible. It is fitting that Sudanese peace research institutions locate and help disseminate those studies; this may further strengthen links between research organisations, communities, and the government. The ultimate target is for this link to further emphasise the interaction of traditional leadership, government and community based organisations in strengthening the principle of environmental governance. In other words, this link may influence respective mandates and responsibilities of the groups involved, as key aspect in developing environmental policy, fit for areas emerging from conflict, in which control of natural resources has been one of the causes of tension.

In Sudan some NGOs, such as Practical Action, have gradually begun to integrate peace-building into the design of their environmental programs in Sudan. Their mission is to introduce practical measures to alleviate natural resource degradation, to help contain the current conflict, and to present a viable long-term solution for the development of rural areas. Practical Action is helping to build dams that collect and store Darfur's brief rainy season waters, allowing hundreds of local families to irrigate and farm the connecting lands, often for the first time in generations. The technique of rainwater harvesting goes beyond livelihood security for farmers, and plays an important role in conflict prevention. Through the cultivation of previously underused land, communities negotiate agreements, controlling over-grazing, water and fodder access, and land rights. The planning and construction of the dams brings prosperity to the region, with employment among women, in particular, rising by 300%¹. The dams' construction activities are associated by capacity building and training efforts at the community level, that enable women to form their own groups. Through the process of organization and formation of associations, Practical Action

provides technical and managerial training to the women groups in lobbying and advocacy, and participation in decision-making. With the simple earth dams technology, people living in poverty turn barren deserts into lush, fertile farmland. Practical Action has supported civil society through forming and empowering community based organisations, to lead the development process with a bottom-up approach and contribute to peace in the area.

Through capacity building of established civil society networks and introduction of locally developed crop production technologies, thousands of households in North Darfur have become food-secure despite the conflict, and have begun to support natural resource regeneration. These approaches have also provided communities with the organisational and technical abilities to negotiate resource access, use and control arrangements with neighbouring groups, in what may emerge as a practical and locally mediated form of grassroots conflict resolution.

Popovski says; "What I would like to see is the five top natural scientists and the five top political scientists together in the same room being asked the same question: how do we develop good governance and reduce both conflict and climate disasters?" . The efforts exerted by research institutions in applying quantitative analysis and then trying to predict the chance of managing future conflict, is problematic, with so many political, social, economic and environmental factors playing a negative role in preventing conflict. The study of environmental causes of conflict comes short of solving the immediate problems in theory, construction, or empirical testing. Much of the doubt about the relationship between climate change and conflict results from the inherent complexities of war and peace; critical studies are valuable in pointing out some of these problems, better still those studies may better serve to advance the field through stimulating more conducive research. Further research is required to fully understand and pin-point the evidence, that is needed to be assembled, in establishing a case. This will probably take many years to compile and require the cooperation of the best experts across a range of disciplines.

Notes

1. Practical Action: <http://practicalaction.org/darfur-dams-1>



Towards an ecosocialist horizon

Photo: Mama Charlotte performs at the 'Act now against climate catastrophe' concern at the WRI Conference in Cape Town, July 2014

QUINCY SAUL

This was reviewed and edited by Hannah Brock of WRI, from a longer trilogy of essays "War, Peace and Crossfire in Cape Town" written for the "Small Actions, Big Movements" conference in July 2014, available online at: <http://www.wri-irg.org/en/node/26283>

The winds of climate change will fill the sails of battleships, pump the bellows where weapons are forged, and turbo-charge tanks.

Ecological predictions for the 21st century are enough to warrant comparisons with the worst of past human catastrophes¹. And this is just the beginning. As devastating and catastrophic as climate chaos will be, the human reaction may well be worse. Old wars will be intensified, new wars will emerge. Those dedicated to resisting war have never faced a greater danger or a more immediate mandate, and the horizon for their tireless dedication is climate justice. Climate justice is the prerequisite and substance of peace in the 21st century and beyond.

The majority of humanity, which lives close to the soil and watches the sky, lives the urgency and knows the dangers. Yet it seems that those in the global North have not understood. Some retreat into isolation and survivalism; "the politics of the armed lifeboat."² In avoiding illegal collective action and dismissing big picture vision, we are following a recipe for temporary personal safety at the cost of permanent universal danger.

Why is this? To chart a prefigurative path to peace, we must first understand what is holding us back.

What Would Steve Biko Do?

"Our originality and imagination have been dulled to the point where it takes a supreme effort to act logically even in order to follow one's beliefs and convictions." (Biko 19)

Sound familiar? We know the climate science and recognize the dangers, we know what our principles are, and yet we do not act. When we do, it is rarely on a scale commensurate with our crisis.

Biko warned that the main danger facing his community was "to be so conditioned by the system as to make even our most well-considered resistance to fit within the system both in terms of the means and of the goals...Not only have they kicked the black but they have told him how to react to the kick." (Biko 40 and 72) And so we respond to climate catastrophe with carbon markets, to new wars with old protests. This conditioning of our resistance has been institutionalised as never before with the ascendancy of the non-profit industrial complex, whereby the ruling class designs and directs its own loyal opposition.³ And so more than ever we have to heed the warnings of Biko: "In laying out a strategy we often have to take cognisance of the enemy's strength and as far as I can assess all of us who want to fight within the system are completely underestimating the influence the system has on us." (Biko 41)

The influence of the system is not only institutional. It is not

only that the World Wildlife Fund takes money from the dirty energy industry - the rot is far deeper. Our originality and imagination have been dulled, so our resistance has been dulled.⁴ We seem to be not only incapable of mounting an effective challenge, but also of understanding our own failures. We do not shut down the fossil fuel war economy because we cannot imagine life without it.

So we do our best to “tweak armageddon”⁵ with all kinds of false solutions: carbon financing, carbon taxes, the usual rigmarole of petitions and electoral politics, and most ominously of all, geoengineering.⁶ These false solutions cannot be better described than by Biko: “The whole idea is to made to appear as if for us, while working against our very existence” (Biko 90).

Climate Justice

In making a break for it, we must define what we want. “Climate justice” is a deeply comprehensive term, if one respects the depth of its implications. Quite literally it means global justice; not only for humans, but all species and all ecosystems. It requires not only stabilization and draw-down of carbon emissions, but an end to all ecosystem destruction.

So what is needed for climate justice? While many push for incremental reforms, or for emissions and temperature targets that tolerate mass extinction and genocide, Philip Sutton persuasively argues the contrary: “there is no point in pursuing goals that, if achieved, would still create intolerable conditions”⁷ The goal, he explains is “100% decoupling of the economy from environmental damage.” Furthermore, it is technically possible to begin immediately. Drawing on the experience of World War 2, when governments seized control of private industry, retooled, and produced not for profit but for use, Sutton argues for a “holistic wartime mobilization.”

What is our timeline for this? Unlike the timeless movements for truth, justice and dignity, the climate justice movement has an expiration date. While the principles of climate justice⁸ will prove lasting guides no matter what temperature it is, the rights of future generations (human and non-human) to a safe climate will be won or lost within the next decade. But there is still time to turn the tide.

In the light of this urgency, we must make a candid assessment of our movements. While good and noble work is being done in the peace and environmental movements, it is not nearly enough. The triumphalism of assembling large numbers of people will turn quite bitter in hindsight, if actions do not quickly begin to have concrete effects on carbon emissions and the preservation of biological diversity. So our movements must get much, much bigger, in both quantity and quality.

We do not need more data, more time for conditions to develop, more analysis of the conjuncture. We have to act now. But how?

Satyagraha

Against the ritualised protest politics which have gotten us nowhere fast, we must imagine another form and content for politics. A call for climate satyagraha, emerging from the WRI Cape Town conference in South Africa (July 2014), urges us to consider the spirit of satyagraha as a framework for our

movements for peace and climate justice. Pioneered by Gandhi but practised by millions, satyagraha is an action and a way of life. Various translated as “truth-force” and “soul-power”, it is a method of personal transformation and mass action.

The concept of satyagraha is all encompassing, with equal emphasis on self-purification and system change. A calling for personal sacrifice is central. “Things of fundamental importance to the people must be purchased with their suffering,” Gandhi insisted. Satyagraha calls on people of relative privilege to break from the spiritually poisonous comforts accorded to them.

Capitalist society has thrived on the eradication of authentic spirituality⁹. Yet the rise of fundamentalism indicates that peoples in these societies are unsatisfied with the prevailing nihilism and schizophrenia of consumerism and empire as a way of life. People earnestly want deeper meaning in their lives, and are willing, even eager, to make sacrifices for a better future.

Satyagraha calls upon us to abandon sectarianism, to always regard adversaries as potential allies. Given that all life on earth is threatened by the continuation of oppression as usual, there has perhaps never been a greater constituency for satyagraha. The 99% has a genuine basis for life-or-death unity in defence of Mother Earth.

Satyagraha is a prefigurative path to peace. It calls for an embodied politics which celebrates, and struggles to amplify, the unity of means and ends. The satyagrahi must embody in all respects the goals of the movement, must be the change they want to see in the world.

From Satyagraha to Ujamaa

It is not enough to end war, or to stop the extraction of fossil fuels. In fact, these things are impossible to even conceive of in isolation. The world system must be changed and the movement to change it must prefigure the alternative. The new world must be built and the old one dismantled, and these are one and the same process.

At an international conference in South Africa in 2006, representatives from 14 countries and 107 organizations gathered on the 100th year anniversary of Gandhi's first satyagraha, to discuss and debate the meaning and relevance of satyagraha in the 21st century. A connection was made at that time between satyagraha and Julius Nyerere's concept of ujamaa, or African community socialism.¹⁰ Ujamaa is not only a theory but a practice: an incipient mode of production and a vision of socialism whose nucleus is the cooperative village economy. Since the times of Nyerere, neither the theory nor the practice of ujamaa have died.¹¹ In an age of climate chaos, ujamaa is a theory and vision of a return to the source, a path and a destination, to fulfil the goals of movements to end war and the fossil fuel economy.

In Cape Town City Hall two years ago, rooms filled with stories of horror and pain, suffering and sacrifice. Passions flared over differences of context and circumstance. But emerging from the map of a continent and a world at war, was the reminder and the promise of a common humanity, seeking out new horizons.



Proposals to unite for peace and the environment

RON RIDENOUR

Evidence for climate destruction caused by militarism

Corporate capitalism and its politicians' "war on terror" is killing, maiming and torturing millions of people, especially in oil rich Middle East and land rich Africa. The wars are forcing tens of millions to flee inside and outside their countries, creating more refugees than since World War II. These wars are simultaneously choking Mother Earth, polluting the air we breathe, the water we drink, the soil that spawns our food, eradicating species.

"There is no worse aggression against Mother Earth and her children than war. War destroys life. Nothing and nobody can escape war... Thus, the environment will never be the same after a war. Wars are the greatest waste of life and natural resources," states Bolivian President Evo Morales in his "10 Commandments to Save the Planet, Humankind and Life":

The CIA reported in its 2006 Factbook that only 35 countries consume more oil per day than the Pentagon. The Pentagon's major consultant, LMI Government Consulting, reported in April 2007 that the Pentagon consumed as

much as 20 billion liters of oil annually, the number one consumer of petroleum.

With 9/11 came the Bush regime's "war on terror" against Afghanistan and Iraq, which Obama extended to Pakistan, Yemen, Libya, Mali, Somalia, Syria, Ukraine and elsewhere. Besides the murder of millions, the destruction to the environment by exploding bombs and toxins is incalculable. One excellent UK activist website tries to keep up with these disasters:
www.toxicremnantsofwar.info

President Morales points to a way out in his "To end with capitalism". "We know that in order to cure Mother Earth it is necessary to be conscientious that this disease has a name... It is the logic of the capitalist system that is destroying the planet...the endless logic of consumption, of using war as an instrument to obtain markets and appropriate markets and natural resources." The war profiteers and their politicians lie that there is not enough money for decent social network systems. Yet there is plenty of money for their wars, and plenty of profits.

We must unite peace and environment activism

My Internet search was limited to the Spanish, Danish and English languages, and I found little regarding what peace and environmental groups are doing to

unite actions. One exception occurred during the worldwide demonstrations on September 21, 2014, which sought to convince the UN summit on climate change (COP20) to take serious action. Some 200 hundred organizations signed a declaration concerning causes of climate change. Here are extracts:

“Climate change is the result of an unjust economic system...It is crucial for us to unify and strengthen our economic, social and environmental struggles...We need to replace capitalism with a new system that seeks harmony between humans and nature and not an endless growth model...to make more and more profit. We need a system that links climate change and human rights and provides for the protection of most vulnerable communities like migrants, and recognizes the rights of Indigenous peoples.”

One of the responses to the world's environmental problems made in this declaration was to: Dismantle the war industry and military infrastructure in order to reduce greenhouse gas emissions generated by warfare, and divert war budgets to promote genuine peace.

<http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php/actions-and-events-mainmenu-26/-climate-change-and-agrofuels-mainmenu-75/1664-invitation-to-sign-on-statement-to-denounce-corporate-takeover-of-climate-summit>

In Denmark, where I live, we have only one small anti-war group that tries to unite the issues, but after 18 months of struggle no environmental group joins with us. Tid Til Fred – aktiv mod krig (Time for Peace – active against war) seeks to: raise consciousness and understanding about militarism/wars as the major cause of mass murder, the forced flight of people and environmental damage; unite actions against wars, for refugees and for the environment; we strive to force the government to react to our actions and stop their wars (www.tidtilfred.nu).

Promoting Enduring Peace (www.pepeace.org) wrote in its January 2016 call: “War is a major contributor to the decline in climate and other living conditions for humans and other species...Warfare is increasing worldwide while the peace movement is fragmented and mass marches and actions are few and far between. We want to revive the movement. We want to gather... peace/environment/social justice movements and important writers...to discuss new structures, new ways of working...to build a powerful movement...The peace movement must stick to its principles and not take the pressure off politicians and parties just because they make anti-war promises. Our primary tool is direct action: protest, civil disobedience, boycotts.”

Here are some proposals for how, where and why the peace and environmental movements could work together. Both movements could join hands at the same places. They could agree to conduct civil disobedience actions separately or together, or there could be a combination of action forms.

Breakfree 2016.org is organizing resistance from May 4-15 to keep coal, oil and gas in the ground. Many large environmental groups as well as indigenous peoples are involved in the US, UK, Germany, Turkey, Canada, Australia, Indonesia, Philippines, Brazil, Nigeria, South Africa. It would be even greater to incorporate proposals and actions to stop wars since the weapons industry and its wars damage the

planet, and the fossil fuel industry benefits from wars.

In August the actions in memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki could bring peace and environmental groups together. Greenpeace started in 1971 by protecting the planet and thereby advocating disarmament. Its peace work has dallied but it still stands for: “an end all nuclear threats; promote peace, global disarmament and nonviolence.”

The IPB world congress will take place in Berlin from September 30-October 3, under the banner, “Disarm! For a climate of peace – creating an action agenda”. This could be a perfect venue for all peace and environmental organizations to participate: “war creates climate catastrophes”!

COP 22 in November-December should be considered a major venue for environmental, peace, and social organizations to join hands against war and climate change. Massive civil disobedience actions should be prepared to curb The Machine. And on December 10, International Human Rights Day, could also be a unity day for human rights for all, support for refugees, stop wars and stop using fossil fuels.

Why these two important movements need to unite, at least in some actions, should be clear: the planet can not be saved as long as there are massively destructive wars. Furthermore, most of the major wars are fought over fossil fuel resources. Nearly all organizations seek to build an identity and do not wish to dissolve or merge into other groups. But action coalitions should not be a threat to organizations politically. I believe that this process once set in motion could and should lead to deeper unity between the two great movements looking toward a people's front for “real change”, that is, an economic and political system not based on endless profit that requires war and environmental destruction.

A key challenge to such unity is that many environmental groups are financed by private donors and foundations, some of whom are not anti-war. Some groups are NGOs which receive money from governments, which make war. Another key challenge is that many people see no other choice but to let the West and Russia war against Daesh whose terror is limitless. Furthermore, many environmentalists are not leftists while most peace activists tend to be left oriented. Nevertheless, peoples' fronts have been formed in which political differences has not played the decisive role.

We have wandered the deserts and the seas. We have been hungry and thirsty. We have been tortured and murdered. We are of the working class, of the castes; we are many colors and nationalities. We share a common vision: peace, freedom, equality, shelter, bread and water for all. To live in peace and harmony with ourselves and nature we must struggle together.

Call out for Broken Rifle 106: Resisters' Stories

Activist magazines can be 'heavy', analysing war and other systemic violences. We want to make the next edition of The Broken Rifle more personal. We want to hear about the incredible people within our movements taking action for social change, and what has led them to become part of our struggle against militarism. Their stories are likely to be inspirational, sometimes emotional, and definitely thought-provoking. They will all be different. Our hope is that hearing these stories will help us to better understand what brings people into our movements. This in itself is a political act, asserting that we are not all interchangeable consumers, but unique individuals, with our own particular motivations and experiences. To gather these stories, we will send ten activists interview questions, asking them about their lives, and what led them into taking antimilitarist action.

Who would you like to hear from? Please write to info@wri-irg.org with the subject line 'The Broken Rifle 106' with your suggestions for a person taking action against war and its causes. You can also suggest yourself! They don't have to be a member of a WRI affiliate, and they do not have to be taking very visible, 'high profile' actions. We are just as interested in the people who undertake the necessary, sometimes invisible work of keeping struggles going. We look forward to your suggestions. Please include their contact details if you suggest someone else. Thank you!

For a more detailed overview of writing for WRI, please see:
www.wri-irg.org/en/Writing-for-WRI

WRI bookshop

War Resisters' International offers a range of merchandise via its webshop. These and many other books can be ordered online — and some are even available for reading online or downloading as PDF. Check out the WRI webshop at <http://wri-irg.org/webshop>



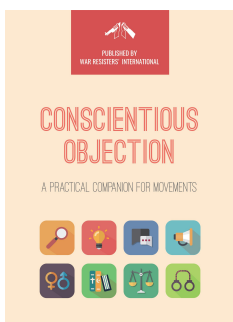
Sowing Seeds: the militarisation of youth and how to counter it

Through articles, images, survey data and interviews, *Sowing Seeds: The Militarisation of Youth and How to Counter It* documents the seeds of war that are planted in the minds of young people in many different countries. However, it also explores the seeds of resistance to this militarisation that are being sown resiliently and creatively by numerous

people. We hope the book will help to disseminate these latter seeds. It is not just a book for peace and antimilitarist activists: it is a book for parents and grandparents, teachers, youth workers, and young people themselves.

Author(s)/editor(s): Owen Everett

Orders: £5.00 + postage

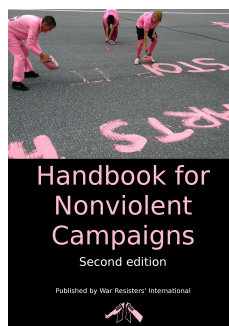


Conscientious objection: a practical companion to movements

This book is intended as a practical companion for conscientious objection movements and all those whose work forms part of the continuum

of war resistance. It has been written by activists who are campaigning against all kinds of injustice, all over the world. Learning from the lived experience of these activists, the aim is to help movements work together, surmount the external challenges they face, and enhance the concept of conscientious objection, using it in new and innovative ways - such as against war profiteering, or the militarisation of youth. The book also has a specific focus on gender, and the often invisible role of gender, both in the war machine, and in the movements which oppose it.

Orders: £7.00 + postage



Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns: second edition

Social change doesn't just happen. It's the result of the work of committed people striving for a world of justice and peace. This work gestates in groups or cells of activists, in discussions, in training sessions, in reflecting on previous experiences, in planning, in experimenting and in learning from others.

Preparing ourselves for our work for social justice is key to its success.

There is no definitive recipe for successful nonviolent actions and campaigns. This handbook, however, is a series of resources that can inspire and support your own work, especially if you adapt the resources to your own needs and context.

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Animal agriculture: the concealed cause of climate change

Photo: Deforestation of the Amazon, shot from a satellite

Pope Francis recently presented actor and environmentalist Leonardo DiCaprio with a leather-bound version of his encyclical on environmental concerns, *Laudato Si'*. If the irony escaped the Pope, it is because his 40,600-word document makes no mention of the meat industry as a contributor to climate change. Although animal agriculture is the leading cause of climate change, it remains taboo, in public debate and even in environmentalist circles, to say so. Perhaps it will take the peace movement, with its commitment to nonviolence, to break the silence. For animal agriculture involves immense violence against animals. But first the peace movement will have to overcome its anthropocentrism.

It is in the anthropocentric mentality of domination over what we call “nature” that the roots of the ecological crisis lie. We have treated the earth as a reservoir of “natural resources” that supplies us with food, fuel and building materials. For thousands of years we have been gradually ousting free-living animals from their natural habitats to use the earth for ourselves and the cattle, sheep, chickens and pigs we raise for food. Marine life is being pushed to the point of collapse through our plunder of the oceans.

Some of consequences of our commodification of animals are climate change and environmental destruction. Numerous credible investigations report that raising animals for food is responsible for between 18% and 51% of all greenhouse gases,¹ more than the entire transportation sector is responsible for. Animal agriculture is the leading cause of rainforest destruction, species extinction, ocean dead-zones, and water pollution.² It occupies 45% of the earth’s ice-free

land³ and uses 30% of all water consumed on earth.

Yet, despite all this being so, the annual COP summits consistently turn a blind eye to the meat industry. Their focus is industry’s consumption of fossil fuels. Likewise, many influential mainstream environmental organisations – Greenpeace, Sierra Club, Oceana, Surfrider, 350.org, Climate Reality Project among them⁴ – steer clear of animal agriculture for fear of alienating their funders and dues-paying members. It is too awkward to suggest that behaviour change regarding our food choices may be a necessary part of the solution to climate change.

There is a close relation between militarisation and our commodification of animals, which should be of particular concern to antimilitarists. At times the demand for land and water to raise animals for food has led to invasions and warfare.⁵ The military is used in the land grabbing now rampant across the globe. In Ethiopia, one of the worst offenders, millions of acres have been made available to foreign investors, some of it for grazing “livestock” or for producing feed for “livestock” that will end up as meat on the tables of the wealthy in Persian Gulf states and India. In these land grabs, the Ethiopian government has used its security forces to evict hundreds of thousands of indigenous people from land they have lived on for generations.⁶

When it is suggested that we would do well to examine the ramifications of raising animals for food, the argument is often advanced that only the well-off in developed countries have the luxury of food choices. Many of the world’s poor have to raise animals themselves or fish or hunt wild animals to meet their nutritional needs. But this argument must contend with

the reality that almost 50% of the world's grain is fed to "livestock." If we did not breed all these many billions of animals for food, the food grown to feed them could easily feed the one billion people in the world who go hungry every day. The skewed international politics surrounding food sovereignty and food security come into play here.

As the ensuing debates are aired, the statistics will be disputed and charges made that the issues are being oversimplified. For some, however, one aspect of the meat, egg, dairy and fishing industries cannot be argued away, and that is the cruelty inflicted on animals by these industries, and the reverberations of this violence and brutality throughout society. The global food production process has become highly mechanised "agribusiness." Low inputs and high profits are the priority, not the welfare of the animal subjects. From cattle traumatised in feedlots and abattoirs, to sows confined in tiny crates going insane from lack of stimulation, to battery hens cramped all their lives in tiny cages, to dairy cows kept virtually perpetually pregnant and hormonally modified to produce ten times more milk than they would naturally, to fish pulled up in nets from the ocean depths so quickly that their internal organs burst, to the "bycatch" of turtles, dolphins, sea birds and "economically useless" fish that is thrown back into the ocean dead or wounded, the exploitation of animals, the suffering they are made to endure and the contempt for life displayed by the food-from-animals industry are, for many, unconscionable.⁷

What we reap from such brutality is evident everywhere in society. Our social, political, economic, legal and other institutions – like our culture of food – are based on patriarchy, privilege, commodification and exploitation. Like our eating habits, our institutions reinforce the domination of the powerless and the vulnerable by the strong, the male and the wealthy. Like the meat industry, their means of operation are violent. It is thus not surprising that our society is beset by an inner agitation and suffers so much oppression, exploitation, injustice and family violence. The mentality of domination seeps into every aspect of our private and public lives. We cannot expect to be happy if we cause suffering to other beings. Recognising the impoverished thinking and way of acting represented by the mentality of domination is an essential step to our healing and to our rediscovery of our interconnectedness and shared evolutionary history with all other life forms.

The antimilitarist movement, motivated by an overarching commitment to nonviolence, has long organised around issues of peace, war, militarisation and violence. Now, with the realisation that human beings have pretty much also been at war with the earth and its nonhuman inhabitants, the antimilitarist movement needs to consider moving beyond its present anthropocentric horizons. It needs to contemplate extending nonviolence to other sentient beings.

Any venture by the peace movement to align with the climate change movement and begin addressing environmental issues would be seriously deficient if it ignored animal agriculture. It would be like trying to address lung cancer without looking at smoking. Both these "single issue" movements need to identify animal agriculture as a problem which falls within their issue; from the perspective of climate activism, because animal agriculture is the leading cause of climate change; from the perspective of peace activism, because it is inconsistent to work for nonviolence amongst humans while being complicit in

violence toward animals. If these two movements combined in a mutually-enriching complementary relationship and together ended animal agriculture, the levels of violence in society would decrease dramatically, the forests and wildlife would return, the rivers would run clean again, the oceans would recover, and the methane produced by "livestock" would no longer be released into the atmosphere.

Notes

1 A 2006 report by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), *Livestock's Long Shadow*, estimates that 7,516 million metric tons per year of CO₂ equivalents (CO₂e), or 18% of annual worldwide greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, are attributable to cattle, buffalo, sheep, goats, camels, horses, pigs, and poultry. In 2009, two environmental advisers from the World Bank, Robert Goodland and Jeff Anhang, released an analysis on human-induced greenhouse gases, *Livestock and Climate Change: What if the key actors in climate change were pigs, chickens and cows?* (WorldWatch, November/December 2009. Worldwatch Institute, Washington, DC, USA. Pp. 10–19. Available at <http://www.worldwatch.org/files/pdf/Livestock%20and%20Climate%20Change.pdf>), which found that livestock and their byproducts actually account for at least 32,564 million tons of CO₂e per year, or 51% of annual worldwide GHG emissions.

2 These claims can all be checked on the "The Facts" (<http://www.cowspiracy.com/facts/>), a webpage on science and research done on the true impacts of animal agriculture, maintained by the directors of *Cowsspiracy*, a 2014 documentary film produced and directed by Kip Andersen and Keegan Kuhn, which investigated animal agriculture's contribution to climate change.

3 Philip Thornton, Mario Herrero and Polly Ericksen, *Livestock and climate change*, *Livestock Exchange*, no. 3 (2011). International Livestock Research Institute (available at <https://cgspace.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10568/10601/IssueBrief3.pdf>)

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (established by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO)) *Assessment Report: IPCC AR5 WG# Chapter 11, Agriculture, Forestry and Other Land Use (AFOLU)* (available at http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/wg3/ipcc_wg3_ar5_chapter11.pdf)

4 These, and other organisations were identified, after considerable investigation, as helping to maintain the silence on animal agriculture's contribution to climate change in the documentary film *Cowsspiracy* (<http://www.cowspiracy.com>).

5 This is the subject of David Niebert's book, *Animal Oppression and Human Violence: Domesecration, Capitalism and Global Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

6 Land grabbing in Ethiopia has been extensively documented by organisations that work against land grabbing and in newspaper reports:

<http://www.farmlandgrab.org/cat/show/116>

<http://www.irinnews.org/report/92292/ethiopia-great-land-grab-debate>

<http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/land-deals-africa-ethiopia>

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/14/ethiopia-villagisation-violence-land-grab>

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2014/01/ethiopia-land-sale-20141289498158575.html>

7 The exploitation of animals has been extensively documented. See *Eating Animals* by Jonathan Safran Foer (Boston: Little, Brown and Company; 2009) and *The World Peace Diet: Eating for Spiritual Health and Social Harmony* by Will Tuttle (New York: Lantern Books; 2005). A good source of information is the website of Viva!, an organisation which fights against animal cruelty and helps animals affected by the farming industry (<http://www.viva.org.uk>).



Blood is blood

Photo: An action highlighting the violence of factory farming in Israel

ADI WINTER

I remember standing a few years ago, tears in my eyes, feeling yet not feeling my body, trying to shout but choked up, tears silently streaming down my face, knowing that I don't have the power to stop it. I remember I didn't shout, I felt paralysed, I held myself in my strong arms and felt lost. I remember slowly losing sensation, though pain and horror ran through every cell of my body. No one wanted to see or hear me, most of all not that one who was gripping me. He needed to and I was there, an empty vessel for his urges and needs.

Now I'm standing upright, and am holding in my shaky arms a tortured, bleeding corpse that had everything taken from it. They took because they could, took forcefully, because that's what everyone does, because there are many who still believe that some lives are worth more than others, because some still separate between blood and blood, between pain and pain. With tears in my eyes I stand holding the footprints of a life that was and is no more. All that is left is its shadow, only the meat.

'The personal is political', and in this case the political is extremely personal to me, mainly because I'm writing about sexual exploitation, objectification, separation

and dissociation. When I draw parallels and make connections between the different forms of violence: towards women, towards both human and non-human animals and planet earth, I speak for example about the role Israeli society designates for women, as breeders and mothers, as soldiers in a demographic war, required to produce soldiers for a war that isn't theirs. I speak of forceful insemination, the use of "rape racks" where cows stand tied, about endless cycles of pregnancy and childbirth that always end with taking the calf from their mother, about relentless milking that injures the worn out body that almost becomes unrecognisable. About pregnancy after pregnancy, birth after birth and loss.

I speak of gender-based separation and selection. When a human baby is born it is pronounced male or female, and each option designates that baby to a completely different life. On the day of their birth, baby chicks in the egg industry are also classified: the males, that don't lay eggs, are thrown into the trash or into a grinder, and the females will be de-beaked and sentenced to a life of harsh imprisonment, where they will never see the light of day or be able to spread their wings. Their bodies will become egg producing units until they collapse or lose financial value and will be sent to be slaughtered. Slaughter is the

end of violence, its liberation. I speak of the practice of breast enlargement in meat chickens so that there is more to sell, and breast augmentation surgeries marketed to women as part of the beauty ideal they should aspire to, etc.

We've grown accustomed to seeing commercials objectifying women, selling our bodies like products. We're used to looking at ourselves in the mirror and hating what we see, used to being touched without permission and used to the pain that rips through us. Where I'm from, we're used to the military occupation, seeing soldiers with guns lining the streets, the separation wall and apartheid roads (separate roads for Israelis and Palestinians), child arrests and the murder of protesters solely on the basis of their being Arab. We're used to seeing corpses as food, to separating a mother from her baby in order to steal the milk she made for them, to purposefully blinding rabbits and rats for a new shampoo, we're used to skinning animals because it's "pretty".

We're accustomed to destruction of the rain forests for unnecessary products, to a daily reality of buying and throwing things out, to a world where the oceans are dying and most of the world's grain goes to feeding incarcerated animals whilst half the world suffers obesity, and the other starvation. We're used to the destruction of millions of species because of one species' irresponsibility. We're used to objectifying the environment and viewing it as a resource, as something that should satisfy our false immediate needs. The occupation is the same occupation, occupation of land, of people, of women, of animals. We've accepted and internalised the daily violence we encounter. The violence our bodies endure and the violence we all participate in. And I wonder, when did we stop to think of the price? And who is paying it? And how do we stop and why are we all silent? And when did we lose hope for a better world?

'The banality of evil' is already known, but what scares me more is the banality of silence in the face of evil. As the granddaughter of a holocaust survivor, I was taught to never stand in silence, never let things happen next to me yet carry on. I learned that with power comes responsibility, and that it is a duty to stand up to violence and injustice and to act, regardless the price.

They say the hard part of being vegan isn't at all related to food. The hard part is becoming exposed to humanity's dark side and trying to maintain hope. It's trying to understand why people - that in every other walk of life are good and kind - continue to participate in violence against animals for their own pleasure and convenience, nothing else. I believe that a vegan diet is much more than a culinary preference, and can't even be simply explained by "loving animals". It seems to me that choosing a vegan diet is composed of a wider world view that sees oneself as a part of the world, not its centre. As someone born and raised in Israel, I have witnessed most of my school mates and family members going to serve without question in an occupying and oppressive army. I met them more than once, face to face, at demonstrations where I stood by the side of my Palestinian allies and they stood in front of us in their uniforms, holding weapons. The choice, even if it is a difficult one, is here and now, solidarity or oppression, a shared destiny, or war?

Throughout human history, the bill of rights has developed and expanded to allow larger parts of society to be included in it. From the Magna Carta that afforded rights to a narrow section of the nobility, through the United States' Declaration of Independence that glorified freedom and equality (though

mainly being drawn up by Thomas Jefferson who himself owned black slaves), through extending women the right to vote, granting blacks human rights, recognising indigenous peoples' rights, etc. Alongside these developments, many, and in fact most living creatures, were left outside the scope of the universal bill of rights, even when it comes to the most basic of all: the right to life. A few brave attempts at extending the bill of rights to those beyond the scope of Darwin's nobility caste failed (Stone, 1972).

In my view, it's high time we recognise that the division between human animals and non-human animals is more arbitrary than scientific, and isn't significantly different than that which separated white people from black people; men from women; and heterosexuals from homosexuals. Relationships of an oppressive nature base themselves on terms separating "us" from "them", and establish a clear separation and hierarchy between the oppressed and those oppressing them. It is my belief that we should see non-human animals that share planet earth with us as individuals with their own sense of purpose. Their value should not be measured based on their ability to satisfy man's needs or the ecosystem's needs, and we should treat them with respect that originates not just in our hearts due to compassion, but with respect that is part of a greater holistic sense of justice.

I think that in order to create a better world, we must try and rid ourselves of the aggressive cultural patterns we were raised on. Patterns that taught us to classify others as either "them" or "us" and that instructed us to rank certain groups as inferior. Throughout history the "other" has changed many names: women, black people, Jews, Muslims, etc. But the animals remained invisible. Racism, the patriarchy and speciesism are all different sides of the same coin, of the same misguided logic that some lives are worth more than others. Turning non-human animals that have needs and wants and feelings into dead products and commodities is one of many representations of society's ills. A society that places financial gain above any and all moral considerations, from sweatshops to woman trafficking to slaughter houses, a sick culture that violates the ecological balance and wreaks havoc on the planet where we live and on all who inhabit it. God indeed is in the detail, in the language, food, in how we treat one another, in who we chose to eliminate from our discourse and hide from our hearts. The power struggle can be recognised in our smallest daily decisions that to us often seem meaningless. On every trip to the store we can chose to buy dairy products or eggs, or chose to refuse to support an industry that turns live, feeling beings into machines, in an industry polluting planet earth beyond recognition. Each and every time we have the power to choose between a shared destiny or alienation, between compassion or violence.

Indeed, 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house', the hand of the butcher can't differentiate between human and animal blood, pain and suffering. The armed soldier, the butcher, the rapist. The hand is the same hand and the house is the same house. Turning 'someone' into 'something', belittling, exploiting bodies, sexuality, objectification and wounding the soul, invisible and normalised violence, etc., these are the mechanisms of oppression and exclusion that we all use and should all fight against. No one wants to be made into a birthing machine, no one wants her newborn torn from her, no one wants her house or habitat destroyed and until all are free, no one really is.



Move the money

Photo: A banner drop action demanding divestment from fossil fuels in the USA.

JO RAM

In October 2015, the UK Conservative Party (known as the 'Tories') proposed rule changes to public sector pension funds and procurement policies that would prevent local government from being able to divest and boycott. The Tories had singled out the anti-arms and BDS campaigns, claiming that these undermined the UK government's foreign policy.

A ban from divesting fossil fuels was not mentioned in the original press release¹ but the announcement came less than a month after climate campaigners published an online map and database² that provided detailed investment information, including amounts invested in the top 200 fossil fuel companies, for all UK local authority pension funds. The database has attracted widespread publicity, inspiring 46 and counting new fossil free grassroots campaigns, and is cited by the Environment Agency Pension Fund as a factor in their recent divestment decision.

Divestment is an important tool for the climate movement today – one that we will seek to protect at all costs³. The current fossil free divestment campaigning wave began a few years ago on US university campuses and has firmly established itself in the UK. It's a tactic that has invigorated the climate movement, bringing many new people

into activism. At the February 2015 annual "Show the Love" day of mobilisation, over 50 actions took place across the UK targeting universities, banks, pension funds, councils and more.

Of course, fossil free campaigners are not the first to use divestment as a tool for social change. We join a rich tradition that includes the anti-tobacco, anti-apartheid, anti-militarist, and the Palestinian BDS movements. Even within the climate activism, there is a heritage of cultural divestment campaigning⁴. Many of these movements continue to use divestment to de-legitimise colonial and oppressive regimes and corporations, and to take away their "social license to operate".

Despite not being active in the Palestinian and anti-militarist movements, I feel connected to different struggles from the shared use of a powerful tool, and many within the climate movement felt that any bans – even if not directly referencing the climate movement – could set a dangerous precedent, and undermine people power and local democracy. So in response, campaigners from the BDS, anti-militarist and the climate movements joined forces to push back on the Tories' proposals. We are also, together, challenging the rule changes regarding procurement and boycott although, currently, boycott is not a tool used as widely as divestment within the climate movement.

For the consultations that ended on 19 February, we created a multi-organisation e-petition that gathered over 20,000 signatures. We then launched an open letter for local councillors to sign opposing these policies, and are currently strategising for future legal action. Ties between the climate and anti-militarist movements already exist - several amazing individuals take direct action on both climate and anti-militarist issues, and Campaign Against the Arms Trade "Arms to Renewables" campaign and the "Wind not Weapons" day of action at DSEI (the world's largest arms fair) in 2015 are some inspiring examples of recent inter-movement work. The perhaps unintended consequences of the very frightening Tory proposals has been the further strengthening of these ties.

Solidarity and inter-movement work is important because the struggles of climate and anti-militarist campaigners are irrevocably interlinked. Although climate change is technically caused by the excessive concentration of greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the earth's atmosphere and the parallel degradation of our planet's natural environment and capacity to self-repair, it is, more fundamentally, a product of a global society that organizes along the exploitative principles of a military-industrial complex.

The political class (i.e. the State, the military and their corporate buddies) are not just implicated in climate change because of how much GHG they emit into the atmosphere but because they are creators and guardians of violent structures that systematically protect the interests of the global elite at the expense of the majority of the world's populations. Excessive concentration of GHG and environmental degradation are simply by-products of this structural exploitation. The political class gets away with climate and humanitarian crimes by playing on the general anxiety that permeates capitalist and military-industrial societies. This point is made by the book *The Secure and the Dispossessed*, which exposes the myths behind dominant narratives of "energy security", "water security", "food security", and "resource security". The lights are not about to go out but such a narrative allows the political class to justify fracking, water privatisation, genetically modified industrial agriculture, militarised borders, and similar policies in the name of climate action even though such policies breed insecurity, fear and drive climate change.

What we truly need for effective climate action is democracy, justice, solidarity, peace building and generosity. Decarbonisation of our energy and economic systems is – obviously – critical, but not sufficient in our quest to realise a low carbon world. Democracy is key because corporate control of resources has been a key driver of climate change; justice is key because different communities world over have been impacted differently; solidarity is key because our struggles are interlinked; and peace building and generosity are key because violence is a driver of insecurity which in turn leads to and exacerbates climate and humanitarian crimes. I take heart from Rebecca Solnit's *Paradise Built in Hell*, an investigation of disaster communities that reveals that while the State invariably responds with fear - "elite panic" - and the military, ordinary people respond to disasters, including extreme weather events, with purposefulness and fellowship.

Effective climate actions are those solutions that address root causes of injustice and thwart the dominant narratives of "security". There is a strong element in the fossil free divestment movement that incorporates justice and

democracy: campaigners advocate that divested funds should be reinvested into the local economy in a manner that has clear social and environmental benefits and that ordinary people should be able to meaningfully participate in shaping reinvestment decisions. At its most transformative, divest/reinvest proposes transferring wealth to community renewable energy, good quality affordable housing, free education, free childcare, universal healthcare, a fair and just energy system, a decent welfare system so that no one lives in anxiety and other social ends⁵. Campaigners are working out how to support impacted communities in the Global South through divest/reinvest, and closer to home, environmental justice campaigns such as 'Switched on London', which is calling the Greater London Authority⁶ to set up a 100% people owned energy supply company, are creating positive democratic and low carbon solutions for reinvestment.

The response to the recent Tory attacks on divestment and boycott has shown that many climate and anti-militarist campaigners share a common understanding and a feeling of fellowship. Our work now is to continue this direction of travel in whatever way we can. By doing this we effectively join the dots between the climate crisis and the military-industrial complex and meaningfully recognise of our struggles – and our solutions - are interlinked.



Converging on conversion

Photo: Activists in the UK take part in a demonstration against the replacement of the Trident nuclear weapons system.

MILAN RAI

One thing that the climate and disarmament movements can learn from each other about, and co-operate with each other on, is in the area of solutions. If both movements are successful, that means we are moving towards demilitarised, decarbonised economies. We are going to transform the energy and industrial sectors of our economies, a bigger issue in countries like Britain, France and the US which have high emissions and high military spending.

In the climate movement, it's common to talk about a 'Just Transition' to a low-carbon economy. In 2008, the British trade union congress (TUC), the national federation of trade unions, defined a Just Transition as one that wins public support for desperately-needed environmental policies by ensuring 'a fair distribution of the costs and benefits of those policies across the economy', and by involving those affected by the changes in making the economic plans. Part of a Just Transition is a 'national framework or mechanism to ensure long-term planning and representative decision making on environmental transition'.

The TUC emphasised that 'Just Transition measures are needed to

ensure that job loss as a result of environmental transition is minimised and that change within sectors does not occur at the expense of decent work and decent terms and conditions'. They also pointed out that a 'Just Transition strategy is also required to ensure that environmental initiatives not necessarily related to employment – for example, green taxes – do not impact on lower income groups'.

There are moral responsibilities here, and also strategic issues. If this kind of provision is not made for workers in high-carbon industries, they and their families, the communities they live in, and the unions who represent them, are likely to resist and slow down the transition to a low-carbon economy.

Nuclear Conversion

There's a connection here to something that's important for the nuclear disarmament movement. For example, there are moral issues and strategic questions around the effect on jobs if the British government decides not to replace Trident with a similar submarine-launched ballistic missile system. This 'Main Gate' decision on 'like-for-like' replacement will be made in 2016.

The Nuclear Education Trust carried out a review in 2012 of alternatives for

Barrow-in-Furness, where nearly 5,000 people are employed building Britain's military submarines. Two of their four recommendations were:

'1. The Government should make a clear and binding statement of its responsibility to Barrow (as well as any other towns exceptionally dependent on military contracts) in the event that military procurement decisions are changed.

'2. In the event of a decision to proceed with an option other than a like for like replacement and which means a step down in employment, the Government must provide immediate, sustained and considerable support, which should include for instance regeneration funding at the level of £100 million for every 1,000 jobs lost to the local economy.'

This is pointing in the direction of a peace movement equivalent to the TUC's Just Transition concept, a Just Transition away from military production towards socially-useful production.

The major thinker on the conversion of military industry to civilian production was Seymour Melman of Columbia University, New York. Melman once observed that the US had an arms control and disarmament agency in Washington that did not include 'one single person directed to think about problems of how to formulate, negotiate, or implement a reversal of an arms race'. He added:

'Indeed the idea of reversing the arms race as a way of improving security is virtually wiped out from public discussion. The press doesn't talk about it. The journals of opinion don't talk about it. The universities don't talk about it. And worst of all, in my view, the peace organizations don't talk about it. As long as peace organizations don't take up the reversal of the arms race and the parallel problems of what to do with the state capitalist controlled economy of the arms race, then the peace organizations are participating in a type of charade. A lot of talk about peace, but what is peace? In our time, peace is not simply the momentary absence of war. Because of the sustained operation of war planning, war preparation, peace has to mean diminishing the decision power of the war-making institutions. If that is set in motion then we are moving in a peaceful way.'

Melman emphasised the need to empower working people in the process of conversion. The legislation that he supported laid down that, in every military factory, laboratory or base employing at least 100 people, an 'Alternative Use Committee' should be set up of at least eight people, 'with equal representation of the facility's management and labor'. Melman wrote: 'The firsthand knowledge of defense establishment employees is essential for conversion. Thus, conversion must be done locally; no remote central office can possess the necessary knowledge of people, facilities, and surroundings.'

So there would be national legislation supporting economic conversion planning, and there would be decentralised action at military facilities themselves. There is a clear parallel here with the German experience with renewable energy, that Naomi Klein invokes in her book, *This Changes Everything*:

'The solution is most emphatically not energy nationalization on existing models. The big publicly owned oil companies... are just as voracious in pursuing high-end pools of carbon as their

private sector counterparts.... A better model would be a new kind of utility – run democratically, by the communities that use them, as co-ops or as a "commons", as author and activist David Bollier and others have outlined. This kind of structure would enable citizens to demand far more from their energy companies than they are able to now.... The transition [to renewable power in Germany] has occurred, first of all, within the context of a sweeping, national feed-in tariff program that includes a mix of incentives designed to ensure that anyone who wants to get into renewable power generation can do so.... This has encouraged small, noncorporate players to become renewable energy providers – farms, municipalities, and hundreds of newly formed co-ops. That has decentralized not just electrical power, but also political power and wealth.'

The German renewable revolution created nearly 400,000 jobs as the share of renewable power in electricity generation went from 6% in 2000 to nearly 25% in 2013.

Another aspect of Melman's work that might be relevant to climate policy is that his favoured conversion legislation also created 'a national commission directed to encourage capital investment planning by cities, counties, states and the federal government in all areas of infrastructure – the network of facilities and services that are the underpinnings of a modern industrial society'.

We can see how these kinds of ideas on the disarmament side are converging with recommendations in the Just Transition tradition on the climate side of things. There is much more that can be explored here – and that must be explored if we are serious about winning changes on either civilisational challenge that we face.



This land does not belong to us

Photo: EcoMe, an environmental project in the West Bank. Credit: EcoMe website

ARNI

"This land does not belong to us. We belong to this land". This quote is from an interview with Hadassah Froman, in relation to her late husband – Rabbi Menachem Froman of the settlement¹ of Tekoa next to Bethlehem in the West Bank.

My name is Arni. I was born in Israel and so were my parents. My grandparents immigrated here from eastern Europe in the 1930's when the Nazi regime gained power in Germany. For more than five years, I served in the Israeli air force as an intelligence officer. After travelling the world and opening up to new ideas and world views, I decided to commit myself to bringing peace - both inner and outer. Specifically in Israel - Palestine. This of course led to me to leave my military unit as a reserve officer, and to start researching the social and environmental issues that are at the root of most wars.

For the last year and a half I have been part of a grass-root project called "EcoMe" which is short for "Ecological Middle- East". The project is located next to Jericho in the West Bank, specifically so that Palestinians can have access to it,

since they need special permits to enter the Israeli side of the wall. The project tries to bring together Palestinians, Israelis and internationals to meet and do 'peace work' with relation to the land – the connection of all of us to mother earth, and more specifically to the piece of land some call Palestine, and others call Israel, and all of us see it as our home.

The project was established on December 15th 2010, as five professionals from the fields of environmental and outdoor education, ecological architecture, permaculture, renewable energy and inter-cultural group facilitation committed to launching the project EcoME Centre.

EcoME is an intercultural living experiment, devoted to gathering and sharing peace knowledge, exploring sustainable ways of living environmentally, socially and spiritually. It is a place in which we wish to explore living in a holistic way, approaching peace work from multiple levels.

There are about ten friends living there currently - men and women, and sometimes children, Israeli, Palestinian, German, Swedish and Kenyan, in addition to 5-10 changing volunteers from all

over the world. We offer workshops, trainings, gatherings, desert trips and community processes that bring together Palestinians, Israelis and internationals. Our workshops include: Non-Violent communication, language immersion intensive courses, Yoga and other body-mind practice, permaculture, arts and more.

I decided to open with the quote of Rabbi Forman because I think that one of the most profound ideas that this project wishes to bring is that the land does not belong to us. Not to the Israelis, nor to the Palestinians. Not even to human beings. The land was here before us, and will stay here billions of years after we are gone. The most important question is what we do with it while we are here? Are we fighting over the resources and trying to gain as much control to "our" people, or are we trying to take care of her, heal her, to harmonise with her and all the other living being that are dwelling with us on this land.

It is possible to see some of these values in the rules we decided to have in Ecome. Few simple rules which are meant to create as much inclusiveness to most of the people and animals living around us. The rules are:

1. Ecome is an alcohol and drug free space
2. Weapons are forbidden
3. The kitchen is vegetarian; do not bring any kind of meat
4. Please be aware of the cultural differences and be sensitive to it with your clothes and with touching other people.

These rules are meant to create inclusiveness, although in some sense they are excluding different people and cultures of course. It is important to understand the Muslim and Jewish traditional culture so that you can relate to it.

The 'no weapon' rule is a very strong rule at our place, and it is meant to create some kind of equality between the people. Since the Israeli Jews are highly armed society, while for Palestinians it is forbidden and dangerous to carry guns or even knives, we try with this rule to eliminate some of the inequality created through military force around us. It does not make sense that an Israeli and a Palestinian will have a Non-Violent Communication course together, while one of them is carrying a gun. Of course it does not eliminate the asymmetrical use of weapons between Israelis and Palestinians in general, but it does address the asymmetry in this context.

The other rule which we can learn from is of the "no meat" policy. Palestinian and Israeli mainstream societies are regular meat consumers. For us to say that meat is not permitted in Ecome is somewhat strange for many people. When they ask why, we explain the holistic view of peace work, as well as other reasons such as Kosher and Halal problems concerning meat, and also the environmental impact of meat production and consumption.

The lack of water that many Palestinians are experiencing (due to political reasons) cannot be disconnected from the fact that the production of 1 kilo of cow meat consumes about 15,000 litres of water. If we want to create a reality in which the resources are enough for everyone, we cannot continue consuming in such irresponsible manner and we must be aware of the consequences of our actions.

It is very hard to convince people of these ideas whilst around

us the military is continuing to control the people, the combat jets are roaring above us, and the religions and food corporations are asking us to continue consuming meat.

Yesterday when I was giving a tour around Ecome to a Palestinian man he shouted at me – "how can you talk about being vegetarian and not to kill the chickens, when outside of here your soldiers are killing us?" I looked at him with compassion and thought he was right. And at the same time I thought to myself, that as long as we use force to control and kill animals just because they are weaker and innocent, we will probably continue to do it to each other.

To turn a militarised society into a more peaceful and non-violent society might take many more decades. In the meantime we can use the gifts of the earth, and our connection to her, to remind us that we should not fight over the land, but work together to renew her and share fairly the abundance we have. In Ecome we try to implement this approach with success to some extent, in the hope that other places and projects will connect to the same ideas, and promote a radical change in our social and environmental reality.

I will finish with another quote, this time from a priest: "We must learn to live together as brothers, or perish together as fools" – Martin Luther king Jr.



Mining, gender and militarism in Africa

Photo: WoMin Southern African women and coal exchange. Credit: Heidi Augestad

SAMANTHA HARGREAVES

Samantha Hargreaves from WoMin - an African gender and extractives alliance - speaks to Andrew Dey from WRI about the links between gender, extractive industries and militarism in Africa, and what this new network is doing to counter it.

Tell us about your work – what is Womin, when did you form, and who makes up your network? What are the critical issues you are working on?

Samantha: WoMin was launched in October 2013. We work with about 50 allied organisations in fourteen countries across Southern, East and West Africa. Most partners are working on issues of land, natural resources, extractive industries, environmental and climate justice and women's rights. Our work with women rights organisations has generally been challenged by their focus to more 'traditional' gender issues like violence against women, women and girl child education and health, with a small number working on the terrain of environment, land and other economic justice questions.

WoMin has a secretariat based in South

Africa and a governing body representing all of the sub-regions we work in. Linking extractive industries, environmental and climate change and women's rights is quite ground-breaking; in 2013 we found no organisations working directly on these intersections in Africa, and very few working on the same at the national level. WoMin is therefore filling an important political gap – we support women's movement building which brings in an important economic and environmental perspective and we promote proposals addressing the developmental changes needed from a combined African, feminist, economic and eco/climate justice perspective.

You work specifically on extractivist projects; could you describe the links between extractivist projects, gender, and militarisation or violence?

Resource extraction is a deeply violent and brutal process - it dispossess people of their land and forests; it pollutes water, air and soil; and artisanal miners¹ and industrial workers endure dangerous, violent working conditions. As WoMin our analysis and response addresses the gendered dimensions of this structural violence. We have been writing and starting to organise around the militarisation and securitisation of

extractives impacted communities and regions, and pointing to how this process impacts women's bodies and lives.

In South Africa, Bazooka Rhadebe - a key activist against titanium mining in Xolobeni in the Eastern Cape was assassinated in March 2016. Next week WoMin will be returning to the Somkhele and Fuleni communities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa who are fighting coal mining and where there has been intimidation, serious assault and death threats against anti-mining activists.

In Tanzania, a Chinese sponsored gas pipeline which runs from the South of the country to Dar es Salaam for onward shipping was the subject of protest in 2013 by local citizens who were carrying the costs of land displacements, but were not benefiting from the gas extraction. In May 2013, in response to local riots, the Tanzanian government dispatched the military to Mtwara town and the environs to quell the resistance. The military killed at least four protesters, injured hundreds more, and abducted leading activists into a local military barracks when they were beaten and tortured. In addition, at least one woman was raped by a soldier in Msimbati Village during this period of unrest.

In Uganda the oil fields are heavily militarised, with the military working in tandem with mine security to control the movement and activity of local communities. Women there, who have traditionally gathered wood, foods and medicinal plants from the fields and forests in the surroundings, are now subject to regular sexual harassment and invasive strip and search activities as they carry on their livelihood activities.

In Zimbabwe, in the Marange diamond fields, more than 200 women artisanal miners and residents were subject to gang rapes during a 2008 military operation, which cleared a path for the military to assume control. More than 200 miners were killed by the military during these operations. In 2011, the BBC exposed a torture camp where miners and community residents were tortured and sexual abuse of women was widespread.

Militarisation and securitisation sit hand in glove with the extractive industries, which stand to profit from their political connections to elected politicians, the military and the national elite. Militarisation and securitisation foment deeply entrenched violence against workers, violence in communities, and violence against women. Violence is intrinsic to and inseparable from the extractives industries and extractivism as a development model. There is a significant concentration of men in these industries, who have migrated from their communities and are freed from the social and cultural constraints on their behaviour and interpersonal relations contributing to high levels of interpersonal violence and violence against women. Workers – men and women – work in difficult and often life threatening conditions. In addition, in the artisanal mining sector, workers and women especially, work with extremely dangerous chemicals, such as mercury. With the entry of mining and its associated displacements, women lose the resources they rely on for livelihoods and farming, rendering them further vulnerable to violence.

What are WoMin's plans for the future?

At a regional meeting in the Niger Delta, Nigeria in October 2015, WoMin resolved to build an African women-led grassroots driven campaign on fossil fuels, energy and climate justice. We are building the campaign in four countries; South Africa, Nigeria, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This campaign is attempting something quite ground-breaking - it is

aiming for a model of campaigning which is built from below, supports women's organising and movement-building, and adheres to eco-feminist principles. It also aims to intersect or converge struggles for women's rights, environmental and climate justice, land and natural resources, and energy.

Our other areas of work are extractivism, militarisation and violence against women, and consent and developmental alternatives. Alternatives need to emerge from communities, and women specifically, and their lived developmental practices and aspirations. The majority of communities in Africa rely on land and water and forests for their livelihoods. They need the state to be prioritising investments in local infrastructure, such as irrigation, markets, roads etc. which support food production, beneficiation and associated livelihoods. Instead our states are putting significant public funds into big dams, energy infrastructure, roads and ports which benefit big corporates instead of local peoples.

Communities know what they want and need in support of development defined on their own terms. For example, in Fuleni in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa people there are fighting a proposed coal mine. The mine is being pursued in the context of a significant drought, now running over many years, which has destroyed local food production and impoverished local people. This drought is linked to El Niño and climate change, with fossil fuels being the major contributor to carbon emissions causing climate change. Instead of providing support to these communities to adapt to the drought, to provide water and livelihood alternatives, the state is actively pursuing a coal mine which will require vast amounts of water which they plan to 'import' to the area. The majority of the community is saying 'no' to mining and 'yes' to agro ecology and livestock production. But the South African government is not listening, and overriding local needs and indeed national development interests to satisfy the demands of politically connected corporations – in this instance Glencore and BHP Billiton – with rumoured links to the Zuma family.

In the context of societies facing multiple crises of climate change, unemployment and failed livelihoods, and rising food prices, we need governments with a visionary development agenda. Instead, we have governments caught up in the idea that development equals increased foreign investment and rising Gross Domestic Product (GDP). We're being encumbered by governments putting investment into mega highways, industrial rail, grand water projects and ports, which aren't investments in people and society – and the public pay for it! Governments are moving resources to the military and diverting budgets to service debt for infrastructures that benefit the corporates. And it is peasant and working class women across Africa who – because of the division of labour – are paying for an absent state and carrying the costs of externalised environmental and social devastation accompanying extractives and mega infrastructure investments.

Notes

1 Artisanal mining is informal, and often 'illegal', usually carried out by the rural poor to supplement subsistence farming activity, and typically performed using fairly rudimentary methods and tools.

2 Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma has been the since 2009. He is also the President of the ruling party, the (ANC).

