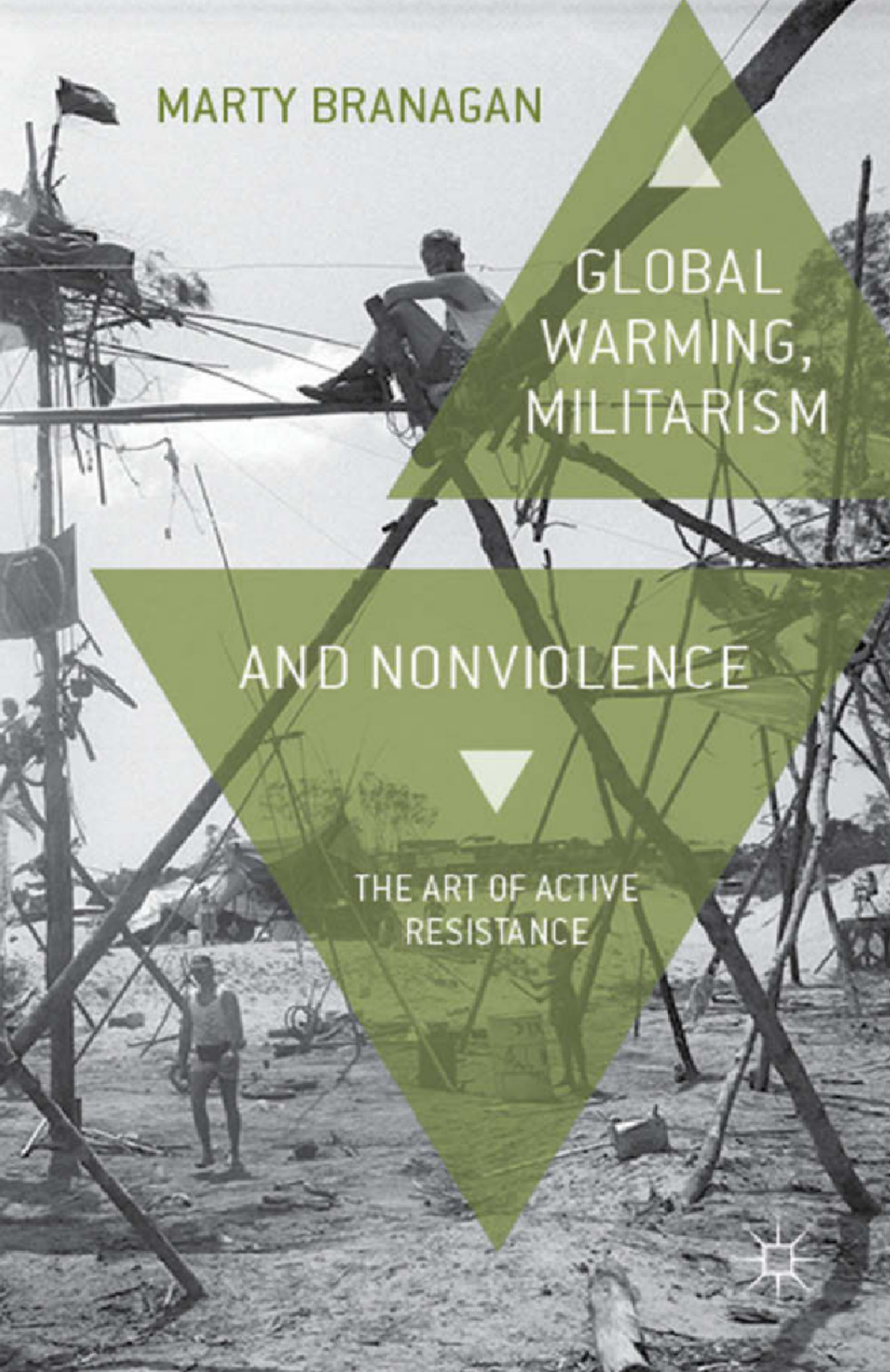
MARTY BRANAGAN
GLOBAL WARMING, MILITARISM
AND NONVIOLENCE
THE ART OF ACTIVE RESISTANCE

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The Art of Active Resistance

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Dedicated to

Belinda, Francesca, Emily and Ronan

Gillian and David Branagan

My comrades who have locked-on to the Pearly Gates: Shane, Natalie, Hans, Cedar, Jarrah from the South East Forest Alliance, Jenny Ryde, Diane Ingram, Owen Howlett, Chris Robinson and Andy Frame

Ongoing struggles of the Kokatha, Penan, Goolarabooloo, Mirrar and nonviolent activists everywhere

Holy Grail

Woke up this morning from the strangest dream
I was in the biggest army the world has ever seen
We were marching as one
On the road to the Holy Grail

Started out seeking fortune and glory
It's a short song but it's a hell of a story
When you spend your lifetime trying to get your hands
On the Holy Grail

But have you heard about the great crusade?
We ran into millions, but nobody got paid
Yeah we raised four corners of the globe
For the Holy Grail

All the locals scattered, they were hiding in the snow
We were so far from home, so how were we to know?
There'd be nothing left to plunder
When we stumble on the Holy Grail

We were full of beans
But we were dying like flies
And those big black birds, they were circling in the sky
And you know what they say, yeah, nobody deserves to die

You know I, I've been searching for an easy way
To escape the cold light of day
I've been high and I've been low
But I've got nowhere else to go

There's nowhere else to go

I've followed orders
God knows where I've been
But I woke up alone
All my wounds were clean
I'm still here
I'm still a fool for the Holy Grail

Oh yeah I'm a fool for the Holy Grail

(Mark Seymour, *Hunters and Collectors*, 1992)

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Foreword

As a lifelong peace activist, it is encouraging to see the two most significant campaigns to save our planet and its peoples from annihilation coming together. The efforts of anti-war campaigners and the work of environmental activists both seek to save humanity's future but too often they are viewed as disparate. Marty Branagan's book brings them together in an important fusion.

The greatest threat to the Earth's environment and to human and planetary survival is the possibility of nuclear war, added to significantly by the spread of weapons to outer space, and constant armaments testing, production and stockpiling, all of which contribute to global warming.

Fundamental change is needed to meet the global environmental threats. Fundamental change means economic and social change, and a new politics built on the new economic base. This requires a new kind of government, one which is made up of representatives of the people, a government prepared to challenge the power of the monopolies in the interests of the people and the environment.

We have perhaps two decades to address the crisis of climate change and to prevent catastrophe. What humanity does now will determine the future of planet Earth. Difficult political and social choices will have to be made. Who will make those choices, and how? Will people be the victims of change or will we fight and win changes which will benefit us and our children?

Marty Branagan's persuasive book addresses these issues, arguing that the military-industrial complex is a major (but largely unrecognised) polluter of the Earth and that a long-term solution to global warming requires the rapid scaling down of the militarism that permeates societies around the world. It presents a compelling case that a viable alternative to militarism is nonviolent conflict resolution, 'active resistance' and 'artistic activism'.

This book deals with confronting issues, and is invaluable in the way it combines rigorous analysis with detailed examination of historical and current praxis and, importantly, offers solutions. Dr Branagan provides us with a brief history of how nonviolence has been successful against even the most ruthless of regimes and examines why it has rarely been given credit for this. He destroys the myth that nonviolence is a weak option or that it only works against 'civilised opponents', arguing that the British Raj, for example, was a formidable opponent for Mahatma Gandhi.

He makes an interesting contribution to debates about the value of nonviolence when he argues that it is fundamentally more revolutionary than violence, confronting criticisms by some on the Left that it is a middle-class

option. Nonviolence, Dr Branagan argues, aims not just for the physical removal of an unpopular government, for example, but also for deep-seated societal change on many levels.

There are intriguing sections in this book including, for example, his examination of some extraordinary women who have been at the forefront of social change. An original perspective is offered with the examination of 'artistic activism', the significance of the arts and humour in nonviolent social change. He argues that the importance of artistic activism in reaching large audiences cannot be underestimated. He also examines the new directions this artistic activism is taking (for example, via the internet). Art forms such as street theatre, music and banners are used widely by activists but this use is rarely examined rigorously by theorists. Dr Branagan argues, however, that these art forms inspire and assist civil disobedience, fortify its participants, create solidarity and multiple foci of protest, prevent violence, attract media attention and educate audiences on a variety of levels – emotional and physical as well as intellectual.

Taking its dialectic between analysis and activism further, the book concludes with a call to action against militarism, providing a valuable guide to planning campaigns and engaging in nonviolence, using a diversified strategy of grassroots action.

Global Warming, Militarism and Nonviolence is a valuable work which identifies the military-industrial complex as a major polluter of our planet and analyses the fundamental link between militarism and climate change.

Dr Hannah Middleton
Spokesperson, Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition
Australian representative on the Board of the
Global Network Against Weapons in Space
Former Executive Officer, Sydney Peace Foundation, University of Sydney
Former Mayor of Greenwich, UK

Preface

In 1983 I became involved in one of the world's largest nonviolent blockades, at the Franklin River in Tasmania, Australia. This extraordinary event turned my world view upside-down, opening my eyes to environmentalism, politics and nonviolence, and their inter-related nature.

With the world also faced with nuclear annihilation through the Cold War's 'Mutually Assured Destruction' (MAD) philosophy, the slogan 'Protest and Survive' seemed particularly apt. I attended many more environmental and peace actions, becoming involved in street theatre and music. I joined a small network of 'professional protesters' (a misnomer because we were never paid – even by 'the communists'!) that travelled to blockades around Australia, and occasionally overseas. In-between, I learned permaculture on intentional communities, worked different jobs, and did radio programmes on student and community stations.

This was a poverty-stricken and emotionally difficult life, so I began a career in visual arts. But this is a long process, especially for activist-themed, rural-based art, so, with the new responsibilities of parenthood, I also commenced a PhD in the relatively new discipline of Peace Studies. I considered that my protesting experiences constituted emic (insider) research, and that, despite its limitations and biases, participant-observation gave unique perspectives that could rarely be gained by movement outsiders. Reflecting on two decades of activism, I tried to ascertain how nonviolence had succeeded or failed, how it had evolved, and what had been the role of the arts in social change.

I had first considered the links between peace and environmentalism at anti-nuclear blockades. Later, helping create a Master of Environmental Advocacy degree at the University of New England inspired me to further examine these links. The social, economic and cultural impacts of militarism are well documented, but the environmental effects have largely been neglected.

In a world with so much fear, perceptions of disempowerment, and pessimism, I wanted to write something positive and widely accessible. So this book is not so much about the problems of global warming and militarism, as *what to do about them*. It is about nonviolent, creative responses to a global crisis of unprecedented proportions. It is about how to resist, in a holistic way, the whole array of violence we face – military, ecological, structural and cultural violence – with innovative activism and alternative forms of living as a planetary community.

While nonviolence and artistic activism are examined in depth, space limitations mean that issues such as global warming, militarism, and violence,

on which there is a plethora of scientific, anthropological, psychological, and sociological literature, are given as broadbrush overviews, as are the 'constructive programme' suggestions in the final chapter. For these issues I have provided multiple references to publications that shed more light on them.

The first chapter is unashamedly 'alarmist', facing the reality of global warming and related biodiversity and peak oil crises. It takes a new tack, however, by exposing militarism as the elephant – or rather tank, fighter plane and destroyer – in the room of global warming.

It describes the extent and influence of the military-industrial complex, so powerful that its massive carbon 'bootprint' and environmental destruction is largely above scrutiny and regulation.

The huge proportion of taxpayer money that supports militarism is not available for environmental, education, health or social programmes. Addressing global warming means reducing militarism drastically and quickly.

The good news is that militarism is not essential. The rest of the book offers nonviolence as a viable alternative to militarism, showing that the peace-building efforts of millions around the world are having an effect. It exposes some of the misconceptions surrounding nonviolence, showing that there is a significant gap between public perceptions of nonviolence and the reality of what it can achieve. It demonstrates that it can be effective in a range of situations, including against formidable opponents, and that it has a proven ability to remove dictators and oppressive regimes, resist environmental damage, police human rights and aid democratisation movements.

The book also shows that, far from being a doctrine set in stone by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr, nonviolence is an evolving praxis with numerous new developments. These include the tactical innovations of 'active resistance', 'internetworking', and 'artistic activism', all of which make nonviolence more effective than ever. The evolution of these is described through Australian case studies of environmental, peace and social justice campaigns, told from an emic perspective and involving the words of activists and this author's writings at the time, to impart some of the colour, intensity and *zeitgeist* of the actions. The book then explores recent international developments such as the Zapatista, Global Justice, Arab Spring and Occupy movements, demonstrating the importance of emerging information and communication technologies. It concludes with suggestions about developing nonviolent campaigns and grassroots resistance to global warming – things that ordinary citizens such as you and I can do. I hope you will find the exploration of nonviolence as inspirational as I have.

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List of Acronyms

AABCC	Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACF	Australian Conservation Foundation
AIDEX	Australian International Defence Equipment Exhibition
ALEC	Arid Lands Environment Centre
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANC	African National Congress
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
BUGA UP	Billboard-Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Products
CANC	Cycle Against the Nuclear Cycle
CANVAS	Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies
CBD	Central Business District
CEACC	Canadians for Emergency Action on Climate Change
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNFA	Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
DCs	Developed Countries
DECCW	Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water
DOT	Diversity of Tactics
ERA	Energy Resources of Australia
EU	European Union
EZLN	Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista Army of National Liberation)
FCNSW	Forestry Commission of New South Wales
FiBL	Forschungsinstitut für biologischen Landbau (Research Institute of Organic Agriculture)
FoE	Friends of the Earth
FRB	Franklin River Blockade
GAC	Gundjhemi Aboriginal Corporation
GE	General Electric
GHGs	Greenhouse Gases
GLW	Green Left Weekly
GM	Genetically Modified
IAD	Institute for Aboriginal Development
ICNC	International Center for Nonviolent Conflict
ICT	Information and Communication technologies
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel into Climate Change
JAG	Jabiluka Action Group
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
MAPW	Medical Association for the Prevention of War
MIMEC	Military-industrial, media and entertainment complex
Milex	Military expenditure
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MP	Member of Parliament
NAFI	National Association of Forest Industries
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAG	Nomadic Action Group
NEFA	North East Forest Alliance
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	Non-government Organisation
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
NVA	Non Violent Action
PJSA	Peace and Justice Studies Association
PM	Prime Minister
RAAF	Renegade Activist Action Force
RAG	Rainforest Action Group
RAN	Rainforest Action Network
R&D	Research and Development
RIC	Rainforest Information Centre
SA	South Australia
SAC	Stop AIDEX Campaign
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
SCCC	Southern Cross Climate Coalition
SEFA	South East Forest Alliance
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
SU	Sydney University
TWS	Tasmanian Wilderness Society
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WA	Western Australia
WCCAG	Wild Cattle Creek Action Group
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

1
Introduction: Global Warming and Militarism

Global warming[1] is a huge and complex issue, and part of a wider environmental crisis, which includes an unprecedented loss of biodiversity. Linked to the carbon dioxide (CO_2) created by burning fossil fuels – one of the main causes of global warming – is the issue of peak oil, where declining availability of oil will have major impacts on most nations. This chapter will give a brief overview of these issues. Its major focus, however, is on militarism's enormous but rarely-discussed contribution to these environmental and resource depletion crises. It will examine how militarism is exempt from most environmental scrutiny, and diverts resources away from addressing environmental issues. We also take a look at the military-industrial complex, the interconnected web of industries and governments that profits from and promotes militarism.

Global Environmental Crisis

The consensus of the international scientific community is that the world is warming. Greenhouse gases, a natural constituent of the atmosphere, are essential for maintaining habitable conditions on earth. However, the levels of these gases need to be finely balanced; too little or too much and overall global temperature may be significantly affected.[2] Global warming refers to the effects generated by rising levels of greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the Earth's atmosphere (the 'greenhouse effect'), trapping heat from solar radiation within the atmosphere and leading to increases in average global surface temperatures.[3] The initiation of numerous feedback loops, difficult to predict, escalates the problem.[4] Global warming is not, as is often stated, just a threat but a current reality; the decade from 2000–2009 was the warmest on record,[5] and average global temperatures are likely to increase by 2–4 degrees over the next 100 years, although significantly greater increases are a possibility.[6]

The evidence for global warming is overwhelming. In fact, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the international body

appointed to investigate the phenomenon, has been overly cautious, probably because of a barrage of pressure from vested interests and political conservatives. It has significantly underestimated, for example, the likely extent of sea level rise in the 21st century. Despite controversy over the rate of glacial melting,[7] the best evidence is that the rate is accelerating.[8] The East Antarctic ice sheet, previously believed to be stable, has now begun to melt on its coastal fringes. The West Antarctic ice sheet continues to melt rapidly.[9] Over the last seven years, sharply rising temperatures in the Arctic have caused a rapid increase in the amount of methane being emitted from melting permafrost, adding further to global warming.[10] In Canada's James Bay region, the limit of the Arctic permafrost has retreated northwards by 130 kilometres over the last 50 years.[11]

Consequences of Global Warming

Global warming has the potential to significantly impact on life on earth by altering weather patterns and events, environments, sea levels, and the ability of our planet to sustain both plant and animal life.[12] Climate scientists predict severe impacts on humans from even the most conservative of climate change estimates, with the costs of inadequate action growing exponentially.[13]

Global warming of only 1°C may have dangerous consequences (this threshold was previously thought to be 2°C). One study concludes that an average warming of 3–4°C (which means 6–12°C on land), previously thought to be associated with CO_2 concentrations of 500–600 parts per million by volume (ppmv), is now possible with concentrations of only 360–420 ppmv,[14] a range that the February 2012 concentration of 393.53 ppmv[15] is already in, and this is rising at 2 ppmv per annum. A 4°C future would lead to a 40 per cent reduction in rice and maize production, the collapse of many ecosystems and is probably incompatible with an organized global community.[16] This is extremely alarming, not 'alarmist'.

Climate change is recognised by major scientific institutions and world leaders as the 'single most pressing issue facing society on a global basis'.[17] Although some groups choose not to acknowledge this, even the ones who do, see it as something in the future. However, the World Health Organization has estimated that *already* some 150,000 people die each year from the effects of climate change.[18]

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Global Humanitarian Forum estimates 300,000 deaths per year and a cost to the global community of over $125 billion annually. It claims that climate change's 'silent crisis' is seriously affecting hundreds of millions more, and that the effects are growing in such a way that they will have a serious impact on 600 million people, almost 10 per cent of the world's population, within 20 years. Almost all of these will be in developing countries: 'Climate change is the greatest emerging humanitarian challenge of our time… [T]he first hit and

worst affected are the world's poorest groups, and yet they have done least to cause the problem.'[19]

If global warming continues at the current rate, it is likely to drastically impact on human health and survival on a global scale within the next 50–100 years and alter global conditions and weather dramatically.[20] Global warming threatens ecosystems and the communities they support. Death, disease, and the mass displacement of people are consequences of melting ice, rising sea levels and wilder oceans, more acid oceans, temperature extremes and severe storms associated with a warming atmosphere. Heavier rainfall and floods, intensifying droughts, more frequent bushfires and the damage they cause are other outcomes which threaten water supplies, agricultural production, and industries[21] and are already leading to increased political instability and conflict.[22]

Global warming also has geological effects – the melting of ice and snow removes considerable weight from the land, and allows faults contained therein to slide more easily. This appears to be already leading to more frequent earthquakes, such as in Alaska, where some glaciers have lost a kilometre of thickness in the last 100 years. A dramatic increase in landslide activity[23] and volcanic eruptions is also expected, with major consequences. The Eyjafjallajokull volcanic eruption in Iceland brought much of the globe's air traffic to a halt in April 2010, while the megaquake and tsunami which hit Japan and one of its nuclear facilities in 2011 resulted in 15,854 deaths, widespread radioactive contamination and, at around a quarter of a trillion dollars, the biggest natural catastrophe bill ever.[24]

Most national and international plans for emissions reductions are long-term, past the terms of current politicians, and reliant on technological innovation which may never eventuate. Although some important reforms are occurring, these are outweighed by continuing growth of human society. Despite all the political hot air about reductions, global carbon emissions are still rising exponentially, from increases of 2.7 per cent p.a. over the last 100 years, to 3.5 per cent between 2000 and 2007, to 5.6 per cent between 2009 and 2010.[25]

Biodiversity Crisis and Peak Oil

Global warming is just part of a wider global environmental crisis, which involves over-fished oceans, and rivers polluted by toxins such as mercury, radioactive materials and plastics; lands that are affected by salinity, erosion, over-grazing and deforestation; and smog-filled skies.

There is also a biodiversity crisis which has still not reached the levels of publicity of climate change, but is no less alarming. We are living in 'an era of "mass extinction"… a wholesale shift in earth's biota [which] will impoverish the planet for many millions of years to come'.[26] This event will likely be far worse than the 'Great Dying' of 65 million years ago, when the dinosaurs and associated kin died out forever.[27]

A related problem faced by humanity is 'peak oil'. It is more of a resource depletion issue than an environmental one, but may have similar catastrophic consequences for human society if not dealt with well. Peak oil is the midpoint of depletion, when oil production has reached its maximum meaning that even if more oil is discovered and more wells are sunk, there is no greater amount of oil to be found and consequently oil production begins to decline.[28] It means that '[t]he end of abundant, affordable oil is in sight, and the implications are colossal'.[29] Although exact figures are difficult to find because of a 'maze of conflicting information, ambiguous definitions and lax reporting procedures'[30] most producing countries have reached peak oil or will before 2020.[31] Some commentators dispute this, claiming that advanced techniques and new sources will continue to provide cheap fossil fuel energy;[32] others claim these new techniques push prices up, while new sources such as 'tar sands' and coal seam gas involve toxic extraction methods, pollute farmland and water sources, disrupt communities and contribute to global warming.[33] The world's economic systems are heavily dependent on oil, with 86 per cent of world energy supplied by fossil fuels.[34] Peak oil will drive prices up, causing far-reaching effects on financial systems, and the transition to a less oil-dependent economy may be extremely abrupt, given our general levels of unpreparedness.

Causes of Environmental Crises

Whilst some GHGs are released by natural processes, the increase in concentrations of GHGs is mainly due to human activity, *according to 97–98 per cent of climate scientists and every major international and national scientific institution*, with a few neutral exceptions.[35] Carbon dioxide accounts for approximately 77 per cent of global GHG emissions from human sources.[36] Of this, the burning of fossil fuels for energy requirements (oil, coal, and, to a lesser extent, natural gas) is most to blame, followed by land-use change (deforestation, burning of forests, land clearing). Amongst the leftover 23 per cent of human GHG emissions are methane (farm animal operations, rice crop production, landfills), nitrous oxide (nitrogen-based fertilisers, fossil fuel combustion) and hydro-fluorocarbons.[37]

Most pollution, including excessive GHG emissions, is created by multinational corporations (MNCs) and governments[38] through such industries as the oil, coal, aviation, automobile, nuclear, agribusiness, logging and building ones (although the demand for their products and services comes from the masses). But at different levels many other factors can be identified ranging from patriarchy to consumerism to globalised neo-liberal capitalism and its reliance on growth.

We are now suffering the effects that have been building for 250 years since the industrial revolution, which has taken more from the earth than it has put back. There has been a philosophy of seeing natural resources as

something to be taken for free, and the earth, air and seas used as dumping grounds for waste and unwanted by-products. Some point to capitalism as the problem – the desire to accumulate goods with little regard for who and what it exploits, and exacerbated by the rise of globalised neo-liberalism dominated by MNCs with few scruples or allegiances (other than to profit their owners and shareholders), and enormous wealth and influence over global and local politics. This system's reliance on continuous growth, and ever expanding production and markets, appears to have pushed the Earth to its limits, and we are facing some fundamental physical truths: such as that *infinite growth is impossible on a finite planet*.

This follows from basic physics, that 'For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction'. That is, there are consequences of this unprecedented pumping of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere which we all must face.

Capitalism cannot be the only cause, however, for communism in the former USSR had a similar reliance on eternal growth, and a similar disregard for environments. In China there have been great strides towards renewable energy but China's conversion to become the world's factory – the nation that provides enormous amounts of consumer goods – has also led to great pollution, exploitation, and the production of luxury items (often with the same built-in obsolescence of many capitalist goods). In fact, China now seems to be just a producer for capitalism with a strong, centralised state, which many argue is colonialist and extremely repressive, such as for Tibetan, Taiwanese and internal dissidents, and Falun Gong practitioners.[39]

Gender inequality and patriarchy, in addition to other forms of oppression along race, class or sexual orientation lines are also cited as reasons for global imbalance. Others blame rampant consumerism, a 'throw-away' society fed by capitalist propaganda from the advertising and entertainment industries. The globalisation of trade has undeniably made some contributions to peace, and along with technological innovation has led to poverty reduction in some communities. Alvin Toffler, however, has argued that we are suffering from technological industrialisation following its own perverse logic – a 'technocracy out-of-control'.[40]

But is it out of control? The related notion that we live in a chaotic, free market is only partly true: there is a strong concentration of wealth and power in various global centres, such as the wealthier nations, and in particular their elites (the centres of the centres), dominated by a handful of multinational corporations, some of whom are wealthier than countries. Of the 100 largest economies in the world, 51 are corporations and only 49 are countries.[41]

The 'free market' idea presumes a level playing field, with regulation preventing monopolies but minimal governance otherwise, and competition maintaining low prices and efficiency. The reality is more like 'corporate socialism', where MNCs collude in oligopolies, and often get state assistance

to set up businesses, as they will supposedly create employment and have other spin-off benefits, under the 'trickle-down' philosophy espoused by Reaganomics and Thatcherism, where tax breaks and other assistance to wealthy companies will supposedly trickle-down to everyone else. These MNCs get fast-tracked whereas smaller businesses are hampered by red tape. They have departments of accountants to ensure they pay minimal tax.[42] They are diversified and vertically integrated with, for example, former chemical companies such as Monsanto now owning whole slabs of global agribusiness from seeds to table. They are interlinked, own or have ties to media corporations that promote their political and economic viewpoints, and are so wealthy and powerful that governments resist them at their peril. Their interests tend to be represented at an international level by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and international agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement.[43]

Although governments supposedly organise things for the good of all citizens, an alternative view is that proposed in Antonio Gramsci's concept of *hegemony*, where the processes of government and law are largely empty performances designed to draw attention away from their real work, which is to establish the rule of one group and maintain their wealth and privilege. According to this conceptualization, states and their institutions try to maintain popular consent for their authority through a variety of processes that disguise their position of dominance.[44] That is, MNCs and governments often support each other covertly to the detriment of most people and the environment.[45]

The biggest polluters – such as the oil, car and aeroplane industries – have many interests in common and some elements of them have actively worked to support climate denial and inaction (Chapter 6 explores this). Shortly we will examine one element of this tangle of MNCs, the military-industrial complex.

Militarism

Militarism refers to a complex social, cultural and discursive phenomenon responsible for directing people's and organisations' responses towards violent pathways. It encompasses an ancient, continuing tradition of the use of violence for conflict resolution, territorial conquest and defence, shared by many, but not all,[46] nations. Although 'defence' is the rhetoric frequently given for military practices, they are just as often used for neo-colonialism and attempting to secure resources such as oil (see Chapter 2).

Conflict will always be present in societies, and is a sign of healthy difference. Furthermore there will always be instances of violence on a small scale, such as a football field punch-up. This differs from militarism, however, which involves the maintenance of large, permanent, armed forces, trained to use extreme violence against people and objects when ordered to

do so. The fact that targets are usually unknown makes this type of 'direct violence' relatively premeditated and cold-blooded (although the well-publicised side of militarism includes bravery, stoicism and comradeship). Militaries are increasingly involved in humanitarian and disaster relief work, but this is not the core role for which they are trained and equipped.

Militarism is often accompanied by 'cultural violence', which aids this process of violence by dehumanising the 'enemy'. 'Structural violence' – such as inequitable economic systems that kill people through hunger despite there being enough food available – is often supported by military or other state-sponsored violence involving police and jails. Another form of violence identified by Johan Galtung is 'ecological violence', where, for example, rapacious industries or armed conflict damage ecosystems.[47]

Militarism, violence and the relationship between them are enormous topics well-covered by, for example, Vivienne Jabri's *Discourses on Violence*;[48] she echoes David Apter in her persuasive case for the value of analysis of the discursive structuralisation of war, while David Campbell's *Writing Security* describes how danger and difference are selectively interpreted in US foreign policy.[49] Militarism is embedded in daily practices of peacetime, through pervasive hegemonic discourses and hidden power structures which play a role in constituting our personal and cultural selves to accept militarism, and which underpin many social and cultural notions and practices (such as patriotism, identity, morality, and perceptions of 'the other'). Violence is at the root of even democratic states,[50] and includes war toys,[51] camouflage clothes, and entertainment violence, the latter perfectly encapsulated by a Michael Leunig cartoon in which a woman seated before a large television, holding a remote and a take-away pizza, asks her partner, 'What violence do you want? Sporting, military, or random-psychotic?'

This book mainly examines nonviolence (which is much more than the opposite of violence – the term *satyagraha* or 'truth force' is more appropriate but lesser-known), and how it has developed in a variety of directions. However, it's worth noting Roland Bleiker's argument that seemingly-undirected discursive shifts in societies have been responsible for the nonviolent demise of many 20th century political leviathans such as East Germany: dissent is not just 'mass uprisings and other heroic acts of defiance … [but is] located in countless non-heroic practices that make up the realm of the everyday and its multiple connections with contemporary global life'.[52] The last two chapters deal with cultural challenges to militaristic or anti-sustainability discourses.

The Military-Industrial Complex

The military-industrial complex is a physical manifestation of militarism. It involves armies, navies, air forces, and 'military intelligence' agencies – along with the conglomeration of industries which supply them with vehicles,

weapons, munitions, fuel, housing, infrastructure, food and all the other goods and services which armed forces require. It has vested interests in militarism's continuation; it profits from militarism and therefore seeks to promote it or at least ensure that high levels of 'defence' spending continue.

In contrast to militarism, the military-industrial complex is a tangible politico-economic entity with many tentacles. Recently the term has been extended to 'military-industrial, media and entertainment complex' (MIMEC) to more adequately cover its involvement in media and entertainment, which further militarise our cultures.[53] (Others include the term 'finance'.) We return to MIMEC shortly.

Militarism's Impact on the Environment

Much has been written of militarism's impact on human societies and their economies. Rather less has been written on its impact on the environment. Figures for this are unclear, because of the relative secrecy of most military activity, which is exempted from the demands for transparency that most other government agencies face. Its contributions to climate change are also difficult to fathom, for the same reason.

In response to my queries to the Australian Minister of Defence, for example, I was told that although the Australian Defence Force (ADF) reports its domestic electricity, gas and liquid fuel usage annually, '[d]ue to sensitivities regarding … [ADF] operations, Defence is unable to provide detailed information regarding its activities and associated carbon footprint'.[54] Air Chief Marshall Houston had earlier confirmed that the Defence Department's footprint is not measured.[55]

What is clear, however, is that this impact is huge. MIMEC is regarded by numerous authors as the single largest polluter on the planet.[56] Forces from Developed Countries (DCs) produce 'the greatest amount of hazardous waste in the world'[57] and are responsible for the release of more than two-thirds of CFC-113 into the ozone layer.[58] When viewed altogether, 'militarization is the single most ecologically destructive human endeavour'.[59] Even if there are practices which pollute more, militarism is the highest *public sector* polluter. Theoretically the public controls this pollution.

This pollution occurs through armed conflict but also through the production and movement of the militaries' juggernauts – battleships, submarines, tanks, trucks, cars and particularly their planes,[60] with the carbon footprint of an F-16 fighter jet 'much greater per mile traveled than motorized ground transport due to the height at which planes fly combined with the mixture of gases and particles they emit'.[61]

Pollution occurs in the production, testing and disposal of weapons and their waste products; housing, feeding and transporting military personnel; and training exercises. Other problems occur through militarisation of oil-producing regions; depletion of nonrenewable resources such as oil to fuel

troop movements; toxic chemical spills and radioactive waste; and diversion of funds from environmental actions to military ones. Most of these aspects are not counted when assessing a country's carbon emissions.[62]

US Military Pollution

Narrowing down the culprits, the US Department of Defense is possibly the largest single institutional polluter in the world,[63] generating five times more toxins than the five largest US chemical companies combined.[64] In 'The Green Zone: The Environmental Costs of Militarism', Barry Sanders states that 'the greatest single assault on the environment, on all of us around the globe, comes from one agency … the Armed Forces of the United States.'[65]

Professor Sanders has been criticised for inaccuracies, but admits that he writes as a layman, and that much of the data required for an accurate analysis is hidden or unavailable; teams of scientists and military experts, investigating transparent militaries, are needed to unearth the truth. However, the overall thrust of his argument remains true, that whatever the exact figures are, militarism is a major polluter.[66]

The US military is far from the *only* cause of military pollution. However, as *the major* military polluter, and one about which there is a reasonable amount of information, it merits particular scrutiny. It is responsible for about 47 per cent of the world's total military expenditure (milex),[67] exceeding most other countries in the world combined.[68] Along with the allies it leads, such as through NATO, it is responsible for almost three-quarters of global milex.[69] Representing itself as 'the leader of the free world', the extraordinary percentage of its budget spent on militarism – 39 per cent, including the cost of past wars[70] – is an example that few countries can afford to follow, or would want to. The US military also belongs to one of the world's wealthiest countries, which should not need to use force to secure resources, and cannot use poverty as an excuse for poor environmental practices. It's difficult to disagree with Sara Flounders' argument that:

> The best way to dramatically clean up the environment is to shut down the Pentagon. What is needed to combat climate change is a thoroughgoing system change.[71]

Many of the arguments raised about the US military are also applicable, in varying degrees, to other militaries. In some cases the intensity of military-related pollution, if not the scale, may be higher in less developed countries (LDCs) due to less and inferior technological apparatus and expertise, poverty, corruption, and more severe weather such as equatorial monsoons.

General Impacts of Militarism on the Environment

As Sue Wareham notes, 'the human and environmental costs of war are so far-reaching that a full examination of them would produce countless volumes'.[72] It has been military practice down the ages for retreating armies to lay waste to enemy territory, from Genghis Khan, to Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, to crop and infrastructure destruction by the Nazis in the Soviet Union, Holland and Norway. Scorched earth tactics were also used by the French in Algeria, the British in Kenya, and the Soviets in Afghanistan; dams were destroyed in Korea by the US, and rice crops severely disrupted.[73]

The environmental costs are often less obvious than the death and destruction that are the immediate consequences of war. Even prior to the industrial revolution, centuries of building ships for war and territorial conquest was a cause of widespread deforestation in Europe.[74] Animals have fared little better, with almost a million horses killed during and after World War I (WWI), many simply to save the victors the trouble of returning them to countries, such as Australia, which had supplied them. Animal testing for military purposes has killed millions more.[75]

Prior to conflicts, frantic stockpiling of supplies, preparation for war, and refugee movements lead to over-exploitation of plant and animal resources, such as Kosovo's stately trees being cut down for firewood. To raise funds to buy military hardware, countries or factions may log rainforests, mine for diamonds, hunt endangered animals (including rhinoceroses and elephants in the Angolan 'civil' war) for meat, or traffic them to buy weapons and uniforms.

Environmental Effects of War

Armed conflicts erode and poison soils, pollute rivers, and destroy crops and infrastructure. Deforestation may be part of military strategy, to remove hiding places from combatants. The massive use of herbicides such as Agent Orange during the Vietnam War[76] resulted in the destruction of more than 800,000 hectares, or 14 per cent of South Vietnam's forests,[77] while bombing left the farming landscape defaced by 2.5 million craters, rendering about a third of Vietnam a wasteland. In all the wars between 1945 and 1982, Vietnam lost over 80 per cent of its forest cover, an important carbon store. This ecological devastation will take generations to repair.[78]

During the Gulf War (1990–1), the US military dropped in just two days 800 Tomahawk cruise missiles – one every four minutes, day and night, for forty-eight hours, or more than one million kilograms of explosives.[79] The bombing of Iraqi industrial plants resulted in large chemical spillages into the top soil of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.[80] Fuel-air bombs, used to clear

minefields, pulverised and decimated all nearby vegetation. Huge quantities of refuse, toxic materials and 170–200 million litres of sewage were left in sandpits by the coalition forces. The 'Gulf War syndrome' experienced by allied troops is partly a by-product of toxic materials such as depleted uranium.[81]

The world's largest oil 'spill' was in Kuwait during that war. It was intentionally caused by retreating Iraqi forces opening valves from wells, pipelines and tankers. Four to eight million barrels of oil poured into the Persian Gulf, killing tens of thousands of birds and damaging 740 kilometres of coastline, in one of the largest incidents of marine environmental pollution in history. 700 well-heads were set on fire and burned in an inferno.[82] After two decades of invasions, occupations and sanctions, the Iraqi Agriculture Ministry estimates that 90 per cent of the land suffers from severe desertification. A former Middle East breadbasket and food exporter, Iraq now imports 80 per cent of its food.[83]

The movement of a single tank can lead to the destruction of 70 shrubs, two river beds, five springs and 20 trees within an area of 50–70 metres. As a result of conflict in the South Caucasus' Nagorno-Karabakh region, and the fires caused by it over the last two decades, around 47 species of plants and 19 species of trees have been driven to extinction.[84] Chemical and biological weapons, such as the mustard gas used in WWI, have had major environmental impacts.

Post-War Effects

Environmental governance, where it exists, often collapses due to political destabilisation. Environmental problems may increase as refugees return and the population tries to rebuild the country's infrastructure. Trying to meet food and energy needs alone may lead to over-exploitation of resources and severely deplete ecosystems. The large quantities of wood required for building purposes may cause extreme deforestation, followed by erosion and rising salinity.

Land mines and cluster bombs spread over wide areas of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East continue to spread death and destruction long after wars have ceased, killing and maiming rural dwellers in particular: 'Their removal is slow, painstaking and dangerous'.[85] Israel dropped more than 1 million US-provided cluster bombs on Lebanon during its 2006 invasion.[86] In Afghanistan, hundreds of thousands of anti-personnel landmines litter the fields and mountain passes.[87]

There are more than a thousand shipwrecks (mainly US and Japanese) from World War II (WWII), corroding on the ocean floors.[88] Of these, at least fifty are oil tankers. In 2001, up to 91,000 litres of fuel from the oil tanker USS Mississinewa, which sank in 1944, spilled into Ulithi Lagoon in Micronesia, preventing the islanders from fishing.

Military waste is often just being dumped in oceans, rivers or inadequate storage, contaminating local ecosystems. The Baltic, for example, was a dumping ground for Hitler's militaries. Thousands of tonnes of discarded WWII munitions were fished up by trawlers in 2007, including chemical weapons developed by Nazi scientists but never used. As their casings rust, phosgene and mustard gas seep into the food chain, rendering many fishing spots unusable.[89]

Nuclear waste is particularly hazardous and long-lasting. Waste sites such as in Chelyabinsk, La Hague, Yucca Mountain, Hanford, Sellafield and Murmansk are likely to be 'condemned in perpetuity'. The cost of dismantling nuclear weapons and their production facilities is difficult to calculate because of the close interconnection with nuclear energy production, but may approach the costs of making them in the first place, with some estimates reaching $3.5 trillion for the US alone.[90]

Maintaining Armed Forces

Just keeping the huge numbers of permanent military personnel has major environmental consequences.[91] These personnel require houses, roads and other infrastructure, air conditioning and heating, food and water, and transport to work.

When there is no major crisis, military training and exercises account for about 70 per cent of armed forces' activities.[92] They have a negative impact on neighbouring residents, such as high rates of cancer and infant deaths among people living near the US's Vieques Bombing Range.[93] They often damage farmland and infrastructure, as heavy vehicles such as tanks travel over small roads and bridges.

Low-frequency sonars used to detect submarines harm marine mammals, with the NATO naval exercises between the Canaries and the Straits of Gibraltar in September 2002 resulting in the death of fifteen beaked whales. Autopsies revealed lesions of the inner ear and showed that very powerful sounds can kill large cetaceans whose species are already under threat from whaling and fishing.[94] Despite the sophistication of their navigation systems, naval vehicles still have accidents, such as the British and French nuclear submarines which collided deep in the Atlantic Ocean in February 2009.[95] As a result of naval accidents, there are at least 50 nuclear warheads and eleven nuclear reactors contaminating the ocean floors.

Toxic pollution involving heavy metals, polychlorinated biphenyls, acids, alkalis and explosives has impacted on past and current US military bases in the Philippines, South Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Japan, Nicaragua, Panama, Puerto Rico and the former Yugoslavia.[96] Noise pollution (such as from low-flying aircraft) can affect animal populations and hunters who rely on them, while electromagnetic radiation from electronic signals and power may have adverse health effects.

Supplying Militaries

The production of military equipment also has enormous environmental consequences. Building the giant battleships, submarines, fighter planes, bombers, tanks, four-wheel drives and other vehicles requires a great deal of materials – metals, rubber and plastics. Vast amounts of energy are required for the production processes – often from coal-fired or nuclear power stations. Military communications and computer systems require rare earths, often sourced from LDCs in an unsustainable and polluting way.[97] Even shaving and clean, neatly-ironed uniforms for millions of personnel consume a lot of resources.

Producing weapons also creates problems. For example, the manufacturing of depleted uranium ammunition in Colonie, New York contaminated the nearby soils with 500 times the amount of uranium that one would normally expect to find in soil.[98] Radioactivity from nuclear bombs, testing, fuel and mining, and depleted uranium ammunition may contaminate land, seas and groundwater for thousands of years. Radioactive fallout from atmospheric nuclear tests, finally banned in 1963 through international outcry and boycotts of the offending countries, is estimated to have caused as many as 86,000 birth defects and 150,000 premature deaths, and may eventually result in more than two million deaths from cancer.[99]

How Militarism Contributes to Global Warming

Although reliable figures on militarism's contributions to global warming are difficult to access because of its secrecy, size and diversity, its gargantuan impact on the environment can be extrapolated into significant climate change: 'Military operations are major industrial activities that use massive amounts of fuel and materials that significantly contribute to climate change'.[100] We have examined a number of different types of impacts on the environment from militarism, and most of these have a direct or indirect effect on global warming. Emissions from planes, ships and vehicles during conflict, training exercises or general military activities (including production and transport of the fuel) are the highest contributors to the greenhouse effect. Deforestation and destruction of vegetation releases carbon into the atmosphere, as do burning oil wells. Other emissions are created in the production of equipment (such as vehicles and weapons) and the movement of these vehicles, troops and supplies, the building and servicing of military bases, post-conflict reconstruction, clean-ups (when they occur) and storage of toxic waste.

When all these are considered together, it is possible that militarism is the 'largest single source of greenhouse gas emissions on the planet'.[101] It is therefore extraordinary that these emissions are largely exempt from the measuring and reporting that occurs in most other facets of modern global

society. They are not part of major international discussions. They are rarely mentioned even at national levels.

Energy Demands

Further extrapolations can be made from energy consumption figures. The US military is the largest institutional consumer of energy in the world, according to *The Energy Bulletin*.[102] Its extensive global operations – from over one thousand bases[103] in over 60 countries around the world and six thousand domestic facilities[104] – account for 80 per cent of the energy demand of the US federal government,[105] the US's largest energy user,[106] making it a leading contributor to global warming. Other militaries also disproportionately consume energy supplies; one estimate is that they collectively use the same amount of petroleum products as Japan, one of the world's largest economies.[107]

A great deal of this energy consumption is to fuel vehicles. Militarism is the world's biggest consumer of oil, using about 55 million litres of fuel daily, or 350,000 barrels.[108] The US Department of Defence is the world's largest institutional consumer of petroleum[109] as it supplies its bases and powers the largest arms fleet on the planet.[110] As well as the forces on the ground and seas, it employs 92 different types of aircraft, which voraciously consume 'highly toxic jet fuels'.[111] Its navy has about 285 combat and support ships and around 4000 operational aircraft, while its army has 28,000 armored vehicles, 140,000 High-Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles, several hundred fixed-wing aircraft and 187,493 fleet vehicles. Except for 80 nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers (some of which have leaked or dumped radioactive pollution), all these vehicles run on oil.[112]

The US military has a per capita consumption of oil ten times more than the consumption of China, and 30 times more than Africa's consumption. Even the CIA admits that only 35 *countries* consume more oil per day than the Pentagon.[113] Its combat operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and South West Asia use more oil per annum than the whole of Bangladesh uses with its 150 million people.[114] Officially, it uses 320,000 barrels of oil a day or 'an almost unfathomable' 20,672,133,839 litres per year.[115] This total does not include fuel consumed by contractors or fuel consumed in foreign American military bases' leased and privatised facilities, '[n]or does it include the enormous energy and resources used to produce and maintain their death-dealing equipment or the bombs, grenades or missiles they fire'.[116]

Military consumption dwarfs that of civilians: the latest model Abrams tank used in Iraq requires 235 litres for every 100 kilometres,[117] while a one-hour flight by a B52 bomber uses 13,671 litres of fuel, according to the Worldwatch Institute.[118] In that same hour, a jet launched from an aircraft carrier uses more fuel than a motorist in two years.[119] Over half

the helicopters in the world are for military use, and about a quarter of the world's jet fuel is consumed by militaries.[120]

Nor is fuel usage becoming more efficient, with forces in Iraq and Afghanistan using 16 times more fuel per soldier than in WWII.[121] Just transporting military fuel is extraordinarily resource-depleting, with the support vehicles that supply fuel themselves consuming more than half the fuel in the battle zone.

High fossil fuel use equates with high carbon emissions. According to New Zealand's Peace Foundation, 'the use of military vehicles … in exercises and military operations constitutes possibly the largest single global contributor to carbon emissions and climate change'.[122] One estimate is that militarism's fuel consumption results in 180,000 tonnes of greenhouse gases being emitted every day.[123] The US military is regarded as the world's largest institutional source of greenhouse gases.[124]

Sanders estimates that '[i]n a year, the average driver … produces a mere 5.5 tons of CO_2, or less than .0000000001 per cent of the military's output.'[125] Although the sheer number of drivers (and plane passengers) still makes this a considerable footprint which needs reducing, this travel is generally for peaceful purposes, and there is an ethical and leadership problem when government-sponsored jobs have high per capita footprints.

Oil Change International argues that even when using very conservative estimates, the Iraq war was responsible in four years for at least 141 million tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent:

> If the US military operation in Iraq was ranked as a country in terms of emissions, it would emit more CO_2 each year than 139 of the world's nations do annually. The war emits more than 60 per cent of all countries, falling between New Zealand and Cuba.[126]

Vicious Cycle

'The Military Cost of Securing Energy,' a 2008 report by the National Priorities Project, found that almost one-third of US military spending goes toward securing energy supplies around the world',[127] confirming the widespread perception that, as respected economist Alan Greenspan put it, 'everyone knows: the Iraq war is largely about oil'.[128]

Most militaries profess to be concerned about the security implications of global warming,[129] yet '[a]ccess to more oil, the burning of which is a fundamental cause of climate change – is the primary underlying motive for current wars'.[130] The fact that so much oil is consumed in wars that are about securing oil supplies is paradoxical: 'The heavy reliance of the world's militaries on oil, and their significant contributions to its disappearance, complete a self-perpetuating cycle of destruction'.[131] However, as we explore the military-industrial complex later in this chapter, we will see how closely

linked it is with the oil industry – they help each other maintain profits, even though it costs the Earth.

Militarism Starves Governments of Climate Funds

Military expenditure diverts funds from other (generally more urgent) areas of government spending, such as climate action, education, healthcare and culture. Global milex was $1.6 trillion in 2010, an increase of 1.3 per cent in real terms,[132] and an increase since 1998 of 45 per cent.[133] The US alone spends well over $1 trillion per annum on military-related expenses,[134] far more than the climate 'assistance' for adaption and mitigation in LDCs of $10 billion per annum for 2010–12, or $100 billion per annum by 2020, from all developed countries combined![135] How effective this assistance will be is dubious as these climate 'aid' pledges under the Copenhagen Accord will come primarily as loans (adding further to LDC debts), private investments for profit, and even recycled aid commitments.[136]

Long-term climate finance is not even being discussed at major fora.[137] The US will contribute perhaps $1.4 billion to $1.5 billion to the international climate change fund; by comparison, this is a fraction of its ongoing subsidies to fossil fuels,[138] having given twice this much recently to Exxon Mobil.[139] It is also a fraction of military expenditure: the cost of the 'surge' in Afghanistan is estimated at $30–40 billion[140] and the war as a whole at over $460 billion. The Iraq war is projected to cost at least $3 trillion.[141] What is needed from the developed world to build a global clean energy economy and help vulnerable communities adapt to the impacts of climate change is between $200bn[142] and $500 billion.[143]

There are many underfunded environmental groups, such as the Apollo Alliance, working on solutions that, for example, unite environmentalists and unionists, creating sustainable jobs within new economies and industrial systems. This is a political problem, because militarism employs a lot of people:

> Weapons production is currently the number one industrial export product of the U.S. [Politicians] know that major industrial job creation is largely coming from the Pentagon. Thus most politicians … want to continue to support the military industrial complex gravy train for their communities. Across the nation colleges and universities are turning to the Pentagon for greater research funding as Congress and successive administrations have cut back on scientific research and development investment. As this trend worsens we find growing evidence that engineering, computer science, astronomy, mathematics, and other departments are becoming 'militarized' in order to maintain funding levels. Student protests against campus weapons research have been growing in recent years at places like the University of Hawaii, University of New Mexico, University of Oregon, and UC Berkeley.[144]

This employment is at a very high cost to the public. It is capital-intensive; the same public money could provide many more jobs in reforestation, clean energy, and climate adaptation plans for communities.[145] Nor does military spending have the positive effect on economic development that is often suggested.[146] A holistic assessment of the cost of military employment would include its effects around the world, in the deaths of civilians, ongoing health costs of military victims (including those affected by pollution), post-conflict reconstruction and justice costs, and environmental rehabilitation.

Despite some public opposition, US military spending has been increasing for many years,[147] including under President Barack Obama, although there are now signs that the US's financial crisis, unemployment and social unrest (such as in the Occupy movement) means that military spending *increases* are finally slowing. The defence budget will continue to grow over the next decade, just less than they previously projected.[148]

Australia spends between 26 and 32 billion dollars a year on 'defence' (relatively higher than most developed countries), including on expensive, much criticised projects such as the Collins class submarine initiative.[149] This is 40 times more than what we spend on global warming[150] which is a current reality as opposed to some nebulous threat of invasion.[151] In fact, for slightly more money, Australia could transition to 100 per cent renewable energy in ten years.[152]

To make these enormous figures more understandable, a single B-2 Stealth Bomber costs about $1,000,000,000. This could provide 2,564,102,564 meals, 1,150,510 wells, 31,446,541 cataract operations, 285,714,286 blankets or 106,951,872 mosquito nets to reduce the estimated two million people who die every year from malaria, most being children under five.[153] For the cost of two cluster munitions ($15,000), a school in rural Pakistan could be built and the teachers' salaries paid for one year. Just cutting the $100 billion annual expenditure on nuclear weapons would provide enough to end extreme poverty and provide primary education for *everyone in the world*. A mere 20 per cent of the global military budget would be enough to meet all of the UN Millennium Development Goals.[154]

Militarism also drains human resources, including the deployment of youth with all their energy and ideals, and the 'brain drain' of scientists – more than one-half of all research physicists and engineering scientists are engaged in military research.[155] Some developments emerge from this research which benefit wider communities, but mostly it uses taxpayers' money to develop things that harm rather than help people and ecosystems. In the European Union, the privatisation of militarism has meant that wealthy arms corporations benefit from taxpayer-funded subsidies for research that often develops new technologies for their own profit.[156] The same money directed to non-military research would benefit humanity much more, particularly if it occurred in open, collaborative, global ways,

rather than secretive, nationalistic ones, and for general rather than corporate benefit.

The Exemptions of Militarism from Climate Action

The IPCC does not indicate in a separate category military greenhouse gas emissions, despite calls from civil society organisations such as Act for Climate Justice that it require each state to do so.[157] The US demanded as a provision of signing the 1997 Kyoto Protocol that all its military operations worldwide be exempted from measurement or reductions. After obtaining this concession, the Bush administration refused to sign the accords anyway, and the US Congress passed an explicit provision guaranteeing the US military exemption from any energy reduction or measurement. US military activities will continue to be exempt from an executive order signed by Barack Obama that calls for all other federal agencies to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by 2020.[158]

This is intolerable, according to Dr. Joan Russow, of Global Compliance Research Project:

> The US military operates in the shadows of climate negotiations, having demanded that their emissions be exempted from scrutiny or regulation. This absolutely cannot continue: the climate crisis has reached the point where all of life – now and for future generations – is threatened. We cannot just ignore the largest polluter on earth, fight more wars over access to oil, and continue to feed this vicious cycle![159]

Nor was military pollution on the table at the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen. Evaluating that event, which involved more than 15,000 participants from 192 countries, more than 100 heads of state, and 100,000 demonstrators in the streets, Sara Flounders asked, 'How is it possible that the worst polluter of carbon dioxide and other toxic emissions on the planet is not a focus of any conference discussion or proposed restrictions?'[160] While some of us are stressing about how much floss we use, militaries are getting away with murder.

Far more realistic was the 2010 declaration by over 70 environmental, peace and social justice organizations at Cancun on the 62nd International Human Rights Day: 'we must recognize that all efforts to address climate change or human rights will fail unless we contend with the "elephant in the living room": militarism, and a logic of Might is Right'.[161]

There are several reasons for the Orwellian fact that militarism's contribution to environmental deterioration has not received its share of attention. One is that 'defence' is seen as a special case rather than an 'industry', despite behaving like one in most regards. Another is that states operate a double standard, being unwilling to subject their armed forces to the levels

of accountability and transparency that all other governmental or civil society actors are required to meet. There is much less need to provide a detailed budget, justify expenditures and evaluate performances. This often results in excessive budget allocations, off-budget income and expenditures, inefficiency and corruption. Military production facilities, even in peace times, are often exempt from environmental protection legislation in the name of national security.[162]

The justifications commonly used to support these exemptions (secrecy, territorial integrity) are outdated, however, and no longer seem compelling reasons for special treatment except, perhaps, during wartime. A major review of transparency issues concluded that:

> From a governance perspective, what matters is that the same principles of accountability, transparency, comprehensiveness and discipline which apply to other portions of the public sector should also apply to the security sector, in particular the military … Requests from the armed forces [for budget funding] need to compete for funding within the budget process on an equal footing with requests for other purposes.[163]

Such a perspective accords with the principles of 'security sector reform' (SSR), a concept introduced in 1997 by Clare Short, then British Secretary of State for International Development. If we accept, as so many do, that '[t]he greatest threat to … global security is climate change',[164] then we need to know *all* the facts and figures of military pollution.

Greening the Militaries?

Despite its connections to oil corporations, the US military as a whole is not a climate denier; it is alarmed by the prospect of global warming as a security threat but according to some it is doing little to stop its contribution to it. Rather, it is preparing a bunker mentality that will continue to benefit MIMEC.[165]

Others argue that militaries contribute to environmental sustainability and are greening rapidly, but they need more funding to do so. Military personnel are often dedicated to the environments where they work. As one former naval member wrote to me, 'the Australian defence force, in particular the navy, has protected the environment particularly with regards to some endangered species that have flourished. I saw many bases 'saved' from developers and animals cared for by base staff.'[166] There are moves to clean up US operations, although the Okinawa declaration of 2000 called for an end to double standards, as 'The U.S. military is implementing a pollution clean-up program for its domestic installations, but does not carry out a similar program for overseas bases.'[167]

Norman Seip, a retired three-star US Air Force general, found that:

> Every branch of the service told us they desperately desire more of the energy efficiency and clean energy technologies being developed in the private sector. Unfortunately, many of the innovations they want and need are stuck in limbo while companies search for financing to expand beyond the research and development phase. What the clean energy sector needs is a reliable investor and a strong market signal for their products. The Department of Defence could be an ideal fit for that role. [168]

However, governments could put their taxes directly into such initiatives without passing them through the massive military bureaucracies. It also seems to be more of the same old reliance on science and technology to get us out of an environmental fix, rather than the necessary *reduction of polluting activity*.

The US military is experimenting with running jets on biofuels that use wood waste and algae. In Afghanistan, patrols carry solar blankets and LED lamps, while solar technology enables personnel to purify water while on the move, and even refrigerate medical supplies and food.[169] According to Seip, the Navy:

> plans to get half of its energy from alternative sources by the year 2020. The Air Force plans to get 25 percent of the energy it uses at its bases from renewable energy sources by 2025…The Army plans to reduce greenhouse gases by 34 percent by 2020 and cut energy usage at contingency bases by 30–60 percent. That's on top of its visionary NetZero strategy under which bases will consume only as much energy and water as they produce. And finally the Marine Corps by 2020 will increase its use of alternative energy by 50 percent and meet 40 percent of its deployed operational demands with renewable energy. It also plans to reduce its non-tactical petroleum use by 50 percent by 2015.[170]

This rhetoric is not necessarily being matched with action, however, with the US army cancelling plans to introduce hybrid-diesel 'humvees' and to retrofit the fuel-guzzling Abrams tank with a more efficient diesel engine; the air force postponing replacement of aging surveillance, cargo and tanker aircraft engines, and the Environmental Protection Agency granting the Department of Defence a 'national security exemption' on trucks that fail to meet current emissions standards. As Nick Turse writes: 'Recent U.S. wars have been a boon for big oil and have seen the Pentagon rise from the rank of hopeless addict to superjunkie…. You're looking at a Pentagon patently incapable of altering its addiction-addled ways in any near future.'[171]

The oil industry is unlikely to support moves to renewable energies. In 2006, ExxonMobil, Royal Dutch Petroleum, and BP collectively received

over $3.5 billion from the Pentagon, shooting them up to first, third, and fourth rankings on the *Forbes* magazine's list of the world's five hundred largest corporations in terms of revenue:

> The big three petrogiants are, however, only the tip of a massive, oily iceberg. Also on the Pentagon's 2006 list were such oil services, energy, and petroleum conglomerates as Halliburton, CS Caltex, Kuwait Petroleum, Valero Energy, Refinery Associates of Texas, Abu Dhabi National Oil, Bahrain Petroleum and Tesoro Petroleum. These 145 companies – far from constituting a complete list of energy-related firms on the DoD dole – took in more than 8 billion taxpayer dollars in 2005.[172]

Australia too has an ambitious plan to green its militaries.[173] However, ambitious plans and actual implementation of them are two very different things, given that militaries are massive, bureaucratic organisations with a great deal of enormous and polluting machinery, weaponry and processes. Furthermore, the initial environmental and financial costs of greening can be high if they involve manufacturing new vehicles and infrastructure.

More importantly, the main reason for militaries' existence is to employ violence on a mass scale, and this is fundamentally at odds with basic environmental sustainability mores, which are about nurturing life, not destroying it (see Figure 1). There are close links between military violence and ecological violence. If it can be shown that military violence is largely or entirely unnecessary, as I hope to in the following chapters, it is hard to believe that militaries are part of long-term environmental sustainability. As *Climate SOS* more bluntly puts it: 'The only way to save the planet: stop the military-industrial machine!'[174]

The Military-Industrial, Media and Entertainment Complex

The origins of the MIMEC are simple; they lie in the companies that make weapons, vehicles, and other equipment for militaries. However, these have grown considerably since WWI with the profits of government 'defence' spending, and have expanded and diversified their operations. The trade in weapons and other military equipment is now the second largest international trade sector, after the energy industry. Global military research and development alone totals $58 billion per year.[175]

There is an almost inevitable propensity for such large expenditures and lobbying power to aid vested interests, significantly influence governments' milex decisions and even corrupt political processes, particularly as, over the last 50 years, the military has become increasingly integrated with politics, business and industry.[176] Such concern was articulated in 1961 by outgoing US president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who warned in reference to the increasing integration of business, industry, government and the military,

Figure 1 'New environmentally-friendly products' cartoon

that 'the potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist'.[177]

MIMEC has strong links to other powerful, polluting industries, such as oil, cars, aviation, and nuclear energy.[178] Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and General Electric (GE) are examples of corporations with a finger in several pies, including the lucrative military one. MIMEC's web encompasses significant sectors of the transport, metalworking, shipbuilding, computing and electronics industries. In fact, few areas of modern life are immune from military influence, yet most people are unaware of the involvement of everyday names such as Mitsubishi in the arms industry, or the past involvement of corporations such as Siemens in the development of eavesdropping technologies and the use of slave labour in Nazi Germany.[179]

The sphere of influence of the MIMEC is huge, largely due to its highly-diversified nature and its government patronage which is much higher than other sectors such as health or education. For example, the US allocates about 58 per cent of its discretionary spending to the military but only 4 per cent to education.[180] MIMEC is inextricably linked with the state,[181] and in some countries (such as Burma and Egypt) the military directly runs a big proportion of the economy and state.

This domination of politics and industrial activity by the military is often referred to as the 'permanent war economy.'[182] This was perfectly described in George Orwell's novel *1984*, where three continental blocs exist in a permanent state of war, with two allied against the other and occasionally switching alliances and enemies. The French and British, formerly bitter enemies, are now allies, and have themselves aligned with former WWII enemy, Germany. During that war the former two were allied with the USSR; they were ideologically opposed throughout the Cold War but now are allied again. Populaces are incited to fear and hate the enemy and particularly its leader (who in Orwell's book usually has a sinister moustache!). The new enemy of the West is the vaguer 'terrorism' which in actuality has focussed on a selection of poorer or more independent Islamic countries such as Iraq under the socialist Baath Party rather than the wealthy Saudi Arabia. After long occupations in the Middle East (Iraq, Afghanistan and brief incursions such as in Libya), the 'enemy' of the US now seems to be turning into China, despite their economic interdependence.

Vested Interests

MIMEC has a vested interest in the proliferation of arms (regardless of how they are used) as its corporations often hold the intellectual property rights to the most advanced military technologies and therefore are the main beneficiaries of arms production and procurement deals, now worth an estimated $315 billion per annum.[183]

The company Halliburton is a good illustration of the interconnected nature of the MIMEC and its ability to dictate government support for military campaigns from which it directly profits. In 1992, Dick Cheney, then US Secretary for Defense, commissioned a report to assess how private firms could provide logistical support in future conflicts. The writing of the report was awarded to KBR, a Halliburton subsidiary. The report convinced Cheney that it was possible to create an umbrella contract for all such military services and award it to a single firm.[184] This contract was named the Logistics Civil Augmentation Programme (Logcap) and has been used in every US military deployment since then. After a feasibility study, the Logcap contract was awarded to the same firm that had suggested it, KBR.

Logcap contractors are paid on a percentage basis, meaning the more they spend the more they profit. Between 1993 and 1994, KBR disclosed

net earnings of over $350m from their involvement in military operations around the world. The company's roles were diverse, ranging from the building of army bases to the provision of fuel, munitions, food and cleaning services. As such an important component of various war efforts, KBR was also included in military planning meetings, in effect becoming another unit of the US army. At the end of the contract in 1995, Cheney was appointed CEO of KBR which in 2001 again won the Logcap contract, this time for ten years. Over this time Halliburton continued to expand its roles into rebuilding major oil and civilian infrastructures across the world, as well as the notorious Guantanamo Bay detention centre in Cuba. In 2003 Cheney left Halliburton and became Vice President in the Bush administration.

This 'revolving door' in the appointment of MIMEC executives to senior governmental positions and vice-versa has enabled vested interests to control and profit from not only the development and manufacturing of weapons but from continued conflict, the rebuilding of war-torn states and the perpetuation of US-led international corporate hegemony.[185]

The close ties that have developed between major players in the MIMEC and government are often overt. For example, in the 1960s President Truman appointed the former chairman of GE (then the third largest military contractor) to head the office of defence mobilisation. Thirty-two major appointees of the first Bush administration were executives, consultants or major shareholders of large weapons contractors.[186] More recently, Barack Obama selected William Lynn, formerly the top lobbyist for arms manufacturer Raytheon, for the number two position in the Department of Defense. Members of US Congress have up to $196 million collectively invested in corporations that work with the defence department, earning millions since the start of the Iraq War, according to the Centre for Responsive Politics in Washington.[187] There are inevitable conflicts of interest as they decide on Iraq War spending, with those who earned the most having important leadership or committee memberships, such as democrat John Kerry who overtly opposed the war in Iraq. None of this is mentioned in US or Australian mass media.

Human Rights Abuses

The amount the Pentagon has paid to private companies for products and services has increased by 78 per cent over the last decade, while the top ten defence contractors alone were granted $131.3 billion in contracts in 2009. Corporations such as URS, Boeing, and KBR have reaped huge profits from providing their services to the American military, an institution which has become dependent upon these companies.[188] In more ways than one, they're making a killing.

Most foreign arms sales activity is by corporations largely owned in developed countries (DCs) selling to the governments of LDCs. The international arms trade is poorly regulated and one of the three most

corrupt businesses in the world, according to Transparency International, the leading global organisation monitoring corruption.[189] This corruption is industry-wide: '[t]he leading arms firms in virtually every major arms-producing country have been implicated, including reputable firms from most respectable countries…. Nor have bribes been paid only to buyers in the Third World.'[190] It starts at the very top, with the British firm BAE Systems, now the largest arms manufacturer on Earth, having been found guilty in 2010 by the US Department of Justice of paying bribes of $50 million to the governments of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Saudi Arabia during the 1990s.[191] It is still permitted to operate in the US. A senior Australian defence industry executive has admitted that the payment of kickbacks is commonplace when striking deals with governments across South-East Asia.[192]

The globalisation and wealth of the industry has opened up major loopholes in all current arms export regulations, allowing sales to human rights abusers and countries under arms embargoes.[193] Oxfam International argues that 'Europe and North America are fast becoming the IKEA of the arms industry, supplying parts for human rights abusers to assemble at home, with the morals not included. It is time for an Arms Trade Treaty'.[194]

However, the profitability of the trade means that many nations often oppose measures to improve its regulation and transparency. The main arms suppliers are the US (40 per cent of world trade), Russia (18 per cent), France (8 per cent), the United Kingdom (7 per cent), Germany (5 per cent), Italy (3 per cent) and China (3 per cent).[195] With the exception of Germany and Italy, these are also the only permanent members of the UN Security Council, and so they have a great say over international politics and 'security'. Their economic interests in the MIMEC mean that they rarely support stronger arms regulations. They also have inordinate sway over the activities of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, who in supposed austerity measures for struggling countries do little to discourage military spending and may even encourage it:

> The world economic system promotes military economies over civilian economies, pushing national economic policies toward military spending. The World Trade Organization (WTO), one of the main instruments of globalisation, is largely based on the premise that the only legitimate role for a government is to provide for a military to protect the interests of the country and a police force to ensure order within. The WTO attacks governments' social and environmental policies that reduce corporate profits, and it has succeeded in having national laws that protect the environment struck down. Yet the WTO gives exemplary protection to government actions that develop, arm, and deploy armed forces and supply a military establishment. Article X of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) allows governments free reign for actions taken in the interest of national security.[196]

The Influence of MIMEC

One way MIMEC influences government spending and policies is through intensive lobbying:

> Corporate lobbyists are not just seeking to influence – increasingly they are at the heart of writing and determining policy at both national and international levels. They operate outside democratic control, generally hidden from public view. Unsurprisingly, corporations are prepared to pay big money to win influence.[197]

The arms industry spent a staggering $101,907,368 on lobbying the US government in 2010. In the US, Boeing is the biggest spender on lobbying, then Lockheed Martin and United Technologies. These lobbyists often have insider knowledge or contacts in government: 'Some 428 lobbyists are registered as working for the defence industry in the US – and of these, 309 have gone through the revolving door, having previously worked inside government.'[198] BAE Systems lobbies in the EU directly or through arms industry associations and 'think tanks'.[199]

This raises the question of whether the people, through their governments, decide on military policies and spending, or do the corporations who are paid supposedly to support the defence needs of the people?

The involvement of corporate vested interests in milex decision-making processes also occurs at a more covert level through the selective presentation of information to the public by the mass media. As Joel Andreas argues, 'the corporations that control the television industry are fully integrated into the military-industrial complex',[200] for example with General Electric part owning NBC until 2013. This allows MIMEC to promote military operations as necessary and even desirable, and to promote continued military spending for national and even global security reasons. This may partly explain why the glaring omission of militarism from climate change discussions has gone almost entirely unreported.

The pro-war bias of the media was evident in the Gulf War of 1991 when one of the Bush administration's top war planners, Richard Hass of the National Security Council, thanked a group of prominent journalists for their help, stating that television was 'our chief tool in selling the policy', involving live 24-hour war coverage sponsored by Exxon and GE.[201] This MIMEC hold over the media often leads to unqualified support for government war policies:

> Lawrence Grossman who was in charge of PBS and NBC News for many years described the role of the press this way – 'the job of the President is to set the agenda and the job of the press is to follow the agenda that the leadership sets.'[202]

CBS Evening News Anchor Dan Rather echoed this sentiment: 'George Bush is the president. ... Wherever he wants me to line up, just tell me where and he'll make the call'.[203]

This is not the only reason for poor coverage of militarism. It may occur because of an enculturated respect for militarism, fear of upsetting powerful interests, ignorance, poor teaching of journalism, or simply laziness – it is easier to parrot official statements by the 'masters of war' than to seek out alternative views or views from its victims.[204] (The oppression of Palestine is rarely covered in a balanced way, for example.) Most mass media consistently ignores peace perspectives when discussing military activities and spending; even public broadcasters' idea of balance is to cite just the government and the opposition, who usually share a pro-military viewpoint.[205]

Nick Turse shows how MIMEC is involved in just about every facet of modern life from donuts, iPods, Starbucks and Oakley sunglasses and joint ventures with Marvel Comics, to video games which glamorise war, and in an 'entirely deliberate two-way strategy, with the controls of new vehicles and weapons designed to emulate popular game consoles'.[206]

The culture of militarism is also maintained through sympathetic coverage in movies, from British black-and-white movies post-WWII to *Top Gun* and *Iron Man*. These Hollywood films are often given considerable assistance by the US military. As David Robb, author of *Operation Hollywood: How the Pentagon Shapes and Censors the Movies*, comments:

> Hollywood and the Pentagon have a collaboration that works well for both sides. Hollywood producers get what they want – access to billions of dollars worth of military hardware and equipment – tanks, jet fighters, nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers – and the military gets what it wants – films that portray the military in a positive light; films that help the services in their recruiting efforts.[207]

In recent conflicts, media 'embedded' within Western militaries has worked in a similar way. The media gets unprecedented access to militaries, but its coverage tends to be very one-sided.[208]

* * *

This chapter has, like the atmosphere, covered a lot of ground, discussing global warming, examining military pollution, and describing MIMEC and its influence. In the next chapter we look at whether militarism is necessary in this modern, interconnected world, or whether nonviolence is capable of replacing many of the functions currently (thought to be) performed by militarism.

Notes

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2
Fighting Fire with Water: Nonviolent Alternatives to Militarism

> The more there is of real revolution the less there is of violence; the more violence, the less of revolution.[1]

Given the huge impact of militarism on the climate, it is clear that drastically reducing or even eliminating militarism is a vital ingredient in environmental sustainability. The inevitable questions, however, which arise from this proposal are: How should countries defend themselves? How can dictators be removed from power, or repressive regimes ended? After examining the rhetorical underpinnings of those questions, this chapter argues that nonviolence can fill both those needs.

* * *

It's worth first asking how much 'defence' actually occurs amidst all this militarism. For example, there is no serious military threat to the country with the most arms – the US. Of course, there were terrible terrorist atrocities in 2001 but those were the first such occurrences since the US became a superpower with ever-increasing military capacity some 40 years earlier, and they occurred despite all of that firepower. Arguably, they occurred *because* of the use of that military muscle in distant countries for neo-colonialist purposes rather than defence.

In Australia, even the Defence Department admits that there are no credible threats of invasion until at least 2030, yet it spends around $71 million a day[2] and admits to 45 per cent of all government energy usage – mostly coal-powered[3] – others estimate as high as 75 per cent. These are extraordinary amounts for an institution whose core function of national defence has not been used for 70 years. Other major defence spenders such as England, France and Russia similarly have few real threats in this globalising, increasingly inter-dependent world. They too have terrorist threats but much military spending is not dedicated to countering this, and we will see below how military force is rarely successful in ending terrorism. Fairer international economic systems and better diplomacy and aid programmes would reduce

terrorism and turn the richer nations into real friends of oppressed nations, rather than ones who have tended to prop up dictators for the sake of 'stable' states to do business in, with the US's support of Hosni Mubarak's regime in Egypt or Australia's support for the Indonesian occupation of Timor Leste being prime examples.

The incursions into Iraq and Afghanistan by the 'Coalition of the Willing' seemed to be primarily about securing access to oil and trade routes,[4] as well as providing MIMEC with a permanent war economy. An oxymoronic 'war on terror' is 'formulated as a potentially endless struggle against an infinitely extended enemy, that permeates all borders, and may inhabit any sphere'.[5]

As one highly-decorated US soldier, Smedley Darlington Butler, wrote: 'War is just a racket…. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few at the expense of the masses.' He argued that during his 33 years in the Marine Corps, where he reached the rank of Major-General, he was:

> a high class muscle-man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the Bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism. … I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefits of Wall Street…. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909–12. I brought light to the Dominican republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested… Looking back on it, I feel that I could have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three districts. I operated on three continents.[6]

Under a more egalitarian global system – where for example the UN Security Council was more representative of the global population rather than biased in the favour of Europe, the USA and China – this use of armed force for neo-colonialism might be reduced, and militarism could be pared back. Encouragingly, Jonathan Schell in *The Unconquerable World*[7] notes a tendency of the world to progress towards democratisation, in the real sense of the word – greater political, social and economic freedom, respect for human rights, transparent, accountable governments, fair justice systems – rather than bombing Western 'democracy' into people who don't want it.[8]

One study based on three decades of survey data, found that:

> the number of Free states, which ensure a broad array of political rights and civil liberties, has expanded from 43 to 88 – an average of nearly 1.5 per year – while the number of Not Free states, where repression is widespread, has declined from 69 to 49, or by nearly 2 every 3 years.'[9]

Real democratisation could reduce violent conflicts, as there is strong evidence that more democratic regions are more peaceful. As political scientist Richard Stoll notes, 'Yes, there are caveats, but generally the growing number of democracies in the world reduces the number of countries to fight,' adding that a strengthening sense of an 'international community' is changing world thinking on when warfare is acceptable.[10] More emphasis on diplomacy, negotiation, trade,[11] sporting and cultural links would also help.

Nevertheless, there is a popular assumption that defence spending is actually for defence of one's country. To change this requires a viable alternative to military defence. Few would believe that nonviolence could be that alternative. The popular view of nonviolence is that it involves groups of people holding hands and singing 'We Shall Not Be Moved' – usually before being easily moved by armed opponents. It makes for good TV when there are candles involved, and it has some impact, but only when its opponents are tolerant states, such as the British rulers of India or the US during the civil rights struggles. Nonviolence may be spiritual and ethical, it is argued, but it does not succeed in the real world against opponents such as the Nazis.

In this chapter I argue that these ideas about nonviolence are quite wrong, and that nonviolence is a highly effective praxis that has succeeded in a wide variety of settings, including against immensely powerful, ruthless, and violent opponents. We will look at what nonviolence is, how it works and how effective it can be.

A Violent Species?

Firstly, however, we will examine a key assumption that underlies much of our acceptance of militarism and our ruling out of nonviolence. That is the assumption that violence is inherent in human nature, and therefore that war and competition are an inevitable part of human society.

This is contrary to the entire history of human survival and evolution, which has generally been one of cooperation, intelligence and planning.[12] Although our perceptions are skewed by the mass media's 24/7 summaries of the worst violence on Earth in 'the news', most human interactions are not violent.[13] In Australia, in the oldest continuous culture on Earth, Aboriginal people lived for upwards of 50,000 years without invading anyone, and their society was noted as remarkably peaceful by the first Europeans here.[14] In today's world, there is a vast amount of global communication and trade in goods, information and the arts where humans interact on a daily basis without violence. There is a strong realisation that violence is detrimental to such communication and trade. So violence, though it obviously happens, is an aberration, not the norm.

Nor are we innately predisposed to violence. The Seville statement by neurophysiologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, geneticists and other scientists at a UNESCO conference categorically denied that there is any scientific evidence

to support a biological basis for violence, stating that 'It is scientifically incorrect to say that war or any other violent behaviour is genetically programmed into our human nature'. It concluded that 'biology does not condemn humanity to war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism'.[15] Others argue that socialisation, and in particular, parenting, are major determinants of whether someone acts violently as an adult.[16] So parents and educators can play a powerful role in creating more peaceful societies.

Peace is Breaking Out

To explode another myth: the world is not getting more violent all the time. Stephen Pinker argues that violence in the West has declined in both the short and long term,[17] while a three-year study by the Human Security Center at the University of British Columbia found that both the extent and intensity of war have fallen significantly since 1990, largely due to UN interventions.[18] Director of the research team, Andrew Mack, states that 'We knew the number of wars was coming down, because that has been around in academic circles for a while, but particularly surprising is how the decline in wars is reflected right across the board in all forms of political conflict and violence.' Not only are interstate wars down, but so are civil conflicts, as well as other forms of political violence like human rights abuses. The total number of conflicts has declined by 40 per cent since the Cold War ended, and there has also been a dramatic decline in the average number of deaths per conflict. Global conflict-prevention and post-conflict peace-building efforts are becoming both more numerous and more effective.

The increasing weight of world opinion and interventions is also having an impact on leaders and warlords who previously would have felt no constraints on war-making and human rights abuses:

> There is an international rallying to the notion of a need to protect populations that are threatened in their own borders; it's gained some traction… The world has sent a message to the warlords and despots, and we've seen modified behavior from people who were engaged in the worst sorts of abuses.[19]

In 1990, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reported 30 'major armed conflicts'; in 2009, there were only 17.[20] As Joshua Goldstein observes, we are 'winning the war on war'.[21]

Why, despite all this evidence to the contrary, do these fears persist? Mack primarily blames the mass media, which dwells on conflict while virtually ignoring all the quiet successes and subtle trends. The slow rate of change in people's perceptions is also a cause. For example, there is a widespread perception in South Africa that murder and other violence are on the rise, despite statistics showing the opposite.[22]

Schell describes two ancient and conflicting philosophies – one is the peaceful resolution of problems, taught to children in homes, schools and churches, which for the most part guides our daily interactions. This clashes with one of extreme, premeditated violence, a fall-back position of governments for which they are constantly prepared, having massive forces and machinery permanently employed (and rarely challenged by religious leaders).

Nonviolence: How Most Revolutions Really Occur

According to Schell, the idea that violence is necessary to overthrow a violent regime is a political myth, with little historical evidence to support it. He cites the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England, in which the overthrow of King James II was supposedly by an army led by the Dutchman William of Orange, but was more due to the defection of a union of parliamentarians and members of the aristocracy. The French Revolution too was more determined by defections by key Paris-based regiments than armed struggle, with the storming of the Bastille a minor element which has been heavily romanticised. He argues that the American Revolution was established by noncooperation with the British, refusal to abide by the British judicial and tax systems, and establishment of the Americans' own governing bodies. The fighting was in *defence* of the revolution and its aim was not to defeat the British but to endure, and outlast them. [23] Non-cooperation is a classic nonviolent tactic, as is the 'constructive programme' of not just protesting but creating 'parallel institutions' or alternative bodies and processes to replace corrupt or unjust ones.

Russia had the storming of Winter Palace, but according to Schell the revolution had already been won by Trotsky, after a long propaganda campaign and through his dialogue with the army. There were millions in this army, so theoretically the Czarist regime was impregnable, but the soldiers were largely of peasant origin and, in difficult times, were sympathetic to communist ideals. They provided little resistance to the communist coup and quickly switched to supporting it.

In Germany, Hitler's attempted military putsch in 1923 failed miserably. What got him into power was a steady building of parallel institutions, such as his own propaganda units, police and army (although these, of course, were incredibly violent). He established a vast movement by appealing to people's baser instincts such as racism (reminiscent of Australia in recent years with its draconian mandatory detention of asylum-seekers). In a country reeling from its WW1 defeat, polarised between communism and the extreme right, big business and to some extent the communist-hating church hierarchies chose to support Hitler.

In most cases there was *later* considerable violence, by conspirators against others, but also against each other. In France, there were murders of

aristocrats and anyone opposed to the new rulers. The Nazis of course began the Holocaust and their expansionism led to WWII.

In Russia, the Bolsheviks were just one of a number of revolutionary groups (including Mensheviks and anarchists), but once the Bolsheviks were in charge they used extreme violence against their former allies. To justify this, they needed the myth that violence had been necessary in the revolution: and they made a propaganda film, in the production of which more people were killed than had died in the revolution![24] The USSR then turned into a totalitarian empire where every aspect of life was controlled and monitored through extensive surveillance and Gulags (labour camps). It couldn't be brought down by Western militarism, no matter how much they spent on it. Both sides were nuclear-armed and the world lived in a balance of terror, under the doctrine of mutually-assured destruction, with the apt acronym of MAD. Internal revolutions using street violence attempted to overthrow the state in Hungary (1956) and Prague (1968) but were quickly quashed by Soviet tanks.

Realising the futility of violence against such a regime, people such as Lech Walesa in Poland, and Vaclav Havel, the Czech playwright who eventually became that country's president, began to study nonviolence and to address one small issue at a time, using subtle means such as Havel's radio plays to grow a movement rather than take on the regimes in their entirety and in the streets. Later, open nonviolent defiance such as the national strikes instigated by the *Solidarnosc* (Solidarity) union in Poland opened up cracks in the periphery of the USSR system. When these cracks appeared they spread quickly through the entire system precisely *because* it was totalitarian: all-encompassing, rigid and inflexible. The system collapsed with a rapidity nobody expected.

The Cold War's arms race, along with costly support for countries like Cuba and Angola, had decimated the USSR economy, and there had been immense external pressure on the regime from capitalist nations – including a culture war where, for example, the US government funded abstract expressionism to contrast its 'modern and liberated' aspects with the 'regimented and narrow' socialist realism of the USSR.[25] Even so, through Poland's unionism and national strikes, Germans graffitiing and then chipping away at the Wall, and Russians standing in front of tanks, nonviolence played an enormous role in bringing down a nuclear-armed empire of police states.

Nevertheless, the furphy (misconception) persists that nonviolence only works against civilised opponents, such as the British in India.[26] This Anglocentric view ignores the fact that Britain did not conquer half the world through offering cucumber sandwiches and cricket, but through invasions, Gatling guns and fictions like *Terra Nullius* (under which Australia was supposedly a 'land of no one'). The British had concentration camps long before the Nazis; during their 1899–1902 war with the Boers, at least 14,000

African children and 26,000 Boer women and children died in British prisons.[27]

Many occupied peoples tried violent uprisings against British rule but were mown down by superior killing technologies, for example 20,000 Kenyans in the Mau Mau Rebellion of the 1950s, a 'campaign notable for its atrocities in the field and its systematic torture in…concentration camps'.[28] The later apartheid regime in South Africa modelled its interrogation systems on what the British were doing in Northern Ireland.

Yet in India, nonviolence removed the veneer of British respectability: and was able to 'show the world at large the fangs and claws of the [British] Government in all its ugliness and ferocity'.[29] On a visit to London, Gandhi was asked what he thought of Western civilization. He replied 'I think it would be a good idea'.[30]

Although many believe that nonviolence requires saintly leaders, the Indian movement involved not just Gandhi (who had human failings – such as in parenting – some Luddite views and extreme ideas about sexuality), but millions of people, including many active but unrecognized women such as Sarodjini Naidu. She played a pivotal role in the attempted occupation of the Dharasana saltworks, where the Indian courage in the face of brutal repression turned the international tide of opinion against the British. The campaign finally achieved its goal of independence in 1947.

In a similar vein, opposition to American civil rights was far from civilised. African-Americans had endured centuries of murder, rape and systematic repression, and protestors in the 1960s were murdered, fire-bombed, lynched, beaten up, threatened and constantly vilified.[31] Anti-Vietnam protesters also faced extreme force, with four students shot dead by Ohio National Guardsmen at Kent State University in 1970.[32]

Historical revisionism

Historical revisionism regarding nonviolence is common. As Vietnam protest veteran Ralph Summy has written, nonviolence is rarely given credit for its extraordinary achievements. Rather they are ascribed to some nebulous concept of 'people power' which somehow arises spontaneously. Its revolutions, such as the tearing down of the Iron Curtain, are usually thought to be *impossible* until they actually occur; but then they are said to have been *inevitable*.

In South America between 1931 and 1961, nine dictatorships were overthrown by civic strikes, and later a popular movement ousted the murderous Pinochet with his death squads in Chile. However, little recognition has been given to these successes. For example, El Salvador now has 'a national day…to commemorate the heroic patriots who failed in an armed insurrection, while the success of the nonviolent civic strike is left to the reflections of a handful of scholars'.[33]

It was not, as is often claimed, the 72-day NATO bombing of Kosovo that ended the Milosevic regime. This backfired in that it rallied patriotic support behind Milosevic. What really brought him down was a movement led by a student group *Otpor* who had studied nonviolence and used humour and dialogue to great effect, building towards an unstoppable popular uprising in 2000. And although nonviolence is decried as a middle-class option by some on the Left (despite its success for India's poverty-stricken masses), here it was a case of the poorest people in Europe succeeding where the might and technological sophistication of the world's richest had failed.[34]

In the Philippines, the brutal Marcos regime which assassinated political opponents such as Benigno Aquino was overthrown by thirty months of nonviolence, after *seventeen years* of communist attempts at violent overthrow of the state had failed.

Moreover these incredible victories for nonviolence were not flukes. After analyzing 323 resistance campaigns over the last century, Maria Stephan and Erica Chenoweth declared that 'major nonviolent campaigns have achieved success 53 per cent of the time, compared with 26 per cent for violent resistance campaigns'.[35] Another study found that out of 67 transitions from authoritarianism between 1972 and 2005, 50 of them, or more than 70 per cent, were driven by bottom-up civic movements. Attempts by elites, using top-down methods to drive regime change, had comparatively little effect.[36]

So not only is nonviolence ethically superior to violent campaigns, *it actually works better*. It may not have the pageantry and fireworks of war, the supersonic jets and Hollywood glorification, the status and media coverage of militarism, but its quieter, more subtle approach belies its phenomenal successes, and is a sign not of lack of opposition but of superior strategy.

Nonviolence versus Nazism

Barack Obama, in Oslo to accept the Nobel Peace prize in 2009, perpetuated popular misconceptions when he said: 'I face the world as it is, and cannot stand idle in the face of threats to the American people. For make no mistake: Evil does exist in the world. A nonviolent movement could not have halted Hitler's armies'.[37] But a cursory study of nonviolence shows that it does not mean being idle – it is an active struggle for a better world and a more peaceful one at the same time. It acknowledges that there is evil in the world and works to reduce this evil without adding more evil to it, the evil of violence (Figure 2).

And let's examine the question of whether nonviolence would have succeeded against Nazi Germany, one of the most ruthless regimes of all time. In fact, nonviolence *was* used in a variety of situations and achieved some remarkable successes, such as in occupied Denmark. Here, sabotage and calls to resistance began with schoolboys and a coalition of left-wingers and patriots. They soon realised that general strikes were what worked best, as

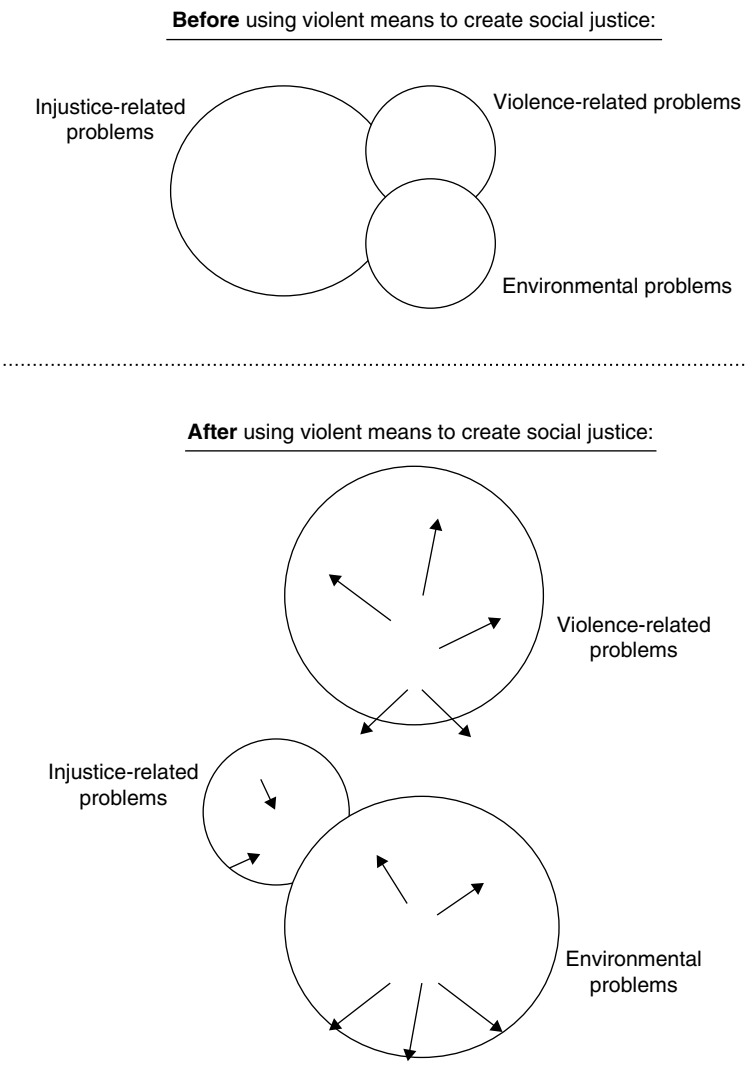

Figure 2 Problems caused by employing violent means

they effectively shut down the industries upon which the Nazis relied for their war effort. The Nazis could effect terrible retribution on the populace for sabotage, but they could not force it to work (Figure 3).

Open defiance, fuelled by underground newspapers, illegal radio broadcasts, patriotic musical gatherings (Figure 4) and symbolic resistance became so widespread that the country was virtually ungovernable by August 1944 (Figure 5).

Figure 3 Danish strike, c.1943

In addition, the country was so united in its efforts to save Jewish people from the Nazis, largely by smuggling them across to neutral Sweden (Figure 6) that 7,220 Jewish people were saved, and only 472 were captured.[38] Of these, 90 per cent survived the war because of advocacy from Danish authorities. As far as is known, no Danish Jew died in a Nazi gas chamber.[39]

In Bulgaria, leaders of the Orthodox Church, along with farmers in the northern stretches of the country, threatened to lie across railroad tracks to prevent Jews from being deported. This popular pressure emboldened the Bulgarian parliament to resist the Nazis, who eventually rescinded the deportation order, saving almost all of the country's 48,000 Jews.[40] Holland hid many of its Jews, and one Dutchman even engaged in a nude protest against German clothes rationing![41]

Norway's Nazi-appointed Prime Minister Vidkun Quisling ordered teachers to teach Nazism, but an estimated 10,000 of the country's 12,000 teachers refused. A campaign of intimidation – including torture and sending approximately 1,300 male teachers to jails and forced labour camps within the Arctic Circle – failed to break the will of the teachers and sparked growing resentment throughout the country. After eight months, Quisling

Figure 4 Danish patriotic musical rally, c.1943

Figure 5 Danish blockade, c.1944

Figure 6 Danish Jews escape to Sweden, c.1943

backed down and the teachers came home victorious. Bishops and priests refused to bow to Nazification of the State Church, with most immediately resigning their posts but continuing unsanctioned preaching. Despite threats and severance of their pay, they held fast and were fed, housed, and clothed by congregation members. Nazification of sporting associations was resisted through a call to 'Boycott all sporting events of every kind so long as the Nazis are in control; don't participate in them, either as teams or as individuals, and don't patronize them as spectators.'[42] Sporting events were held in secret, and all German attempts to break the 'sports strike' failed; it lasted until the liberation of Norway. Fifty-five million dollars' worth of gold bullion was slipped out of Norway under the noses of the Germans, and Nazi collaborators were shunned or treated with contempt.

From 1942, civilian home-front resistance through The Coordination Committee and the Circle (Kretsen) fostered opposition to Nazi ideologies. This widespread community resistance supported sabotage, including the destruction of the vital 'heavy water' plant at Vemork by local and allied forces in 1943, which slowed German atomic research. Resistance by the underground – many of whom were severely tortured, beaten, and/or killed or committed suicide rather than talk – was such that Germany was forced to keep seventeen divisions within Norway, when they could have

been used against the Allied invasion of Normandy. Once the decision was reached to move these forces, railway sabotage ensured that they could only be moved slowly and with difficulty.

Even in Germany, despite a culture of obedience to authority, there was resistance by some priests and military personnel. The priests managed to overturn legislation for the euthanasia of intellectually-disabled people (although it continued underground, and the mainstream churches – like the Allies – were often silent on the genocide of Jewish people and other minorities).

Contrary to popular assumption, those soldiers who refused to participate in atrocities or disobeyed orders on principle were not executed or even demoted, but usually transferred sideways and given other responsibilities, such as guard duty or crowd control.[43] While public denunciation of Nazi anti-Jewish policy was not permitted, quiet non-compliance was widely tolerated.[44] A study of tens of thousands of legal investigations found no evidence that any soldier or SS man had ever been executed, sent to a concentration camp, or transferred to a military penal unit for refusing to kill.[45]

There were many German conscientious objectors, such as Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and (Austrian) Franz Jägerstetter, some of whom courageously accepted execution rather than serve the Nazi regime.[46] Resistance groups such as the White Rose, which included students Sophie Scholl and her brother Hans, created and distributed underground newspapers around the country; they too died for their beliefs. There was a riot at their Munich University on 13 January 1943 when the city *Gauleiter*, Paul Giesler, urged women students to present the 'fuhrer' with a child rather than completing their education, even offering to the prettier women the services of one of his adjutants. Several women stood and walked out of the hall in protest but were arrested; the male students rose in their defence, and took a high-ranking Nazi Party official hostage (and this in Nazi heartland at a fanatical university whose Chancellor was a prominent SS member). The authorities appeared to back down, releasing the women a few days later.[47]

Nonviolence even occurred in Auschwitz,[48] and in Berlin, in the centre of the Nazi machine. In 1943 a group of German women, whose Jewish husbands had been arrested, demonstrated outside the Gestapo headquarters, shouting for their husbands to be returned, despite the threat of being machine-gunned. Amazingly, they succeeded, and thousands in Germany and France were released, proving that even the most brutal of regimes like to preserve an image of legitimacy.[49]

A major finding of interrogations of German generals after the war, was of the Nazis' inability to deal effectively with nonviolent resistance:

> They were experts in violence and had been trained to deal with opponents who used that method. But other forms of resistance baffled them – all the more in proportion as the methods were subtle and concealed. It was a relief to them when resistance became violent and when nonviolent

> forms were mixed with guerrilla action, thus making it easier to combine drastic repressive action against both at the same time.[50]

Nonviolence against Nazism could have been used much earlier, more widely and systematically. There could have been earlier and stronger sanctions against Germany and international boycotts of the corporations who allegedly provided technology that aided the Holocaust, or those who otherwise supported the Nazis.[51] Instead, these corporations are now among the biggest on Earth. Countries that supported the Nazi remilitarization of Germany – such as Holland and 'neutral' Sweden and Switzerland, where submarines were made for the Germans, violating the Versailles Treaty[52] – should also have faced sanctions. Individuals who worked with the regime should have been ostracized, but many continued to hold high office, such as John Foster Dulles who, before becoming US Secretary of State, was American liaison to the Nazi-supporting chemical cartel I.G. Farben, which 'used slave labour to manufacture the Zyklon-B crystals that fueled the gas chambers'.[53]

More Effective than Violence

The power of sanctions and boycotts can be seen from many campaigns, such as the Port Elizabeth (South Africa) boycott led by Mthuseli Jack (but suggested by women) that gained support for reforms from the business community, driving a wedge into the Apartheid regime. This complemented the international boycott and divestment campaign which led to many corporations, such as Coca-Cola, ITT, IBM, General Electric, Ford, General Motors, and Chase Manhattan bank pulling out of South Africa, and put enormous pressure on the regime to grant concessions.[54]

Obama's belief that 'Negotiations cannot convince al-Qaeda's leaders to lay down their arms' similarly doesn't square with the evidence. After analyzing hundreds of terrorist groups that have operated over the last 40 years, a RAND corporation study concluded that military force is almost never successful at stopping terrorism. The vast majority of terrorist groups that ended during that period reached a peaceful political accommodation with their government (43 per cent) or were penetrated and eliminated by local police and intelligence agencies (40 per cent). In other words, negotiation is clearly possible and effective.[55]

Similarly a database on every suicide bombing between 1980 to 2004 shows that, rather than being driven by religion, the vast majority of suicide bombers – responsible more than 95 per cent of all incidents on record – were mainly motivated by a desire to compel a democratic government to withdraw its military forces from land they saw as their homeland:

> Since suicide terrorism is mainly a response to foreign occupation and not Islamic fundamentalism, the use of heavy military force to transform

> Muslim societies over there, if you would, is only likely to increase the number of suicide terrorists coming at us.[56]

Let's pause for a moment's reflection. The biggest 'defence' forces in the world are rarely used for defence. Military attempts to overthrow regimes are usually less effective than nonviolent ones. And terrorism is inflamed, not extinguished, by militarism. The inescapable conclusion is that militarism has had its day, but we are still being conned into it by old fears and assumptions, and by the influence of the military-industrial complex. So let's look more closely at nonviolence.

Nonviolence: A Diverse Praxis

The notion that nonviolence only involves protest marches, rallies, placards and freedom songs is patently incorrect. Rather, there are several forms of nonviolence and some 198 types of tactics that have been historically used, grouped into three main areas of:

- **Protest and Persuasion**, where people register their opposition to something and attempt to persuade or convert people to their point of view. Examples include campaign websites such as www.penan.org, awareness-raising concerts and documentaries.
- **Noncooperation**, where people refuse to cooperate with illegitimate regimes. One example is Australian rainforest activist Robert Burrowes' refusal to pay the percentage of his tax that goes towards militarism; instead he attempts to pay an equivalent amount in trees and shovels. Other examples of noncooperation include go-slows and strikes, while economic noncooperation involves boycotts. This form can be engaged by anyone and may be relatively simple; it means withdrawing your consent or support for something you disagree with, such as the Shell petrol company (because of its alleged complicity in atrocities in Nigeria).[57] It may, however, involve considerable sacrifice.
- **Nonviolent Intervention** involves actively trying to prevent something, such as through a blockade against troop movements, or an occupation of Defence Department offices.[58]

An alternative name for nonviolence is 'counterpower'. Elites are seen to rely on *idea power* (widely accepted 'truths', such as that countries need strong militaries), *economic power* (ability to tax and impose fines), and *physical power* (police, military and security forces). Movements can overcome their opponents by using *idea counterpower*, such as an internet campaign to convince people that military forces are redundant. Idea counterpower roughly corresponds to Protest and Persuasion. Movements can also use their economic power against opponents, for example by arranging a boycott of

shoes made with child labour, forcing the corporation to change its practices or face financial ruin (Noncooperation). If necessary, movements can also use the physical counterpower of picket lines, occupying sweat-shop factories or blockading uranium shipments (Nonviolent Intervention).

Under the counterpower conception, most successful campaigns go through four stages of:

1. Consciousness – researching an issue and letting people know about it;
2. Coordination – organising a group to do something about it;
3. Confrontation – if necessary, taking an opponent head-on and escalating the confrontation if the opponent does; and
4. Consolidation – ensuring that the gains are maintained.[59]

Burrowes has categorised nonviolence into various axes of principled or pragmatic, reformist or revolutionary.[60] Principled nonviolence usually stems from deeply-held religious, spiritual or ethical opposition to violence, whereas pragmatic (or strategic) nonviolence is usually adopted as a useful tactic that may be abandoned if it seems to be not working (although, as Theodor Roszak observed, 'People try nonviolence for weeks and when it fails they turn to violence: which hasn't worked in centuries').[61] Reformist nonviolence aims for relatively minor change (such as a local ban on plastic shopping bags, which occurred in Tasmania's Coles Bay, but then led to a state-wide ban), whilst revolutionary nonviolence seeks deep-seated, long-term change and works towards a peaceful, just, egalitarian and sustainable society.[62]

Orthodox Nonviolence

What people usually think of as nonviolence is in fact just one of several types of nonviolence (we will look at other types in later chapters). Orthodox (or Gandhian) nonviolence is a principled, revolutionary form. It emphasises holistic rather than dualistic ways, and therefore regards the means used for a cause to be as important as the ends, arguing that violent means dehumanise activists and set up an unresolvable discord of inconsistency between objectives and methods. Although it sometimes has reformist aims, such as preserving wetlands through pressuring a government to act, it is generally regarded as 'revolutionary', in the sense that it aims to address root causes of societal problems, a primary one of which is ecological violence. Grassroots activism is preferred to parliamentary engagement, with sustainable change seen as occurring largely from below through community action and education rather than through seizing power and reforming from above. Through persuasion rather than coercion, activists seek to 'convert' opponents and third parties to their point of view. The 'critical mass' of public opinion and action that is built up in this way will supposedly translate

into better governmental and corporate policies and practices, and minimise backlashes against them. Clear and respectful communication is important, with common ground sought. Remaining nonviolent even under provocation is vital, requiring discipline and training. To show their commitment to nonviolence and the cause, activists should be prepared to suffer rather than retaliate. Thus orthodox nonviolence is 'principled' rather than merely 'pragmatic'; it is adhered to even if proving difficult or seeming ineffective.

Inclusive, Open and Egalitarian

Orthodox theorists such as Martin Luther King have argued that a movement needs to be a mass one to be successful.[63] Inclusiveness serves the purpose of creating mass movements, because it opens groups to anyone wanting to join. This can be contrasted with sabotage groups, which, like militaristic or corporate systems, tend to be exclusionist and secretive. Orthodox nonviolence rejects militant direct action as counterproductive and believes that secretive actions only perpetuate malignant global structures: 'secrecy is rooted in fear and contributes to it, whereas nonviolent struggle is essentially about learning to overcome fear'.[64] Although actions within brutal regimes may sometimes require secrecy, Havel believed that 'ultimately – if one was to "live within the truth" ... one had to act openly'.[65]

Orthodox activists establish police protocols to ensure open and truthful communication. They fully consult with police before any large group actions, (though officially-unsanctioned actions such as graffiti may also happen). Their rationale is that if police know what actions are planned they are less likely to be fearful and thus violent, and it also becomes easier to talk to them, convert them or enlist their support. These conversions swing the balance of power toward the activists, and help the movement to grow. Such activists would inform police of their intentions to hold a mass demonstration the next day, and tell them approximately how many intend to be arrested for 'civil disobedience' (as a personal statement or last-ditch attempt to publicise the issue). If trying to blockade a road, the activists would merely sit down in it. If asked to leave by police they may refuse, and be arrested. Protest organisers sometimes recommend that arrestees should walk off with the police, rather than going limp and having to be dragged away, as this might antagonise police, lead to charges of resisting arrest (which are more serious than ones like trespass), and create an unfavourable impression on people hearing of the charges.

Orthodox nonviolence tries to avoid the hierarchical and coercive nature of patriarchal systems such as militaries. It advocates radically democratic 'consensus' decision-making. This process arises from the belief that voting is undemocratic, as up to forty-nine per cent of a group may disagree with a decision, be unwilling to implement it, and may even undermine it. Consensus calls for the whole group to come to a negotiated agreement.

Building on Gandhi's concept of *satyagraha* or 'truth-force', consensus is based on the realisation that no one person or group owns all the truth; rather, a shared truth is worked towards together. Non-hierarchical structures comprised of informal networks of small groups, popularly known as 'affinity groups', further decentralise power and create strong bonds and synergies.

Orthodox nonviolence generally opposes the destruction of property, whether it be fences at a military establishment or bulldozers used for logging, out of respect for private or public ownership of property, and for strategic reasons.

Although an extreme act, sabotage is said not to be revolutionary as it makes no attempt to address the paradigms underlying particular practices. Burrowes argues that the move to embrace sabotage in South Africa's struggle against apartheid was 'disastrous' and 'a total failure', and concludes that 'sabotage has no part in a disciplined nonviolent defence'.[66]

The notion that orthodox nonviolence is revolutionary clashes with another misconception – that nonviolence is a soft option, cop-out or pressure valve that prevents real political change.

Violence is the State's Status Quo

According to some on the Left, violence is necessary for real revolutions. Such revolutions rely on the theory that the Marxist stages of proletarian revolution can be accelerated by 'a conspiratorial group ready to use violence rather than to await the evolutionary stages of growth towards a vast proletariat'.[67] Classic revolutions are 'violent, utopian, professedly class-based, and characterized by a progressive radicalization, culminating in terror.'[68]

Nonviolence, it is argued, is accepted and even encouraged by the right wing of politics because it does not threaten capitalism and can even aid it. It is said to be a useful tool in some circumstances but is ultimately ineffectual when the crunch comes – violence is the only thing which can succeed as a revolutionary tool when a powerful repressive opposition chooses to use its violence.[69] I have already argued that this is not the case, that the many strategies and tactics of nonviolence can be utilised to overthrow even totalitarian states. Let us examine this idea further, by looking at what is meant by 'revolution'.

The popular conception is of a violent change of government from the left wing of politics (whereas from the right wing it's a *coup*). This still holds true for my 'unreconstructed' Marxist friends – that violent states need to be countered with greater violence – while both Left and Right use the same logic about terrorism – that violence can defeat it. *But all this fighting fire with fire is one of the reasons why the world is warming so rapidly.*

We are told to live in fear of terrorism[70] but the majority of violence – structural, cultural and ecological as well as direct violence – comes not from

a few fanatics armed with home-made explosives but from governments and corporations. Governments are far more heavily armed (by corporations) than terrorists, bikie groups or criminals. Just as history is written by the victors, violence is largely owned by the state.

It's generally thought okay for government to be armed to the teeth but not for citizens, unless they're 'freedom fighters' in regimes we don't like, in which case our governments may be giving them weapons anyway, such as the US's arming of Contras aiming to bring down the democratically-elected Nicaraguan government in the 1980s.[71] Government violence is deemed legitimate (unless a particular country's atrocities become such that the international community finally steps in). Violence by dissenting groups is 'terrorism'.

And making killing machines for governments (although these also end up in terrorists' hands because the trade is so ill-regulated) is legitimate, highly lucrative, state-supported capitalism. In 'War and the Rise of the State', Bruce Porter describes the military foundations of modern politics, and shows how the massive expansion of bureaucracy since WWII is largely due to militarism.[72]

Revolutionary Nonviolence

So if violence is the establishment's status quo, nonviolence is fundamentally more revolutionary. It rejects the barbaric notion that killing is a legitimate, let alone civilised or modern way of resolving conflicts. It refuses to cross the ethical line carved in stone thousands of years ago that 'Thou Shalt Not Kill', the most important of the Judeo-Christian commandments.[73] It refuses to swell the coffers of the multinational weapons-makers and contribute to their massive carbon footprint: *truly progressive movements do not support merchants of death.* With its emphases on openness, trust and informality, it is anti-bureaucratic, a key component of modern protest movements.[74]

A more literal definition of revolution is a cycle of a wheel, and we keep coming back to the same place if we continue the cycle of violence and vengeance. A deeper revolution (some prefer 'evolution' despite its modernist connotations) involves not just the physical removal of a government from a building but 'extreme changes in society, ie. changes in the ways a particular community of people organises its economic and political activities, distributes its wealth, and makes the major decisions that affect the way of life of the people'.[75] Therefore the broader and deeper this change is – extending to the philosophies, paradigms, lifestyles, patterns of consumption, agriculture, diets, cultures and so on – the more revolutionary it is. Orthodox nonviolence aims for exactly that – change on many levels, to a society where the means used are commensurate with the ends, a society of transparency, radically-democratic processes and inclusive, egalitarian structures.

The Consent Theory of Power

Nonviolence also replaces the win/lose view of power which resorts to physical, legal and psychological revenge, with win/win solutions of cooperation, and is thus a fundamentally radical approach that, according to Indian activist Vandana Shiva, 'challenges the dominant concept of power as violence with the alternative of nonviolence as power'.[76] Or, as Wiccan activist Starhawk characterises it, nonviolence involves 'power-with' (cooperation), and 'power-from-within' (self-reliance) rather than 'power-over' (coercion).[77]

This challenge to the hierarchical or monolithic concept of power occurs through the 'consent theory' of power, first articulated by Étienne de la Boétie in 1548. Simplified greatly, it argues that power is not inherent in a ruler, but every ruler is dependent on the consent of the masses to his/her rule. It claims that political power is:

> pluralistic and fragile ... [and] dependent on external sources which need constant replenishment ... [Its source is] people together with their knowledge, skills and material resources.[78]

As the Western Australia Forest Alliance puts it:

> Power is dispersed throughout society: it is not controlled by an elite at the top of a political pyramid. All elites (including governments) depend on the goodwill, consent and cooperation of ordinary people in order to exercise authority.[79]

This is supported by Foucault's argument that power is a complex, ever-changing flow, with relations between different groups changing with circumstances and time.[80] According to consent theory, if people withdraw their consent (or cooperation), the regime can no longer function, and will ultimately collapse (Figure 7). Corporations, like governments, rely on people to support them by buying their products. To differing degrees, everyone has the power to boycott, for example, a product made by Nestlé, or to refuse plastic bags at a supermarket, and these actions become more powerful as more people do them.

A major criticism of this theory made by Kate McGuinness, however, is that it fails to account for power relations where there is little or no consent, such as the position of women under patriarchy, and that it is largely an instrumentalist rather than structuralist theory, reliant on a benign and unrealistic view of power.[81] Modifications to the theory by Burrowes and Brian Martin take these criticisms into account, acknowledging concentrations of power (such as MIMEC), arguing for revolutionary rather than reformist nonviolence, using the ideas of military strategist Carl von

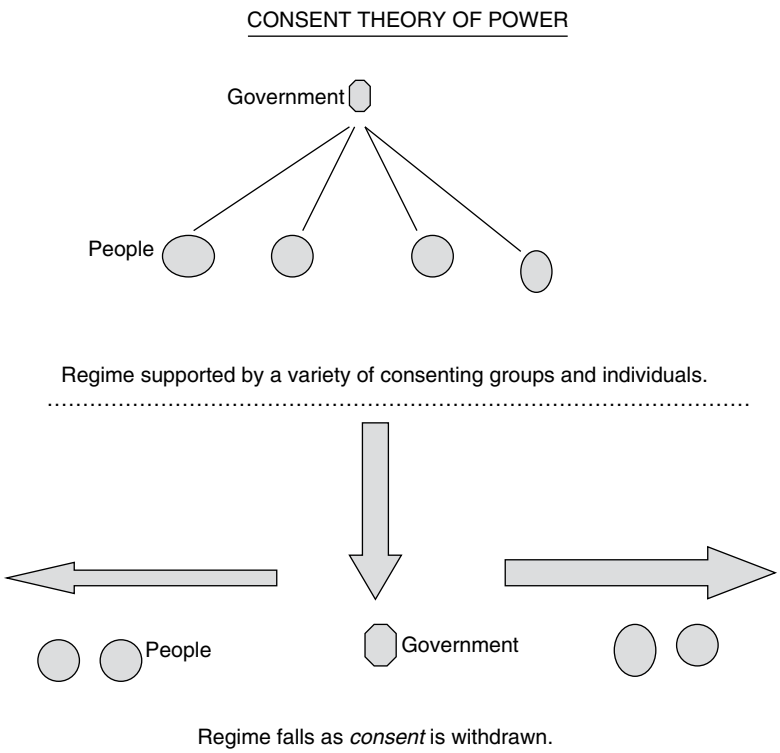

Figure 7 Illustration of the Consent Theory

Clausewitz to formulate effective strategies, and identifying and targeting the pillars of support of opponents. (Israel, for example, may not be dependent on Palestinians, but it *is* dependent on the US). Through the 'Great Chain of Nonviolence', the most relevant tactics to undermine consent can be developed.[82]

The Advantages of Nonviolence over Military Methods

One advantage of nonviolence is that it avoids the long-term repercussions of violence: the inter-generational hatred which can last for centuries and re-erupt unexpectedly. An example of this is Serbian violence in the 1990s which can be partly traced back to a Serbian defeat in Kosovo Poljein in 1389.[83] In a personal experience, one side of my family still had little time for Catholics in the 1990s, because Irish republicans had supposedly burnt down their house seven decades earlier, a story which turned out to be untrue anyway.

Nonviolent action also tends to be good practice for dialogue, democratic processes and restraint of force, whereas if militarism (and its secrecy and hierarchy) becomes the problem-solving mode relied on, then later problems are liable to be dealt with in a similar fashion. That is, the use of violence (or the rhetoric of violence, as in the USSR's case) predisposes the new regime to violent suppression of internal opponents. This is borne out in the aforementioned study of 67 revolutions, which found that democratic rights were much better observed in countries which used nonviolence to achieve better governments: armed struggle is 'significantly less likely to produce sustainable freedom, in contrast to nonviolent opposition, which even in the face of state repression is far more likely to yield a democratic outcome'.[84] A study of the numerous African revolutions between 1989 and 1994 similarly found that change occurring through mass protests led more frequently to democratisation than when a violent coup or revolution was involved.[85]

French philosopher Simone Weil was strengthened in her pacifism by her short experience fighting with anarchists in the Spanish Civil War,[86] seeing how 'the waging of war dictated totalitarianism even when its original impulse was libertarian'.[87] She deplored the '[c]onscription, the execution of deserters and a pyramidal military command-structure amounting to dictatorship'.

In 1921, the Irish independence struggle succeeded in freeing the majority of the country from British rule, but was rapidly followed by a bloody civil war, where former comrades, friends and even family members turned on each other, resulting in perhaps twice as many deaths.[88] Nor did violence ever succeed in gaining Northern Ireland for the Republic; it merely came to be associated with ongoing trauma along with organised crime. Rather, it has been a women's peace movement led by Nobel Peace Prize-winners Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, hunger strikes, cultural activism, international pressure and diplomacy (particularly by British Labour's Mo Mowlam and the US administration) and European Union financial support that has led to progress there.

Despite war's occasional successes – such as the defeat of Nazi Germany, which partly relied on nonviolence anyway – the costs of war are incalculable. How can we put a monetary value on the loss of someone's son or mother or baby? How many generations does it take to get over the psychological damage, the post-traumatic stress disorder caused by war?[89] What happens when the traumatised survivors of a genocide such as the Holocaust, and their children, try to run a country? Does their determination never to be victims again make them over-compensate and become colonialist oppressors themselves? And environmentally, how many centuries until the depleted uranium rained on the Middle East is safe?

In 'The Illusion of Victory', Ian Bickerton looks at the victors and the vanquished at the end of a major war and then a generation later, and finds

that the rewards of victory in war never last long. He finds that, objectively, it is impossible to tell who was the winner and who was the loser a mere twenty-five years after a war has ended. If we cannot tell who won a war, Bickerton asks, is it ever worth fighting at all?

Objections to Nonviolence

One of the most obvious objections to nonviolence is that it appears powerless in immediate situations against extreme violence, for example, when an army is firing into a crowd. Unarmed protesters will be horribly wounded or even killed. But violence is not necessarily going to provide protection against such an attack either. If people go armed into the streets they are likely to get fired on earlier and with more ferocity, and a cycle of violence and retribution is established that is difficult to overthrow, given that there is no longer a space for dialogue to occur. And using violence on armed mobs is much easier to justify, as a 'law and order' necessity.

The last chapter mentioned the British massacres in Kenya, but in the explicitly-nonviolent Indian protests, the repression (apart from at Amritsar) mainly involved beatings with steel-tipped lathes rather than the firing of machineguns, so there were fewer deaths and serious injuries. These attacks on peaceful protesters horrified onlooking reporters, who wrote about their courage and discipline despite the brutality. The international outcry that resulted was a turning point in the campaign.

This is a process described as 'nonviolent jui jitsu'.[90] Attacks on unarmed protesters, while terrible, often backfire against a regime, as they erode its legitimacy and raise people to outrage that may overwhelm their customary fear, apathy or neutrality. This occurred in Iran in 1978, where police killed unarmed protestors, mainly veiled women and teenagers. The violence of the state was thus exposed and its legitimacy destroyed, and the movement grew, with bolder, more overt marches, despite threats of further violence.

Similarly, beatings of Czech demonstrators in 1989 'galvanised political opposition to the hard-line communist regime…they were the "spark that started the whole movement"'.[91] As Hannah Arendt argues, violence and power are opposites; the more you need to use violence, the more obvious it is how little supported your power is.[92] Mubarak, the Egyptian dictator deposed in 2011 by a nonviolent uprising, had some of the world's most devastating weapons in his fighter planes, but when he flew them over his own citizens in an attempt to scare them into submission, it seemed very clear that he had run out of options.

And though nonviolent activists may be killed, will more people be killed in a violent uprising? Although every situation is different and complex, making comparisons problematic, it is nevertheless worth examining the death tolls of two struggles with some similarities. Both were anti-colonialist struggles of third world countries versus first world Western European ones,

in the mid-20th century. In Algeria's mainly violent insurrection against France, a million people died from war-related causes, while India's largely nonviolent struggle against a more powerful opposition – Britain – had a death toll of a few thousand at most (although partition was extremely violent).[93] According to the 2010 film 'Hors la Loi' (Outside the Law), the later phase of the Algerian campaign – open nonviolent resistance in the streets and subways of Paris, creation of parallel institutions, and international pressure – did more to gain them independence than a long and bloody terrorist campaign that achieved little, while dehumanising the participants.

Actions of Dispersal

Of course, it makes sense to avoid direct confrontation with a repressive regime. Kurt Schock describes two categories of nonviolence – actions of concentration and actions of dispersal.[94] The former are where people come together in highly visible ways. This, however, can lead to the slaughter of civilians (such as the Santa Cruz massacre of Timorese people by Indonesian soldiers), so the lesser-known actions of dispersed nonviolence may be necessary, such as boycotts and stay-at-home strikes, which are harder to prevent. Minimising casualties can also occur through evacuation; having multiple, dispersed foci of protest rather than concentrated gatherings; underground or cultural protests; use of new social media; or unexpected tactics such as going into prayer postures, or even disrobing, which has often been used in African countries.

Chilean activists in 1983 began coordinated banging of pots and pans and singing songs about dictator Pinochet's imminent demise, 'a practice that so irked the general that he banned singing', while recent Syrian activists have avoided regime repression 'by using flash mobs and night-time protests, which are more difficult to repress. Daytime protests are now well-planned, with multiple escape routes and mirrors to blind snipers trying to shoot protesters.'[95]

Actions of concentration are important elements of campaigns, so the two types can be alternated depending on the current levels of repression. The dispersed actions build grassroots support for the movement, and when the time is right, the movement can return to concentrated but more risky actions, such as Egypt's 2011 rallies in Tahrir Square. Varying your tactics maintains an element of surprise for movements that don't subscribe to the complete openness of orthodox nonviolence.

Many revolutionaries or resistance figures have had a big influence as exiles. Leon Trotsky, for example, lived in Paris, London, Munich, Geneva and Zurich for 17 years,[96] while Fretilin's Jose Ramos Horta worked tirelessly for Timor Leste in his 24-year exile while based in Australia and the US. Iran's exiled Ayatollah Khomeini urged nonviolent noncooperation with the US-backed Shah's dictatorship via cassettes smuggled into the country.

National strikes and brave demonstrations brought the Shah down in 1979, although the next regime was no better – autocratic, sexist and intolerant, poignantly portrayed in Marjane Satrapi's film 'Persepolis'.[97]

The African National Congress's Eddie Funde (later South Africa's ambassador to Germany) toured Australia in 1986 to raise international consciousness about the anti-apartheid struggle.[98] This awareness-raising was just one among numerous nonviolent tactics that helped end apartheid, although the belief persists that it was the only the ANC's armed struggle that achieved this.[99]

When the international community views a regime as illegitimate, it begins to withdraw its funding, cut its ties and demand regime change. A lot of the pressure on Egypt's Mubarak came from the business community, reeling from general strikes that had shut down the country.[100] At the core of that successful nonviolent revolution against a dictator backed by the most powerful country in the world was a group of activists who had studied nonviolence and strategically, bravely and patiently applied it.

A Feminist Plan for Ending War

Maude Royden was a British suffragist educated to be an anti-militarist through her commitment to women's issues. She later became an evangelistic pacifist during WWI, until the hostility towards her and her small peace caravan erupted into violence in 1917. She could no longer believe 'that women were innately more pacific than men' but still believed that the women's movement could be a force for peace, arguing that 'militarism and the Women's Movement cannot exist together', that militaristic religions, legal codes and civilisations degraded women, deprived them of rights, and relegated them to sex objects.[101] Or, as Sybil Oldfield puts it: 'Women are not essentially anti-militarist, but militarism is essentially anti-feminist… The validation of violence has to be called in question by the physically weaker sex'.[102]

After the declaration of war in 1914, Royden argued that Britain should have unilaterally disarmed by demand from the people and that this 'moral miracle' would have had its effect. The world would have been changed. No nation would have rushed into war 'in self defence'. This proof, by acts rather than words or protests, that Britain intended no attack would have forced the Germans to confer with Britain under pressure from the German socialists in parliament and comprising two fifths of the German army:

> [W]e could have called, not on our allies only, but on the world to support us in our demand for peace. We could have called on every neutral nation to refuse aid of any kind to the warmaker, and on our allies to make no preparations for war, leaving to the first aggressor the appalling responsibility of marching against an absolutely non-resistant people.[103]

Royden admitted, however, that she was completely unprepared and unorganised to rally national disarmament in August 1914. But what if the world were to work towards her ideal? In this globalised world, a boycott of any warring nations could be highly effective, as every nation is now dependent on trade with others. We also have the global communication systems to organise such a boycott, and a United Nations to coordinate it, an institution which did not exist back then.

Nor do we have to honour her extreme ideal of being 'absolutely non-resistant people'. The nonviolent methods developed by Gandhi (himself influenced by suffragettes and Christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy) were, like Royden's ideas, based on deeply spiritual values. As we will see in later chapters, nonviolence has continued to develop since Gandhi's time, becoming more effective.

Royden did call for nonviolent action, not as national self-defence, but against the troops of her own country. In 1915 she became the first British anti-militarist to call for nonviolent direct action against the war-machine, based on her view that Jesus was not neutral about evil or injustice but offered an alternative method of resistance to them than waging war. She argued that:

> We could have called for the peace-lovers in the world to fling themselves...in front of the troop trains. If millions of men will go out to offer their lives up in war, surely there are those who would die for peace! And if not men, we could have called out women!...[H]ad they been organised and ready, there would have been no war.[104]

A Global Peace Movement

The same could be said for the 2003 invasion of Iraq by the 'Coalition of the Willing', which was illegal under international law. This time the peace movement was global and much better organised, coordinating the world's biggest protest ever on 15–16 February, 2003. The protest had a big impact; although it seemed to have been ignored by the Coalition's political leaders, most of those leaders were gone within a few years. However, approximately 119,700 Iraqi civilians have been killed in the war and occupation,[105] and the environmental impacts will last for many, many years. MIMEC corporations such as Halliburton are the only ones doing well out of the fiasco.

So those protests need to be a lot stronger next time, and involve exactly what Royden calls for – nonviolent direct action – if they are to shut down the war machine. A weekend march is simply not enough against such a powerful, well-organised and propaganda-practised industry. We need some of those millions who marched to also blockade military bases, shut down arms factories, picket airforce runways, stop battleships from docking, cut off their fuel supplies, occupy their offices, and shut down their

communications, using the new 'active resistance' techniques described in Chapter 4.

We saw the beginnings of such action in blockades of equipment trains in Italy; Greenpeace's blockading of a UK military port for six days with its *Rainbow Warrior,* and pink kayaks delaying the HMAS Sydney's departure for the Gulf by placing wires across Sydney Harbour; shutdowns of financial districts everywhere; and Irish airport actions.[106] Later actions include transnational solidarity and support for Turkish conscientious objectors[107] and the South African workers who blocked a Chinese arms shipment to Zimbabwe in April 2008.[108]

Accompanying these protest and nonviolent intervention tactics (the latter would only attract the more adventurous) could be the third form of nonviolence: noncooperation. This would involve a boycott– in which many are already involved[109] – of all corporations doing business with military forces, extending to shareholders, banks, superannuation funds, and even telephone companies.[110] It is rare that a campaign succeeds using one form of nonviolence alone; usually all three, along with numerous tactics, are necessary to build a broad-based, diverse movement strong enough to overcome entrenched, powerful opponents.

Nonviolent National Defence

Such an anti-war insurrection would be far from easy to organise and enact. If it succeeded, however, and a nation chose to declare peace on the world, and phase out its military forces (there are already countries such as Kiribas, Costa Rica, Samoa, Palau, Grenada and Nauru which have no military forces), it would still have the option of utilising nonviolent methods for its defence. This could occur through citizens, governments, or combinations of the two (Civilian-based Defence), and could be codified, well-resourced and mandated. It could involve large contingents of personnel trained in nonviolent techniques that could also coordinate and lead mass civilian-based defence. Maintaining such forces would still have financial and environmental costs, but far less than the current military forces, with their fighter planes, destroyers and tanks. Nonviolence centres could train ever-growing numbers of reserve personnel, with the ultimate aim being to educate the populace as a whole in nonviolent philosophy and techniques. We have often seen how countries mobilise populations to support war efforts, right down to growing vegetables in backyards (Britain has rarely been as healthy as during WWII) and knitting scarves for soldiers. If a state had the will to take on nonviolent defence, it is capable of doing so, although there are certain caveats.

The grassroots nature of nonviolence means that many activists are wary of engaging with governments for fear of being compromised, or corrupted by power. What happens to the egalitarian ideals of revolutionary nonviolence

when a massive, hierarchical, secretive, bureaucratic institution tries to take it on? Some argue that it's unlikely to occur[111] and not possible to reconcile the differences.[112] Others say it is necessary to try (see Chapter 7).

What is important to note here is that most of the nonviolence described above, despite claims that it was supported by various groups ranging from 'the communists' to the CIA, suffered from a common problem – lack of resources. States have access to considerable resources. Can nonviolence occur from the top-down, using these resources? Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* (liberalisations of the USSR's communism) and Boris Yeltsin's confrontation of old guard communist troops in Moscow in 1991 show what can happen when mass protest is supported by the highest levels of government.[113] Similarly, when South Sydney Council joined a popular movement against airport expansion, it created an effective blockade by using its heavy machinery. What could nonviolence achieve if it was better resourced and more widely understood? What if governments, as part of an international UN programme, were to include peace education,[114] nonviolence and women's self-defence in school and tertiary curricula, educational programmes on TV, radio, newspapers, in information included in the annual taxpacks sent out to all citizens?

Such a move may well facilitate nonviolent defence. If governments, corporations and citizens were involved in a coordinated strategy for nonviolent defence, preferably led by a mass movement, they could prepare for maximum disruption and noncooperation in the event of an invasion. Civilian-based defence could oppose internal usurpations and foreign invasions through prepared nonviolent noncooperation and defiance by the population and the society's institutions. The aim is to deny attackers their objectives, to become politically unrulable by would-be tyrants, and to subvert the attackers' troops and functionaries to unreliability and even mutiny.[115]

Actions could range from decentralisation of economic, political and social life[116] to the removal of all street signs or even the destruction of roads and bridges, communications and weapons. Facilities could be designed with removable components without which they would be inoperable.[117] Bureaucratic go-slows could hinder foreign take-over of administration. Underground media could be pre-organised, and use both modern and traditional means. General strikes could shut down industries and transport; evacuations could remove labour forces. Mass rallies or dispersed actions could show dissent and aim for conversion. Blockades, although enormously risky to the participants, could slow the occupation and greet invaders with a colourful, musical, theatrical wall of determined resistance.

Leading this could be a new role for military personnel, who might still be risking their lives but would be meeting their opponent not with violence and hatred but daring, ingenuity, compassion and even art and humour. Although peace activism has long been an outsider activity, its surge during

the anti-Vietnam and then anti-nuclear movements forced institutions such as universities to allow Peace Studies departments to begin. As a Peace Studies lecturer, I find myself teaching military personnel nonviolence and post-conflict reconstruction, reconciliation and justice. Many of these have witnessed extreme violence first-hand and want to know how to prevent it, are generally receptive to nonviolence theory, and are well-organised, methodical and hard-working.

There is already a precedent for a nonviolent army, the Muslim *Khudai Khidmatgar* (Servants of God), who struggled for independence in the North West of India in the 1920s and 1930s. This red-uniformed army had ranks, titles, units and sub units, a supply depot, medical clinic and mosque. The movement endured massacres by the British, including one of at least 200 people in Peshawar in 1930. It survived the burning of homes and grain stocks, and, in one two-year period, the jailing of 12,000 members, many of whom were subjected to sadistic torture, sexual abuse, murder and slanderous propaganda in which the British claimed they were a communist paramilitary organisation. Nevertheless, by 1938 membership had grown to more than 100,000.[118]

Nonviolent Intervention: the Middle Path between Violence and Appeasement

When repressive regimes threaten genocides or engage in human rights abuses, there is a 'moral obligation of intervening'.[119] Similarly, intervention by the global community may be necessary as civil wars harm civilians and damage regional security, or where severe environmental damage occurs, for example through nuclear testing, or with the increased conflict expected as climate refugees increase in number, and disputes over water and land grow.[120]

In the past, such interventions, when they have occurred, have often been militaristic, involving invasions or at least armed 'peacekeepers'. However, there have also been examples of unarmed peacekeepers, such as the New Zealand-led forces in Bougainville in 1997.[121] Militaries are also increasingly involved in disaster relief, humanitarian work, and post-conflict reconstruction (such as road-building), and so are developing new systems and personnel to deal with these changes. (By the same token, a lot of supposed peace-building is more to suit the interests of the intervening countries, and increasingly commodified and dominated by militaries, whose methods may be antithetical to the creation of long-term 'positive peace', which is sustainable, holistic peace as opposed to the 'negative peace' of mere ceasefires.)[122]

Can the transformation of intervening forces be further developed? Could there be international forces of people trained in nonviolence and ready to intervene, coordinated and funded by the United Nations? Prepared to

sacrifice their lives, these could be parachuted into a country or enter from its borders, joining local movements to establish multiple mobile protection circles around children and the elderly. In extreme situations, non-lethal force[123] and sabotage of military capacity would be acceptable. Controlling the airwaves has been vital to numerous revolutions, from Castro's in Cuba to the overthrow of Marcos in the Philippines, so sophisticated jamming and broadcast equipment would be necessary.

Should not the pageantry of war – the immense resources that governments throw behind their soldiers – marching bands, smart uniforms, badges, ribbons and ceremonies for bravery, memorials, war movies – be thrown behind those prepared for equally brave acts of nonviolence? As Maude Royden argued:

> Who is the great adventurer – he who goes against the enemy with swords and guns, or he who goes with naked hands? … Peace is the great adventure … And only when the world conceives it so, will the world be drawn after it again.[124]

Can the masculine heroism of war, the identification of manhood with the capacity to die (and just as often kill), for one's country, be transferred into nonviolence? *Can we make nonviolence sexy?*

Royden called in 1931 for people to join her in forming a 'Peace Army' of unarmed resisters who would intervene between the combatants in the world's military confrontations. This has eventuated to some degree, in the *Shanti Shena* peace army of India,[125] the Gulf War Peace Camp of December 1990, the Time for Peace rally of the same year, the 'Walk for a Peaceful Future in the Middle East' in June 1992,[126] human shields, and the cross-border nonviolent advocacy during the second Palestinian Intifada.[127] There was also the Balkan Peace Team (1994–2001) which operated in Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo, or the less ambitious but perhaps most effective group, *Peace Brigades International*, whose volunteers go into repressive regimes and accompany dissidents to prevent them from harm and to show international support.[128] There are also nonviolent organisations working towards larger and more interventionary forces, such as *World Peace Brigade, Witness for Peace, Christian Peacemaker Teams, Rainbow Family of Living Light*, a German civilian peace service, and *Nonviolent Peaceforce*, the young international NGO based in Brussels, which has sent teams into Sri Lanka, Guatemala and the Philippines.[129]

There is already the core of even larger forces in the nonviolent movements that have achieved so many successes around the world. Apart from the exploits of Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jnr, some parts of which are well known although their histories are somewhat sanitised,[130] nonviolence histories (and particularly the roles of women) have largely been untold, but are now seeing the light of day through books such as *Protest, Power and*

Change; Howard Clark's *People Power; Civilian Jihad*; and *Nonviolent Social Movements*.

Australia too has a proud history of nonviolent action. Its origins may go back millennia, given the relatively peaceful state of relations between Aboriginal nations that the early British occupiers observed. Aboriginal people have been engaged in a long struggle against this invasion and its effects. Some of this was violent (such as resistance by Pemulwuy, Windradyne, Jandamarra, Yagan, Dundalli, Tunnerminnerwait, Maulboyheener, and Calyute) but a great deal of it has been nonviolent, such as 1946 pastoralist workers' strikes in the Pilbara, a Gurindji occupation of traditional homelands at Dagaragu, the 1972 establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy outside Parliament House, which remains to this day, a 1983 blockade at Mootawingi, important court actions, such as that led by Eddie Mabo, and the Wik case,[131] and, as I write, a blockade of a proposed massive gas plant near ancient rock art, dinosaur footprints and pristine coastal waters.[132]

* * *

This chapter has introduced nonviolence and suggested how it could replace militarism. Nonviolent civilian-based defence is already reasonably well theorised, so this book's focus will now turn to the evolution of nonviolent activism in recent and contemporary movements. The next chapter examines case studies from Australian nonviolent activism, primarily ones involving environmentalists, who increasingly worked alongside Aboriginal people. Although Australia has a long tradition of peace activism,[133] it is in environmentalism where the most significant nonviolence developments have occurred. We will examine these developments and how they make nonviolence more effective and diverse.

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3
Australian Eco-Pax Activism

The story of Australian nonviolence is not widely-known, despite its many pioneering developments. This chapter describes chronologically a selection of significant campaigns which have radicalised nonviolence, including early direct actions against climate change, and anti-nuclear blockades which had both environmental and anti-militarism aspects.

* * *

In 1971 an unlikely alliance of middle-class women – 'The Battlers for Kelly's Bush' – joined forces with the radical Builders Labourers Federation to preserve the last piece of forest on Parramatta River. The resultant Green Bans successfully halted inappropriate development, preserved parklands, and saved historic buildings, including Sydney's The Rocks, in a unique movement that 'attracted the attention of environmentalists the world over'.[1]

In the same decade, conservationists worked hard but unsuccessfully to save Tasmania's Lake Pedder from being dammed by the state's Hydro-Electric Commission. This campaign used only conservative tactics of lobbying; there was no direct action, although the first green party in world history – the United Tasmania Group – was created.[2]

Pioneering Direct Action

The 1979 blockade at Terania Creek was the 'earliest direct action in defence of rainforests in the world'.[3] After the failure of five years' lobbying (including possibly the first television advertisement by any environmental group), hundreds of protesters converged on the rainforest to demonstrate their opposition to logging. Without any set plan, what unfolded was a spontaneous response – a direct action blockade involving bodies and cars:

> Terania Creek is the unrecognised hero not only of the Australian environment movement, but of the global movement. Never before

> had people taken the philosophy of grassroots action so literally. The protest pioneers of Terania Creek were not familiar with the now-common images of a forest blockade such as tree-sitting and bulldozer obstruction – rather, they are techniques of their own creation…[I]nnovative Australian techniques spread from Terania Creek, around Australia and across the oceans…[Terania is] the most significant … agent of what would become a global shift in environmental thinking.[4]

The later Nightcap and Mt Nardi protests ended rainforest logging in New South Wales (NSW). These campaigns drew many members from the 'new settler' or 'alternative' movement, and their radical, undisciplined but largely nonviolent actions revolutionised environmentalism globally.[5] This was important climate change action, since at least 18 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions are from deforestation;[6] its impact is the same irrespective of where the forest is. Forests are massive, significantly underestimated carbon stores, and the biodiversity of natural forests makes their ecosystems more resilient to disturbance.[7] A very simple way of tackling global warming is therefore to leave intact as much vegetation as possible, and to embrace reforestation.

In this period, anti-nuclear actions led to so much cross-over of environmentalism and peace activism that a new movement – 'eco-pax'[8] – became evident. The Nightcap Action Group, which evolved into the Nomadic Action Group (NAG), was a classic example of an eco-pax group, being informal, strongly opposed to bureaucracy, having no designated positions, and aiming to be non-hierarchical. It was not incorporated, owned few assets, had a transient membership, was reliant on direct action and grassroots networking, and used relatively informal methods of decision-making. NAG began to travel to blockades, such as that at the Franklin River.[9]

The Franklin River Blockade (FRB)

In 1982 a blockade began in remote South West Tasmania to prevent a dam on a wild river, which would inundate thousands of hectares of pristine temperate rainforest. Conservationists argued that the state already had an overabundance of hydro-electricity.

The campaign to save Pedder was an important precursor, because it had brought the Tasmanian environment to national significance, and created a broad network of activists. There was a sense of guilt that Pedder had been lost, and the network was critical of the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) for its perceived inaction and lack of on-site protests. At its 1973 AGM, radicals like the Green Bans' Jack Mundey were elected in a:

> dramatic episode in the evolution of the movement … [where young activists] turned a polite old boys' network into a mass social movement

> that was prepared to challenge the most powerful interests in society to achieve its goals.[10]

The Terania actions were just as important, with their introduction of direct action. The FRB furthered this evolution, dramatically increasing the scale of direct action.[11]

The campaign began with a handful of bushwalkers forming the Tasmanian Wilderness Society (TWS), and lobbying to save the river. When this appeared to be ineffective, they prepared for a blockade. TWS had sent people to observe *incognito* the Terania protests, and were disturbed by the lack of control and the absence of nonviolence training,[12] although arguably they saw only the worst of the campaign.[13] Nevertheless they engaged veterans of this campaign to assist in the direct action component. However, TWS was determined to have a more controlled blockade in Tasmania, with nonviolence far better articulated and trained for. They enlisted the aid of *Groundswell,* the Australian nonviolence network.[14]

The Effectiveness of Training

The FRB is an important case study in nonviolence. TWS controlled the only access – a boat – to the remote blockade site, and therefore was able to require blockaders to undergo a comprehensive, three-day (later two-day) training course in nonviolent action (NVA). We grumbled about this, but it meant that all blockaders were well versed in nonviolence, and NVA was a constant topic of conversation, permeating the whole campaign. More than 1,300 people were arrested for civil disobedience, making it one of the largest actions of its kind in the world, yet despite sometimes-atrocious treatment by police[15] there was almost no violence by protesters, including violence toward property.

NVA created an atmosphere extremely conducive to conversion, particularly of media but also of police, workers and fellow prisoners, as jails were filled to breaking point. Ubiquitous music added to this atmosphere. The absence of violence and bad publicity enhanced the growth of the campaign into the international arena. This attracted high profile activists like Professor David Bellamy, whose arrest continued this upward spiral of publicity. The Australian Labor Party (ALP) also began to support the cause, influenced no doubt by nonviolence contributing to the concept of popular disaffection rather than lawlessness. TWS campaigned nationally for the ALP, which stopped the dam-building after gaining power (where it remained for twelve years). The ALP over-ruled the state government, and defeated its challenge in the High Court, setting an important precedent for federal powers.

The FRB showed that nonviolence can be successfully used on a mass scale. This influenced activists in later campaigns, and publicised NVA as a continuing tradition that can be effective in modern times.

Orthodox nonviolence has continued to spread quietly, its ethos embedding itself into the culture of protest movements, where there is widespread conviction that nonviolence is a necessary tool.

Challenges to Orthodoxy

There are many, however, who do not subscribe to orthodox nonviolence, and there has been much heated debate on what constitutes nonviolence and who determines this. (In my experience, the only movement that fights more than the environment movement is the peace movement!) In the complexities of real world activism, people may engage in a continuum of types of nonviolence (Figure 8) and in a range of activities (Figure 9) from spiritual practices to blockading.

Despite the success of the FRB, there was a significant level of dissatisfaction during the campaign with the orthodox nonviolence advocated by TWS, who was depicted as hierarchical and undemocratic, and thus inconsistent with the egalitarian nature of the nonviolence it imposed on blockaders. NAG, in particular, had many problems with orthodox nonviolence, which was felt to be unrealistic and too all-embracing. Although mostly committed to nonviolence, NAG was contemptuous of the perceived 'semireligious processes of nonviolent action training',[16] and they challenged some of its tenets. They performed secretive actions, and used deception, such as creating 'phantom groups' or giving the police false information. They disobeyed TWS directives by smuggling friends onto the boat going to the blockade, taking children upriver, and chaining themselves to equipment.

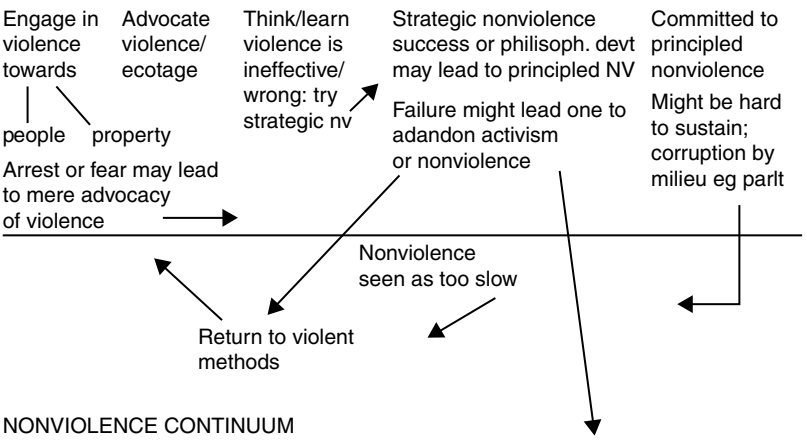

Figure 8 Movement along the nonviolence continuum

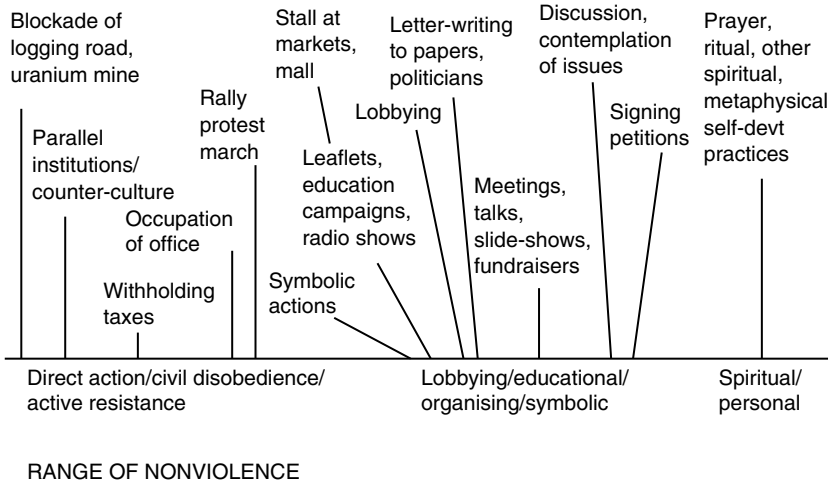

Figure 9 The range of nonviolent options

They believed these actions were nonviolent, and that they were vital for preventing the immediate threat: damage to the rainforest.

NAG believed that orthodox nonviolence was rarely about 'channelling the dynamic fires of social change and too often about organising and taming the cheeky sparkle of indignation'.[17] It was too rigid, stifled creativity and incorrectly labelled its critics violent. They argued that openness and cooperation with the police were not always valid, and that experience had taught them not to trust police. Furthermore, some deplored the 'time-consuming nuisance of group consensus',[18] arguing that it actually mimicked existing power relations, unless the group was small and held similar views.

These tensions grew, and continued in later campaigns, usually between NAG–style activists and the more mainstream conservation bodies such as TWS and ACF who organised many of the large actions and were accused of being controlling and bureaucratic. Conversely, NAG was accused of being ill-disciplined, scruffy-looking and ignorant of the work that the organisers had done to lobby and initiate campaigns and blockades.

Roxby Downs

Following the success of the Franklin blockade, the environmentalists joined with peace activists and Kokatha Aboriginal traditional owners to blockade the Roxby Downs uranium mine in remote desert country in South Australia (SA), due to concerns that uranium fuels the global nuclear

weapons cycle, either directly or by adding to stockpiles. There were also concerns over mining (disturbance of sacred sites, release of carcinogenic radon gas, massive depletion of the Great Artesian Basin), nuclear power (unsafe, centralised, secretive, security risks) and disposal of long-term radioactive waste. Although the industry is now touting nuclear energy as a climate change solution, all these concerns remain valid, and the time, cost and carbon-intensive resources necessary to build nuclear stations make it a poor option.

Franklin veterans, NAG, and self-identified feminists, hippies and anarchists arrived at Roxby Downs on 27 August 1983, to find gates preventing us from driving close to the mine, although pedestrians were being allowed in closer. Much debate ensued – should we leave our vehicles, enter on foot and set up camp, or camp with our vehicles? Many were in favour of the former, arguing that this heated debate was only occurring because people were dependent on their vehicles, and that this was another major and linked environmental issue. Others felt that they could blockade better next to their cars (some of which had 'walkie-talkie' radios and other equipment) or use them as physical blockades (a tactic which had been used at Terania Creek but which would not be seen again until 1990s forest blockades).

Some people started to walk in. Benny Zable set up his 'theatre of survival' show on top of Ian Cohen's truck and began to perform, wearing his trademark gasmask and black costume, painted with ecological and peace messages. He moved in a *tai chi*-like dance, flying a rainbow flag.

The first vehicle through the gates was a bicycle, ridden past a four-wheel drive vehicle obstructing the road.[19] Then someone pushed past the guard, swung the gate open, and the cavalcade, led by Cohen's truck, charged through the gate. Protestors physically held back guards, and pushed aside the four-wheel drive and a semi-trailer. They rocked and tried to push aside a police vehicle. A policeman was hit on the leg by a protest vehicle. Cars were driven around police blockades, and pushed across sandhills. Some miners used protest tactics and sat down in front of protest vehicles, including one carrying food. There were many arrests, and Zable was lucky to escape injury as Cohen drove at speed, having forgotten the artist on his roof. Each time the convoy was halted, musicians, dancers and jugglers began to perform. When the police became confused by all this entrancing artistic activity, the protestors again rushed forwards.

Unsympathetic Media

This action gained widespread media coverage but nearly all of it was unsympathetic, with accusations of a violent, hysterical mob like 'an invading army smashing down a fort … frightening … goading police and frequently tangling with them'[20] with accompanying photos of scuffles.

The coverage barely mentioned our concerns about uranium mining, or ridiculed them when it did:

> The weird looking people ... want us to take them very seriously. They want to stop a project that has plans for a town of 30,000 people, jobs for 2,400 and a revenue of $500 million a year.[21]

Large numbers of Australians became aware of the Roxby uranium mine and that people opposed it, so there was a victory of sorts, but within a media disaster that raised only the spectre of 'law-and-order' problems. In unavoidably militaristic terms, a minor battle for some physical ground had been won, while the war (for favourable public opinion and long-term success in closing the mine) had been lost.

One school of thought holds that disruption is an important tactic in social change, regardless of poor media and other consequences.[22] David Cortright, however, while noting the effectiveness of disruption (in sociologist William Gamson's words, 'the success of the unruly'), argues for the disruption to be nonviolent to avoid the bad publicity and distraction from the core issues that violence brings.[23] This is the importance of the arts – creating clever methods of disruption that advance the movement's long-term agenda.

Although the violence was less than that suffered by protestors and Aboriginal custodians in the following months, it is likely that the fear and anger that police felt that day was a reason for their later violence. A cycle had begun that would be difficult to break, and this was exacerbated by the determination of the SA authorities that there would be no weakening of their commitment, with one policeman writing: 'Nobody wanted to duplicate the ... experience at the Franklin ... where police actually fought amongst themselves'.[24]

Music Inspires Civil Disobedience

We established camps near the mine. Actions (including performances) occurred each day at the front gates. At night, affinity groups cut through the fence and made dashes over the sandhills into the mine area, often chased by helicopters with searchlights.

An arrestable action was planned for one evening, to prevent a busload of miners from entering. Those wanting to be arrested had agreed to sit in front of the gates. There was some discussion on whether to link arms because, although comforting, and increasing our solidarity and sense of resistance, it might antagonise police, cause scuffles or be construed as resisting arrest (leading to stiffer penalties and worse publicity).

I had no plans to get arrested. That evening, as we assembled, someone parked their car nearby, playing a cassette of *Midnight Oil*'s album '10-1'. The

powerful stereo filled the desert air with inspiring protest music, about the corruption and lies of governments and corporations, loudly proclaiming what many of us believed. We began to dance under the eerie floodlights, with hundreds of police and private security doing nothing to stop us. It was an empowering moment.

Despite rumours of imminent violence from miners, we continued to mill around until we were informed by police that we would be arrested if we did not leave. Some people sat, others moved off. Stirred up and emboldened by the music and dancing, I felt angry to be told to move, and passionate that the mine should not go ahead. On the spur of the moment I sat down. Almost immediately, two policemen approached me, grabbed my arm and twisted it behind my back, so fiercely and suddenly I thought it would break. They dragged me to a van and threw me inside.

We were next confined in the local squash courts, then driven to Andamooka at great speed over rough dirt roads. With no seatbelts, we were tossed about in the back, a frightening experience. At the police station they cut our bracelets off (so we couldn't hang ourselves), photographed and fingerprinted us and put us in a crowded cell. By this time it was dawn. The hours dragged on, with the temperature soaring. As more and more arrestees arrived (mainly women), they put the 17 men into a van, leaving 60 women in one cell.

The van was parked in the desert sun for several hours, from about 2 pm. It was swelteringly close, and we struggled to breathe. We held particular concerns for an elderly man with a heart condition, and we made loud but seemingly-ineffectual complaints. Some well-educated, articulate men threatened to complain of human rights violations to the ombudsman.[25] Finally, we were released into the station yard. We exulted in the fresh air and open skies, danced around and hugged. We then assembled into a circle, at the behest of Benny Zable. We held hands and I felt a peculiar sensation, as of men who had undergone a ritual initiation together, as if I could feel the earth turning.

We later talked to the police and sang protest songs, during our interminable wait to go before court. Finally we were processed *en masse,* with no lawyers being present or anyone defending themselves. We were all found guilty of 'Failure to Cease to Loiter', and fined. Our twenty-nine-hour ordeal was almost over. The tyres of our support vehicles, however, had been let down.

Roxby II

The second blockade occurred in August 1984, after comprehensive non-violence workshops involving discussions of theory, role-plays, and consensus decision-making practice. They included a great deal of time expounding feelings, using 'support groups to let off steam, lots of group cuddles, and positive affirmations to balance the negativity that is placed on people

throughout their lives.[26] It was felt that nonviolent practices needed to be instituted and affinity groups formed early, to deal with the fraught environment predicted for Roxby II. More people and from wider backgrounds were involved, including many university students.

One important advance was a decentralisation of power to affinity groups. Unlike at the Franklin, where approval for actions needed to be given by large (and often lengthy, frustrating) meetings, and where TWS could veto actions, the Roxby II groups would have:

> complete autonomy to decide their own actions, though they were encouraged to announce their intentions at a 'spokes' meeting, both to prevent them interfering with each other, and to gain assistance in achieving their aims.[27]

The mine lease was patrolled by police with dogs, on horses, in Range Rovers, and in three helicopters, equipped with infra-red detectors. The authorities had obviously expected a major onslaught on the front gates, and had fortified these considerably, with barbed-wire-topped cyclone fencing and a steel bar grid backed by 44 gallon drums filled with concrete. The gates would 'resist anything less than an ocean-going oil tanker [and] the entire area was floodlit in a fashion reminiscent of the Sydney Cricket Ground'.[28] However, twenty metres on either side was mere sheep fencing, and small groups were wont to climb over this at night and make incursions into the area. Protected from infra-red detectors by aluminium 'space blankets', several groups (including my Sydney University affinity group) were able to reach the mine, despite all that security. Arrests and (almost inevitably) guilty findings at 'kangaroo courts' followed.

Radical artistic actions occurred, such as women plugging a mine-shaft with a three-metre tampon emblazoned with messages such as 'Womyn know about hidden blood – plug the shaft – stop the cycle'. Christians performed a church service before one of the gates, with police initially reluctant to break it up. Aiming specifically at conversion of miners, a group of doctors attempted to visit their town to explain the dangers that they faced, while others distributed leaflets.

Although there was less violence at Roxby II, there was much tension between police and protestors. I observed NAG's Doug Ferguson being bashed by five police officers after he angrily denounced police pre-blockade actions to the media, and there were reports of a young woman's arm being broken when a group was evicted after staying longer than the official blockade.

Women's Actions

Many saw the nuclear industry as being 'inextricably linked to oppressive male power structures' and felt that 'it was extremely important for women

to make distinct protests at Roxby'.[29] An area of approximately 500 square metres was designated as a women's only space, for camping, meeting and planning actions. One involved four women who walked to the pilot plant:

> We planned to cut the surrounding fence wire and get in and chain ourselves to the yellowcake storeroom … [This was] a very strengthening and challenging enterprise. The physical difficulties of walking that distance without lights (to avoid detection) were compounded by the heavy security that had to be avoided … [T]he four of us made it to the plant, but we were detected while cutting the fence, as it was then quite light. These night actions had the potential to be seen as commando-style raids. Certainly the straight media portrayed them in this fashion. The four of us decided that we wanted a women's only action to try and avoid such attitudes which we had seen being expressed by some males at action planning meetings.[30]

At another action, some sixty women approached the lease gate,

> moved up the side, grasped hold of the fencing, and began to shake and rock it. Suddenly it began to come away, so we pulled it all down and sat on it! It was one of the most empowering experiences I have had. The ease and speed with which we did it surprised both us and the police, of whom there were only a few on hand. Women who did not want to be in an arrestable situation wove long strips of cloth through the main gate. Soon however, police reinforcements arrived and they proceeded to simply pick women off the road who were still around. Eight were arrested.

The women had been determined to avoid any whiff of violence, and held vigorous debates over tactics:

> To plan this half-hour action we had three meetings which probably went for five hours over a few days. At these, strong doubts were expressed by some women as to the validity of doing a semi-violent action (i.e. pulling down a fence). Others did not see this as a violent action, since it was not directed to an individual and we had only planned at that stage to rattle the fence. Others saw that as women we could expose the fragility of such barriers by taking direct actions. In the end we agreed that the action would have two aspects, that those who wanted to be entirely peaceful could weave the cloth, and those that wanted to pull the fence down, could.[31]

Here, despite no unanimity, a valid compromise was found through consensus. However, despite being empowering for some, such property damage did not slow the mining *or* create favourable media which advanced the campaign, so its effectiveness is questionable. This is the importance to

movements of nonviolence training and planning, – to advance long-term aims through the development of thoughtful, disciplined strategies.

Roxby II found middle ground between tightly-controlled actions and absolute freedom. The training, with its emphasis on individual responsibility, helped to produce a more balanced, nonviolent blockade than the first one, with a greater variety of actions, including artistic ones. This, in turn, helped create an exhilarating atmosphere:

> It would be misleading to suggest that we felt demoralised or isolated. The atmosphere in the camp gave everyone a natural sense of euphoria. The joy and enthusiasm that was generated, sustained many people through many days without sleep.[32]

New Tactics

Importantly, in a significant development of nonviolence praxis, actions discouraged at the Franklin became common here. The 1983 Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia (CNFA) Handbook had encouraged graffiti and stated that '[a]n emphasis will be placed on "bodies-first" type action, but the use of metal chains, cars etc. for blockading is acceptable.'[33] These tactics flourished in 1984, with one group bolting their necks to the gate of the mine shaft with locks that resisted bolt cutters:

> Loads of successful actions occurred [including] a raid on the mine area to collect soil samples for analysis, penetration of the mine, during which the mine shaft was graffitied and the doors araldited, a large 'NO URANIUM MINING' sign was painted on the runway of the airfield.[34]

CNFA guidelines, despite being unorthodox, were regularly ignored, such as 'No endangering life' and 'No deliberate, irreversible damage to property … Blockaders should go under or over obstacles'. Large sections of the fencing – up to 100 metres a night – were removed and buried. 'Superglue' was used to destroy locks and to glue demonstrators to objects. In one such action, where two people had superglued their hands to a gate, preventing access to the mine, the police had to oxy-cut sections of the piping to which they were connected from the gate, with the couple appearing in court the next day with galvanised piping and a large security lock still firmly attached to their persons!

A water truck was prevented from entering the site by a group chained under a cattle grid on the borefields road, with comrades waving signs a kilometre up the road to warn the driver. Fortunately he stopped. In a similar, extraordinary incident of determined bravery, a musician played guitar in the road as an enormous tanker thundered towards him. The truck did not slow; nor did the activist move. At the last possible moment, the driver braked and the truck shuddered to a halt metres from the protester.

Positive peace requires social justice. For many blockaders, Roxby II instigated their first close contact with Aboriginal people, and most gained a better understanding of the Kokatha – their culture, strengths, oppression and challenges. Although the blockades failed to close the mine, the eco-pax movement shifted towards being more holistic and inclusive, with significantly more and better interaction with Aboriginal people than the largely tokenistic interactions of the Franklin.[35]

Tactically, an interesting compromise system emerged five years later in the nearby desert. The Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition (AABCC), organisers of a 1989 peace protest at Nurrungar's US spy base, adopted a broad view of nonviolence that allowed secrecy, and limited damage to public property for a purposeful activity, such as cutting a fence to gain access to the base. Handbooks outlined their principles and asked participants to observe them in all mass actions organised by the AABCC. It also timetabled actions by affinity groups, indicating the version of nonviolence they had adopted and where others could join the actions, provided that they agreed to observe the group's principles. In the vast majority of situations, this pragmatic dual approach was effective.[36]

Forest Blockades: More Radicalisation of Tactics

Radical new forms of action emerged during the 1984 blockade to stop a road through the Daintree rainforests of north Queensland, where protesters buried themselves in the road or climbed trees in the bulldozer's path. This damaged the road, and was disapproved of by some environmentalists; others argued that the damage was minimal compared with the damage further roading would do to the forest and the Great Barrier Reef (due to wet-season silt runoff).

Another action involved an activist being 'crucified' on a cross embedded into the road,[37] symbolising the suffering of the environment, and comparing the protesters, vilified by government and media, to Jesus of Nazareth. The actions had powerful symbolic value; they also had the tactical advantage of slowing down the roading, because police had to dig the activists out – a lengthy process. Although the road was completed, the blockade created the impetus for World Heritage listing of the much larger Wet Tropics.[38]

By 1989 NAG had virtually disappeared, but new groups had formed, such as NSW's South East Forest Alliance (SEFA), an informal network of local environmentalists. TWS had grown into a national body with fulltime employees and a 'chain' of shops; with ACF and others it formed a network which increasingly relied on elite-focussed political and bureaucratic lobbying, as it attempted to work with the federal ALP government.

Tactical innovations continued with SEFA, despite major disagreements over nonviolence. Orthodox nonviolence was very influential at first, endorsed by both TWS and SEFA. The local farmers who were part of the campaign went along with these tactics initially. A number of large rallies

were held in the Tantawangalo and Coolungubra forests, including a meeting of 1000 people. Artistic actions by designer Jenny Kee, and an appearance by musician Sting with some touring Amazonian chiefs produced powerful media images.

The First 'Wog Wogs', Tripods and Tree-Platforms

However, as the police presence grew and the campaign slowed, a minority of full-time blockaders not aligned with SEFA or TWS decided to perform more militant actions, involving physical devices to halt logging. One was a set of steel tubes with internal locks which closed when an arm was inserted, nicknamed 'wog wogs' (Figure 10). Probably a world-first, these were cemented into the road and seven protesters were locked into them in a dawn protest that represented a significant departure from orthodoxy.[39]

The blockade of Cooloongubra[40] saw the first use of tripods anywhere in the world, on 18 September 1989 – three long poles lashed together in a pyramid shape with an area on top where activists could perch (Figure 11). When police moved a pole, 'guinea pig' David Burgess (later famous for painting 'NO WAR' on the Sydney Opera House in 2003) crashed to the ground, straining relationships between protesters and police. Footage of this incident was repeatedly shown on television, making police more careful in the future.

In another innovation, protesters constructed tree platforms (Figure 12), and interconnected trees so that removal of any tree would endanger lives in other trees. This tactic was dangerous for protesters, but saved whole coupes from logging, because the platforms were too high for police 'cherry-picker' machinery to reach. In another dawn action, a protester locked her neck to a bulldozer using a Kryptonite bike-lock; when two sets of bolt-cutters failed to release her, police used an angle-grinder, finally cutting though at 3pm. The bulldozer left, and did not return for fourteen months. Clearly these tactics were working.

There was resistance to them, however, from TWS, who supposedly opposed tree-sits because they were secretive and did not involve all the protesters, and opposed hunger strikes, despite the regular use that Gandhi had made of them. As militant tactics spread, and the supportive farmers adopted tactics involving horses, TWS withdrew support from the blockades, leaving them small and demoralised. One morning's protest at the Eden chipmill, where most of the logs were being wood-chipped for export, resulted in angry scenes by loggers and truck drivers. One driver backed into a conservationist's car, but in the process crushed the pelvis of a logger. The activists returned to camp fearing violent reprisals. Most decided to leave.

Although factors like remoteness were involved, there can be little doubt that the orthodox/militant schism in nonviolence contributed to the collapse of the blockade. The rebelliousness of the blockade had been inspiring, but when that rebellion was internalised and directed at TWS rather than logging interests, its energy dissipated. Although an impressive 1200 arrests

Figure 10 South East Forest Rescue activist blockades gate with 'wog wogs'

Figure 11 Tripod blockades trucks with massive logs bound for Eden woodchip mill

Figure 12 South-east forests tree-sit

were recorded (mainly for orthodox actions), only a comparatively small 6000 hectares were saved. The initial orthodox strategies undoubtedly contributed to large numbers of protesters, some high profile, but these numbers were not translated into a particularly successful outcome. Later actions involved a stockade, complete with drawbridge (Figure 13), built after Goolengook blockaders were assaulted by a mob, at possibly the world's longest blockade (1996–2002). This finally resulted in a National Park.

NEFA Blockades: The New Militancy Turns Professional

These actions inspired similar militancy further north. Rejecting the 'political correctness' of orthodox nonviolence, the North East Forest Alliance (NEFA) preferred:

> to pursue a vision of non-violence that was also 'direct', in the sense that it was specifically targeted towards producing actual physical outcomes that would prevent or delay logging. This was done by physically blockading

Figure 13 Stockade with drawbridge

> roads and entrances, locking onto machinery and generally operating a non-violent, yet guerrilla-style campaign in the forests. For NEFA, forest actions were not merely symbolic actions to attract media coverage – they were serious physical actions designed to actually stop a logging operation.[41]

In 1991 NEFA began a blockade at Chaelundi, NSW.[42] With no expectation of mainstream support, they proceeded to develop their own, militant tactics, while using groundbreaking legal actions and orthodox strategies like lobbying and initiating police protocols. A small group of 'alternates', who had recently built their own 'pole-houses' in forest near Kyogle, was well-resourced with equipment, such as four-wheel drives, crowbars, chains, winches and toolkits. Assisted by an engineer and riggers who had been working on film sets, they established a whole series of physical impediments to police and logger entry, such as tripods and concrete pipes. They utilised the natural lay of the terrain and easily-available materials, strategically constructing blockades on road cuttings and bridges to maximise efficiency and make roads impassable:

> A lot of it ... was innovative – it was made up on the spot. What are we gonna do with this particular set of trees or this particular bit of road, or

> this particular circumstance... it was the politics of the situation as much as it was tactics. [It was a matter of] what could we bring. What could we get. What was lying around, available to us to put in place. Oh look, someone's got all these nice pipes lying here on the side of the ground, what can we do with them? Or oh, look, there's a stick farm, plantation down the road full of nice thin poles, we'll go and get a few of those and bring them up.[43]

They used concrete culverts left on the side of the road for future roadworks, planting them upright into the road while protesters climbed inside them, locking-on to the base: 'soon we had 42 pipes dug in, in six different battlements, as well as tripods and cables strung between trees... it got bigger and bigger'.[44] The blockade held for ten days with activists reconstructing it each night after police had dismantled it by day. A struggle of ingenuity emerged as each side became more proficient at building and dismantling structures that were designed to hold the road as long as possible (Figure 14).

Figure 14 Police attempt to dig out Chaelundi protester half-buried in pipe

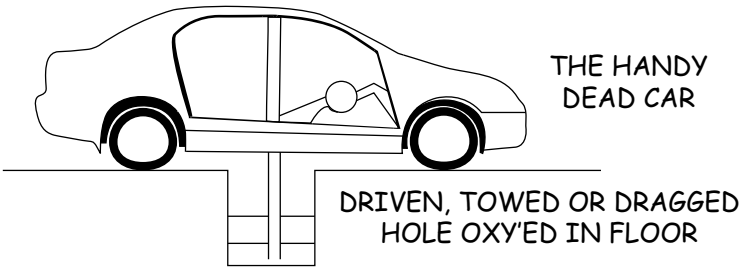

Figure 15 A car 'dragon'

Later, holes were dug to accommodate protesters, who then had vehicles (with wheels removed) lowered on top of them; they then locked themselves onto the chassis (Figure 15). Some activists chained themselves to bulldozers. Timber obstacles, fires, and heated rocks were all used to close roads. Despite a massive police presence, this radical action slowed logging, until legal action stopped it altogether.[45] This was a significant victory.

A year later at Mount Killiekrankie,[46]

> The experience of many seasoned campaigners was in evidence as a blockade was swiftly set up in the Catbird Road Compartment. Tripods were erected, pipes were buried…media releases went out and visiting locals were treated to impromptu street theatre and music. Police were shown around the camp, and were impressed by the fact that the TWS Armidale contingent had twice walked the 50 km round trip down the mountain from Pt Lookout.[47]

In a new development, the tripods became joined together and topped with living platforms, where protesters could remain for days. A thick logging cable was strung across the road to prevent vehicular access. It was quickly decorated, in an action that combined art and ritual, to become known as the 'wild women's witchy weaving fortification'. Another innovation, the cantilever, imported by NEFA strategist, Dailan Pugh, from successful US forest actions, involved a pole fixed into the rock wall on the upper side of a road. It extended horizontally across the road and five metres into the abyss below, thereby preventing vehicular access. We added a new element – a blockader balanced on the end of the pole. Using these devices, a bulldozer was trapped six kilometres inside the blockade, with another tripod *over* the bulldozer ensuring it remained there.

After NEFA's vindication in Chaelundi, the police did not attempt to dismantle our delaying devices, seeming more interested in maintaining peace between us and a vocal opposition of loggers. The latter's blockade of

us consisted of about thirty men, who had parked their vehicles across the road. Claiming to be representing the National Farmers' Federation, their anger was little helped by the provocative attitudes of some of the NEFA crew. Women with children tried in vain to leave, and the situation was only defused by the arrival of the police.

The next day, headlines of 'Loggers Armed With Chainsaws Blockade Conservationists' showed that far from ending the issue, the loggers had actually stirred it up just as media interest was fading. They agreed to end their blockade on condition we returned their bulldozer. This condition was agreed to after much discussion, although when it became bogged, loggers and blockaders worked together to free it!

Not only was logging stopped, but the Forestry Commission (FCNSW) was prosecuted for its practices (which had caused severe erosion and damaged water quality) by the Environment Protection Authority, after NEFA lobbying. The Soil Conservation Services' control over FCNSW was greatly expanded, and NEFA was again vindicated. The new blockading devices had played no small part in the resounding success.

Year of the Rolling Blockade: Continuous Climate Action

1992 was a year of constant blockading, with one action blurring into another. Although there was much that was enjoyable, there was also an element of Gandhian self-suffering involved: we lived out of our backpacks, with minimal possessions and income, in breathtakingly beautiful but rugged and remote terrain. Most blockades were high in the mountains of the Great Dividing Range, and nights were often below freezing point, damp, windy and occasionally snowing. There was limited access to water, and health problems like giardia, nits and tropical ulcers resulted. Camp life could be stressful: its inclusiveness meant colourful but extreme characters, alcohol and other drug abuse and anti-social behaviours. Some camps were deemed illegal; most were subject to harassment by loggers and surveillance by police, and occasional violence by both.

Organisation, however, was amazingly professional, especially in comparison with Roxby:

> Overall there was superb anarchic organization, a tribal feel to all our actions … We had functioning radio nets, abundant kitchens, warm (but smoky) shelters. Regular supplies of food, utensils, implements and clothes were donated by local individuals and businesses.[48]

Whereas the Roxby blockades were relatively short actions involving large numbers of tenuously-linked activists from distant bases, the NEFA blockades were longer, smaller, involved strong existing networks, and were nearer to the activists' communities, facilitating rest breaks.

At a June blockade of Mummel Gulf, FCNSW tried to wait us out, but instead of tiring we built tepee villages in a radius of about fifteen kilometres and became:

> … a really strong blockade. We were on a roll, the government didn't want to tackle us after the drubbing we'd given them at Chaelundi and Killiekrankie. At Mummel we'd actually taken over a closed forest and no attempt was made to get us out.[49]

More than 200 were involved in these camps. Numerous locals, scavengers and small forest industries (for example, seed collecting companies) were supportive as the large operators such as Fennings were clear-felling and refusing others access to forests. Largely thanks to organiser Megan Edward's impassioned eloquence, police were nonintrusive and media was constant and high-profile:

> We blockaded the major entrances to the logging coupes, and declared the 'Mummel Free State', as had been done at Chaelundi. We established three major camps – Base, Feral and Runnamuck [after Riamukka State Forest] in our Free State, which had been 'officially' closed to all but loggers under 1916 legislation. The highlight of the blockade was the hot bath set up in a creek, giving the lie to claims that hippies never wash. The police have photographs to prove it.[50]

Communication Advances

Despite actions and reconnaissance spread widely over relatively inaccessible country, there was effective communication via a sophisticated radio network:

> At one stage we had three blockades in different parts of the state all linked through our network. We had an extensive internal and external set-up at the Mummel Gulf … and that was linked back to the base station near Lismore with another link out to Carrai near Kempsey and the first Wild Cattle Creek blockade was happening near Dorrigo at the same time. Each of the three camps could communicate with each other simultaneously, so we had the capacity to respond quickly to any new situations.[51]

Blockaders were even able to perform media interviews while locked onto machinery, via high quality radio-telephone patches. Indeed NEFA's communications were such that, as the pro-logging Forest Products Association complained to the government, they were superior to both the police and FCNSW.[52] For example, the court decision to grant an injunction to stop

logging Chaelundi took fifteen minutes to reach the protesters but eight hours to reach the police!

NEFA's efficient internal communication (and legal and scientific expertise) gained police respect, and made for a more effective network of blockades, moving people to where they were needed, and sharing information. Externally, it enabled up-to-the-moment and dramatic media to be relayed from remote locations. This nonviolence development is further discussed in Chapter Five.

Wild Cattle Creek, Styx River

At Wild Cattle Creek, where perhaps the oldest brushboxes in the world (estimated at 2000 years old) were faced with logging, an historic meeting with FCNSW procured reserved status was for those trees. The more radical Wild Cattle Creek Action Group (WCCAG), however, opposed any logging in the rainforest, and established blockades. Unfortunately, the WCCAG blockades were marred with violence, particularly after the forest was closed to the public. Blockaders were forced to go bush to avoid vigilantes, and were attacked in nearby Dorrigo. Eventually WCCAG withdrew altogether.

After a brief July occupation of Armidale's FCNSW office, where one man chained himself to a desk, a tripod was established in the street, and five people were arrested,[53] we moved to Styx River. In a nerve-wracking experience, I drove someone's old, rusting Holden there along slippery dirt tracks, fortunately arriving without mishap or apprehension by police. We quickly erected tripods, and searched for the rare Eastern Quoll. The police were shown through our blockade, and no doubt reported that it was comprehensive, for shortly afterwards FCNSW abandoned plans to log there.

Sabotage Fails

The rolling blockade moved to the Carrai plateau, after a cultural event – a forest festival – had boosted numbers, replacing burnt-out blockaders with new ones.[54] The District Forester and a contractor responded violently – with a four-wheel drive they ran into the tripods, knocking them onto the camp and narrowly missing protestors. Again public forests were closed, and a twenty-four-hour police guard mounted. Outside the exclusion zone the vigil continued. Conflict resolution strategies offered by NEFA were, as usual, rejected. On Monday, 12 October, a rally was held at the Kempsey office of FCNSW. On the Tuesday, a mass action ensued in the forests. A large police presence pulled down the tripods, and allowed the logging to continue. There were at least twenty arrests, and continuing confrontation.

It was in these circumstances that a group of blockaders decided to sabotage a bulldozer inside the closed forest. On discovery of the sabotage an enormous outcry ensued from loggers, FCNSW and the media. NEFA stated that sabotage

was not one of its tactics, and withdrew support from the blockade, which subsequently collapsed. This failure can, in part, be attributed to NEFA's failure to develop, and articulate to newcomers, a coherent policy on nonviolence. Perhaps knowledge of the basic tenets of nonviolence to which NEFA claimed to adhere – avoiding sabotage and violence towards people[55] – was presumed as common knowledge, but this presumption was obviously not shared by all.

Surviving Communally

Blockades continued throughout 1993 and 1994, such as at Toonumbah near Kyogle. In the lead-up to the 1995 state election, NEFA embarked upon a 'campaign of hit-and-run blockades throughout northern NSW forests, with the aim of raising the temperature further'.[56] At Mistake State Forest (Upper Buckrabendinni) near Bowraville, a vigil was on 'orange alert', meaning 'the lead up to an action is being prepared. Extra bods needed'.[57] The vigil involved scouting and much waiting, amid an interesting crew of 'street kids', rural landholders, highly-educated conservationists, and nomadic fruit pickers. Two women, Georgia Beyer and Emma Kirsner, were the main NEFA coordinators.

Although we began the vigil with one box of food between us, and fears for our survival there,[58] donated food flowed in with each new arrival, and there were thirteen boxes left at the end of the blockade, showing us that communal blockading was a good survival technique, if nothing else. It was a spiritual reminder that our material concerns are often taken care of when we follow our hearts and take risks as a group. (The necessary global transition from militarism to nonviolence requires a similar leap of faith, but as cartoonist Michael Leunig observes, 'Life is joyous. Be brave'.)

Land Rights Activism

Buckrabendinni was important for the involvement of traditional owners from the Gumbainggir nation – primarily Trevor Ballanggang Jnr, who began a Koori Embassy on top of the mountain. In a press release he supported the blockade, calling for more consultation and a methodology to identify and preserve significant sites:

> Mount Martha Anne and Bowra Sugarloaf are very important places to the local Koori people spiritually, mentally and physically. They are significant in the Dreamtime to me and my people.[59]

Koori numbers would have been higher at the blockade:

> if they were not so impoverished by the theft of their land. Many could not get up the mountain because they simply don't own cars. They also tend to avoid conflict situations because they have spent their lives in

Figure 16 Harassment of Aboriginal protester in koala suit and with yidaki (didgeridu)

> a Police State, and if you find that a stretch of the truth try living with them for a few weeks (see Figure 16).[60]

Trevor could be inspirational. NEFA decided to allow National Parks personnel into the blockaded area, but Trevor was unhappy about any white bureaucrats entering. Already facing court (like many Kooris his age), he remained seated on the road, his small bag of possessions with him, the red, black and yellow of the Aboriginal flag flying proudly above him.

In a further sign of more holistic nonviolence, Koori liaison had been part of NEFA's strategy from the beginning, as at Mummel, where:

> We consulted with the Walcha [Aboriginal] Land Council, they supported the blockade fully. This process of consultation with Kooris has continued [with tablelands land councils], and on the coast a potentially deadly green-black coalition called the 'Bundjalung Nation' being formed.[61]

Ferals and Secrecy

Numbers at the vigil fluctuated, but generally grew:

> As usual the majority of blockaders were the much-maligned, non-aligned 'ferals'. They maintained a presence over many a bleak week,

> living on the breadline and with minimal comforts. Without them the Stockade would almost certainly have collapsed.[62]

We established that we needed a vigil at the bottom of the mountain, on Dead Man's Gully Rd:

> … a creepy place to be alone at night I can assure you. We strengthened our solar-powered radio/mobile–phone communications network. We built a kitchen, pantry and numerous humpies. We dug compost holes and shitpits. We set up tripods and bipods, dug trenches and personholes, concreted 'dragons'[63] into the road, flew the land rights colours and erected barricades and banners. We assembled padlocks, chains, safety belts and iron tubes, ready to 'lock on'.[64]

Although relations with police and government bodies were usually cordial and fairly open, there were also secretive actions:

> We established secret camps, and stashes of supplies and equipment in anticipation of the State locking up the forests for the short-term economic gain of a few already-wealthy corporations.[65]

This secrecy was necessary to maintain the blockade, and was felt to be valid given the 'unlevel playing field' on which we were acting, where the government could (illegitimately, in our view) close public forests. Paradoxically, we were often open with police about the establishment of secret camps, keeping only their location secret!

When a bulldozer moved into the area, a 'red alert' went out, announcing a definite action and calling for urgent help:

> People poured in overnight. Camp became one long informal meeting, with child-minding, wimmin's self-defence workshops, gourmet vego meals and the billy constantly on the boil. Media releases were worked on frantically and put out. We prayed for rain, and got it.[66]

Reluctant Lock-On

On the morning of the expected confrontation with loggers, no one was willing to lock on to the bulldozer. Reluctantly, I decided to do so. Someone gave me a section of pipe and a chain with a padlock. The idea was for me to put my arms around the axle of the machine, and then place my arms inside the pipe, chaining them together. I arrived at the bulldozer just as its driver appeared. It took some moments to convince someone to hold the keys to my padlock, as the driver approached. I then dived under the bulldozer, wrapped my arms around the axle, but did not have time to chain

my hands together. The driver demanded to know what was happening, and fortunately an experienced activist explained to him that I was 'locked-on', and that any attempt to drive the bulldozer would be extremely dangerous. I would unchain myself when he had agreed not to use the bulldozer in this forest. There were no police around, and the driver was furious, but I was protected from his wrath by the large crowd. He departed, vowing to return shortly. I was very relieved, both that my ordeal was over and that my bluff was undiscovered. In the case of the latter, later activists might have been endangered as loggers tested whether 'lock-ons' were bluffs or not. A compromise agreement was reached and the blockade ended.

After a brief return to Chaelundi in 1994, we returned to Wild Cattle Creek. A vigil had remained here for some time – which 'The Great Walk'[67] had visited – although a strong police contingent had prevented an effective physical blockade. It was a good reunion, and when we were not discussing plans or reminiscing, we played music, such as Kev Carmody's 'Thou Shalt Not Steal', about Aboriginal dispossession and white hypocrisy, performed to a couple of policemen around a campfire.

After we engaged in several 'black wallaby' actions[68] to slow logging, Anthony Kelly exhorted us to highlight the fact that once again a publicly-owned forest had been closed to the public, by attempting to enter it. I was unwilling to get arrested, and watched as a line formed across the road, with my red-headed mate Mark emitting bloodcurdling whoops. The line marched directly at the line of police on guard. Some got through; most were arrested. On the spur of the moment, I attempted to walk in, still playing my guitar, but was grabbed by a policeman. I twisted around to hand my guitar to my friend Zac, because I feared it would be broken, and allowed myself to be taken into custody.

A hair-raising ride into Dorrigo followed. At the police station I did yoga and awaited processing. Like most, I agreed to their bail conditions. At least two – Anthony and a woman – did not accept the conditions. They were kept in a cage in the centre of the complex, awaiting transportation to Grafton Gaol.

Our subsequent trial showcased the inspirational advocacy of barrister Tim Robertson (brother of media personality Geoffrey), whose legal and oratorial skills flummoxed both the prosecutor and the magistrate. The case was adjourned and, to my knowledge, never resurfaced.

Coming Under Fire

Wollumbin (Mount Warning) was the site of a 1995 blockade which unfortunately targeted locals as well as loggers, with one farmer prevented from driving a load of hay through. This seemed extremely counterproductive, as it alienated rather than converted this third party. The loggers and farmers were dealt with in an antagonistic rather than diplomatic fashion, increasing their ire. At one point, a logger fired off

a gun in a (successful) effort to scare us, the bullet hitting a cow in the adjacent paddock.

Frequent (but untrue) screams that vigilantes were on their way to attack us meant sleepless nights, frayed tempers, and heated meetings. In a compromise solution, we ended the blockade after forcing State Forests (formerly FCNSW) to undertake pre-logging surveys for threatened species. Then, in a close state election, the ALP triumphed, and promised to create substantial new national parks and halt old-growth logging until after a comprehensive regional assessment was completed.

Women's Peace-Making

Criticisms were made that NEFA, despite its rhetoric, was patriarchal, macho and hierarchical – led by the 'NEFA non-hierarchy', as some put it. I was forced to analyse my own behaviour when a woman asked if I believed in violence and, if not, why did I wear a pocket-knife? Nevertheless, there were many women involved, such as at an extraordinary Wollumbin action of forty women, when a crowd of angry loggers approached the remote, unpoliced blockade. In this dangerous situation, the women quickly organised themselves for action. They ordered the men to remove ourselves, and walked down the dirt road to confront the loggers. The latter, faced with determined yet diplomatic women, departed shortly afterwards, and the situation was defused. It had been a powerful and effective women's action to prevent violence and maintain the blockade.

Elsewhere, similar confrontations had taken much longer to end, or resulted in a riot.[69] Because of the lack of nonviolence training and even simple diplomacy, some activists tended to increase rather than neutralise the tension. Although many applied nonviolence principles in trying to converse with or reach compromise solutions with opponents, there was often a vocal minority who saw opponents as an irredeemable enemy to be triumphed over, and with nothing in common.

When women assumed the prime NEFA coordination roles, nonviolence was much better articulated. Training sessions were organised, and an action where activists meditated in the midst of an occupation of Coffs Harbour's State Forests offices involved both direct action and a gentler, more spiritual aspect.[70]

Successful Innovations

The success of NEFA, however, is undeniable, having preserved more than a million hectares of forests,[71] more than doubling national parks in the region.[72] According to Aidan Ricketts, the blockades led directly to the resignation of the NSW Education Minister, and later to that of the Premier, and to groundbreaking endangered species legislation.[73] Using innovative devices to physically slow logging was clearly effective, and NEFA activists

were called upon to share their new-found expertise with other activist groups. NEFA's effectiveness re-energised the movement after a long period with few high-profile successes, and affected how people view nonviolence. The blockades also had an important effect on the social and cultural life of the region, by teaching skills and providing people with homes, community and purpose. The blockades provided:

> … a fantastic source of job training. Many so-called dole-bludging hippies learned practical and organisational skills, and gained a sense of empowerment and direction. They went on to study law, environmental science, media, architecture, naturopathy, make films, write books and songs, start bands, galleries, nurseries, organic food shops and restaurants. Some even went into local and state government.[74]

Other campaigns were also cauldrons of informal (but largely unrecognised) learning and teaching, ranging from cooking, word-processing and bus-driving to deep-seated emancipatory learning that radically transformed lives.[75]

Chaotic Diversity at AIDEX

1991 saw a torrid protest against an arms dealers' convention, AIDEX, in Canberra. It was a major clash not just between activists and police, but between conflicting activist philosophies. It would strongly influence later 'anti-globalisation' protests, and the 'diversity of tactics' debate, discussed in the next chapter.

Although nonviolence would seem to be a necessity for a peace protest, this view was not universally shared. As a Renegade Activist Action Force organiser said:

> RAAF being an anarchist organisation primarily, didn't want to go down the standard path of controlling the protest. … What we did was control things to the point that no one could take over the whole thing. We had the churches and the NVA activists saying that everyone would have to follow a particular set of rules and do non-violence training to take part. We didn't want them or anyone else dictating how it would function so we took on organising the infrastructure of the protest. We insisted on central control and then abdicated all control and said 'Protest however you want to protest.' We tried to create a place where all the tendencies could come together and pursue their different ideas at once.[76]

The Stop AIDEX Campaign (SAC), centred around RAAF, included references to nonviolence in the protest handbook (largely to satisfy the demands of some coalition members), but it deliberately kept nonviolence undefined,

and stated that only the actions listed in the proposed timetable would definitely be nonviolent. SAC also made no attempt to block involvement by those who rejected nonviolence altogether.[77]

SAC wanted to cultivate diversity and a belief that the behaviour of other protesters could not, and should not, be controlled.[78] However, a general lack of coordination created confusion amongst many of the protesters, with rumours rife. Heightened tension exhausted the protesters further, often causing reactive rather than strategic responses to situations: 'It was sort of chaotic and management by emergency rather than actual planning'.[79]

Different sites saw different sorts of tactics. More confrontational tactics included metal stakes being hammered into the ground, gates being wired shut and a car body, road spikes and other materials dumped in front of them. Timber barricades were set on fire when police approached. Fires in metal drums were also used as barricades and sources of warmth. Attempts to clear this blockade were met with aggression and verbal abuse from the picketers. A calmer, more-creative picket involved people linking arms and building movable barricades out of a 40-seater bus, a giant fist prop, and metal and wood off-cuts.

Orthodox nonviolence practitioners were unhappy with the lack of guidelines regarding protest behaviour, and unwilling to engage in mass actions which compromised their beliefs. They held their own rally, with speeches and songs, before a single-file march along the fence to hang banners. Participants were requested to adhere to four guidelines:

> using open body language; peaceful communication without abuse; avoiding chanting with the megaphone; using the megaphone only for the sharing of information and not for giving orders.[80]

Tactical Zoning

The establishment of these pickets on the basis of tactical and philosophical affinity seems to have been mainly spontaneous:

> Protesters simply gravitated toward one area or another depending on their personal preferences, existing friendships and whether an area was under threat. In many ways this spatial arrangement anticipated the more conscious decision of anti-globalisation protesters to designate separate 'zones' for different tactical tendencies to operate in at a number of protests from 1999 onwards.[81]

According to Amory Starr, such zoning:

> maintains a united front of solidarity among activists and organisations with divergent beliefs about tactics while also isolating (geographically and temporally) within a protest day, actions involving different levels of 'risk'.[82]

This zoning was initially successful, as few vehicles entered the AIDEX site over the next day. There was a good deal of violence, however, with the Ombudsman highly critical of police behaviour and tactics. Independent journalists, as well as activists, were arrested and assaulted.[83] Consequently, at some sites, 'we were all scared and felt it was safer to stay together in one big group'.[84] This meant easy containment by a single line of police, so one of the few tactics agreed on by the majority was 'fluid strikes', involving 'small groups of protesters sitting down on the road simultaneously at multiple points before voluntarily moving on or being forced to do so.'[85] The fluid strikes blocked Northbourne Avenue for over an hour.

A small number was able to enter the complex by donning suits and posing as arms investors. John Jacobs shot footage for a documentary,[86] while others 'sprayed butyric acid (a pungent, but physically harmless compound) into various exhibits, causing the evacuation of one pavilion'.[87]

Little Conversion

The Franklin, with its explicit nonviolence, saw some excellent relations with police created. Many conversions occurred, and police showed their support, sharing confidences, information and even deep emotion. Younger police had to be rounded up from long socialising at the end of most days, while the 'Lone Ranger', a gung-ho policeman who made many arrests, broke down in tears one day and confessed to a sense of extreme alienation from his peers.[88] As the blockade rolled on, divisions appeared among the police. The seemingly impenetrable facade of the state was beginning to crack.

By contrast, AIDEX was a battleground. One protest involved a crowd of socialist men continuing the old paradigm of angry chanting that stirred up the crowd, antagonised the police and began skirmishes. I was caught up in this scene with a young child on my shoulders and struggled to get out safely. At a later meeting a woman complained of being brutalised and suggested we had every right to attack police in retaliation. I spoke against this; we had the right perhaps, but what would it achieve except a fleeting sense of revenge?

Problems were exacerbated by the mass media, which described the protest as a 'clash', 'battle', 'skirmish' and 'war', with protesters described as 'wild', 'screaming' 'dishevelled' and 'smelly'.[89] AIDEX supporters such as Sir William Keys and Brigadier Adrian D'Hage were regularly cited, describing protesters as 'thugs and terrorists', 'the pits' and 'the dregs of Australia'.[90] The action, nevertheless, cost the state around $1 million, deterring further shows; there were fewer visitors than expected and some international exhibitors stated that they would not return for any Australian arms shows.[91] Plans for a similar event in Adelaide in 2008 were quickly shelved after protesters threatened action.[92]

Anti-Nuclear Bike Rides

In nonviolent activism, big is not necessarily better. A comparison of two anti-nuclear, anti-military bike rides, one from Adelaide to Alice Springs in a 1986, and a 4000-kilometre epic from Melbourne to Jabiluka in the Northern Territory (NT) in 1998, shows that an action involving a small, well-organised and cohesive group could be more effective than a mass event with poor group dynamics.

The valiant 1986 Bike Ride protested at Roxby and military facilities in SA and the NT. Internal divisions in the group of 60 meant long, difficult meetings, and a split into two groups taking different routes, with these groups splintering further. The riders became separated by hundreds of kilometres, and communication was negligible. Few support vehicles, poverty, and harsh terrain and conditions added to the difficulties. The ride was ambitious and well-intentioned, but its strategies were ill-defined, and it seemed to preach to rather than seek common ground with rural residents.[93] Nevertheless, visits to remote Aboriginal communities built solidarity, while the protests (along with similar actions such as the various Peace Buses which toured Australia) demonstrated resistance (despite minimal media coverage), built a protest culture, and likely contributed to the success of the later Cycle Against the Nuclear Cycle (CANC).

Although CANC was smaller numerically, it was more successful both internally and externally. Its size was such that it was more efficient and professional, better organised and more enjoyable for the participants. With a more cohesive group dynamic, people were better supported within an affinity group structure, and consensus decision-making occurred more smoothly. Communication was also superior – partly because of new technology – and the ride was appropriately resourced and well-planned in advance. Like The Bike Ride, CANC was visionary; where, however, The Bike Ride was over-ambitious, CANC worked extremely well at a grassroots level; since it had a viable yet enjoyable dynamic it affected those it encountered in a largely positive manner, starting small and working outwards. Nor were people confronted by masses of protesters. Yet this group also impacted on a national level – by filming themselves and persuading a public broadcaster to give them airtime, they were able to reach a wide audience with their own material, which avoided the usual mass media biases.

CANC also displayed better adherence to the nonviolent tenets of conversion and parallel institutions. Although also engaging in protest, the group focussed more than their predecessors had done on befriending and educating people in the communities they passed through, and in networking with Aboriginal people. Art forms such as music, firestick twirling, monocycle riding and juggling were frequently used to break down barriers and to entertain.

Jabiluka: An Aboriginal-Led Blockade

A blockade of a proposed uranium mine at Jabiluka began in 1998, organised by the Aboriginal traditional owners, the Mirrar – represented by the Gundjhemi Aboriginal Corporation (GAC) – along with student and environmental organisations. Most activists demonstrated an understanding of Aboriginal issues (a sign of eco-pax evolution), and accepted Mirrar sovereignty over the land and the protest. As activist Helen Hintjens commented:

> Most JAG [Jabiluka Action Group] members would agree…that: 'it is Mirrar land, and what the Mirrar say, goes. If non-Aboriginal activists don't want to operate in the way that the Mirrar have sanctioned, then fine, let them take action elsewhere'.[94]

However, a significant number of blockaders complained about or refused to accept Mirrar sovereignty. When the Mirrar began to assert their rights, for example by forbidding a 'doof' music concert, I heard comments such as 'the land belongs to everybody, no-one owns it.' Such comments perpetuate the myth of *terra nullius*[95] and are highly disrespectful of people who have built up a custodial relationship with the land over thousands of years. It is also, as Sydney JAG's Chris Doran pointed out, precisely the argument that mining companies use.[96] The ignorance of Aboriginal realities was such that some protesters felt affronted that Mirrar people would not 'show them around the country' or send out thank-you notes. ACF's Dave Sweeney wrote:

> [T]o demand that the number one most marginalized group in Australia send out thank-you letters for supporting their claim to fundamental human rights is equivalent in my mind to walking down the street and thanking people for not hitting me on the head.[97]

Sexism

Divisions were also caused by a Christian group that contravened GAC guidelines,[98] and alleged sexual assaults and harassment of women by two men. Blockader Jarrah Schmah criticised the attitude to this:

> How can we create a safe or peaceful world in the face of this kind of blatant sexism … I mean the attitudes that come out of the mouths of many – male and female – saying that 'we're here to protest, not deal with this shit' and delay discuss ignore which is where it's at now as far as I can see.[99]

When people tried to exclude the alleged offenders, they were denigrated as being 'out for blood' or 'lesbian conspiracy' types. Yet a holistic approach is essential, because 'sexist attitudes and ignorance about sexism are root

causes of the environmental crisis'.[100] Sexism, racism and other forms of social oppression are not separate from global problems of environmental destruction and militarism but mutually inclusive; none can be solved in isolation.

The early stages of the blockade included active resistance. However, the later opposition by GAC to secretive actions (because of cultural and safety concerns) meant that active resistance was not as prominent as in the forest blockades, and there was little further development of it.

Effective Corporate Campaigning

Nonviolence development occurred, however, in the broader campaign, where lobbying of businesses by TWS and the Mineral Policy Institute (along with noisier occupations and protests of businesses by JAGs) led to significant withdrawal of money from the mine's backers. TWS's status as a widely-respected environmental organisation enabled it to wield considerable influence over institutions who were supporting the mine indirectly through their shares in the mining company, ERA. Seven institutions, including Sydney University and the South Australian Art Gallery, sold shares worth nearly seven million dollars.[101] Not only was this an effective tactic little used previously, it showed how different groups can complement each other well, covering different ground but achieving an overall objective together.

Despite the conflicts described above, the Jabiluka blockade seemed generally calmer than Roxby, with better group dynamics – including smaller meetings. Consensus decision-making seemed to be more embedded in the movement's culture, being generally accepted, and working reasonably smoothly and with little criticism. The campaign, despite being in an isolated area, attracted more people than Roxby and probably the NEFA blockades, and the nonviolence of it likely contributed to these numbers, and to its ultimate success.

Despite several isolated incidents, there was no large-scale violence as at Roxby and AIDEX. Relationships with police also seemed generally improved, with many sympathisers among the police, some openly supportive. Consequently, there were fewer arrests for petty matters such as overloaded cars. Clearly, the growing maturity of the movement and the availability of nonviolence training at the blockade aided blockade dynamics, and produced disciplined actions.

Even without militant methods, orthodox civil disobedience was still effective, straining the government infrastructure:

> The police were much more on side now covert actions were over, having sought out [police liaison activist] Anthony [Kelly] from our jail cell and begged him to stop actions for a while because they just couldn't cope with the number of arrestees.[102]

The use of serious charges against nonviolent protesters was also openly acknowledged by police to have occurred because the protest was costing ERA money,[103] while the intimidation caused by a semi-trailer was widely interpreted as a sign that ERA was becoming desperate.

* * *

Nonviolence continued to develop in many other actions during this period, such as Western Australian forest blockades, protests against foreign warships (some nuclear-powered and probably nuclear-armed) visiting Australian harbours, and actions at US military bases, including a large women's action at Pine Gap in 1983. Small Christian groups linked to the global Ploughshares movement also challenged orthodoxy by damaging military equipment, actions justified by the biblical injunction to 'Beat your swords into ploughshares'.

This examination of a selection of eco-pax campaigns has shown both some successes and challenges of nonviolence, demonstrating the value of radical tactics, training, flexibility, women's actions, group dynamics, holism and diversity. Let us look more closely at the most significant nonviolence development of the period – 'active resistance'.

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4
Active Resistance: We Shall Never Be Moved

Nonviolence is often confused with pacifism, misnamed 'passive resistance' or thought to consist only of principled nonviolence. It is widely misconstrued as consisting only of appeals to the conscience of its opponents – a simple type of ineffective, non-threatening action, like holding hands and singing 'We Shall Not Be Moved', before being swept aside by violent opponents. It is considered a nice idea but ineffective in the real world, an unchanging, outmoded philosophy rooted in past actions such as those of Gandhi or Martin Luther King.

However, we have already seen how effective and complex nonviolence can be. Far from being fixed in the 1930s or 1960s, it is a praxis which is continuously evolving, largely through being tested in action. In Chapter 2 we mainly looked at the Gandhian or 'orthodox' form of nonviolence, which is principled and revolutionary. The last chapter demonstrated, however, that other forms of nonviolence, pragmatic and reformist, have increasingly challenged orthodox nonviolence in recent years. A new and more militant form of nonviolence has emerged, particularly in forest blockades, involving tactical innovations to make blockading far more physically effective. Increasingly intricate (and occasionally ingenious) devices and methods were designed to hinder the removal of activists engaged in acts of civil disobedience. Tripods, 'lock-ons', burials, 'going black wallaby', tree-sits, and militant occupations of forests, mines, power stations, roads, city streets, offices and bulldozers (including moving ones) helped to secure the immediate goals of campaigns against environmental destruction and Aboriginal dispossession. This chapter summarises and elaborates on those developments, before discussing the ongoing 'diversity of tactics' controversy, a substantially different issue which, unlike 'active resistance', has impeded eco-pax movement development.

Extremes

In the last chapter, we saw how orthodox nonviolence was extremely successful in the Franklin River blockade. Compulsory, comprehensive training

prior to joining the action meant that everyone had a reasonable understanding of nonviolence and some preparation for it. Activists were organised into well-bonded affinity groups. They were becoming accustomed to consensus decision-making. There was minimal violence and bad publicity. The campaign had a great spirit (aided by natural grandeur as well as by ubiquitous music) and grew into an international and successful one.

Where nonviolence has been poorly implemented, however, conspicuous failures have eventuated. Although most activists at the 1996 Carrai blockade employed nonviolent strategies, there was no training and little discussion of nonviolence, and a professed disdain for nonviolence by some, who deemed it ineffective. The sabotage of a bulldozer created a backlash which led to the blockade's collapse. The area was logged.

These cases illustrate two extremes of environmental action and the relationship that exists between them. Orthodox nonviolence has been widely used and has produced many successful outcomes. It has also been criticised for being imposed on grassroots activists from above, for being inflexible and dogmatic, and for not always being appropriate. These critics have developed new forms of action in-between the two extremes, forms that have also proven effective and which still should be regarded as nonviolent, under a broader and more realistic definition of nonviolence.

Shift From Orthodoxy

The Roxby blockades showed that even if many activists are trained or experienced in nonviolence, a minority with violent or dangerous tactics can create atrocious publicity for the whole blockade. A spiral of violence was created at Roxby by these violent tactics, whether physical or psychological; protest vehicles crashed through gates and careered around police roadblocks, lives were endangered, police were verbally abused and accused (often with justification) of brutality, and many people were injured. The resultant media coverage focused on the violence, the dualistic opposition of the protesters versus the police and miners, and law and order issues, with little mention of our environmental, peace and social concerns.

Amidst such an atmosphere of anger, fear and mistrust, there was little dialogue with opponents, and few conversions. Rather, there were a number of assaults on blockaders by irate miners, while two local women interviewed in the Andamooka hotel said that 'the demonstrators were dole-bludging drug addicts paid to come out into the country to stir up trouble'.[1]

Admittedly, such attitudes will not be changed quickly, and a violent response to protests is sometimes unavoidable, but disciplined nonviolence may minimise the violence, as the Franklin case shows. The Roxby campaigns failed to grow as had the Franklin, and there was little political support. Although other factors were involved (such as the difference in the issue, opponents, timing, location, and attitude of the ALP), the failure of

the Roxby campaigns can be partly attributed to the violent tactics of some participants.

There was little central authority to ban or control violent activists at Roxby, unlike at the Franklin. Although CNFA organisers attempted to ensure that blockaders were trained and formed into affinity groups, they were unable to enforce this, as many protesters made their own way to the blockade. The failure to close Roxby caused many to feel disappointed and disempowered. The blockades began, however, a tradition of continuing action at Roxby.[2]

The poor result also led to disenchantment with the ALP, and a 1984 rally at Canberra's Lakeside Hotel produced alternative parties with different political ideologies and methods, such as the (world's first) Nuclear Disarmament Party, and led to the Australian Greens. The Roxby blockades also may have paved the way for the later success at Jabiluka, by educating activists and the wider public about the dangers of uranium mining. The 1983 blockade organisers were already considering a blockade of the proposed Jabiluka and Koongarra uranium mines.[3]

One important aspect of the Roxby protests was that they signalled a shift away from the nonviolence orthodoxy of the Franklin. The guidelines for action provided by CNFA were significantly different to those of TWS, and looser organisational control of the blockade allowed types of action banned at the Franklin.

Active Resistance

This type of action has been termed 'active resistance' by Timothy Doyle; it is 'still nonviolent, but more animated and imaginative in its choice of techniques, and people have the right to defend themselves'.[4] Doyle includes as examples of active resistance: moving survey pegs, running away from police instead of surrendering, and sitting protesters in the path of machinery atop giant tripods. The first two of these had begun in the earliest days of major environmental actions. NAG activists had moved surveyors' pegs at the Franklin, and had run away from police when ordered to stop. At Terania Creek, protestors hid themselves in forests in the hope that this would stop logging there. Police would try to catch them before logging resumed, but this was not always the case; occasionally trees were felled very close to activists:

> Others near the loggers screamed to them to stop. They were ignored. We moved towards an outcrop of rocks for safety but couldn't reach it in time, so we huddled behind the buttress root of a rainforest tree as the felled tree cracked. Masses of leaves and branches crashed like a huge storm on either side of us. The others dragged me off. We were terrified: it could have been murder.[5]

Although this is dangerous, it is a valid nonviolent tactic, as activists have the right to put themselves in danger (a form of self-suffering), while police and loggers should ensure the area is cleared before felling trees, to avoid harming people.

This technique has been refined, and is now called the 'black wallaby' technique. It has been used in most Australian forest campaigns of the last thirty years, and is a popular and effective tactic. At a protest at Badja, NSW, 'between three and five people managed to halt logging for three days with no arrests!'[6] This is an important tactical development because it is difficult to have large numbers of people at remote, inaccessible blockades.

Tripods, Monopoles, Cantilevers and Tree-sits

The form of active resistance that has grown the most is the use of physical objects in conjunction with activists. The most common is the tripod, where a structure of three or more poles is constructed out of saplings, bamboo or steel, and erected in the place to be blockaded (Figure 17).

One or more protestors scale the tripod and sit at its apex, refusing to descend even when ordered to do so by police. The police usually need to bring a 'cherrypicker' vehicle to remove them, and this may take considerable

Figure 17 Tripod blockades logging trucks in south-east NSW

Figure 18 A visitor 'drops in' to Miranda Gibson

time in remote, rugged terrain. When a protester is removed, another might scale the tripod to replace them, unless police are vigilant.

As tripods became easier for police to deal with, they were linked together in complex series of structures called 'tripod villages', around which activists could move when threatened. Damage to one part might endanger activists in another part, thus police needed to ascertain how to dismantle them safely, and obtain a range of machinery to do so. Again, this took time.

Sometimes, the tripod legs are placed *around* a bulldozer, police bus, or even a train, as in one Tasmanian action. This effectively traps that vehicle until the protestors can be removed and the tripod dismantled. An Australian invention, the tripod is now used globally, for example in US 'Reclaim the Streets' actions.[7]

Similar to tripods are cantilevers, and monopoles with a 'Star of David' platform on which to sit. In other cases, activists scale trees scheduled for felling, remaining there in hammocks or platforms for days and even months. Supplies are taken up at the start of the vigil, and replenished when possible – often at night when there are fewer police present. A healthy skepticism is necessary, as one tree-sit ended when the occupants were tricked into descending by police posing as SBS reporters. As I write on this abnormally warm October day, Miranda Gibson, a young teacher, is into Day 315 of a 60-metre tree-sit in 'the Observer Tree' in a threatened old-growth forest in Tasmania, where she monitors flora and fauna, writes

(a book and daily blog), and makes videos (Figure 18).[8] The world's tallest tree-sit, at 65 metres, was also in Tasmania,[9] while the longest tree-sit thus far was by Julia Butterfly Hill, who lived in an ancient redwood tree (called Luna) for 738 days.[10]

Lock-Ons

Another important tactic, the 'lock-on', involves using chains or bike-locks (sometimes with the addition of metal pipes) to lock oneself by the hands, neck or legs to an object (Figure 19). Sometimes people are chained to gates to prevent them being opened. Others lock onto bulldozers to prevent them being used or moved (Figures 20–22). Police then need to obtain equipment to cut through the metal. This takes some time, particularly in remote areas, while the operation of cutting is also time-consuming. Thus the forests gain a reprieve of a few valuable hours, during which time city-based activists are often attempting to stop the logging through legal or political action.

There is definite risk for activists in being injured while they are being extricated from the lock-on. They can also be injured if a bulldozer drives off while someone is locked on to it, so there is preferably someone nearby to inform the driver of the situation, that injury may result from their driving

Figure 19 Woman uses bike-lock to attach herself to woodchip mill

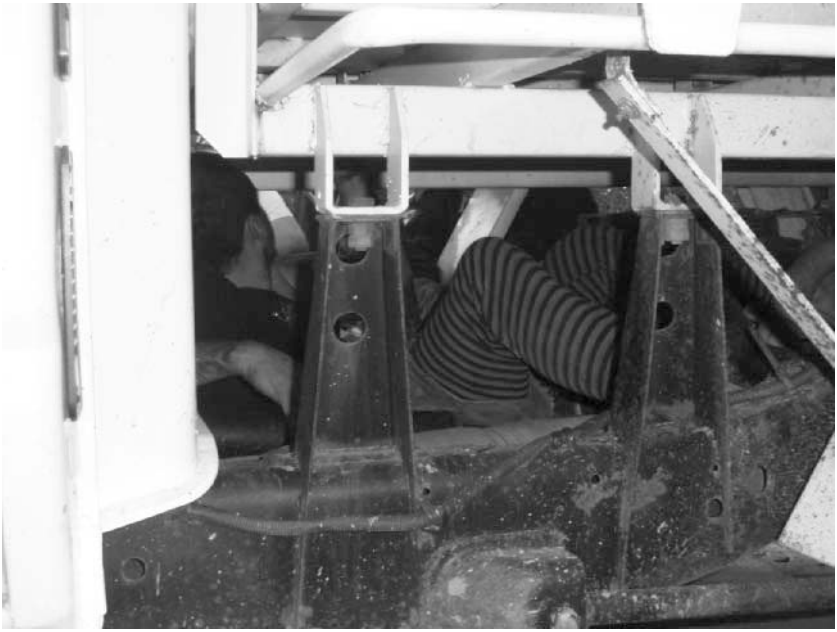

Figure 20 Lock-on under logging machinery

Figure 21 Police trying to extricate blockader from underneath machinery

Figure 22 John Seed locks on to logging machinery, Braemar Forest, 2003

off, and that they might then face legal charges. Having witnesses, cameras and support (such as to provide water) during this nerve-wracking action certainly helps!

Increasingly, activists have locked on to tripods, making their removal more difficult. At a Timbarra, NSW, action against gold mining near a river sacred to the Bundjalung nation,[11] one activist placed his head in a noose, whereby incorrect attempts to remove him might result in his death by hanging. Despite the macabre imagery this produced on a television documentary,[12] it was clear he was a dedicated activist prepared to die for the cause. Although many regard self-harm as violence, precedents have been set by Gandhi's hunger-strikes that self-imposed suffering is a legitimate method of even principled nonviolence.

Burials, Dragons, Pipes and Tunnels

The Daintree campaign was perhaps the first where holes were dug in a road and protestors buried themselves up to their necks to slow their removal. A later technique, the 'dragon', combines burial with locking-on. Activists embed in a hole a pipe and lengths of reinforced steel, which are then cemented into place. A person enters the hole, and at the appropriate time

Figure 23 Police attempt to cut through a buried dragon of a Timbarra protester. Her face is covered with a blanket to protect her

she places her arm into the pipe, chaining it onto the steel rods. Removing her takes much longer, involving both digging and cutting.

At Timbarra, an activist filled his pipe with aerosol cans, which could explode if cut into. Thus the activist would be at greater risk of injury if police tried to remove him. This would, however, also be dangerous to police, so I would not describe this particular action as nonviolent.

A further development was the use of enormous concrete pipes, usually 'borrowed' from roading projects. These were buried in roads, often in combination with dragons, or with activists even cementing their legs at the bottom of deep holes. The pipes made the dragons and cement difficult for police to access, further slowing their attempts to extricate protesters (Figure 23).

The creation and occupation of tunnels may also have originated in Australia,[13] although it was used much more extensively in British protests against new roads and airport runways, where protesters remained deep underground for weeks at a time, and one protester, nicknamed 'Swampy', even became a tabloid hero.[14]

Static Blocking Methods

Static blocking methods do not necessarily involve people remaining after they are set up. They are techniques to slow bulldozers, cherry-pickers, logging trucks or police vehicles, by blocking roads with large boulders, log fires, or rocks heated on fires.

'Scrubbing' a road involves hauling any handy objects – logs, stones, even drainage pipes – onto a road at irregular intervals over distances up to several kilometres. This can slow vehicles considerably, but they need to be given adequate warning so danger is minimised. So too with 'trucker fuckers' – devices sledge-hammered into roads which:

> despite the colourful name ... are not designed to fuck truckers or their trucks. They are installed to prevent trucks from entering the particular area – not to cause accidents. They could be innocently or deliberately misconstrued as lethal traps. Thus the potential for accidents should be reduced by creating other blocks on either side of the truck fuckers (branches, rocks, signs, etc) painting them pink, hanging streamers and banners or anything else you can think of to avoid bad vibes (Figure 24).[15]

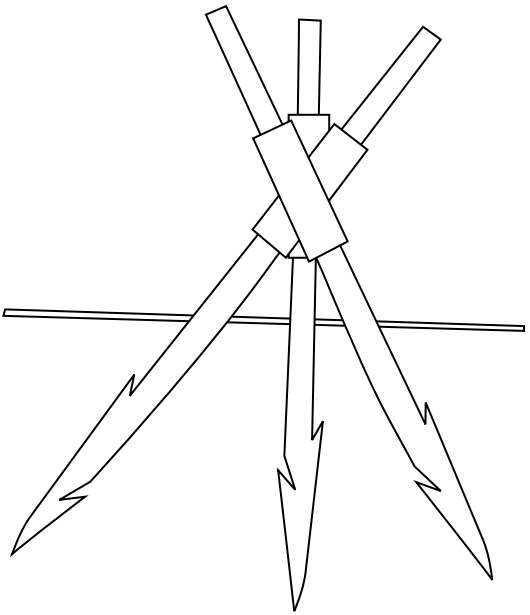

Figure 24 'Trucker fucker' devices

Figure 25 Police at Chaelundi show exasperation at multiple blockade devices of pipe burials and tripods

As each of these innovations are used, police find ways to deal with them, also becoming faster at doing so. Protestors therefore try to stay one step ahead, using a new technique or combination of techniques. As the *Intercontinental Deluxe Guide to Blockading* states:

> If you can quickly whip up a tripod in front of ... hot rocks and any cops hanging around the hot rocks (perhaps a kilometre or two down the road, in front of the oncoming 'dozer, and then put someone in a deluxe sleeping dragon after the bulldozer has trundled by, you should fix them for a while. The dozer is then trapped between tripod and dragon, and the cherrypicker is stuffed by the dragon. Even if you can't pull something like this off, by combining blockade devices you inevitably tie up more time and resources[16] (Figure 25).

Militant Direct Actions

One element of active resistance is militant direct actions (MDAs). These refer to 'any form of direct action that does not fit within the traditional rubric of nonviolent action, and specifically to actions that involve some risk to human beings'.[17] They include Ian Cohen's 'surfing' of a US nuclear warship (media images of which went global), Dean Jeffreys' paint-bombing

of a warship, and flight into Roxby, both in an ultra-light plane, the 1992 NEFA occupation of State Forests' office in Sydney,[18] and rainforest activist Bruno Manser's landing of a motorised glider on the property of Sarawak's Chief Minister Taib Mahmud, shortly before Manser disappeared.

These are not significantly different to the occupations and 'sit-ins' that have long been part of acceptable, even orthodox, nonviolence.[19] All of these involved people occupying buildings and denying entrance to authorities,[20] and some were far from docile, such as the 1983 occupation of Sydney University's Economics Department, ended by the Riot Squad.[21] However, MDAs have become more frequent and better organised since the 1980s. The planning and execution of the NEFA occupation was highly professional, and their enormous banner 'Under New Management', and widespread dispatch of faxes from State Forests' own machines, declaring a new, greener regime, was breathtakingly bold and authoritative.

Crossing the Line?

However, such actions are not without their problems, as I witnessed during an occupation of a mining regulatory office in Lismore during the Timbarra campaign. Among the few people staffing the office was a pregnant secretary who felt enormous distress and intimidation during the occupation, despite having little influence on the policies of the bureau. The occupations of moving bulldozers, which might endanger their drivers, are similarly intimidating MDAs.

The 'hijacking' of a train in Tasmania involved some danger, and a level of threat to the train's personnel. Although some claimed it was nonviolent,[22] there were no red safety-flags present when the activists – dressed as iconic bushranger Ned Kelly – waved down the train, and the presence of explosives on board no doubt contributed to the fear of the drivers when they saw it being 'held up'. It generated a great deal of media, but much of it was negative, equating the action with terrorist activity.

Similar publicity was accorded to NEFA's Sydney occupation, and NEFA was subsequently shut out of any consultations with State Forests, and barred from speaking at some conferences. Doyle argues that although 'the people of northeast NSW lost their voice ... some would say it was lost some time ago, and that it is disempowerment and frustration that lead to such actions'.[23]

One journalist wrote that 'just as the loonier lesbians held back feminism, so the half-mad gleam in the eye of the extreme greens threatens a backlash for sensible conservation.'[24] Verity Burgmann, however, argues that radical activists, by their far-reaching demands and militant tactics, aid the movement by making less militant campaigners more likely to be listened to. Although some journalists contrast favourably those who crusade for the environment with 'intelligent and objective care and concern' with those

Figure 26 2010 Climate Camp action against coal-fired power stations

'bandwagon activists who join up out of paranoid [!] and exhibitionist needs', Burgmann concludes that:

> Moderate achievements are gained, generally, by militants, though conservatives insist this is not the case and more would be conceded if they only asked nicely. The truth is, if protesters behaved the way their opponents desired, they would make much less political headway.[25]

This is a difficult question, and militant activists often walk a tightrope over the morass of public opinion, alienating some, inspiring others (Figure 26). One reasonably effective MDA was when Greenpeace put solar panels on the roof of the Prime Minister's residence in 1998. Greenpeace claims to have a good relationship with the police, because it is known for the nonviolent, disciplined manner of its protests.[26] Yet many of its actions involve secrecy, which is disapproved of by orthodox theorists. The guerrilla-style solar action involved seventeen activists scaling a fence and climbing onto the roof, with security guards unable to prevent them.

A drawback of the action is that it inevitably led to security fears about other groups doing similar but violent actions, encouraged by how easy it was to access such a high-profile target. Hence, more public resources would be spent on security. The action, however, gained considerable publicity, much of it admiring its audacity. Greenpeace also held a breakfast barbecue the next day, using solar power to do the cooking. The action overall was

cheeky, imaginative, and humorous. It would not have been as successful if authorities knew about it beforehand.

Still Nonviolent

These new tactics should generally still be considered nonviolent, despite being unorthodox and having elements of secrecy. Although they might involve property damage, there are clear differences between them and sabotage. With burials, lock-ons, tripods and dragons, protestors are putting themselves in a vulnerable position, exposing themselves to the mercy of opponents. These are examples of self-suffering, not much different to Indian activists who submitted to beatings during the 1930 'salt *satyagraha*'.

Furthermore, the property damage (a hole in a road, a jammed lock) is usually minimal compared with the far greater violence (ecological, structural, cultural or physical) it is resisting, where doing nothing may be considered a more violent option. Allowing old-growth logging, for example, causes irreparable damage to complex ecosystems.[27]

The more thoughtful and strategic the action, the more useful it is likely to be. Witty, thought-provoking graffiti on a well-chosen target (such as the clever transformation of tobacco billboards by Billboard-Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Products [BUGA UP] which initiated a pioneering end to cigarette advertising in Australia) may be damaging property but for a worthwhile purpose – countering the much greater violence of widespread lung cancer that the community has to deal with.

Nor is active resistance *entirely* secretive; after the initial lock-on, it is openly defiant, and usually results in the activists being arrested, as with orthodox civil disobedience. This is an important distinction between active resistance and sabotage, as the latter involves an attempt to 'conduct sustained systematic attacks on property *and get away with it* [my emphasis]'.[28]

Where active resistance differs from orthodox nonviolence is that activists do not go out of their way to inform police of all their plans. This is not necessarily being secretive. The activists can still openly organise; the affinity group system where most people are known to each other helps prevent the police, using their own secretive tactics, from infiltrating groups and discovering plans.

Although these actions and images *seem* violent, it's worth identifying exactly who is causing the violence. What nonviolent resistance often does is to expose the violence that is inherent in state structures: there *is* violence in people being dragged into 'paddywagons', but despite media distortions, this is not violence *by* protesters. The method of confrontation is not violent, but it provokes a violent response (which many journalists misinterpret). Burying oneself may be disturbing but it is not a violent act *per se;* rather, it demonstrates brave self-suffering through vulnerability and constriction. So too must we distinguish between *conflict* and *violence*. Violence is rarely if ever healthy, whereas conflict is an inevitable and even

healthy component of human interaction;[29] it is suppressed or denied at society's peril.

Finally, violence can never be wholly eradicated (for example, the violence of accidents, toddlers, or nature); the aim of nonviolence is to minimise it. The quest for global sustainability and peace requires strong, open resistance to corporate and militaristic elites, resistance which may push nonviolence to the limits or involve disturbing scenes. Such resistance may be characterised under the holistic Taoist philosophy of *yin* and *yang*,[30] wherein the softer (yin), more oblique expression of dissent that is artistic activism is complemented by a harder (yang) core of active resistance.

George Gittoes' paintings can be viewed similarly: despite harrowing imagery, they are strongly pro-peace.[31] In the real, messy world of activism, lines get crossed and theories are not always applicable. Nevertheless, there are problems the closer militancy gets to militarism. This is why active resistance should be complemented by antidotes based on analyses of violence discourses and tempered by the humour, colour and calming potentials of artistic activism (see Chapter Six).

Greater Tactical Effectiveness

Active resistance is, in many ways, an improvement on orthodox civil disobedience, since it makes it harder for police to arrest and remove protestors. 'We Shall Not Be Moved', the anthem of the US civil rights movement,[32] thus becomes even more appropriate. It is a move towards tactical effectiveness and away from purely symbolic actions (but ironically creating powerful symbols anyway). It gives activists a wider range of tactics – effective and empowering – when mounting a blockade.

These techniques arose largely in conservation blockades in remote areas. Because of their inaccessibility, there were rarely large numbers of activists available, particularly for extended periods. Thus they were quite different to the urban-based marches of the US civil rights movement,[33] or the Indian actions where crowds could be assembled with more ease.

They were also different because, in the US and Indian cases, there was a realisation that social justice would take some time to achieve. In forest blockades, however, there is an urgency to not just achieve long-term support and structural change, but to physically stop logging, since, as noted above, old-growth forests can never be restored to their original condition once logged. As Ian Cohen and Felicity Ruby write: 'the mass participatory, non-violence theories of Gandhi and Martin Luther King cannot always be plucked out of an historical context and applied to today's circumstances'.[34]

Evolving, Activist-Owned Praxis

With different situations, activists need to be able to adapt nonviolence to their own needs. While new forms may have deficiencies and upset purists,

there are certain advantages if they are shown to be effective, and if they bring new adherents to nonviolence. By its own definition, the radically-democratic nature of orthodox nonviolence means it cannot be a fixed doctrine enforced by a hierarchy, but should be a continuously evolving praxis, owned by the activists themselves.

It's worth noting that the origins of active resistance predate orthodox nonviolence. 'Lock-ons' were used in the early 20th century by suffragettes in their successful attempts to get the vote, and their philosophies and tactics influenced Gandhi. 1960s feminists chained themselves to government buildings, while Merle Thornton (mother of actor Sigrid) and Rosalie Bogner locked onto the bar of the Brisbane's Regatta Hotel for the right to drink in any bar of the hotel.[35]

But these tactics took a quantum leap in the forest blockades, where there was a concerted effort to use them widely, frequently and systematically, and they evolved rapidly. Numerous forms of active resistance were used, sometimes simultaneously and *en masse*. They were continuously developed and refined, adding, for example, cement and purpose-built devices to lock-ons.

Decentralised, Diverse yet Unified Campaigns

Another important aspect of the blockades was that their core organising group was not, as elsewhere, a relatively large city-based organisation committed to orthodox nonviolence. Although rural-based members of those groups were involved, it was primarily rural-based grassroots activists – many of them 'intentional community' dwellers – who organised the blockades, while nomadic 'ferals' staffed them. They had no expectation of mainstream support, and a full intention to use active resistance techniques. Such techniques, therefore, were not just condoned by the organisers – they were actively encouraged.

Free and frank discussions of active resistance took place at the blockades and campaign centres, resulting in imaginative innovations. At blockades where such techniques were frowned upon, however, discussion of them was only possible in small, secretive groups. If they *were* discussed openly, long debates on whether they were nonviolent or not frustrated activists, slowed development and use, and created a backlash of dissatisfaction with orthodox nonviolence advocates. This led to campaign rifts and activist demoralisation, as occurred in the SEFA blockades.

Another nonviolence development was that NEFA's active resistance was not, as elsewhere, by radical activists working largely alone and unsupported by city-based groups. Instead, they had the full support of, and a close working relationship with, radical activists in the city. These latter were working in two other key areas. Some concentrated on lobbying politicians, scientists and forestry personnel, using their intimate knowledge of the issue to

great advantage. Others engaged in legal manoeuvres to get injunctions against logging, demanding that (often-ignored) regulations be followed, and breaches punished. They were supported by expert lawyers. As with the Jabiluka campaign, this multi-pronged approach was highly effective. Being diverse but unified, the approach is also an example of inclusivity, involving numerous areas in which people could work, and which were supportive and not antipathetic to each other.

Active Resistance Problems

Not all the actions initiated by active resistance practitioners have been beneficial. Their retention of voting rather than consensus continues a disempowering method of decision-making. Consensus is a valuable method. It is new to most people, and like any new technology or method, will inevitably be difficult at first. However, with practice it becomes efficient as well as empowering.

Contrary to what its critics say, it *can* work in large groups. Thousands of people at a Quaker meeting in Europe used consensus to decide to boycott South African goods during apartheid.[36] In Australia, groups of several hundred have used it effectively, such as at the women's Pine Gap protest and the 1996 'Students and Sustainability' conference.

During large blockades it can be effective if representatives of all the affinity groups meet and discuss options, if necessary then returning to their affinity groups, with the representative job being alternated to prevent the buildup of hierarchies. They may also meet in a 'goldfish bowl' situation, where the larger group can observe the smaller representative group meeting, and have limited input to that meeting. Such a method was effectively used to end an impasse at a 1993 TWS national meeting. Similarly, if the action is comprised of numerous affinity groups all empowered to make its own decisions about how to participate, as occurred at Roxby and the 1999 global justice protests in Seattle, consensus can be used widely and efficiently while allowing diversity.

Also problematic is the assertion that defending oneself against police is nonviolent. It is obviously a 'more active form of resistance'.[37] However, in contrast with the civil disobedience act of evading police, actively fighting them off is a form of violence. It will alienate them, escalate into brawling, and generate negative publicity. Self-defence is justifiable, such as if Dr Bob Brown (a leader of the Franklin campaign, later a Greens MP) had resisted his bashing by a gang in Strahan, but it is not nonviolent.

Legitimisation of Active Resistance

Active resistance is an extremely significant nonviolence development. It continued the move away from the polite, 'old-school-tie' lobbying that had

exemplified environmentalism prior to the Terania blockade. It splintered any unified notion of nonviolence, showing that nonviolence is far from a static or outmoded praxis set in stone by Gandhi, but is constantly evolving to suit modern circumstances.

Just as NAG and TWS activists replaced the conservative ACF methods with direct action,[38] so too have later Australian activists pushed against the limits of 'acceptable' nonviolence. Often they were rejected by established groups, left stranded at blockades, unfinanced and unsupported. Some activists were ostracized, although occasionally with good reason (such as the Tasmanian train hijackers). Yet, as a result of their actions, they have created a movement where such actions are increasingly acceptable. Their actions generally preceded their theory, as they adapted to pressing circumstances with innovation.

NEFA's successes legitimised active resistance (particularly among students, 'alternatives', socialist groups and unaligned environmentalists) as valid nonviolent action, such that it was an acceptable part of the Jabiluka campaign. The Jabiluka success also increased the profile of nonviolence in this country as an effective method, albeit a new, more radical form of nonviolence.

Globalisation of Active Resistance

Australian actions in the 1960s and 1970s often adopted and 'translated' types of protest actions from overseas.[39] However, the techniques of direct action begun at Terania and then developed into active resistance, have influenced activists everywhere, including in the US and the UK, such as through the distribution of NEFA's *Intercontinental Deluxe Guide to Blockading*. Inspired by the 'daring precariousness of Australian blockade structures', and protests far larger than the more famous *Earth First!* US 'could even dream about', tripods, burials, lock-ons, tunnelling, and the ideas, language and songs of the feral subculture have been adopted globally.[40]

As Brent Hoare commented:

> It's funny how things that go around, come around. It is no exaggeration to say that the modern direct action environment movement[41] in the UK was spawned in large part due to the efforts of activists who'd participated in actions in Australia taking these experiences back to the UK with them. Now, here we are setting off [on the M2 and Olympic campaigns] inspired by the experience and achievements of communities on the other side of the world.[42]

It was not just British activists such as Karen Ellis, who had been part of the Mt Etna blockades,[43] and rainforest advocate George Marshall, who took these innovations home to the UK. Australian activists such as John Seed

travelled overseas, exporting blockade ideas and technology. Another example is NEFA activist Marita, who joined Irish campaigns against deforestation for new roads, distributing videos of NEFA actions[44] and showing Paula Vermunt's slides of Penan blockades in Borneo to 'give 'em a few more ideas'. A prophet better received abroad than at home, she wrote in a letter:

> It was quite amazing to be thanked and encouraged and respected and fed for trying to save trees – a far cry from [Australia]. … The forest camp has reawakened something in the Irish psyche and in 1 Sunday alone we had 2000 visitors![45]

Formidable Opponents

These Australian case studies, it might be argued, are less relevant for showcasing alternatives to militarism than those involving extremely repressive governments, such as Syria's, that fire on civilians. However, Australia's more liberal and democratic setting is a good place for experiments in activism, a testing ground for new types of nonviolence.

Additionally, their environmental focus led to new ways of defending land, which have national defence implications. Indeed, one book about Australian environmental activism was entitled *Patriots: Defending Australia's Natural Heritage,*[46] making the connection between the clean-cut young men (and, increasingly, women) who follow orders to fight for their country, and the less-regimented people, often vilified by the establishment, who have also made sacrifices to defend their country. Similarly, their resistance of environmental destruction is increasingly important as environmental crises deepen, while the fact that they tended to be 'universalist' or altruistic rather than 'particularist' or self-serving protests can inspire faith in humanity.

It should also be noted that Australian actions were often against formidable opponents who occasionally used violence. Aboriginal resistance to invasion and dispossession was met with genocidal violence including massacres of whole tribes,[47] while in 1965 an Aboriginal Freedom Ride bus was run off the road in Walgett.[48] In the Lake Pedder campaign, a plane carrying leading conservationist Brenda Hean disappeared in suspicious circumstances, with sabotage widely suspected. At the Franklin, submerged protesters were allegedly run over by police-escorted boats ignoring maritime regulations, arrestees suffered hypothermia, and rocks were thrown through campaign offices. Later Tasmanian campaigns endured a car bomb, death threats, and women being threatened with rape. Blockaders were assaulted by vigilantes at Warrup (WA), and Upper Florentine (where a car was sledgehammered) and Weld Valley in Tasmania, with the latter rampage involving petrol bombs.[49] Such violence was allegedly sometimes condoned by forestry officials and union bosses.

Blasting of Mt Etna's irreplaceable limestone caves occurred while protestors were in the vicinity. Daintree protestors were set upon by police dogs. In NSW campaigns, people were beaten up, endured malicious smear campaigns that extended to right-wing news-sheets overseas, and were shot at. Anti-warships protester, Richard Jones, had his kayak overturned by police, gaining front-page news because he was a Member of Parliament.

AIDEX was one of the most violent police operations most had experienced:

> At least two protestors suffered broken arms, one suffered a spinal injury and other injuries included broken wrists, fingers and feet, bruising and abrasions…At least one protestor was run over, while about twelve were pinned to gates or fences by exhibitors' vehicles.[50]

Jabiluka miners allegedly used explosives without sirens while protesters were only 200 metres away,[51] and arrested protesters later claimed that the treatment they received in custody constituted a breach of their human rights.[52]

Furthermore, as well as enduring atrocious jail conditions, serious charges and threats of mandatory sentencing, many non-indigenous activists were able to experience first-hand the systematic oppression of Aboriginal people, and 'the outrageous 10:1 ratio of black to white Australians' held in maximum security remand in Berrimah, some for minor property crimes'.[53] While in custody in Jabiru, I met a local Aboriginal who was also under arrest. We shook hands, thereby infuriating a large policeman, who cajoled the man to state that he supported uranium mining. Despite the threatening situation, however, he bravely declared his opposition to mining. Such experiences help draw non-Aboriginals into an understanding of Aboriginal issues, while encouraging and empowering indigenous people as they meet supportive activists.

Hidden Violence

So the supposition that nonviolence is easy in Australia is simply not true. In the wealthier countries, we don't have the overt government repression and constant tensions of some poorer countries, and therefore many presume that our society is more enlightened, tolerant, civilised and benign. But it is partly our wealth that enables us to avoid overt repression. And, although our armies and police are less often needed to quell civil strife, their firepower is usually greater than that of the poorer nations.

It is only when the status quo is threatened by popular movements – such as at AIDEX – that we see the usually-hidden violence of the state unleashed – and even then the popular perception is that the protesters deserved their treatment by overstepping the mark, and that the state was

protecting innocent citizens from unruly troublemakers. It is only when you are in the middle of such a protest, nonviolently standing up for passionately-held beliefs, and you experience police brutality, and lies from the authorities dutifully repeated by the mass media, that you begin to see that society is not the black-and-white one portrayed in Famous Five or Biggles books.[54] It's only when you land in Darwin after months in Asia that you see the ugliness of Australian society, the crude violence the state employs in its armed security and dogs. Or when you go inside the multiple barbed-wire and electrified fences, spotlights, steel doors, surveillance cameras and armed guards of a prison or detention centre, and experience its spirit-crushing relentlessly-bureaucratic oppression, that you see the underbelly of 'civilisation'.

In the next chapter, we will look at recent actions around the world, including in extremely repressive regimes. Before doing so, it's important to examine a major issue in modern protest movements.

'Diversity of Tactics'

Orthodox nonviolence has produced some remarkable victories, from the liberation of India to the preservation of the Franklin River. Active resistance has also been successful, particularly in preserving forests. It has broadened the scope of nonviolence considerably, presenting a range of new tools to ensure that nonviolence continues to develop as an effective, relevant method of social change, owned by those who use it.

Despite the emergence of active resistance, however, there are still protesters who do not want to be limited to nonviolent tactics. They believe it limits the scope of their protest, and they can be vocal in their opposition. Hence the November 2002 poster about a Sydney protest against the World Trade Organization, proclaiming that 'we support a diversity of tactics', rather than advocating nonviolence.

This major divide in activism was evident at AIDEX, but gained international attention after the 1999 'Battle of Seattle', where protesters gathered from across America to express their opposition to the WTO meeting there. Diversity of tactics (DOT) was:

> an attempt to bridge the gap between the 'Black Bloc' (black-clad and masked anarchists who wanted to break windows, trash cars and, in some cases, engage in street fighting with the police); those who wanted to engage in 'nonviolent direct action,' like sitting in to block entrances; and those who wanted to engage in peaceful protests and marches.[55]

Advocates of DOT argue that they should free to use any tactics they choose, and not be subject to the blocking of actions, exclusion from the movement, or censure by other activists. Such tactics may include violence

towards opponents (such as throwing objects at police) and major property destruction (such as damaging the premises of unethical businesses). One advocate, the 2008 Republican National Convention's 'Welcoming Committee' describes it thus:

> Diversity of tactics is a practice intended to achieve a goal. There may be many ways to 'skin a cat,' and this principle insists that while we may choose to identify or practice only one type of tactic, we leave the policing of tactics to the police. We will not attack our sisters and brothers for using tactics that are not our own. Having a diversity of tactics means we are stronger overall.[56]

Are Nonviolence and DOT Compatible?

At the core of this debate is nonviolence. DOT proponents want access to any tactics, including violence. Other activists want to use *only* nonviolent tactics to make similar points. The latter group believes that violence is a non-achiever; it only begets more violence along with adverse publicity. This applies especially in peace protests, where it seems hypocritical to advocate for peace through violent means. While DOT sounds good in theory, violence by *some* at an action discredits *everyone*. Furthermore, as we saw in Chapter 2, removing a regime through violence tends to dehumanise the activists and lead to violent, secretive regimes rather than open, democratic ones.

Solidarity is certainly an important element of movements, but why should peace activists act in solidarity with violent people, rather than resist them? If we accept D'Amato's description of the Black Bloc as 'sectarian and elitist, setting itself apart from the movement by its style of dress, its masks and its attitude to other protesters, whom Black Blockers often denounce as an undifferentiated mass of "liberals"'[57], or George Lakey's depiction of them as generally white and middle-class,[58] wouldn't many activists have more in common with working-class police and military personnel, despite the latter's roles in protecting capital?

Disagreements over tactics and definitions are not new, as we have seen already. Active resistance is a result of some activists disputing orthodoxy and the controls imposed on them. Some wanted more effective forms of social change, regardless of what they were called; others wanted to make nonviolence work better. Some anti-apartheid organisations, such as the African National Congress, went further and supposedly abandoned nonviolence altogether, although one study concluded that most anti-apartheid tactics were in fact nonviolent, including labour strikes, slowdowns, boycotts of businesses, buses and schools, stoppages, sit-downs, non-payment of rent, noncooperation with government officials, violations of bans on meetings, defiance of segregation orders on beaches, restaurants, theatres

and hotels, shunning of black police and soldiers, and funeral demonstrations, in 'what is probably the largest grassroots eruption of diverse nonviolent strategies in a single struggle in human history'.[59]

Discussions of DOT centre around two major themes. One is the freedom for DOT advocates to choose whatever tactics they want, free from censure and even debate. The other theme is effectiveness. While DOT advocates believe it allows them to choose the most effective tactics for any given situation, anti-DOT activists argue that it allows tactics that are ineffectual and counterproductive. Let us look at the first theme: freedom.

DOT's Similarity to Neo-Liberalism

The claim that activists should have the right to choose their own tactics certainly has a surface validity. Philippe Duhamel argues, however, that DOT can be characterised as 'anything goes', and is remarkably similar to neo-liberal philosophy, where most (or ideally all) restrictions are lifted on business, often to the detriment of workers' conditions, the environment or human rights.[60] So activists at global justice protests who insist on DOT are using the same philosophy of absolute, unrestricted freedom as do the elites who espouse neo-liberalism, while calling for the latter to be restricted by stronger regulations. So why is it a problem to restrict tactics to those which are effective?

Another irony is that claiming that DOT *must* be allowed is a form of restriction in itself. If the vast majority of a group decides that only nonviolent methods will be used, why should they be forced to allow violent tactics to taint their protest? Janet Conway expresses this elegantly:

> In the name of creativity, resistance, and democracy, many … activists advocate 'respect for diversity of tactics' as a nonnegotiable basis of unity. Solidarity with the full range of resistance has meant that no tactics are ruled out in advance and that activists refrain from publicly-criticising tactics with which they disagree. However, embracing diversity of tactics is not without ambiguity and risk: both strategically in terms of provoking repression and losing public support, but also in terms of democratic practice and culture within the movement itself where it may damage any prospect for broad coalition politics.… [B]y the time of the G8 meetings of June 2002 in Calgary, 'respect for diversity of tactics' had hardened into an ideology that was repressing debate, narrowing the base of support, and *de facto* restricting genuine diversity, creativity, and pluralism that have been the hallmarks of this remarkable movement.[61]

Insisting that *any* actions be free from criticism violates an essential element of democratic process and movement learning.[62] Activists also have a right and even a responsibility to police their own actions. Establishing

parallel institutions, including police, is an important element of nonviolence; Egyptian protesters in Tahrir Square in 2011 were forced to improvise a prison to hold violent opponents, after the latter were repeatedly released by the military forces they had been handed to.[63] Having no police is a wonderful but long-term ideal that, if possible, would require seismic societal shifts.

Ecotage

Of course, how we define violence is important. Chapter 2 mentioned how violence can be structural, ecological and cultural as well as direct, physical and psychological. There is also a case to be made that destruction of property is not violent – that it was created by people and can be destroyed by people. An anarchist or libertarian socialist view is that property belongs to no one and everyone; in the words of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, 'property is theft'.[64] This viewpoint sees private ownership as one of the root causes of inequality and want, wherein considerable resources and many people's labour may go into producing an object, but under capitalism a minority profit from it in an unfair manner.

'Ecotage', or sabotage for environmental purposes, otherwise known as 'monkeywrenching', is regarded as pragmatic nonviolence by some practitioners, such as Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood, who claim that monkeywrenching is thoughtful and targeted, rather than mindless vandalism. It shares some characteristics with other types of nonviolent action, being dispersed, simple, deliberate, and even enjoyable. It involves small groups and tends to have deliberate non-organisation and non-formalisation. Monkeywrenching techniques can rarely be discussed openly; this occurs through anonymous letters to magazines such as *Earth First!*

Only individuals and groups who have known each other for years should monkeywrench, they argue, as there is constant danger of infiltration by authorities. Foreman himself was jailed when FBI *agents provocateurs* convinced him to sabotage powerlines; he justifies sabotage because the machines come from the Earth and he believes they do not want to destroy the source of their origin.[65]

Monkeywrenchers also claim that ecotage should not occur in conjunction with blockades, because it may cloud the issue of nonviolent direct action, and put the blockaders in danger through being blamed for the ecotage. They happily agree that ecotage is not revolutionary, and does not aim to overthrow any social, political or economic system, but is merely 'nonviolent self-defence of the wild'.[66]

Although bulldozer disabling at Carrai was counterproductive, tree-spiking (driving nails into trees or logs so they cannot be cut down or sawn up) was an element in the successful Terania action.[67] Although warning messages were displayed nearby, timber-workers may have been seriously injured, and

no doubt a backlash was created against *all* the protesters. Gandhi, Sharp and Burrowes have all raised serious concerns about sabotage.[68]

It is worth noting that ecotage has been rare in Australia,[69] despite assertions to the contrary by journalists:[70] 'despite all the claims [about alleged sabotage by SEFA conservationists] over the last fifteen years, to date there has not been one prosecution or conviction'.[71] Indeed, police found that prologging interests were damaging their own equipment to discredit conservationists.[72] Another high-profile 'sabotage' was in fact an accident[73] (a finding reported much less prominently than the supposed sabotage), while a loggers' union official admitted that unionists had damaged contractors' equipment because contractors had crossed picket lines, and that conservationists had been blamed for the damage.[74]

I had a dilemma while working with Borneo's Penan people, who wanted information on ecotage. In deep jungle where media and foreigners were prohibited, nonviolent blockades against logging were resulting in imprisonment and great hardship, with little resultant publicity.[75] Corrupt governance and hostile media were not helping, with the one local urban environmentalist, Harrison Ngau, being under house arrest, and Bruno Manser later disappearing, presumed dead, under suspicious circumstances. In these conditions, I felt that supporting the Penan (a 'movement of crisis' rather than one of affluence),[76] in what they requested was justifiable.

Even getting *near* the Penan homelands required police permission, which involved, at one point, going from office to office, deeper and deeper into a police compound. When my photographer partner and I repeated our story about being tourists, our fears rose as the head policeman contradicted us, saying he knew why we were there. Then he astonished us by handing over his card, telling us to call if we got into trouble, and wishing us luck. You never know where you will find an ally!

'Revolutionary' Rampages

Diversity of tactics, however, goes beyond ecotage to include property damage that has little strategic advantage and a great deal of disadvantage. Rampaging gangs of masked protesters smashing the windows of Starbucks, for example, may do some damage to Starbucks' image, although this is debatable, and people may even rally around Starbucks later out of sympathy. Such scenes may injure or greatly distress bystanders (particularly children and the elderly) who become embroiled in them. People are frightened enough generally; does adding to their fear really serve any revolution? Such distress would also be felt by the public on viewing footage of the seemingly-random rampage; most would support stronger law-and-order practices to prevent, contain or punish such actions. Few people would be attracted to join such a movement.

Do the actions enhance the long-term objectives of a campaign? Or are they indulgent frustration-releases that achieve very little, if anything, and

get potential sympathisers offside? They may seem revolutionary – secretive vanguards of (mainly young male) radicals braving arrest to destroy capitalism one shop at a time. This 'propaganda of the deed' is supposed to 'destroy the thin veneer of legitimacy that surrounds private property rights', but:

> [o]ften times, we break windows because we want to feel like 'something is happening.'…. Yet in terms of impact on capitalism, all we did was create a market for more windows... [On the other hand], [s]hutting down the Port of Oakland cost at least $8 million in shipping... It's funny to think that those sitting around having a drum circle in front of the port did massively more damage to the capitalist beast than anybody who went home after the smashing was done.[77]

Some protests begin with peaceful intentions and escalate into violence through confrontations with police, arrests, and crowds rising to a frenzy through chanting and drumming. It is a different story with the premeditated but similarly counterproductive violence of rioters, some of whom could well be *agents provocateurs* under the masks.

Historically *agents provocateurs* have often been used by governments and corporations to discredit a movement, creating mayhem and inciting violence, thus deflecting focus away from the issue itself. Black Bloc rioters are not so different; they rarely riot by themselves, but tend to join larger actions, merge from the crowds to wreak havoc and then use those crowds to escape capture in a way that many regard as cowardly.[78]

The self-characterisation of some of these rioters as anarchists plays into the public's popular conception of anarchists as mindless bomb-throwers. Their motivations are often confused with nihilism; anarchism is, however, a well-developed political philosophy and many (perhaps most) of its adherents believe in nonviolence. Gandhi, for example, described himself as 'a kind of anarchist', and developed India's civil disobedience tactics under the influence of Tolstoy and Thoreau.[79] The decentralised, egalitarian nature and radically-democratic decision-making of many campaigns (such as the Franklin) has strong roots in anarchist (literally 'no ruler') philosophy.[80] Anarchism is often branded as chaos, and anarchists regarded as terrorists because of the actions of a few, but the vast majority of anarchists have not used terrorism – 'to think of the anarchist as a man with a bomb is like considering every Roman Catholic a dynamiter because of Guy Fawkes'.[81]

Within any definition of nonviolence there are many available tactics without the need to resort to violent ones. Gene Sharp's *Methods of Nonviolent Action*, for example, details an enormous number of tactics. Active resistance has added to these, while the next chapters' discussions of the arts and new technologies show more diversity, evolution and possibilities.

Enforcing Nonviolence Guidelines

Some movements profess nonviolence without giving a clear idea of what they mean or how they intend to adhere to it, and demonstrate a reluctance to mount more concerted efforts to disown vandalism and street-fighting:

> [I]t's impossible to control the actions of everyone who participates in a demonstration, of course, but more vigorous efforts to ensure non-violence and prevent destructive behaviour are possible and necessary. A 95 per cent commitment to non-violence is not enough. The discipline must be total if the political benefits of the non-violent method are to be realised.[82]

So if a group decides on entirely nonviolent tactics, how does it ensure this without resorting to an inflexible, monopolistic doctrine imposed by a hierarchy, as might be expected in militaristic systems? The first step to having a nonviolent campaign is to have very clear objectives, thoughtful strategies, and tactics that are innovative, creative and humorous. Nonviolence training should be widely available and strongly encouraged prior to any major action, and the more in-depth the better. Prior to the Battle of Seattle,

> thousands of people were given nonviolence training – a three-hour course that combined the history and philosophy of nonviolence with real life practice through role plays in staying calm in tense situations, using nonviolent tactics, responding to brutality, and making decisions together. Thousands also went through a second-level training in jail preparation, solidarity strategies and tactics and legal aspects. As well, there were first aid trainings, trainings in blockade tactics, street theater, meeting facilitation, and other skills.[83]

Additionally, a decentralised model of organisation (like that used at Roxby and AIDEX) gave a great deal of freedom to activists. This process was empowering, created autonomy and trust, and fostered great diversity of actions: many very artistic and creative, even spiritual.

Is it possible, however, to separate activists who want to use violence from nonviolent activists, so the latter's actions are not affected by the former, a problem that caused many US movements to lose members?[84] Protesters could be asked to sign a nonviolent pledge prior to the protest; those who do so or who undergo training could be given clothing to readily identify them, such as fluoro vests, brightly-coloured hats or the signs worn on the backs of Seattle protesters that read 'NON-VIOLENT' and in smaller letters 'RESISTER OF GLOBAL EXPLOITATION'.[85] There should be clear guidelines or protocols regarding behaviour. Another solution is to:

> announc[e] in the call to the demonstration that nonviolence will be strictly adhered to – those who cannot commit to such a discipline are

> asked not to come; those who do come and find they cannot hold their commitment, to leave.[86]

It should be made clear that advocates of violence are free to organise their own, separate actions. Another possibility is for organisers to create separate blockades, although this would create logistical and financial difficulties, and both actions may still be seen as one by the media. Statements can also be made denouncing violent activists,[87] but these rarely undo the damage of adverse media already caused. There can be a ban on chanting, actions and songs (such as taunting ones) that incite violence. Marshalls and trained peacekeepers can be used to isolate violent activists, even working alongside police to protect people and buildings from attack.[88]

Contingency plans should be made. Having good relations with police, and well-disciplined, bonded affinity groups can also help weed out violent protesters or *agents provocateurs*. Training can educate activists about the subtle nature of real change, beyond the headlines of sensational actions and parliamentary debates, but in the heads and hearts of individuals and the community. Training can also impress upon activists the need for open and holistic praxis, for all of us to continually reflect on and deal with our own violence, and for means to be as important as ends, so that change is fundamental rather than merely reformist. Training can also facilitate use of consensus, and contribute to democratic structures. These sorts of learnings are now occurring in the Occupy movement, such as through the Free Schools held fortnightly in Sydney's occupation.

* * *

This chapter showed how the arrival of active resistance is evidence of nonviolence evolution, increasing its options and effectiveness in achieving immediate blockading objectives. Combinations of techniques, such as locking onto a tripod, or a variety of techniques in close proximity, made occupations last longer, as did innovative use of these techniques, such as erecting tripods *over* bulldozers. Inventions such as the monopole, Star of David, 'trucker fuckers', pipe burials, 'scrubbing', 'dragons' and adoption of foreign innovations such as the cantilever made blockades highly professional.

We've also examined the dilemmas of ecotage and the problems with DOT, and how to minimise them. Let's now turn to more recent movements, to see what innovations and challenges they bring.

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5
Internetworking

In this chapter we examine more recent nonviolent activism, which has been transformed and assisted immensely by developments in global information and communication technologies (ICTs), enabling faster, more efficient communication and organising. After a brief introduction to ICTs in activism, we look at their problems before moving to their benefits to a wide variety of nonviolent movements, from the pioneering activism against global warming of rainforest protectors, to the Arab Spring and Occupy movements. Some of these movements were demanding climate action and peace; others called for the just, truly-democratic societies that positive peace requires.

Communications and Technology in Australian Nonviolence

Communication is a vital aspect of nonviolence.[1] An important aspect of the evolution of nonviolence in the last decades has been in how activists communicate to each other and to the world. Even landline telephones, often taken for granted, were not widely available until the mid-20th century (and many people around the world still do not have them).

The Franklin River blockade involved a Communications Shack towed upriver to the blockade so activists there could radio the nonviolence training camp and media centre in Strahan, which could then relay messages to and from TWS headquarters in Hobart. This communication involved people (including myself, after being unintentionally arrested early in my stay) living in relay stations on remote hilltops in the thick forest. It was highly unreliable communication, with the equipment simply not powerful enough. In the South Australian desert over the following years, the Roxby Downs blockades and The Bike Ride were similarly chaotic because of communications problems, especially when the riders spread out over hundreds of kilometres, with some branching off to protests at the Nurrungar and Pine Gap US spy bases. The later Cycle Against the Nuclear Cycle had a massive satellite phone, but it only worked intermittently.

By contrast, the NEFA blockades were aided by superior communications technology, through which activists were able to talk to the media from the actual blockades. Using the new mobile phones and radio relays while people were up tripods or 'locked-on' led to dramatic radio interviews and the most up-to-date reports on actions. This policy can be partly attributed to the (usually) egalitarian nature of the blockades, with many organisers 'getting their hands dirty' erecting tripods and getting arrested and wanting to talk to the media themselves, rather than leaving the media appearances to more clean-cut, city-based activists. It was also a clever media strategy, portraying the drama of the blockade rather than more staid information from city headquarters. Mobile phones also made organising easier, as people were contactable most of the time and in most places, although this also contributed to burnout, as there was no escape from work. Swift communication aided the group's strategising, and at times gave them faster access to information than the police.

By the time of the Jabiluka blockade, high-quality audio recording on mini-discs had become possible and affordable. This was used to record speeches, 'sound bites' and songs performed at the blockade, some of them impromptu. These recordings were invaluable in the creation of the CDs 'Uranium: Don't dig it!' and 'Filthy Jabilucre' which show the urgency, passion and the humour of the blockade. They were played by activists with programmes on community and student radio stations.[2]

Video equipment also improved significantly over this time. CANC's epic ride was captured in a documentary series made by the riders themselves, something previously much more difficult. This was an important advance for a mobile activist group, partly aided by the availability of relatively-cheap, light, high-quality cameras. It was produced to such a standard that a national broadcaster (SBS) broadcast it weekly. Technology gave the riders more control over how they were depicted; they were able to portray their actions in a favourable light, and to convey directly their anti-nuclear arguments to a large audience.

Film-making is increasingly used by activist movements, such as at forest blockades, with footage that showed environmentalists being assaulted creating an outcry when it screened on national television. Now, through mobile phone-cameras, websites and YouTube, protests can be broadcast live and internationally.

Cyberactivism

Researching an issue is one of the first stages of any campaign, and the internet can help people access quickly a great deal of information, including perspectives beyond the often-limited information of governments and mass media agencies. The rules of any sort of research still apply however – finding the most authoritative sources or at least cross-referencing multiple sources helps ensure the information is accurate. Figures (such as for the amount of pollution

caused by lawnmowers) can vary wildly. Nevertheless, the internet can be an effective tool of consciousness-raising in social and political movements. It allows ordinary citizens to browse the social, political, economic, scientific and business worlds of their peers located in other parts of the world.

For print journalism, the wide availability of word processors since the 1980s has been a valuable development. Press releases, newsletters, letters to politicians, 'zines' and even novels can be much more easily created and worked on than with typewriters.[3] The development of laptop computers further added convenience. Better and cheaper photocopiers have assisted the reproduction of these materials, and later included the use of recycled paper and double-sided copying to reduce environmental impacts.

The internet exponentially assisted the dissemination of writings, as well as art forms such as photographs, movies and music. Actions – and their images, sounds and rationales – can now be reported to mass international audiences who are encouraged to join a campaign, sign a petition, write a letter, phone a politician or 'jam' a corporate website or phoneline. The internet also enables movements to organise more efficiently (for example via Facebook, Twitter, Flickr and Tumblr), more cheaply (such as by Skype and SMS) and at any time and place (via mobiles and wi-fi).[4] Huge amounts of information can be transferred, with movements sharing globally their best slogans, graphics and songs for rallies, increasing the quality of such protests. The new and more independent forms of personal technologies and communication services are highly interactive, interpretative and subjective, and can enhance civil society dialogue and development.

There is immense emancipatory potential in a decentralised network of information to invigorate movements that represent globalisation from below. In a traditional media landscape dominated by corporate interests, the internet may be the breeding ground for alternative modes of thought. Activists can write blogs and contribute to forums, and advertise events on Facebook – avenues for interaction that previously did not exist. (I am working on a new combination of YouTube, Twitter and Facebook, tentatively named 'YouTwitFace').

As Ana Nogueira argues, 'the Internet has radically empowered citizens to reclaim and redefine the public sphere, simultaneously providing access to uncensored and unfiltered information all over again.'[5] It has led to popular dissent being increasingly transnational in nature and scope, with local acts of resistance quickly acquiring a much larger cross-territorial dimension.[6] These are important organisational, journalistic and artistic developments occasioned by technology, adding to the tools of activism and increasing its potential.

Building Mass Movements

The wide, efficient communication now possible can build mass movements of action and solidarity, with the capacity to subvert the control of

repressive states. Via the net, activists can engage and mobilise beyond traditional boundaries and barriers, aiding the development of movements and constructive programmes: 'Having a website is widely seen as a necessity for effective and broad dissemination of an organisation's message to likeminded groups, members of the local community and beyond'.[7] The fact that repressive states are so keen to limit use of the internet is evidence of how powerful and subversive it can be. In the Serbian movement that removed Slobodan Milosevic, security forces both feared and misunderstood 'internetworking'. According to student leader Vuk Micovic, most of the authorities didn't even know what emails were, and the police broke into their headquarters asking '"Where is that Internet?" as if they could confiscate it'.[8]

The most effective movements are generally the ones with the most support. Getting activist information out of repressive regimes, and disseminating it globally enables resistance and democratisation campaigns in those countries to develop into international movements, with a growth in the number of people informed about the issues and contributing to change. International pressure from ordinary people cannot be easily censored by the regime, unlike local activists who have to be much more circumspect about speaking out. Those citizens abroad can also pressure their governments to make representations to the regime, putting further pressure on it for change. Their governments may call for sanctions if there is enough pressure. International campaigns can also put economic pressure on regimes, by calling for boycotts of companies who deal with them.

All of this international solidarity can give heart to local dissidents, encouraging them to further activism. Their activism may seem more worthwhile now that they have an international audience and many supporters, and they may get assistance from groups such as Peace Brigades International. They can link up with their supporters outside, communicate their concerns and coordinate international actions. They can also learn activist techniques or engage nonviolence trainers by going to websites such as www.thechangeagency.org.

ICTs may have even sparked off the democratisation movement in the first place, through exposure to radical ideas or by showing people in repressive regimes what life is like in supposedly more democratic nations, making them dissatisfied and more eager for change. If they see higher levels of freedom and comfort elsewhere (even if these representations are grossly exaggerated), they begin to demand it at home. One reason given for the youth spearheading the Egyptian revolution in 2011 was that they had been watching Hollywood movies for years via satellite television and were tired of having a lifestyle that didn't match what they saw on the screens.

Spiders on the Web

Many people are therefore extremely enthusiastic about the prospects of ICTs for creating a better world. However, it is also important to be aware

of their limitations. Such technologies can be used for a variety of purposes, and countering their benefits is the fact that they can also be used to maintain privilege, inequity and environmentally-damaging systems.

Just as steam ships and the telegraph became key components to international trade in the *laissez-faire* period prior to WWI, advancements in global communications in the last decades have been crucial to the latest phase of capitalist expansion. Global flows of information and capital have complemented the pre-existing international exchange of goods: 'a technical revolution involving the creation of a computerised network of communication, transportation and exchange is the presupposition of a globalised economy.'[9]

Deep ecologist Jerry Mander argues in his article 'Net Loss' that it is the elites who benefit much more from the net than any social movements, as big business gains staggering new power:

> For while we sit happily at our PCs editing our copy, sending our e-mails, designing our little web pages, transnational corporations are using their global networks 24-hours a day, at a scale and at a speed that makes our level of empowerment seem pathetic by comparison.[10]

According to Mander, the net has helped to centralise a quarter of global economic power in the hands of two hundred transnational companies. These economic elites use the net to transfer, as well as information, vast amounts of wealth, according to the whims of the market. Along with speculation, tax avoidance and money laundering, this often has devastating impacts on local communities and environments.

Improvements in communication technologies have also assisted in the coordination of military and police forces, including against protesters. They allow security forces to mobilise more quickly to protest situations as well as receive detailed and frequently-updated information to aid their preparation and actions.

'Hacking' into websites, emails, and phone records is commonly thought to be the preserve of activists, journalists and identity-thieves. Hacking, however, has also been used by militaries, such as when the US embedded a virus-carrying device within Iraq's air defence system. It was activated when the Gulf War began, shutting down the entire system within minutes. The US also used the internet to spread disinformation, such as reporting fake plans to land troops along the coast of Kuwait (against which the Iraqi troops mobilised), when in fact the main invasion force came overland.[11] The 'promis' software programme has been criticised for its espionage capacities, more recently, China and Russia have been accused of hacking into foreign government and corporate sites.

A 'Contested Terrain'

In terms of information-sharing, the net is generally believed to be a neutral and relatively anarchic web – but this means that is just as likely to be utilised

for terrorism or illegal pornography as for activism. The internet remains a 'contested terrain, used by left, right, and centre of both dominant cultures and subcultures to promote their own agendas and interests'.[12]

In Indonesia in the 1990s, the net was used to support the removal of a corrupt president (Suharto), but it was also important in coalescing violent Islamists and gaining new adherents. Previously-marginalised groups were able to access and participate in global exchange with fundamentalist groups in other regions, resulting in terrorist actions against the population of Indonesia and other countries: 'In such a context, the internet is not a tool of democracy, but instead threatens civil society'.[13]

Nor is the net neutral – it has hidden biases and is increasingly being subjected to pressures and restrictions from economic interests. Google is US-owned and US-oriented, and you can pay to have your site come up earlier in a search than it ordinarily would, via Google ads. And as the censorship of google.cn in China shows, freedom of information remains vulnerable to corporate profits. Even in more democratic countries, the dominance of internet brands such as Google and America Online shapes cyberspace and potentially allows them to exclude non-conformists and threats. The attempt by global elites to squeeze out the WikiLeaks group by making donations to it harder is a good example, while satirical websites (such as johnhowardpm.org) have been shut down by political pressure.[14] Anti-pornography pressure groups are also calling for greater regulation and filters on the net; opponents say this will have little impact on the industry while inconveniencing all users.

The Digital Divide

Optimism for net-based activism should also be tempered by the fact that most of the world does *not* have access to this 'global' medium. Great disparities in internet access, known as the 'digital divide', and mirroring those of economic status, exist between nations of the north and south. Although the majority of citizens in Europe, North America and the Australia/Oceania region are active in cyberspace, internet usage as a percentage of the population is only 11.4 per cent in Africa, 23.8 per cent in Asia and 36.2 per cent in Latin America/Caribbean.[15] Furthermore, even within the 'online' nations, divisions exist along the lines of wealth, gender and race; US internet users are 'overwhelmingly male, white and middle class, well-educated and in professional occupations that demand college education.'[16] Most cyberactivism occurs in the northern hemisphere[17] and the things causing excitement and lighting up screens there may have almost no impact on people in central Borneo, Sudan or the third world Aboriginal communities of central Australia.[18]

Net use requires access to a computer, internet provider and connection, as well as electricity or batteries, and money to pay for all this. Computers

need to be housed away from rain and dust. The structure of the technology can shape and limit both interaction and participation; users need to have some preliminary skills including literacy skills, and understanding of the basic processes and functions of a computer.[19] In countries where the majority of the population struggles daily to feed itself, subsistence agriculture, procuring water and firewood and doing paid work is a higher priority than using the net for social change.

Where there is limited access to media outlets, the importance the net plays in informing the community is diminished, with the international community often receiving more information on conflicts or disasters than those who are in the middle of them. In conflicts, exposure to 'news' may only occur through propaganda, distributed by different factions. Government support for reducing the digital divide is necessary, for example through shared computers in libraries and wi-fi access in parks.[20]

Walled Opium Gardens

Mander argues that the internet, like television, is simply a vehicle for the placation of the masses, providing a new form of entertainment (like the 'soma' of Aldous Huxley's classic novel, *Brave New World*). He claims that the internet may act more as a pressure valve than a change agent, while helping global corporations to maintain their economic prosperity:

> [S]omewhere else they push a key and buy billions of dollars of national currency, only to sell it again a few hours later leaving countries' economies in shambles and populations devastated. That is information with power. Information by itself is for the disempowered and the internet is our opiate.[21]

There is certainly a lack of interest in serious political issues when we examine the internet usage of ordinary citizens of a developed nation such as the United States. On an average day in 2012 the eight most popular searches on Yahoo.com were Gisele Bundchen, Katharine McPhee, Madonna, Superbowl, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Internal Revenue Service as well as Facebook and YouTube.[22] While there is undoubtedly greater opportunity for raising awareness about threats to peace, equity and sustainability, much of this information is lost in the cacophony of messages emanating from corporations and mass media. Internet use also tends to reinforce and support the activism of citizens who are already socially-active, and may do little to engage disinterested others. For the activists, continual bombardment with protest information and e-petitions may lead to information overload, stress, 'compassion fatigue' and disaffection.[23] To others, online activism might seem 'ineffectual, even frivolous – a brand of sacrifice-free protest sometimes derided as "slactivism"'.[24]

Despite an almost limitless array of search choices on the internet, we creatures of habit prefer not to leave our comfort zones and tend to select only a few avenues for information: 'the internet news sphere remains mostly a place of "walled gardens" in which people use the online version of a trusted newspaper, radio station, or television network rather than searching for news randomly.'[25]

The Great Fire-Wall of China

In repressive regimes, the internet is even less free and open, and in many cases still functions within prescribed traditional boundaries.[26] Governments may act with net corporations to shut down, censor, filter or influence the internet, as well as monitoring citizens' use of sites deemed subversive:

> To keep up with all of the people online, the Chinese government employs tens of thousands of censors to remove offending material as quickly as possible. There are also people paid to write positive online spin. They are called soldiers in the 50-cent army, which is the amount a person is allegedly paid for each pro-government comment he or she posts.[27]

China's concern for issues that challenge its ideology has resulted in a multi-level set of controls over Chinese internet traffic, known as 'The Great Fire-wall'. According to Sarah Oates, 'the internet can do little to foster opposition and protest in this environment, as the Chinese Government is taking pains to guarantee.'[28] China's concerted efforts to restrict information demonstrate, however, the extent to which it believes the internet can be utilised to challenge the political status quo.

While the internet has not yet led to democratisation in China it has allowed for greater scrutiny of the government. Chinese users have developed methods to circumvent government censorship, and there have been changes in attitudes to authority and power, and greater transparency in some areas of political life.[29] These changes may lay the foundations for more extensive reform.

Thai activists have also faced net censorship. According to Chanchaai Chaisukkosol, while internet usage is approximately 19 per cent of the population, the factors that reduce its efficacy as a tool relate to the 'technological structure involving legal, technical and dark power controlled by various agencies'.[30] Disruptions to internet services occur through the regulatory involvement of government agencies, the blocking and suspension of websites for external internet service providers, thus making activist websites inaccessible to users external to Thailand, and through technical attacks that overload websites and increase download times. Similar anti-democratic suppression of cyberactivism has occurred widely in countries such as Iran and Egypt.

Cyberbullying

The same sorts of problems that any human interactions face can be found in cyberspace. Although the internet is often held up as an instrument of free speech, bullying has now emerged on it, particularly in climate change debates. It seems intended to intimidate scientists, drive them out of the debate or change what they are prepared to say in public. Unlike in the 'letters' pages of newspapers, anonymity is common on the net, and the gatekeepers are more lax or non-existent, so the normal constraints on social discourse do not apply.[31]

When groups attempt to have a considered discussion about climate science on an open forum, they are soon deluged with enraged and personal attacks on climate scientists, sometimes linking for authority to notorious denialist websites. Many scientists give up attempting to correct the overwhelming mishmash of misrepresentations, factual inaccuracies, discredited and often absurd theories, and outright lies in web discussions, and they can become worn down by receiving large numbers of offensive and even threatening emails. Some scientists and journalists probably change what they say or withdraw from the debates:

> Others have strategies for dealing with the abuse – never replying, deleting without reading or swapping loony emails with colleagues, and cultivating a thick skin. The effect of the cyberbullying campaign on some scientists…is quite opposite to the intended one. The attempts at intimidation have only made them more resolved to keep talking to the public about their research. Their courage under fire stands in contrast to the cowardice of the anonymous emailers.[32]

Computer Ethics

As with most technology, computer use brings its own ethical dilemmas. For example, the major computer manufacturer IBM, which allegedly provided technology to the Nazis that helped facilitate the Holocaust, has a long history of involvement in the military-industrial complex.[33] The rapid obsolescence of computers (some of this probably deliberate, as built-in obsolescence has long been a ploy of manufacturers) is contributing to toxic landfill problems, particularly in less developed countries where they are often dumped.[34] Mining the rare earths on which computers and mobiles rely also has deleterious environmental consequences, while there are health issues relating to mobile phone use and transmission towers. Widespread computer use also consumes a great deal of power.

Computers have made campaign offices more efficient, including reducing storage problems – it's easier to store data in a single computer than a filing cabinet, shelves, boxes or piles on the floor. On the other hand, if all

your data eggs are in one basket, you can suffer from computer crashes and viruses.[35] So having things well backed up is useful, while others prefer to keep hard copies. This may explain why the 'paperless office' is something of a myth – the consumption of paper did not automatically decrease with the advent of computers. It can also be time-consuming to keep abreast of the constantly changing ICT world, as equipment and systems quickly become obsolete.

Excessive computer use may cause eye damage as we stare closely at direct light rather than reflected light – and for millennia we have only done this when we stared into fires. This can have a hypnotic effect – we often find we have spent far more time on the computer than we intended to. Using the internet, with its welter of information, entertainment and connections, can also be addictive, and some researchers have found that for teenagers 'the time spent in direct contact with family members drops by as much as half for every hour we use the Net at home'.[36] Excess use may lead to less face-to-face contact with people, while the busyness of being constantly interconnected with large numbers of people can chew up time and mean there are fewer opportunities for deep research, reflection and dialogue. Younger users may later regret actions on social media sites, where mistakes:

> may be retrievable by an employer ten years later [and] … the careless word, the slanderous comment, the inappropriate photograph or the revealing of someone's private details is on the permanent record and freely available to anyone who has access.[37]

Recent Nonviolent Struggles

It is obvious then, that the new technologies have many pitfalls. On the other hand, they can also bring considerable advantages to activism. Just as they have allowed the very powerful forces of globalising neo-liberalism to flourish, improved global communication has also presented opportunities for activism. From some of the earliest examples of online activism in campaigns by the Rainforest Information Centre (RIC), the Zapatista movement in Mexico, the Battle of Seattle, through to the emergence of WikiLeaks, the growing and influential GetUp! in Australia, the Arab Spring and the current global Occupy movement, ICTs have provided a means for research, communication, organising and greater cooperation in the advocacy of social causes. Let's have a look at those movements.

Rainforest Activism

The origins of the internet are usually attributed to military and scientific research. Important aspects of its development, however, have occurred

through ordinary citizens (such as Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg) and activist groups. In 1985 a progressive computer network, Econet, was established in San Francisco, and shortly afterwards, Lismore's RIC began to use it. RIC was the 'first organisation formed to specifically disseminate information and promote activism about rainforests';[38] it emerged from the seminal activism at Terania Creek and assisted the establishment of an international network of rainforest activism. Founder John Seed, who travelled widely, was an early user of laptops to carry large amounts of material, and with the collaboration of communications expert Ian Peters, found that RIC's World Rainforest Report could be disseminated more quickly and widely via email. RIC also used email to promote a World Day of Action in support of Borneo's Penan people, who were being tried by the Malaysian government for protesting against logging of their homelands. At the same time, the late Andy Frame, Paula Vermunt and myself were travelling into Borneo to provide direct support for the Penan. (Andy helped make a film [*Blowpipes and Bulldozers*],[39] while Paula and I smuggled medicines and a letter from Bruno Manser to the Penan, and brought eyewitness accounts back to Australia for newspapers (e.g. NT Times), and radio (e.g. national broadcaster 2JJJ); we also sold rattan jewellery and held fundraising concerts. Peters went on to provide computer networking technologies to NGOs in developing countries as a United Nations consultant, while Seed, who prophetically argued that the environmental crisis was bigger than the nuclear one, provided Russian environmental groups with laptops and online access, important work immediately following the break-up of the USSR.

The network Pegasus was launched at Protestors Falls in 1989 via a laptop and a mobile phone, 'a novel process that would even cause Telecom technical indigestion'.[40] It was about global communications as much as activism, and had a profound impact on development of the internet in Australia and internationally. It came at a time when access to email was confined largely to universities and the science body, the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), and it introduced email to many new users, including the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC). Among its many innovative schemes were Landcare Net and EarthNet, supported by RIC, Permaculture International magazine, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace International and musician Peter Gabriel. Pegasus was one of the seven official information conduits at the United Nations Earth Summit in Brazil in 1992.

Although the alternative movement in RIC's 'Rainbow Region' has often been characterised as wanting to drag society back into the stone age to live in caves, the developments in cyberactivism in the area show that voluntary simplicity in lifestyle was often coupled with dedication to the use of the latest and best of technology – 'appropriate technology', as E.F. Schumacher called it.[41]

The First Post-Modern Revolution?

The Zapatista movement arising in Mexico in the early 1990s was another early example of a movement using online activism. Formed by the indigenous people of the Chiapas region, the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) sought to combat economic and cultural oppression by the Mexican Government and corporate interests. Initially a small local struggle for indigenous rights, the Zapatista movement gained global attention through the utilisation of the internet, savvy media techniques and outspoken opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement.[42] Having a charismatic leader – SubComandante Marcos – who wrote poetry and wore a ski mask to keep his identity hidden, created a romantic image for the Zapatistas.[43] Despite poor internet access, members managed to thwart the 'digital divide' and, with international assistance, undermine traditional models of communication:

> The ELZN used the help of sympathetic friends in the US to circumvent the unsympathetic Mexican state media. The internet successfully publicized the struggles of the Chiapas people to the wider world.[44]

Postmodernism is an elusive concept to define, especially as the prerequisite definition of modernism is also a contested one.[45] Postmodernism, on the one hand, can be seen as cynical, value-free, soulless, embracing capitalism, individualistic, even nihilistic – the revenge of the bourgeoisie as they laugh at the futile revolutionary ardour of the socialist realists.[46] Others, however, equate postmodernism with revolutionary activity, claiming that the Zapatista movement is the first postmodern revolution.[47] The former view describes a world where there is no meaning or community, where selfish cynicism is the prevailing mood. In this case, postmodernism would seem to be no threat to capitalism's maintenance of a base of subservient consumers. However, postmodernism's deconstruction of the great monopolies of thought – of scientific rationalism, of the inevitable march of progress, of the superiority of large (read Western and Christian) technologically-advanced civilisations over smaller nations or indigenous peoples, who will eventually be civilised, developed and otherwise brought into the fold – does not mean the abandonment of all values, merely that they be viewed as relative rather than absolute. (In a similar vein, political economist Susan George has shown that 'scientific breakthoughs' such as the Green Revolution feeding the world were corporate fictions,[48] while permaculturalists have noted the value of traditional agriculture.[49]) In a globalised world, there is much worth in maintaining individual, tribal and national identities, and this does not necessarily lead to conflict, but can mean a decentralised, diverse, proud and culturally-rich world.

This is the sense in which the Zapatista revolution (despite its violence, which was widely condemned) is considered postmodern – because of its

radically-democratic structures and use of consensus decision-making, its local focus backed by a global social justice perspective, its rejection of globalised neo-liberalism, its selective use of both anarchistic and socialistic policies, and its extensive use of modern communication systems, systems appropriated from capitalism and adapted for a liberating purpose.[50]

The Global Justice Movement

The early years of the new millennium saw the rise of a new movement. Although widely-characterised as anti-globalisation, most activists wanted a globalisation of peace, social justice, human rights and environmental sustainability. What they objected to was the excesses of globalised, corporate-dominated capitalism.[51] Arising from such advocacy as the 1990 call by the African Council of Churches for the full cancellation of the 'debts'[52] of the poorest countries, it is a diverse movement made up of many different groups, from unions to human rights, feminist, environmental and peace activists, and with a wide array of grievances and alternatives. This diversity, again, was too much for conservative media to get their heads around, so they denigrated the movement as professional protesters with a grab-bag of causes.

The movement began with the creation of People's Global Action in 1998 (initiated by the Zapatistas), followed by a 'global street party' in 24 countries prior to a Group of Eight (G8) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) meeting, involving 200,000 farmers in Hyderabad and 50,000 demonstrators in Brasilia. The next year, G8 protests included blockades of stock exchanges in Canada and Australia, and occupations of CBDs in Pakistan, Spain, the Czech Republic, Israel, Italy, Holland, Uruguay and Scotland. In Nigeria, thousands held a 'carnival of the oppressed' and blockaded Shell offices, while Uruguayans held a spoof 'trade fair' as they occupied the business district of Montevideo.[53]

The movement erupted onto the global stage with the Battle of Seattle. While the Zapatista movement had used the net to promote their cause and gain international support, this action also used it for mobilisation. Through anti-WTO websites and mailing lists, at least 40,000 people were mobilised to converge upon Seattle. The internet also enabled valuable alternative coverage and commentary on the protests. The activists communicated their version of events to a wide audience:

> While the mainstream media framed the protests negatively, the internet provided multiple representations of the demonstrations, advanced reflective discussion of the WTO and globalization and presented a diversity of critical perspectives.[54]

Born out of the chasm between this and the corporate media's misrepresentation of the movement, the 'Indymedia' phenomenon arose to give voice

to activists, receiving over 1.5 million hits in its first week.[55] For the first time there were mass alternatives to corporate media, and the hegemony of the international economic system was being challenged, as notions such as 'social justice' and 'fair trade' entered wide public discourses. A globalised civil society was emerging as a respected political force.

While corporate media was dismissing the protest, behind closed doors NGOs were beginning to be taken seriously. As Mary Kaldor notes,

> There have been gatherings of NGOs at previous global meetings and, in some instances these had a significant impact on policy. But Seattle generated hard debate not just about particular issues such as gender or the environment, crucial though these are, but the very nature of the global system.'[56]

The Global Justice Movement has continued to spread, emboldening more strident criticisms from within major forums by representatives of less developed countries, and causing some insiders to break ranks, such as former Chief Economist of the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz, whose book 'Globalisation and Its Discontents' is a scathing critique of globalisation.

Keyboard Warriors

Since Seattle, communications technology has continued to spawn different methods to effect social change. Across the world, the internet has enabled people to become 'keyboard warriors' and engage politically from the comforts of their homes, drawing people into campaigns by allowing them to engage at the click of a mouse rather than having to attend a rally. In Australia, progressive online group GetUp! is an exception to claims of internet apathy, with its membership growing to 581,773.[57] Linked internationally with other groups such as Avaaz.org, GetUp! uses online petitions and the production of advertisements distributed on the internet, television, radio and print media. Members can donate time or money to a variety of campaigns including action on climate change and the humane treatment of asylum seekers. GetUp! has achieved some considerable successes, playing a significant role in the removal from power of Australian Prime Minister John Howard, winning important reforms to the electoral act, helping preserve some of Tasmania's native forests and securing $2.2 billion for mental health reform in the 2011 Federal budget after the presentation of a 100,000 strong petition and a national candlelight vigil.

Hactivism

The Melbourne-based WANK (Worms Against Nuclear Killers) were computer hackers who created a computer 'worm' that affected NASA and the US

Department of Energy computers, days before the launch of a space shuttle carrying the Galileo spacecraft which had plutonium-based power modules. Probably linked to anti-nuclear protests (nuclear-free New Zealand was not affected by the worm), it was the first major worm to have a distinct political message: 'You talk of times of peace for all, and then prepare for war', lyrics by *Midnight Oil*.[58]

Another small hacker group, LulzSec, made global headlines when it attacked the websites of corporations and posted stolen data online. LulzSec is part of the 'Antisec' movement, composed of umbrella groups (such as 'Anonymous') of digital activists dedicated to human rights, exposing abuse and corruption, and opposing censorship. In 2011, when the Tunisian government was blocking access to the Tunisian version of WikiLeaks – 'TuniLeaks' – a hacker named 'Sabu' was involved in infiltrating the prime minister's site and defacing it externally – 'It was the most impressive thing I've seen: a revolution coinciding both physically and online'.[59] The network has attacked the PBS TV programme Frontline for its treatment of WikiLeaks as well as security firms and other multinationals who are careless with people's personal information and security.

Mobile Peace Activism

Mobile phones are now multi-media devices which can record video, audio and stills as well providing message services, access to the internet and social applications such as Facebook and Twitter. In 2011 they proved useful as a tool for peace-building in Indonesia. In August on the island of Ambon, recurrences in clashes between Christians and Muslims were prevented by a group called the 'Peace Provocateurs' who sought to quash the rumour mill by entering areas of violence to seek the truth and then report their findings. With the help of ICTs, the rapid distribution of information proved vital in maintaining peace: 'Given that Indonesians are some of the world's most avid users of these social media, it was an inspired strategy. They sought to calm the level of violence, and it worked.'[60]

Social Media Revolution: Iran and Burma

In Chapter 2 we looked at how nonviolence can encourage democratic practices and break cycles of violence. In Iran and later in the Arab Spring uprisings in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya, social media has been increasingly utilised to agitate for democratic change in regimes heavily-armed by MIMEC.

The internet was an important tool for women's rights organisers in Iran between 1997 and 2005, before the post-reformist era clamped down on it again. Reasonably-free debates were hosted on blogs and websites, presenting women with a new way of writing and publishing without restrictions. Women from different parts of the country were less isolated as they could

communicate with each other, and there was also contact with foreign activists. At one 2005 rally, between 3000 and 5000 women (and some men) gathered in front of Teheran University to demand equality in the Iranian constitution and an end to discrimination in the civil and criminal codes. Although the authorities tried to keep protesters away from the university, they chartered commercial buses to bypass the police, while many people had earlier occupied bookshops near the university and pretended to be browsing. To prevent the detainment of pedestrians, supportive male students reported on police whereabouts by SMS and cell phones.

The presence of international television crews at a World Cup qualifying game between Iran and Bahrain was used by one small group of youthful feminists to defy the ban on women attending soccer games. They stormed barricades, took over a section of the stadium in view of the cameras and boisterously watched the second half of the game. The regime, torn between dragging them out kicking and screaming before the eyes of the world, or allowing them to remain and set a precedent, chose the latter. Iran's president subsequently overturned the ban, although this decision was blocked by the ultra-conservative Guardian Council.[61]

In South East Asia, a bold underground media project in North Korea involves activists filming inside the country and smuggling tapes outside for broadcast. Similarly, tapes made of Burma's democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi's weekly talks were distributed nationally via informal networks, while the Democratic Voice of Burma has been broadcasting into Burma by shortwave radio since 1992 and by satellite TV since 2005, using information provided by covert reporters inside the country, defying the military junta's media restrictions. They are professionalising their reporting to reveal the truth in the best possible way, and to prepare for the day when they are able to work legitimately. This accords with Gandhi's constructive programme of setting up parallel institutions, as does Burmese activist attempts to establish an alternative government via the National League for Democracy and the Committee Representing the People's Parliament. Internationally, pressure by advocacy groups has led to courts in France and the US ordering the Total and UNOCOL companies respectively to 'pay compensation to survivors of human rights violations committed by the Burmese army in securing the route for the Yadana gas pipeline'.[62]

Circumventing Censorship

As resistance to Indonesia's President Suharto developed in the 1990s, students evaded government censorship by locating information from sources on the internet, printing it and then passing it to friends. The information was then distributed through neighbours and news sellers. According to Merlyna Lim, people paid the equivalent of one hour's wages to obtain this information, especially when it concerned presidential excesses and governmental ineptitude.[63]

In 2009 demonstrations against the Iranian government, Twitter proved a robust platform for activists to communicate to each other and the outside world. As the government began to shut down more traditional websites, 'Twitter was the flexible alternative, accessible via the web or mobile phone, or using the Twitter API. It proved to be the best, fastest and least controllable medium by which to update and mobilize.'[64] More recently, protesters in Egypt and elsewhere have sought to communicate anonymously and, with the help of US organisations such as the TOR project,[65] to visit sites blocked by their governments.[66]

There is a contradiction around the fact that these companies are US-backed, as are the governments (such as Mubarak's) that are doing the censoring. Does this support for cyberactivism occur because the US is a complex organism, filled with many good people who truly support democratisation and freedom of speech? Or is it so the US can monitor and control the dissent, and promote its own version of democracy? Given the history of US interference, we are entitled to be suspicious.

WikiLeaks

One of the greatest challenges to the political and corporate elites has been the creation of the WikiLeaks website. It has thrown open their secretive worlds, exposing many shocking practices. Since 2006, WikiLeaks has publicly released thousands of confidential inter-government diplomatic cables, along with US military files on its operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. The latter include the notorious recording of a US helicopter opening fire upon Iraqi civilians. Leaked electronically by whistle-blowers, the release of this state information has predictably invoked the wrath of western governments, with one former adviser to Canada calling for the assassination of its founder, Julian Assange.[67] A financial blockade by Visa, MasterCard and PayPal has so starved WikiLeaks of funds that it may be forced to shut down.[68]

WikiLeaks has filled a void of information for which corporate media is partly responsible. As John Pilger writes, 'the WikiLeaks revelations shame the dominant section of journalism devoted merely to taking down what cynical and malign power tells it.'[69] The lengths elites have gone to silence Assange and his supporters reveal the level of threat they believe WikiLeaks to be. Assange points out that 'in states like China, there is pervasive censorship, because speech still has power, and power is scared of it. We should always look at censorship as an economic signal that reveals the potential power of speech in that jurisdiction. The attacks against us by the US point to a great hope, speech powerful enough to break the fiscal blockade.'[70] Vanessa Baird, writing in *New Internationalist*, argues that:

> The storm over WikiLeaks has shown…that even the most powerful cannot stop embarrassing information about their activities from flowing

into the public domain. Equally significant is the massive public support that has sprung up for WikiLeaks, which has helped spread information and combat corporate and government attempts to silence and disable the website. WikiLeaks has given a new meaning to 'surveillance society'. The tables are turned: this is surveillance by society of the workings of power and privilege'.[71]

The Arab Spring: Tunisia and Egypt

The Arab Spring was an extraordinary wave of largely nonviolent regime change, demonstrating the power of determined activism in concert with ICTs. It began in Tunisia in December 2010, with the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi, an unemployed man forced to work as a street vendor. Unable to pay a bribe, and with his borrowed scales confiscated, he was beaten when he went to the municipal building to demand them back. He then set himself on fire, sparking a wave of dissent which, despite police repression, spread to other cities as videos of the protests were posted on the net. The protests grew exponentially over four weeks until the president was forced to flee the country.

Inspired by this success, the Egyptian Revolution began in January 2011, after years of soaring food costs, partly due to global warming, with '75 percent of the population spending the majority of their income on food' following the 2007 world food crises.[72] As global warming increases such crises, the Arab Spring gives us hope that other regions will similarly utilise nonviolence.

The movement began at least ten years before it overthrew Mubarak, with long-term poverty, lack of jobs, low wages and long working hours, inadequate social support services, corruption, absence of electoral choice, and a government which had imposed emergency rule for decades, adding to the widespread discontent. Thousands took to the streets in 2000 to protest against human rights abuses in Palestine; riots at Cairo University followed in 2002. The next year 30,000 people occupied Tahrir Square briefly and burnt a billboard depicting the president. Elements of the anti-war movement then began to organise a more explicitly pro-democracy movement, with the most active group being *Kefaya* (Enough), and the open defiance by youth in the capital inspiring many others to speak out.

Neo-liberal policies, supported by the IMF and World Bank, led to the sell-off of more than half the nation's public factories, with the sackings of thousands being enforced by the state's security forces. When the Malhalla textile mill retrenched 11,000 workers, women called a strike. When this achieved some concessions, a wave of strikes spread through the textile and then other industries. When a planned strike at the mill on 6 April 2008 was shut down by the Central Security Forces, demonstrations broke out throughout the town, in which at least three people were killed and

hundreds jailed and tortured. A woman named Israa Abdel-Fattah who worked in the human resources department of a Cairo company, and a civil engineer named Ahmed Maher set up a Facebook page in response (although Israa is usually written out of this history, despite her arrest); it rapidly gained 70,000 members and began what was later named the April 6 Youth Movement. The growing movement was 'reinforced and broadened as the growing availability of new technologies linked together factories and forged bonds between socialists, internet activists, and workers'.[73] An increase in Egyptians' access to mobile phones and the internet in the preceding years, and the proliferation of a blog culture that was largely beyond state control, assisted in the dispersal of information about the real extent and persistence of inequities. According to social media expert Rafat Ali, the regimes in Tunisia and Egypt underestimated the power of technology to organise activists and drive the movement:

> These despots are five generations older than the youth…None of these people in their 60s, 70s, and 80s have ever used Facebook or Twitter.[74]

Tahrir Square: The Epicentre

The success of the Tunisian revolution gave courage to the activists and set off the next level of the campaign. On 25 January, the annual protest of a national holiday to celebrate the police was escalated. Education in nonviolence, and experience of repression, led the activists to organise about 20 different fast-moving processions in order to avoid 'kettling' by the police. Despite tear gas, rubber bullets and water cannons (which enraged and radicalised them), they converged on Tahrir Square and began to demand the end of Mubarak's regime. Tweets kept the world informed of their activities, such as resisting attacks by pro-Mubarak forces: '1000 pro-Mubarak demonstration is heading towards Tahrir. The military is withdrawing. This will get ugly quickly.' Many of these forces turned out to be police, as evidenced by ID cards wrested from them and later photographed and broadcast via Twitter. Others admitted they had been paid by the regime to attend. There were counter-demonstrations, calls for support ('We need more people in TAHRIR NOW!! Get here for our freedom!!!'), and great emotions conveyed as deaths occurred or people were released from prison or, in the end, the revolution succeeded after just 18 days ('I can't stop crying. I've never been more proud in my life').[75]

The protests that occurred in cities throughout the country caught everyone's attention, while new social media helped organise them and let other Egyptian citizens understand them. This allowed for wide public dissemination of information adverse to the Egyptian government's interests, bypassing the systemic political repression of news and print media routinely used by the Egyptian government. Ninety thousand people responded to the

Facebook request to demonstrate.[76] Maher's experience of the revolution was that the egalitarian nature of new media, allowing equal participation for anyone with access, assisted in the democratic development of the uprising, and resulted in an 'essentially leaderless' revolution. New media 'linked together the disaffected, exploited and marginalised, expanding conceptions of the bounds of the possible.'[77] Dozens of Facebook groups supported the cause internationally. The government's attempts to shut down the internet and mobile phone networks were too late to stop the revolution.

New media created a change in both the mode and the content of communication, allowing greater congregation of support and scrutiny of information. The immediacy and personal experiences of actions could be conveyed, while pictures, videos, audio-files and prose could be transmitted within seconds.[78] This can have a swift and strong emotional impact on a population. Observing an internet video of a young Egyptian man named Khaled Said being beaten to death by the Egyptian police as he entered an internet cafe made many young Egyptian people realize that they could easily have been in Khaled Said's position, prompting a 'We are all Khaled Said' Facebook page.

People in other countries who may have only a shallow awareness of events elsewhere now have the potential to understand and appreciate them with immediacy and through a variety of lenses, via the internet. Postings on social media and websites can also persist for a long time and be easily retrieved. During the Egyptian uprising, a video internet posting of the abuse of a young van driver by police which had originally been posted in 2006 was reprised in 2011, as young protestors searched the web for information to support their understanding of the unfolding events.[79] These functions, and the capacity to become involved and supportive from a distance, translate to any cause.[80]

Forging Links

There are definite similarities between the Egyptian uprising and the earlier democracy movement in Serbia, as Maher (and others such as Mohamed Adel)[81] had sought advice from Serbian veterans: 'I got training in how to conduct peaceful demonstrations, how to avoid violence and how to face violence from the security forces.'[82] They even had similar symbols of a fist raised in solidarity.[83]

In Egypt, people ran along the police lines giving them hugs. So too had the Otpor students, and later the Ukrainian protesters in the Orange Revolution, been very successful in forging links with the police, and exhorting protesters not to attack them. When 200,000 people poured into Belgrade, police established barricades but were not prepared to defend them.[84] When the police guarding Ukraine's Parliament changed shifts, a band serenaded them, crowds sang the national anthem and organisers spoke to them. Using positive affirmations, there were chants of 'The police

are on our side' and later 'The courts are with the people'. When senior police defected to the movement, they too spoke to the lines of police, who were young and clearly uncertain. At the senior levels of security, decisions were made not to proceed with force against the demonstrators unless someone signed an order and could therefore be held accountable afterwards. No one from the regime was prepared to do so, and the armed soldiers moving on the blockade were halted and sent away to chants of 'They're our guys'.[85]

This is a significant step forward for protest movements, which have often seen the police viewed as the enemy. Certainly, police are in the service of the state and often uphold state and corporate interests to the detriment of ordinary citizens. They have also often treated protesters brutally. But violent retaliation just draws up battlelines, whereas nonviolent conversion (see Figure 27) erodes these pillars of society:

> Defections by security forces – critically important in ousting a military-backed regime – are far more likely when they are ordered to gun down unarmed protesters than when they are being attacked…'.[86]

In Egypt, an important factor was attempts to forge links with the army. 'We kept peaceful, because we wanted to attract people to us. If we used nonviolence, without killing any soldiers, then the people would help

Figure 27 Policeman gets a massage at Terania Creek blockade

us,' Maher explained later to 'Occupy Washington'.[87] This succeeded to an extraordinary degree. The army's statement that it would not use force against the demonstrators was a major turning point in the struggle.

When armies turn, the revolution's success is much more likely, as Sharon Nepstad points out.[88] When Mubarak turned to his last remaining pillar of support – the airforce – and ordered it to fly over the demonstrators, it seemed clear that Mubarak had lost. This supposed show of strength – his threatening to use the expensive fighter planes largely funded by the US – showed he really had nothing left. What could they do? Bomb their own cities? It's likely the pilots would have refused. If they didn't, the fury of the already-aroused populace would be overwhelming.

The Arab Summer: Libya

The phenomenal success of the Egyptian revolution in overthrowing Mubarak (although there is much work to be done in removing from power the military, which controls much of the economy, and in instituting a more democratic system) was obviously inspirational to other opposition movements, such as in Libya. However, the speed of Egypt's transition is deceptive. It had been consciousness-raising and strategising for years, working toward the uprising. It was highly-coordinated and far from spontaneous. Other countries may well have made the common mistake of seeing a popular uprising and presuming that it was easily achieved.

Libya's uprising was far more spontaneous, and Qaddafi was prepared for it, immediately cracking down with overwhelming force, with the movement becoming violent in response.[89] This violence by some protesters led to even greater violence being directed towards the whole of the movement.

The Libyan tactics were also primarily *concentrated* and protest-oriented, such as mass rallies, making them predictable and highly vulnerable to repression. They would have been strengthened by the addition of *dispersed* tactics of noncooperation such as strikes (particularly in the oil industry) and boycotts. While the ultimate defeat of Qaddafi is attributed to a violent insurgency backed by NATO air strikes (against military hardware supplied by European corporations), Khaled Darwish argues that Tripoli had already overthrown the regime before the rebel forces arrived, as women and children occupied the streets, civilians blocked apartment rooftops from snipers and in unity sang and chanted over loudspeakers against Qaddafi's regime,[90] and 'working-class districts rose up, in the hundreds of thousands.'[91]

Establishment of parallel institutions played a major role:

> When massive nonviolent resistance liberated a number of key Libyan cities back in February, popular democratic committees were set up to

> serve as interim local governments. For example, Benghazi – a city of over a million people – established a municipal government run by an improvised organising committee of judges, lawyers, academics, and other professionals. Since the resistance to Qaddafi turned primarily violent, however, the leadership of the movement appears to now have significant representation from top cabinet officials and military officers, who for years had been allied with the tyrant, defected only in recent weeks and whose support for democracy is rather dubious.[92]

The protests had been almost totally nonviolent during the first week of the uprising. In this period, the democratisation movement made the most gains, gaining control of most of the cities in the eastern part of Libya. This was also when most of the resignations of cabinet members, Libyan ambassadors in foreign capitals, Qaddafi aides and senior military officers occurred. Pilots refused orders to bomb and strafe protesters, flew into exile or deliberately crashed their planes. Thousands of soldiers defected or refused to fire at demonstrators, despite being threatened with execution. Lack of strategy, coordination and planning, and the move towards violence by some of the rebels, were the key factors in the stalling and then reversal of the revolution, leading to NATO attacks on Libya.

The notion that it was all a NATO victory is patronising, according to Israeli peace activist Uri Avnery: 'It is the old colonialist attitude in a new guise. Of course, these poor, primitive Arabs could not do anything without the White Man shouldering his burden and rushing to the rescue.'[93] He argues that this was, above all, a Libyan victory.

Syria

As in Libya, the Syrians found themselves swept up in an 'effervescence' of resistance without adequate preparation or outside help. A year after mass protests began, followed by government crackdowns that the United Nations says killed nearly 17,000 people, much of the opposition remained committed to nonviolence, despite the emergence of armed clashes between the Free Syrian Army (made up of defectors) and the regime. 'Our revolution remains a nonviolent one,' said Omar Edelbi, spokesman for a grassroots opposition network, the Local Coordination Committees. 'We support the defectors' right to defend themselves… But they are separate. We do not coordinate with them. We believe in peaceful means.'[94]

The nonviolent movement has gained considerably international sympathy and is keen to maintain its moral high ground and distance itself from the armed resistance, to counter government assertions that the unrest is the handiwork of armed extremists backed by foreign powers. According to Akram Antaki, the Damascene founder of Ma'aber ('Crossroads'), 'one of the main characteristics of the Syrian revolution is that we are all working

openly. The wall of fear has disappeared.'[95] Moreover according to lawyer Razan Zeitouneh:

> Many people may not believe that, in the midst of this barbarism meted out to the Syrian people by their ruling regime, the survival of a space for other feelings than anger and pain is possible. In fact, there are still people that face the gun with flowers… They hope that the revolution shall change much more than the regime.[96]

The conflict is now a full-blown civil war, crossing borders and responsible for tens of thousands more deaths, but the Syrian Nonviolent Movement remains active, for example calling (via Facebook) on the US and India to 'cancel existing and future contracts with [Russia's] Rosoboronexport until it halts all weapons sales to Syria'.

Arming the Despots

These nonviolent democratisation movements were also anti-militarism, facing regimes armed to the teeth by MIMEC. Despite NATO support in Libya and US rhetoric about a new approach to the region (such as Barack Obama's June 2009 speech at Cairo University), Nick Turse believes that:

> Barring an unprecedented and almost inconceivable policy shift, [the Pentagon] will continue to broker lucrative deals to send weapons systems and military equipment to Arab despots.[97]

Along with the overthrow of decades-old dictatorships in Tunisia and Egypt, demonstrators in Bahrain, Yemen, Kuwait, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were shot down in the streets, beaten and/or jailed. A common element of the tools of repression in those countries is that the helicopters, armored personnel carriers, and tanks used to threaten or even kill nonviolent demonstrators were often American models. The US, concerned about a fall in the profitability of its military industries as it cuts back on 'defence' spending, has been acting as an arms broker, ensuring that US firms contribute more than half of all arms sales to the Middle East.[98]

Only weeks after Iraqi forces killed, wounded and arrested hundreds of protesters, Obama's administration announced a further $360 million in military sales to those same security forces. Shortly after the United Arab Emirates helped put down protests in Bahrain, 'disappeared' human rights activist Ahmed Mansoor, and detained other activists, the US announced it would arm the regime with 'advanced' Sidewinder tactical missiles. Saudi Arabia's arrest of 'at least 20 peaceful protesters, including two bloggers', according to *Human Rights Watch*, was followed by US notification of its intent to sell Saudi security forces $330 million worth of advanced night

vision and thermal-imaging equipment. This is just a fraction of a $60 billion agreement between the US and Saudi Arabia for 'smart' bombs, fighter jets, helicopters and radar equipment 'that will represent, if all purchases are made, the largest foreign arms deal in American history.'[99] European and Chinese firms also supply arms used to mow down activists.[100]

Nonviolence under Attack

Nonviolence has become more prominent through the Egyptian uprising. For once, journalists acknowledged that the uprising was not just spontaneous, unplanned 'people power', but that it had been led by a core group of activists versed in nonviolent methods. The fact that prominent in their learning materials was literature by Gene Sharp was widely lauded. Some Egyptians, however, were indignant that once again, a white man from the US (not even an Indian or Afro-American) was given credit for such a movement, when the Middle East and North Africa has a proud history of nonviolent action, such as the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979. As even Gene Sharp humbly admitted, the Egyptian people did it themselves.

Nonviolence groups offering help to social movements have long been criticised by the conservatives for being 'outside agitators'. Peace movements in the West are still being accused of being led by communists who are:

> anti-American rather than anti-war. Indeed, the anti-war movement wants war and violence, not peace – if it will lead to the overthrow of American institutions and government.[101]

This is a gross over-simplification of the diverse range of dedicated people who make up those movements, including doctors, humanists, Muslims, nuns, hippies and parents, most of whom are not communists. It is an attack on their integrity, as many of these oppose violence in all forms, and it is also a simplistic view, as it is possible to admire some aspects of the US while opposing others.

However, nonviolent groups' assistance to movements which succeeded in overthrowing communist regimes in Eastern Europe has now also led to criticisms from the Left that these NGOs are in league with Western power-holders and promoting hidden agendas.

Maidhc Ó Cathail sees a capitalist conspiracy behind numerous nonviolent revolutions because of the financing of nonviolence training organisations such as the International Center for Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC) and Belgrade's Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS). He alleges that Georgia's Rose revolution, which brought supposed George Soros protégé Mikheil Saakashvili to the presidency in 2004 was encouraged through a film 'Bringing Down a Dictator' by multi-millionaire Peter Ackerman and former intelligence officer Jack Duvall which was shown

every Saturday for months by a Soros-backed TV network.[102] Another critic argues that the duo and ICNC have close links to the US-based 'democracy promoting' establishment groups of USAID and Reagan's National Endowment for Democracy (NED) as well as links to the CIA, and that they demonized Milosevic, and gave sanitised versions of US interventions and violent overthrows.[103]

Others regard these claims as absurd,[104] while Duvall and Ackerman defend themselves by saying:

> That debate misses the reality of how the Orange Revolution succeeded. Like all victories of people power in the past 25 years, it was achieved, not by foreign assistance, but by the indigenous force of ordinary citizens applying their own strategy to challenge autocratic power… [P]eople power is not imported, it's homegrown. External aid can help, but it's neither necessary nor sufficient.

They cite CANVAS' Danijela Nenadic: 'it is not true that we are exporters of revolution. There is no universal concept to fight authoritarianism. You have to have your own strategy.'[105] Furthermore, their well-promoted, widely-disseminated films and books have been aided by their wealth and insider status. They have raised the profile of nonviolence, leading to much wider understanding and usage.

Cause for Caution

Ackerman's 'Freedom House' is nevertheless problematic. Its 2005 report, *How Freedom is Won*, proudly touts the US's role in assisting democratisation movements. It never mentions US complicity in arming and funding the regimes many of those movements opposed, such as the CIA's support for death squads in Guatemala and El Salvador, and the Contra terrorists in Nicaragua, where the popular, democratically-elected government was described as a dictatorship.[106]

There is further cause for wariness. NED had a hand in bringing about the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, funding opposition groups from both the Left and Right intent on undermining the communist regimes. Later, Bill Clinton's Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, admitted that '[b]y enlisting international and regional institutions in the work, the US can leverage our own limited[!] resources and avoid the appearance of trying to dominate others.' NED's first president, Allen Weinstein, stated that 'a lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA.'[107]

However, it's also clear that there was massive opposition to those regimes (something many communists are loath to admit), and they may have succeeded without outside help. The 'colour revolutions' – Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004) and Kyrgyzstan (2005) – have been followed by disappointing

regimes, although this is to be expected for new systems recovering from decades of corrupted, autocratic communism. As Erica Trenoweth comments, 'none of these outcomes would likely have improved if the revolutions had been violent'.[108]

As in Serbia, these revolutions and new regimes have tended to be supported by the west as they serve its geopolitical ends. The same cannot be said for the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions, however, which have been opposing US-backed dictators. The overthrow of the Mubarak regime, backed for thirty years by the US, is surely evidence that such advisers are not pro-US but pro-democratisation – very different (indeed, often antithetical) things.

It's true that other major nonviolence organisations are US–based. Gene Sharp works with the Albert Einstein Foundation, a tiny group that faced financial ruin at the same time that false charges were being made that it was CIA-funded. It is an immensely powerful group, not because of state backing but because of the methods it propounds. Another nonviolence trainer, George Lakey, began his career working against the US southern elites in the civil rights movement, a movement which was accused of being communist-led. He argues that nonviolence trainers teach not a political ideology but a *technique for waging struggle*, which gives movements nonviolent options they may not have considered. All movements need allies; these allies do not necessarily control the movements they aid. None of these movements are ideologically-pure – they all involve many difficult compromises and choices (such as of choosing allies and avoiding dependency). Such trainers offer help to a wide variety of movements, some of which may eventually assist US interests, some of which will definitely not.[109] Hopefully, the rise in nonviolence will lead more movements into principled, revolutionary nonviolence which resists *all* forms of oppression and violence. Let's look at another movement which is clearly not orchestrated by western elites, but targets them.

Occupy: The Importance of Actions in Real Space

The 'Occupy Wall Street' movement is US activists' response to the Arab Spring (and they are now being advised by Egyptian Facebook activist Ahmed Maher about 'what happened in Egypt, about our structure, about our organisation, how to organise a flash mob, how to organise a sit-in,…how to be non-violent with police').[110] The movement spread rapidly across the US and then the world, becoming the Occupy or 'We are the 99%' movement, with occupations in major centres everywhere. It represents another wave of Western activism, this time with another slight difference. It rides at the crest of the ICT revolution but has added to this cyberactivism particular geographical sites of activism. That is, as well as all the information and outrage expressed in cyberspace, this outrage is

grounded in physical space – places where people can congregate, establish a presence, erect banners, and run Free Schools. They can have meetings to determine their protest agenda. They can be interviewed by journalists and researchers. Often located centrally, they attract passers-by. Street people can find solidarity with them. They are a human community, which cyberspace will only ever be a part of, despite all the hype.

Furthermore, these occupations are fixed and permanent, with even brutal evictions failing to end many. Marches have always played a part in protest and will continue to do so, but there is a tendency for them to use a lot of activist energy in organising them, and there may be little media coverage and little resultant political change. When they are over, the energy generated seems to dissipate quickly. People still want change and even action, but there is no focus.

With an occupation, however, the energy can remain and hopefully build. People who have never been active in politics can be drawn in. It is not just the educated middle class, drawn into issues through the net or journals or universities, but the poor and illiterate, engaging at street level and person-to-person, seeing interesting and colourful action and wanting to get involved. They can be empowered and radicalised, bringing their own perspectives to the movement and adding new dimensions to it.

Cyberactivism can help movements protest, and persuade opponents and third parties. It can encourage and organise noncooperation. But the third type of nonviolence, intervention (or physical counterpower) requires people to join together, in person and in real places, according to Korea's Whasun Jho.[111]

One of the reasons for the success of the Egyptian revolution as well as the Occupy movement is that both movements created highly visible protests in central public spaces. They met and talked face to face, bringing an elemental humanisation of the movements. This personal contact can still have the highest impact of any attempts at conversion, as people read body language and look into someone's eyes as they talk, ascertaining how much they can trust them. Personal contact with the security personnel of repressive regimes may also lead to conversions – it is much harder for a soldier to ill-treat someone who has been talking or singing to them for hours.

In Indonesia during the 1990s, the tightly-controlled civic domains of parks, universities and mosques were not safe spaces for gathering. The internet allowed the resistance movement to grow and organise, but 'the overthrow of Suharto succeeded not in virtual space, but through actual political activities in appropriated civic spaces.'[112] Similarly, the Battle of Seattle was so noteworthy because it achieved its aim of shutting down a meeting of the WTO, through mass blockades that used active resistance techniques. At strategic locations throughout the city, groups used chicken wire, chains, padlocks, duct tape, and PVC piping to secure themselves together and occupy intersections, stopping all traffic despite having to endure pepper spray, tear gas and rubber bullets.[113]

This occupied physical space may change those who live and work near it. It can also remain in the memories of the occupiers as an inspiration, a memory of past heroism when they move on to more staid lives in work, study or parenthood. It can become a rallying point for later movements. What happens there also forms a focus for internet discussions, as occupiers face continual harassment from the authorities. Dawn evictions, massive overkill operations or ludicrous arrests[114] can radicalise observers.

Just as the Global Justice Movement has been inaccurately characterised as being an anti-globalisation rabble with a scrambled or unrealistic agenda, so too has the Occupy movement been accused of having nebulous aims. University of Sydney research, however, reveals a deeper story, of a focused and coherent political agenda concerned about the social and political impact of capitalism on Australian and global society:

> It has a strong critique of the impacts of capitalism on social inequality and on politics. There's a concern that money politics and the impact of large multinationals have reduced the effectiveness of Australian democracy.[115]

Despite the stereotyping that the movement is made up of 'professional protesters', it is comparatively diverse. The average age of protestors is 39, and two-thirds are employed, with the remainder spread between students, retired and the unemployed, and '[t]he majority of participants are not part of core organising groups but individuals concerned about the issues the movement has raised'[116]. Climate change and militarism are major Occupy agenda items.

This chapter has looked at the pitfalls of the new ICTs, before showing the considerable benefits they can bring to nonviolence. From their origins in the rainforest activism – a vital part of the struggle against global warming – to a variety of independence, global justice and democratisation movements essential to positive peace, internetworking and cyberactivism have had a dramatic impact on nonviolence. Let's now examine another aspect of nonviolence that is rarely rigorously examined – the role of the arts in social change movements.

Notes

1. Brian Martin (2001) *Technology for Nonviolent Struggle* (London: War Resisters International) p. 90; see also the work of Marshall Rosenberg.
2. These include Armidale's TuneFM and 2ARM, Lismore's 2NCR, Bellingen's 2BBB (a mudbrick station), Sydney's Radio Redfern, Radio Skid Row and 2SER, Melbourne's RRR and Brisbane's Triple Zed.
3. My novel *Horizontal Lightning,* about the Penan rainforest campaign, was begun in 1987 but not completed until 1994, after word processors became widely available.

4. Sandra Gonzalez-Bailon, Javier Borge-Holthoefer and Yamir Moreno, 'Broadcasters and Hidden Influentials in Online Protest Diffusion', *Social Science Research Network*, 10 February 2012, http://ssrn.com.
5. Ana Nogueria (2002) 'The Birth of and Promise of Indymedia Revolution', in Benjamin Shephard and Ronald Hayduk (eds) *From ACTUP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalisation* (London: Verso) p. 291.
6. Roland Bleiker (2000) Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press).
7. C. Salter (2011) 'Going Online for Social Change, *Social Alternatives,* Vol.30, No.1, p. 1.
8. Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall (2000) *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (Hampshire: Palgrave) p. 480.
9. Douglas Kellner (2002) 'Theorizing Globalisation', *Sociological Theory*, Vol.20, No.3, Nov, p. 287.
10. Jerry Mande (2001) 'Net Loss', in Anita Roddick (ed.) *Take It Personally: How Globalisation Affects You and Powerful Ways to Challenge It* (London: HarperCollins) p. 42; see also Juha Suoranta and Tuukka Tomperi (2002) 'From Gothenburg to Everywhere: Bonfires of Revolutionary Learning', *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, No.24, pp. 35–7.
11. Kate Walker and Elaine Argaet (2003) *Spies and Their Gadgets* (Macmillan) p. 23.
12. Kahn/Kellner, cited in S. Baringhorst (2008) 'Political Protest on the Net', *German Policy Studies,* Vol.4, No.4, p. 86.
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14. Iain McIntyre (2009) *How to Make Trouble and Influence People* (Carlton: Breakdown Press) p. 242.
15. *World Internet Usage and Population Statistics,* www.internetworldstats.com.
16. Jason P. Abbot (2001) 'Democracy@internet.asia?', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.22, No.1, p. 106.
17. Katz/Anheier, cited in Baringhorst, op. cit., p. 67.
18. McCallum and Papandrea, cited in Salter, op. cit., p. 2.
19. Salter, op. cit., p. 2.
20. B. Hracs and B. Massam (2008) 'Places/Spaces of Celebration and Protest', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research,* Vol.17, No.1, pp. 63–78.
21. Mander, loc. cit.
22. *What the World is Searching for*, Yahoo, 28 June 2012, http://buzzlog.yahoo.com/overall.
23. Baringhorst, op. cit., pp. 67–72.
24. David Wolman, 'Cairo Activists Use Facebook to Rattle Regime', *Wired*, 23 July 2008, www.wired.com.
25. Sarah Oates (2008) *Introduction to Media and Politics* (London: Sage) p. 8.
26. Whasun Jho (2009) 'The Transformation of Cyberactivism and Democratic Governance in Korea', *Korea Observer,* Vol.40, No.2, p. 342.
27. 'China to Tighten Controls on Internet, Social Media', *Asia News Monitor*, 4 November 2011.
28. Oates, op. cit., p. 186.
29. G. Yang (2009) 'Online Activism, *Journal of Democracy,* Vol.20, No.3, p. 36.
30. C. Chaisukkosol (2010) 'The Internet & Nonviolent Struggle: The Anti-government Movement in Thailand 2005–06', *Social Alternatives,* Vol.29, No.3, p. 53.
31. Jho, op. cit., p. 364.

32. Clive Hamilton, 'Bullying, Lies and the Rise of Right-Wing Climate Denial', *The Drum*, ABC, 22–26 February 2010.
33. Edwin Black (2012) *IBM and the Holocaust* (New York: Crown Publishers).
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6
Artistic Activism

A great deal of nonviolent activism is dedicated to attempts to educate and influence people's attitudes. Art is a particularly powerful way of doing this. As Sophie Kerr wrote: 'If peace … only had the music and pageantry of war, there'd be no more wars.'[1]

Before we examine the use of the arts in eco-pax campaigning, however, we need to look at a powerful counter-campaign that it faces: climate denial.

Climate Denial

The fact of anthropogenic global warming is widely accepted in Europe and places such as the Pacific islands, where sea level rises are obvious and increasingly damaging. Elsewhere, however, decisive action on global warming is hindered by vocal 'climate deniers' – people who don't believe that global warming is occurring, or argue that if it is, it is not caused by humans and therefore there is no need for action, particularly if it will harm industrial 'business-as-usual'. Some propagandising groups even claim, with no scientific credibility, that agriculture would be better off with more CO_2.[2] This simplistic notion does not take into account factors such as rainfall patterns, increased soil evaporation rates, more extreme weather, or the lower nutritional value of crops grown in higher CO_2 levels.[3] What scale of disaster is required to convince the sceptics? By then will it be too late?

In Australia, as in the US, many news stories give equal credence to climate sceptics, in the name of balance. This doesn't happen so much in the UK, according to *Financial Times* environmental journalist Fiona Harvey, 'not because we're not balanced but because we think it's unbalanced to give equal validity to a fringe few with no science behind them'.[4] Statistically, climate deniers should get only 2–3 per cent of airtime; instead they get a half or more in some media.

The 'carbon lobby' uses many of the same tactics, and even the same scientists as were used by the tobacco industry to resist government restrictions on cigarettes and their advertising. Frederick W. Seitz, for example, made

$45 million in the 1970s and 80s, working for the RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company. He funded medical research that created doubt ('blunted public understanding of the health effects of smoking'[5]) while appearing to give the industry scientific integrity. (Much of this research occurred at the Rockefeller University, which was built on the Standard Oil fortune.) Seitz in the 1990s moved on to creating doubt on climate science, attacking the integrity of IPCC scientists through an opinion piece in the *Wall Street Journal*, an open letter to the Clinton administration, and articles suggesting that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by politically-motivated scientists and environmentalists. Having been a president of the National Academy of Sciences, he gave science establishment credibility to such allegations.

Climate deniers have also engaged in organised campaigns of cyberbullying of scientists and politicians.[6] Just as alarming is when attacks on climate science (or ignoring it, as happened for so long) come from the 'heritage media', such as the Murdoch newspaper, the *Australian*, which has had a 'role in identifying hate figures for deniers and fueling their aggression'.[7]

Climate denial has been integrated into an older and wider political movement, sometimes known as right-wing populism, which emanates from the US and is defined more by what it fears than by what it proposes. Since the mid-1990s, climate denial forces associated with the US Republican Party and oil-funded conservative think tanks have successfully linked acceptance of the need for climate policies with those groups despised by right-wing populism. In more recent years, the denial movement has been joined by some hardline conservative Christian groups:

> [T]he raw material that feeds their anger is generated overwhelmingly by a network of right-wing thinktanks and websites in part funded by Big Carbon. These links, which have been heavily documented, are close enough to provoke the Royal Society to take the unprecedented step of writing to Exxon Mobil asking the company to desist from funding anti-science groups. Yet the funding continues, often through foundations that in effect launder oil and coal money to make it more difficult to trace to its sources.[8]

This is a well-resourced, influential propaganda campaign. The prominence it affords to the odd maverick scientific voice, usually older scientists from disciplines other than climate science (such as the deeply-flawed writings of geologist Ian Plimer), should be contrasted to the obscurity in which anti-nuclear scientists remain. The attacks on climate scientists should also be compared to the almost religious faith in most other scientists, from aeronautical engineers to nuclear physicists.

The carbon lobby's deceptive campaign of misrepresenting science has been described as a crime by many, and class actions have begun against some companies.[9] However, these companies did not work alone: 'many

mainstream news outlets aided and abetted that crime, a journalistic failure as profound as any in modern … history'.[10] I first read and then wrote about global warming in 1984,[11] but it was not until almost 25 years later that it finally made it onto the front page of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. This is related to a 'principle of least disruption'[12] – societal inertia that need to be overcome.

* * *

The global environmental crisis is so enormous that addressing it relies not just on governmental or corporate action, but the engagement of all of society.[13] Unfortunately the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme claims that environmentalism's worthy but dull image is not working and that its often-negative message is not reaching the hearts of people.[14]

The science is fairly clear; we now need social scientists, publicists and educators – to win the climate change debate, and persuade the populace what needs to be done, and how.[15] This requires a concerted campaign by a mass movement. The more creative its tactics, the more likely it is to engage a wide audience. Activists have long been part of such awareness-raising campaigns, through conventional means – such as rallies, concerts, pamphleteering and letter-writing – and through unconventional means, such as direct action. Increasingly these direct actions have used humour and the arts, or as Sean Scalmer has termed them, 'dissent events'[16] or what I call 'artistic activism'. Artistic activism provides a way of enlivening eco-pax campaigns, as well as countering the influential propagandising of the MIMEC and carbon lobbies. Let us first define what is meant by 'the arts'.

Arts Definition

Defining the arts, let alone protest arts or artistic activism, is a difficult task because – particularly since the advent of postmodernism – there is a variety of ways of perceiving them. A politically-charged view of the arts is that espoused by performer Robyn Archer[17] or art therapist Karen Callaghan,[18] that the arts by definition are radical. This view sees the arts as holding a mirror to society, acting against injustice or speaking truth in the midst of lies. Anything else is merely craft, the creation of objects for popular consumption. Archer claims that this is what elites want the arts to be – merely entertainment, a distraction for people to keep their minds off their state of oppression.

An opposing view is that the arts are far from inherently radical, and that they often contribute to what Galtung has characterised as *structural violence*, which is violence that kills insidiously, for example when people

die of starvation because of economic structures, despite there being enough food to feed them.[19] Such economic structures are reinforced through advertising, which intentionally employs sophisticated art forms, bombarding audiences with enticing visual imagery and 'catchy jingles'. Similarly, art was used by WWI governments to recruit soldiers, and by communist and fascist governments to solidify power.[20] Art can thus be a powerful promoter of consumerism, militarism, nationalism, totalitarianism or other conservative ideologies. Art forms such as racist literature or music can also be part of *cultural violence* wherein they inspire violence or they are psychologically violent.[21]

It is clear then that the arts can be put to a multiplicity of uses – radical or conservative – according to the ideologies of those using them. This work employs an egalitarian definition of the arts as various activities more akin to crafts – activities which anyone can learn, and for which one may have differing natural abilities. In this sense, valid art forms include those activities listed under *Australia Council* guidelines – music, acting, dance, directing, painting, photography, writing, design and illustration, sculpture, architecture, journalism and media presenting.[22] This chapter examines the arts used in implementing eco-pax ideologies, particularly during nonviolent direct actions and the wider campaigns they occur within. Let us briefly examine the types of arts used by movements.

Visual Arts

Before an action, the visual arts in particular are used to advertise and promote the action's whereabouts, time and purpose. Photographs, graphic design and computer-generated art feature on a variety of media, such as posters, newsletters, leaflets, mailouts and increasingly emails and websites. The visual arts are also used during protests, and they include banners, screen-printed t-shirts with messages and pictures, sculpture, and theatre props such as Benny Zable's famous 'radioactive' barrels.

Music

At protests, music – both live and recorded – often features, such as the ubiquitous and stirring singing at the Franklin or the broadcast of *Midnight Oil* music that inspired direct action at Roxby Downs. The massive peace rallies against the invasion of Iraq by the 'Coalition of the Willing' in February 2003 were led by drummers, saxophonists, and guitarists, with free concerts afterwards. Vigils were invigorated by impromptu choirs singing sixties favourites and adapting new words to old tunes, like 'What Shall We Do with a Nuclear Warship?' to the tune of 'Drunken Sailor'. A London-based group released a popular compilation CD called 'Peace Not War', featuring artists like Billy Bragg, Crass and Ani Di Franco.

Poetry and Rap

Closely allied to music is poetry, which may be spoken, delivered as part of a song, or as a 'rap', which contains spoken verse of rhyming elements and other wordplay, usually accompanied by rhythm and melodic instruments. Examples range from Zippy's rap 'Are you gonna let them' at Jabiluka[23] and a 'Refugee Rap' by young socialists from the group Resistance at a 2002 Rally for Refugees in Canberra, to Public Enemy's *Power to the People (*1991), and *Coup 2 Gueule* by Senegal rapper Thiat (2010). Tunisian El Général's 2011 *Head of State* 'played a critical role in articulating citizen discontent', spreading throughout the Arab world via YouTube, Facebook, mixtapes, ringtones and MP3s.[24]

Theatre

Theatre has long been an important element of protests. This form is primarily referred to as street theatre because of its location outside usual theatrical venues, and because of its often impromptu, *ad hoc* nature, usually with a paucity of props and costumes but often highly-creative nonetheless.[25] Related to this category are numerous performance art forms, in which protesters don a variety of costumes or guises for dramatic effect (Figure 28).

Activist theatre was well-established by the seventies, with Dario Fo and Franca Rame in Italy, Augusto Boal in South America, the *Bread and Puppet Theatre* in the US, *Pipi Storm* and *The Australian Performing Group* and later *The Streuth Troupe* in Australia, and Theatre in Education groups throughout the world.

Figure 28 Koalas take on DECCW bureaucrats in Grafton

Puppetry

A giant puppet 'judge' was used in a 'People's Court'/performance at Jabiluka, in which the mining company was found guilty of crimes against humanity and the earth, and a mass civil disobedience action followed, attempting to serve an eviction notice. Puppetry was also a strong feature of the February 2003 peace rallies. A theme taken up by puppeteers was that Australian Prime Minister John Howard was a lackey of US President Bush, who in turn was manipulated by oil multinationals. Making puppets of them seemed a logical satirical step, although Sydney puppeteers went further and made Howard into Bush's dog, with his nose in frequent proximity with Bush's rear! A similar device was employed in Armidale, with Howard looking for 'Colon Bowel' (Colin Powell). The puppets were popular with children and the media.

Circus Skills

Circus skills have also featured prominently at Australian protests, including stilt-walking, fire twirling and juggling on marches, acrobatics at Roxby Downs and monocycling in the 'Cycle Against the Nuclear Cycle'.

Dance

Dance is also common, as with the *Midnight Oil* episode related earlier. It was used similarly in Canberra at the week of protests surrounding the 1983 ALP national conference, and at the blockade of the AIDEX armaments 'fair' in 1992, where the band *Earth Reggae* played live. A particularly innovative use of dance was when belly dancers halted logging trucks for a day at Bulga, NSW in 1995.[26]

Symbolic Actions

Symbolic actions have long been regarded as part of nonviolence. Many of the new techniques of active resistance can be viewed also as powerfully-symbolic actions, involving civil disobedience, visual arts and theatre.

At Jabiluka, a car embedded into the road, to which activists were chained and which effectively slowed work on the mine was transformed into a 'feral sculpture' – a frill-necked lizard – through welded additions and paint. It resulted in a powerful media image, demonstrating the effectiveness of the confluence of nonviolent militancy and art.

Multi-Arts

This term is useful in transcending the limitations of overly rigid definitions of art forms.[27] It describes art forms occurring in conjunction with others;

for example, a street theatre performance may involve puppetry, scenery-making, music and dance, as well as acting. An infinite variety of combinations of art forms is possible.

A plethora of multi-arts and symbolic actions utilising a range of media was used in the 2003 peace rallies, and they received front-page media coverage. The most sensational acts featured nudity, such as the Byron Bay protest where 750 women spelled out with their bodies 'NO WAR' within a heart symbol. Peace signs were created at Terrigal, using clothed people, at the South Pole, using snow, and in Alice Springs, using weedicides on a grass oval. Warsaw marchers painted their faces; in Sydney pregnant women painted their bellies. In Armidale a prayer meeting featured 'peace cakes', while unnameable persons graffitied an overpass with 'Smart Bombs=Dumb Leaders', '**NO** ho**WAR**d' and 'No blood for oil'.

Turkish marchers carried candles. French people held posters depicting the 'gun' of a petrol pump being held to an Iraqi child's head. Among the 500,000 Australian marchers were polystyrene white doves,[28] hats shaped like US military base Pine Gap, and an eerie 'Grim Reaper'. Stilt-walkers and white-satin-gowned, winged 'Peace Angels' added to the carnival atmosphere. The colour of the weekend was purple, with feminist and spiritual connotations. All of these actions and media can be considered *artistic*, particularly since the advent of *dada*, performance art, 'happenings' and post-modernism eroded the rigidly-defined and exclusionary nature of the arts.[29]

Banners

Banners are a multi-arts medium, incorporating as they do elements such as painting, printing, calligraphy and needlecraft. They often contain poetic, humorous or dramatic slogans, as well as images or symbols. They can be carried or erected in prominent places. In the 2003 peace marches, the banners were clever or poignant, with slogans broadcast globally via the internet, like 'A village in Texas has lost its idiot', 'Axis of Evil? Access to Diesel!' or 'There is no Path to Peace. Peace IS the Path' and even 'Bush is a servant of Sauron. We hates him!'

Journalism

The 'fringe' journalistic activities of activists involve freelance contributions to mass media outlets, or engagement in community radio, television, print media and websites. Art forms used in reporting protests include film-making, photography, sketching, audio-recording, cartooning and writing.

Humour

Humour[30] may be part of all the art forms described above. It has long been used to confront privilege, weaken the power of oppressors and empower

resistance. During Vietnam War protests, protesters ordered flowers, liquor, beds and six dozen nappies for the Australian representative of Chase Manhattan Bank, while the American Consul had his garden sprayed with defoliants and, because of hoax advertisements, had to fend off numerous people trying to buy his house, Cadillac and period furniture, or attend a lecture on pornography.[31] The Committee for the Abolition of Political Police openly spied on Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) personnel, and held a Christmas party outside ASIO's Melbourne headquarters.[32] Protests against French nuclear tests saw *Bas-Tard* (rather than *Bastille) Day* celebrated on the Gold Coast, along with numerous cartoons in national newspapers,[33] while a seemingly official sign stating that a small lake in suburban Melbourne had been selected to house a nuclear power station caused great consternation among residents.[34]

Protests against an ocean sewerage outfall in NSW included a bobby-helmeted activist on a tripod, and the 'Big Turd', built after the manner of nearby tourist drawcards like the Big Banana and Giant Lobster.[35] Actions by the EcoAnarchoAbsurdistAdelaideCell?! (EAAAC?!) combined serious demands about Aboriginal land rights and permaculture with calls for a siesta to be introduced, carpet bowls to be included in the Olympics, and '[s]ubsidies for business folk to purchase and wear clown suits.'[36] At 1980s rainforest rallies in Brisbane, the Phantom (a cartoon character) made dramatic appearances.[37]

Same-sex demonstrators noisily tested the beds in a Melbourne department store in 1972, paving the way for the Sydney *Mardi Gras*.[38] The Nimbin '*Mardi Grass'* is another lively event, where outrageously-dressed 'ganga fairies' calling for legalisation of marijuana have smoked a joint outside the police station, and demanded to be arrested.[39] McIntyre's (2009) work is a brilliant summary of 'pranks, hoaxes and political mischief-making from across Australia', including The Chasers' legendary infiltration of the 2007 APEC Summit.[40]

Origins of Artistic Activism

Artistic activism arose from a long and rich tradition of radical art that promotes environmental, socialist, feminist, peace or anti-colonialist themes. In Aboriginal activism, their 'very rich and complex' culture[41] played its role in their resistance to the takeover of their land with songs, corroborees and tribal chronicles reflecting their struggles.[42] Cultural resistance continued through the Yirrkala bark petition for land rights,[43] and the paintings of Lin Onus and others,[44] and the music of *Yothu Yindi*, and is evident today through actors such as Rachael Maza and Leah Purcell.

European-Australian artists played a significant role in early environmentalism,[45] with artist-authors Louisa Anne Meredith and Louisa Atkinson, painters Glover, Buvelot and Lesueur, and cartoonists from

Melbourne Punch making strong statements about environmental despoliation. Poets, artists and writers were prominent in the 1960s campaign to protect Australia's Great Barrier Reef,[46] while there is a proud history of Australia's union movement using political songs and satire.[47] Communist writer Frank Hardy was a prominent player in the landmark Gurindji stockmen's strike for land rights between 1966 and 1975,[48] about which Galarrwuy Yunupingu and Ted Egan's song 'The Gurindji Blues' topped the pop charts.[49] A later song by Koori Kev Carmody and Paul Kelly – 'From Little Things, Big Things Grow' – is an anthemic depiction of a classic nonviolent struggle. Dada was a European anarchistic alliance which, in the aftermath of WWI, was horrified by the direction Western society was taking. Their bizarre artistic activities were designed to shock people out of their complacency and apathy – tactics which overthrew the traditional definitions of art, and would profoundly influence the artistic activism of the 1960s.[50] The Dadaists were followed closely by the surrealists, who became allied with communism. They vigorously opposed the stultifying dogma and hypocrisy of the Catholic Church, and advocated unfettered freedom of expression – which was nevertheless often sexist, and sometimes employed violent imagery.[51] Both the Dadaists and the surrealists encouraged 'activities that were playfully absurd and purposeless, and therefore not harnessed to the utilitarian demands of the capitalist economy'.[52]

After Russia's 1917 revolution, *socialist realist* art was widely used in the 20th century by communists to propagate their ideology.[53] Although initially the artists enjoyed great freedom and created revolutionary works in a joyous fervour, the centralised communist states gradually clamped down on such freedoms and increasingly dictated how and what works would be created, because 'bourgeois art' was supposedly contributing to bohemianism and decadence and distracting people from the 'real' struggle. Some artists, with little choice, obeyed the regime (such as Prokofiev the composer), others were ridiculed and discredited, exiled themselves (the painter Chagall) or committed suicide (the poet Mayakovsky). Others, such as Malevich the visual artist or the composer Shostakovich, produced coded works, which while purporting to support the official line were in fact damning of the state.[54] Vaclav Havel's broadcast of radio plays via a clandestine radio station supported the resistance to Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Russian Jews in WWII extermination camps sang protest songs, as did later Buddhist protestors in South Vietnam and South African anti-apartheid activists. The movement of the Baltic republics seeking independence from the Soviet Union in the late 1980s was dubbed the 'singing revolution' as it was based around song festivals.[55] Chileans held rock concerts, also in the 1980s, where prohibited music was played as a protest against Pinochet's dictatorship.[56]

The 1960s

The 1960s were particularly significant for an explosion of both activism and radical art, with the two often combined.[57] This was a time of widespread protest, and there were also great upheavals in the arts, such as 'happenings', a return to Dada-style art, and an explosion of *abstraction* (particularly *abstract expressionism*), *pop* art and postmodernism. New music such as *rock* (based on African-American *blues)*, and later *reggae* and *punk*,[58] became the vehicle for the mass expression of dissatisfaction (such as at the Woodstock festival) and articulated a need for radical social change. Many embraced *psychedelia*'s search for altered states of consciousness[59] or turned to Eastern philosophies and practices like meditation and yoga. Much of the art had a protest element or theme, and much of the protest had artistic elements. As protests spread, they even entered the supposedly neutral arenas of the 'high arts' when in 1969 artists performed a theatrical 'die-in' performance inside the prestigious Museum of Modern Art in New York to protest its connections with the Vietnam War.[60] Black and feminist artists also targeted that institution for its exclusionary policies.[61]

Street theatre was first used widely in the sixties as were theatrical-type actions or 'dissent events' such as the *yippies*' disruption of the Wall Street stock exchange by throwing money from the gallery,[62] and their running a pig for US president.[63] That decade was epitomised by the precursors of the yippies, the *situationists,* a French group ,which brought both art and an element of playfulness to political action,[64] and influenced the Paris 1968 uprising, which was notable for its imaginative graffiti, posters and new political critiques.[65] Both groups revived the 'playfully absurd' elements of Dadaism and surrealism, but with more specific political objectives, such as an end to the Vietnam War. There was, in short, a cultural revolution, with major changes in music, fashion, sexuality, censorship, and more prevalent (but also more criticised) pornography.[66]

A continuing legacy of the sixties and the new social movements they produced is infusion of art and humour into radical political activity. Revolution was no longer seen as purely a serious issue, but something that should also contain important elements of humanity common to all, such as playfulness.

A possible reason for this confluence was the nature of a central protest issue: opposition to the Vietnam War. Being a peace (as well as anti-imperialism) issue meant that using violent protest was hypocritical, if not counterproductive. Nonviolence was thus given a considerable boost[67] and this has continued because many protestors in later movements were radicalised during anti-Vietnam War protests.[68] With a large movement searching for nonviolent methods it was inevitable that the arts were seized upon by many. The increasing importance of television also meant that new and innovative attention-grabbing methods were needed – the arts fulfilled this

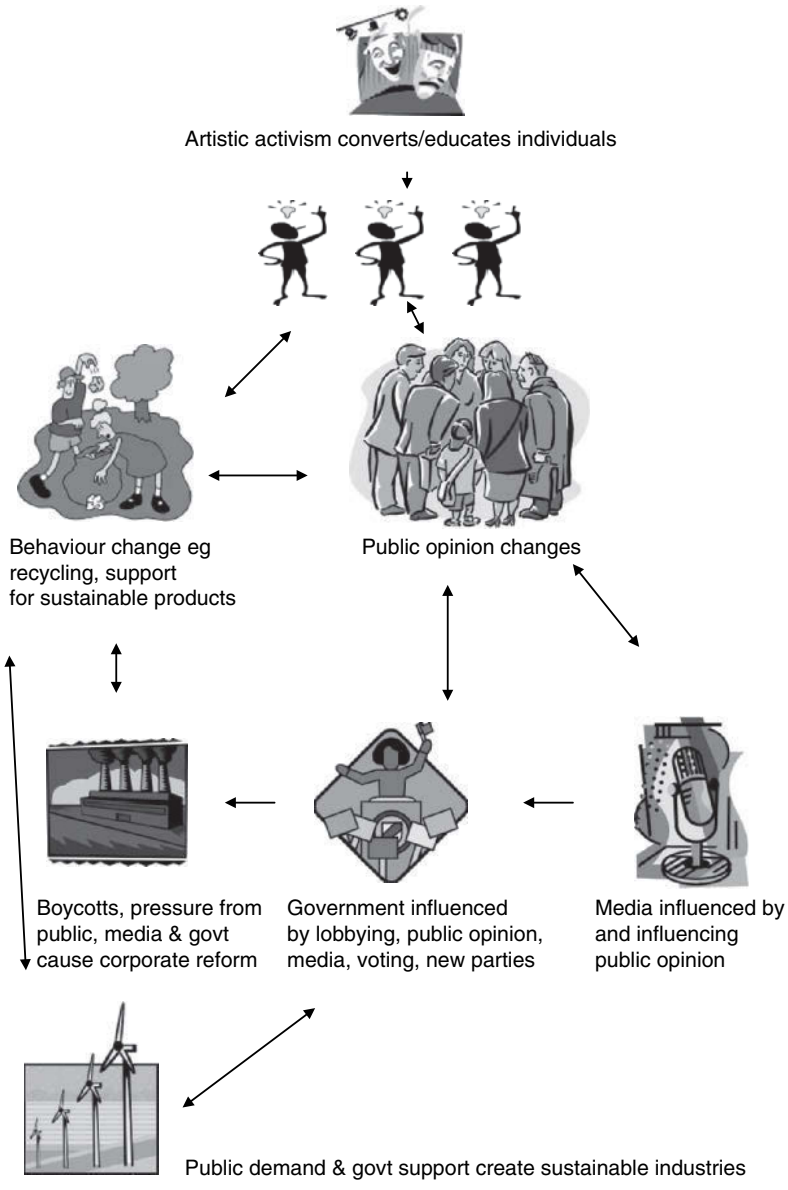

Figure 29 How artistic activism contributes to environmental sustainability

need. Such a trend continued with the next peak of the peace movement when anti-nuclear protest burgeoned in the 1980s, and this spilled into the environment movement when the two movements coalesced.

The latest manifestation of *artistic activism* is 'culture jamming';[69] it sprang from the work of groups such as BUGAUP, which humorously altered billboards to challenge their messages. Later it embraced a host of activities under the broader term of 'media activism', including computer hacking, overloading corporate websites or directing internet searches away from them and onto protest websites.[70] Culture jammers even began their own, highly-professional magazine *Adbusters*, whose publisher Kalle Lasn states that people are increasingly aware that the struggle of the future is not about left or right, but about *culture*.[71]

Perhaps the most telling sign of the power of the arts is the effort that goes into censoring it. In 2003 a poetry reading scheduled for the US White House was cancelled because poets intended to use it as a forum to protest against war, while Picasso's famous anti-war painting 'Guernica' at the United Nations headquarters in New York was covered up prior to US Secretary of State Colin Powell's visit there.[72] This, however, caused international outrage, with peace marchers in Rome carrying a full-sized replica of the painting.[73] Similarly, 2012 attempts by Egypt's military authorities to destroy street art depicting the revolution that deposed Mubarak were met by outraged opposition.[74] Protest art will never be silenced.

* * *

The arts are an important but under-theorised part of nonviolent praxis, contributing to campaigns in a myriad of ways. The rest of this chapter discusses what effects artistic activism has on audiences it is directed at and on those using it.

Artistic activism has an ability to attract attention, efficiently communicate ideas and emotions, and impact effectively on a number of levels. It can engage the mass media, reach wide audiences, educate people about particular issues or philosophies, and convert them to supportive positions (see Figure 29). This conversion of third parties and opponents to the role of supporter enables movements to grow, and withdraws consent from unjust, violent or ecologically unsustainable practices, and those who perpetrate them.

Conversion and Education

There is a close relationship between conversion and education, as education in an issue may lead to conversion and even activism. Educators have noted how using multi-arts in particular significantly aids educational outcomes, assisting in multi-skilling, enhancing the grasp of difficult concepts,

aiding memory retention, extending attention spans, and increasing concentration and enjoyment of learning. In a related vein, conflict resolution practitioners and therapists have found that the arts provide powerful tools to resolve long-standing conflicts and to heal deep traumas, and assist people to develop better communication skills and to release their creative potential. They encourage collaborative exploration, are 'inherently positive and disarming',[75] raise self-esteem and facilitate cooperation and problem-solving.[76] Community development workers also find the arts useful in regenerating communities, with music in particular working 'at the deepest level in the individual and in the community'.[77]

The arts have similarly benefited protest movements, dealing, as they do, with educational processes, and engaging in conflictive, stressful, even traumatic work. The diverse, holistic and grassroots aspects of arts-based activism all facilitate the *instrumental* and *communicative processes* of education. At the *emancipatory* level, a liminal atmosphere and a plethora of art forms impacting holistically in a variety of emotional and intellectual ways can be life-changing to participants, and can trigger the beginnings of deep philosophical change in audiences. As the late Diane Ingram[78] wrote of the Sydney University students who went to Roxby II: 'When they returned, all felt that the week spent there had changed them forever.' [79]

These changes are rarely immediately apparent, and may initially impact largely at a subconscious level. However, if widespread, they could lead to significant social change through a radicalised population. This is difficult to quantify, as it is some time before altered community attitudes manifest obviously as change, especially if this is aimed as much at transforming the nature of power relations as it is about short-term political reform. Research by environmental educator David Curtis, however, which used both qualitative and quantitative methods, indicates that art has considerable benefits for educating people about environmental issues:

> … helping increase understanding and knowledge, aiding in communication and enabling people to be more engaged, provoking changes in individuals, communities or society, affirming beliefs, evoking an emotional response, and providing a spiritual dimension that makes people more connected with the natural environment.[80]

One of the most important uses of the arts is in attracting the attention of the general public and the media, and then communicating to, educating and converting these groups. This is not merely a case of an enlightened clique lecturing to the rest of society: the communication and educational aspects of the arts also impact on fellow protesters.

As Gramsci argued, powerful groups often do not require force to impose their values on the less powerful; rather, the latter come to accept that differences in power and wealth are 'natural' and 'just', and so they consent

to the rule of their 'betters'.[81] Thus, although hegemony affects material and social practices, it works largely at emotional and psychological levels,[82] often involving subtle mind control such as wartime propaganda[83] or media editorial policies that favour corporate interests. Therefore, violence is not needed (indeed, it is counterproductive) to change people's minds so they refuse to accept unjust conditions. Instead, what aids this process of withdrawing their consent is anything that can liberate people from debilitating mindsets such as the paralysis of fear experienced during the 'MAD' doctrines of the Cold War,[84] or the current widespread belief that war, global warming and globalised neo-liberal capitalism are unstoppable. The arts utilise many elements to undermine and subvert conditioned responses, and may occasion significant and deep-seated learning, as well as conversion.

Initially, they help to 'build bridges' with opponents, finding commonalities such as humour or love of music, and initiating dialogue which may lead to conversion. They can convey strong emotion, and couch persuasive arguments in artistic modes, through the enhancement of communication and attracting of attention, and through the creation of an atmosphere conducive to relationship-building and 'emancipatory' learning.

Street theatre, at its best, is moving, informative and subtle, gently persuading audiences. Through it, messages can be imparted in colourful scenes with clever or humorous dialogue, and satirical themes (Figure 30). After performances I've been involved in, police have responded warmly and given valuable feedback. As well as creating conversation, the satire enabled them to hear our message and see us as passionate individuals rather than a sociopathic mob (and provided relief from stressful or boring work). Similarly, the 'Entertainment Division of the Planetary Maintenance Workers Alliance' arrived at Chaelundi during a violent time, but:

> [a]fter three days of our 'therapy' even the forestry workers were laughing and the commanding officer of the Newcastle Police … thanked us for being there. … [S]treet theatre assisted to relieve the tension and make those on all sides of the dispute question their own position and appreciate that of others. … [Another police officer commented] that they had been unable to find such quality of entertainment as we provided in any of the hotels in Grafton.[85]

Theatre is thus a way of finding common ground. As actor Lee Stetson observes:

> The attraction of [theatre] is that everybody is interested in spectacle, everybody is interested in costume and some disguise of oneself to present a larger image in life … It's a human condition and has been since the first story teller put on a feather and danced around the fire.[86]

Figure 30 Environment Minister Peter Garrett 'in bed' with wood-chipping industry

Music is another way of imparting messages in an enjoyable and 'catchy' way. At the Franklin,

> Blue lights flashing in the gathering dusk, it was a scene straight from Clockwork Orange, when three [policemen] got out of the car and, having been assured that there would be no photos, joined in the dancing which had just begun. The motley band of guitarists, violinist, flautist, banjo and tin whistle players set to, and for half an hour, a crazy, almost surreal scene of pure unforced hilarity ensued. But how could these boots fail to mince to pulp so many bare feet?[87]

One NSW policeman told me that a forest blockade had been an enjoyable action for him to police, adding: 'But I couldn't get that damned song out of my head for weeks!' Similarly, a WA policewoman remembered a song from a protest, and proceeded to sing it in the station where we were. Clearly,

Figure 31 *Riff Raff Radical Marching Band* at Newcastle port blockade, March 2011

Figure 32 Chaelundi blockaders clap to music of a 'bush band' (guitar, tea-chest bass, lager-phone), after performance by Benny Zable (near banner)

Figure 33 Brass band at 2010 Climate Camp, marching on coal-fired power station

these songs entered their psyches despite their resistance, and resonated deeply there for a significant period. In addition to any impact the lyrics made on them, they were affected through the art form of music long after the protest ended by the collective spirit of the protesters and the mood of their songs – joyful, sad, angry, brave and/or determined (Figures 31–3).

Attempts to convert police are important because such conversions can be a pivotal point in nonviolent campaigns, for example in the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic, when police and the army largely ignored the order to disperse protesters.[88]

Art's Holism Aids Conversion

Art also helps create diverse, holistic protests, wherein the whole range of human expression – such as the Franklin's music, the theatre at Roxby, CANC's fire-twirling, and the rapping at Jabiluka – became available as media for dissent, not just a limited range such as making speeches. By using the arts, activists can impact on audiences at a greater number of levels, emotional and physical as well as intellectual, whereas activities such as speech-making and pamphleteering, while valid, do not utilise so many levels. The arts make more use of nonverbal communication, which is 'an extraordinarily powerful form of communication'[89] and one which is more likely to be believed than verbal communication.[90] Much of this nonverbal communication is universal[91] and thus transcends language barriers. June

Boyce-Tillman, who uses music to assist conflict resolution, claims that whereas words separate and classify, music brings together, and both poles are needed for the balance which has been lacking since music became marginalised and trivialised, its healing powers no longer recognised.[92] As Earth First! Musician, Roger Featherstone, says:

> You're never going to reach someone completely through intellect. You can speak to somebody until you're blue in the face and you're not going to get anywhere if there's not something to steer their heart.[93]

Art's emotive and visual content is also important in creating events that are memorable. Research by the Hamburg-based Gewis Institute indicates that most television viewers completely forget what they have seen on the news the previous evening, with the news items best remembered being those with an emotional content or which were accompanied by strong pictures.[94] As one protester commented to me, you often forget what the speeches were about, but some protest scenes are so extraordinary and spectacular you never forget them.[95] Social commentator Ralston Saul opines:

> We all know the uncontrollable, liberating or inspiring effects music can have on us. As can images in a more direct way. These are effects that language can only very rarely accomplish, not higher or lower arts, but different balances, different functions.[96]

The arts used thus is part of what Peavey describes as *heart politics*, where politics is not viewed dualistically as an intellectual exercise divorced from emotional life; rather the two are intimately connected – and 'being emotional' is a normal state of affairs rather than an insinuation of irrationality.[97]

Even on the intellectual level, arts can provoke different types of thought and responses. Arts can engage areas of the brain which think in symbols or archetypes rather than words, or holistically rather than linearly, or intuitively rather than rationally, employing 'right brain' rather than 'left brain' mental activity.[98] The arts can thus complement 'left brain' activities such as speech-making, increasing the likelihood of conversion.

Creating Liminal Atmospheres

'Liminal' is a term derived by anthropologist Victor Turner to describe times when the usual norms and roles in social life are momentarily suspended, and replaced with an overwhelming – even sacred – sense of community or collective camaraderie.[99] Such times are characterised by playfulness, experimentation, diversity, freedom, ambiguity and lessened obedience to authority: behaviour out of the ordinary is allowed to occur. As Margaret Somerville experienced at the 1983 Pine Gap protest, there is 'fructile chaos,

a fertile nothingness, a storehouse of possibilities … a striving after new forms and structures'.[100]

The creation of a liminal atmosphere is a key function of the arts, as such an atmosphere is extremely conducive to conversion. In the Australian blockades discussed earlier, music, theatre, dance, poetry, sculpture, fire-stick twirling and juggling entertained crowds of police, workers and protesters, usually creating events that were celebratory rather than threatening. In tandem, a plethora of artistic actions created a carnival atmosphere which *enthralled* and *included* audiences, whereas crowds with minimal or violent art (such as racist songs) can be frightening and alienating.[101]

Many protesters have felt that their involvement in musical, flamboyant demonstrations were extremely significant moments in their lives, often changing them forever.[102] Those observing or policing the action are also liable to be affected, both by the emotions and spectacle of the moment, and by the arguments of those responsible for the spectacle. The usual barriers to social intercourse have been broken down and individuals with widely differing world-views are able to converse.

Attracting Media Attention

For a movement to grow and impart its ethos widely and quickly, an important strategy is to engage with the mass media. There are constant problems of editorial bias and ignorant or shoddy journalism.[103] Nevertheless, the mass media has a wide audience and great influence, and can be a valuable ally in a campaign. Many activists plan artistic or theatrical protests to achieve maximum media attention. The size of a rally can be one factor in getting attention. However, a small but sensational action can be just as effective, as rallies are now relatively commonplace and are not always considered newsworthy.[104] The most likely to be effective is a large action which is also creative, humorous and imaginative. Photographs in such coverage can greatly increase the newspaper space devoted to the action; strong visual images also increase television coverage.

At the Franklin, protest actions often involved an element of theatricality in order to attract media attention:

> With the backdrop of river and ocean, police blue and forest green, gaudy boat and technicolour bulldozer, one has an exceptional setting for theatre. Theatre of the environment *uses* the vulture of the media (usually a tool of the establishment) to present the story; we dangle and perform, often in precarious circumstances, making ourselves and our act irresistible to the press. It is a play, an irreverent game, yet at the same time it provides a vital conduit for messages otherwise unable to be transmitted into a monopolistic realm. Lacking financial resources, we penetrate this powerful field as if by magic and in doing so create an alchemy for change.[105]

Theatrical protests suits the mass media's insatiable desire for novelty and entertainment; they are 'historically coherent, intriguing and politically powerful … [with] an incalculable impact on social movements, social change and political culture'.[106] In marked contrast to violent protests, much of this attention is positive. This creation of a spectacle rather than an angry mob helps the process of conversion. The more spectacular the action, the more widespread it is broadcast by the media, as different news agencies seek newsworthy items. This process garners support from opponents and neutral parties, and also inspires other activists to be similarly outspoken and creative.

Some protesters complain that many actions are organised primarily for television cameras.[107] Such an attitude can lead to conservatism of tactics, as organisers endlessly weigh up the potential of any action to be viewed badly by the media.[108] However, the symbolism of active resistance was useful in attracting media attention during the forest blockades. Despite fears that such actions would alienate onlookers, burials, lock-ons and tripod occupations created powerful and dramatic images for the media, imbuing protesters' actions with connotations of audacity and determination (Figure 34). Thus, moves towards effective physical blockading and away from the previous

Figure 34 Dramatic banner hang for Tasmanian forests, at Australian Parliament House, Canberra

emphasis on symbolic acts aimed at conversion still managed to achieve publicity, and in fact increased this: 'Ironically, it was this feature of NEFA's blockades that sustained media interest the most.'[109]

Even if ignored by the media, flamboyant or colourful actions impact *directly* on onlookers, possibly leading to conversions. Although the number of these observers is smaller, they may be more affected by an interesting performance/action, and dialogue with the performers, than someone who views it through the biases of the mass media.

Communicating Messages

Once an audience's attention has been gained, art forms can communicate the movement's messages and ideas, as they can encapsulate complex information and communicate it in a simple way.[110] This is an important advantage over, for example, purely text-based communication, as few people in this age of 'information overload' have time to read and assimilate long tracts involving complex issues.[111]

Similarly, traditional news sources and modes are losing their primacy. Research shows that young people in the United States, bored and disillusioned by mainstream media, are increasingly getting information and formulating their political views from satirical shows and fake news comedy.[112] Just as a picture supposedly paints a thousand words, so too can art forms such as satire or cartoons convey a complex argument, and – just as importantly – its emotional content, in a popular and easily digestible form. As postmodern feminist author Jeanette Winterson says: 'I know of no better communicator than art. No better means of saying so precisely those things which need so urgently to be said'.[113]

Banners can assist in this respect, as protests are often filmed by the media without many (or any) people being interviewed as to their grievances. Banners are thus vital in imparting messages and indicating the plethora of groups involved (as well as making crowds look bigger).

Arts Exposure of Repression and Hidden Agendas

As noted earlier, through *hegemony,* states and their institutions try to maintain popular consent for their authority through a variety of processes that disguise their position of dominance.[114] Art can play an important role in exposing these covert processes, and promoting open, factual debate. It can do this in a fashion more accessible to the public than academic analyses – such as 'critical discourse analysis'[115] – which employ difficult terminology and concepts, and thus speak only to the initiated. Art, however, with its simple form and complex content, employs what art critic Martin Heidegger has described as the 'creative preserving of truth'.[116] Heidegger, like the Marxist Ernst Fischer, believes there is something in the creation of art

which 'intervenes and transfers it into a higher spiritual realm, where truth is beauty and beauty is truth'.[117] Through the arts, poet activists such as Kevin Gilbert[118] and Oodgeroo Noonuccal have employed both truth and beauty to challenge the silence on issues such as the *stolen generations*, while Linda Jaivin (author of novels and the play 'Seeking Djira') and Arnold Zable[119] have exposed the fallacies surrounding the long-term incarceration of asylum seekers.

At Jabiluka, street theatre, placards and independent journalism brought into sharp contrast the oppressive treatment of activists by the state apparatus allied with the mine's owners, compared with the nonviolence (for the most part) of the activists. Traditional owner Jacqui Katona and others carried placards designed like 'Wanted posters', with the wanted criminal being Robert Hill, then Minister for the Environment (although colloquially known as 'Minister *against* the Environment'!). Such actions exposed the inconsistencies of the state's tolerance of massive long-term violence towards the Mirrar people and the environment (and potential violence through possible creation of nuclear weapons) created by the mine. At the same time, minor acts of dissent, such as writing chalk slogans on a footpath, were criminalised. By exposing such inconsistencies, these artistic acts can help reduce in the public's mind the legitimacy of the mine and the state's support of it. Perceived persecution of such activists can create public sympathy and increased support for the campaign.

By seeking to reveal the truth about issues, these artist/activists are employing a version of Gandhi's *satyagraha* or 'truth force', as part of a dialogue aimed at reaching consensus, or finding the truth together. They can say the unsayable, because artists, like court jesters, have traditionally been given greater licence to speak more frankly than others. As with the aphorism 'many a true word spake in jest', artists can use comedy to 'get away with' speaking unpalatable truths. They can even distort the truth, blowing it into ridiculous misrepresentation as satire, in order to maintain an overall truth or redress an imbalance created by powerful groups promulgating furphies (Figure 35). As one of the 20th century's greatest satirists, George Orwell, said:

> Every joke is a tiny revolution … [W]hatever destroys dignity and brings down the mighty from their seats, preferably with a bump, is funny. And the bigger they fall, the bigger the joke.[120]

Inclusive, Grassroots Art in the Wider Campaign

Direct action is often accompanied by cultural activity in the wider community. This is an example of inclusivity, where anyone can help the campaign in whatever capacity they feel comfortable, and where ideally there is no hierarchy putting those chaining themselves to bulldozers above

Figure 35 Clever alteration of Forests NSW sign

people organising art exhibitions. For the Franklin River campaign, the band *Redgum* toured, and *Goanna* recorded a song. A number of exhibitions were organised for the Jabiluka campaign, including in Darwin and Wagga Wagga. Concerts and 'Brackets and Jams' nights (open microphone performance evenings) contributed to raising awareness and fund-raising, and they were able to reach hitherto unaffected members of the community, disseminate information, and acquire recruits for blockades. During the mingling at such grassroots events and away from the clashes of blockades, people can be informed on a one-to-one basis by activists. This contrasts with seeing protestors as an (often frightening or even violent) mob, which is a typical portrayal by the mass media. Thus such cultural events were at least as effective at conversion as direct actions, and perhaps more so.

A related use of the arts is by those who may be inspired by a campaign, but not have any official part in it, or even see themselves as part of any movement. These individual or artistic groups all contribute to social change by expressing challenges to the dominant paradigms and affecting the cultural and intellectual bases of society. These artistic actions are just as valid as those 'on the front-line'; indeed, it may take more bravery for an individual artist to express an unpopular opinion, than to march as part of

a large group of like-minded protestors. Furthermore, imparting a message or *zeitgeist* from a variety of sources contributes to its acceptance by the community, and is an example of decentralised grassroots activism. These are the:

> artists, essayists, poets, musicians and actors whom radical environmentalists look to for insight, support, and humor, whose works reflect the fear and hope embodied in the movement.[121]

Cartoonists have a profound influence on the public psyche, since they are allocated a large and prominent space in popular newspapers, and their analysis is often clever, succinct, humorous, and unorthodox. They have a licence to be radical within conservative publications, to express counter-cultural or controversial views, and thus shift public opinion. As *Sydney Morning Herald* cartoonist Alan Moir comments, cartoonists have more influence than many politicians, and their career often lasts longer.[122] These cartoonists often appear to be inspired by and sympathetic to protest events, such as Michael Leunig's take on the nude women's protest in Byron Bay, entitled 'Nude Ducks for Peace'. Such art raises the profile of an issue, and may draw people to campaigns. It can be seen that there is a dynamic two-way process occurring, as direct actions influence art, and art inspires more actions. Some artists use their fame to aid movements, such as George Clooney's Sudanese human rights protest arrest in March 2012, Bob Geldof's *Live Aid* concerts, and Angelina Jolie's and Bono's global justice work.[123]

Recording and Reporting: Independent Media

An important use of these recordings is when they are sent to mass media outlets. Video footage by activists is regularly used by mainstream news outlets, such as images of blockaders being assaulted by loggers in the south-east forests of NSW[124] or the activists who occupied Egypt's Tahrir Square in 2011.

However, there are often significant biases against protests by the mass media. Little has changed since Roxby blockaders argued that political activism is often denied legitimacy 'by representing the protagonists as a bunch of "radical ratbags", "hooligans", "vandals", etc'.[125] Similarly, AIDEX protesters were portrayed as deviant, irresponsible and belonging to marginal subcultures, and the protest's effectiveness was downplayed. Images and footage of police hitting, kicking and throwing protesters were:

> either framed neutrally in the context of dealing with infringements of the law or featured a voiceover or caption inferring that police were playing a reactive role. A number of media reports featured introductions

> and voiceovers stating 'protesters clashed violently with police', or words to that effect, thereby assigning responsibility to demonstrators for the [police violence].[126]

Protests are regularly described through the 'primary metaphorical resources [of] military metaphors and… violent natural events', with the audience being implicitly invited to identify with the police and other state and corporate representatives as fellow rational actors. Protest is seen as '"naturally violent"', deviant and irrational, even when actual violence has not occurred.[127]

These criticisms of the mass media (and its sexism[128]) highlight an ongoing dilemma. How much effort should activists expend on trying to achieve favourable attention from the mass media? Ultimately the aims of the two groups are fundamentally opposed, with activists seeking justice, sustainability and peace, while commercial media is a voice for the corporate world and its insatiable drive for profits.

Artistic and disciplined nonviolence can be effective in gaining more favourable coverage while, on a more grassroots level, converting audiences directly rather than through the media can also help the movement grow slowly. Complementing these is the growing field of 'peace journalism', exemplified by Steve Sharp's *Journalism and Conflict in Indonesia: From Reporting Violence to Promoting Peace*.[129]

A third strategy is for a movement to develop its own independent media. This has been useful for the 'alternative' or intentional communities in gaining acceptance by the wider community.[130] It is also increasingly used by movements, particularly since the development of the internet, highly-portable and relatively-cheap technical equipment such as digital video cameras and mini-disc audio recorders, and computer editing programmes. In stark contrast with the Franklin and Roxby campaigns, a plethora of films was made about the Jabiluka struggle, two of which featured on SBS television. The rise of community radio and television, alternative newspapers such as *Green Left Weekly* and the *Byron Echo*, and more recently websites and emails, have given communities even greater opportunities to disseminate information and art.[131] Protests can now be streamed live to international audiences.

Musician Paul Kelly tells of being deeply disturbed by Australia's mandatory detention of asylum seekers. The detention centres are oppressive, traumatising prisons,[132] usually in inhospitable locations hidden far from the public, such as at Woomera in remote South Australia, not far from where the British had secretly tested nuclear bombs at Maralinga. While a thousand-strong protest was occurring at Woomera, at which forty detainees escaped, Kelly came up with the song 'Emotional' while he had no pen or paper. He texted the lyrics to his partner. Then, wanting to get the song out quickly to support the protest, he recorded the song – just piano and

vocals – in an afternoon and within a week had the song up on a website for people to download for free:

> Here was a song, its subject – exile – as old as prostitution, in lyrics written on a mobile phone, and its music on one of the greatest inventions of the eighteenth century, which was being released simultaneously on an unlimited number of computers all around the world. Interesting times.[133]

Further Benefits of the Arts

This chapter so far has documented how the arts are an important tool of conversion, as activists attempt to proselytise to audiences *outside* the movement. The following section details further benefits of the arts to nonviolence praxis. These benefits are summarised here, under three headings: holistic benefits, movement development and sustainability, and tactical benefits.

Holistic benefits include the balancing of protest with positive, creative actions, and the maintenance of nonviolence even under duress, so that a campaign's means remain compatible with its ends. These benefits relate to the conversionary *extra-movement* benefits discussed above, because well-balanced nonviolent protests are more likely to lead to conversions than simplistic or violent ones. These benefits also assist *within* the movement, since they contribute to the safety and morale of the activists. The second type of benefits of the arts is primarily felt *within* the movement, providing

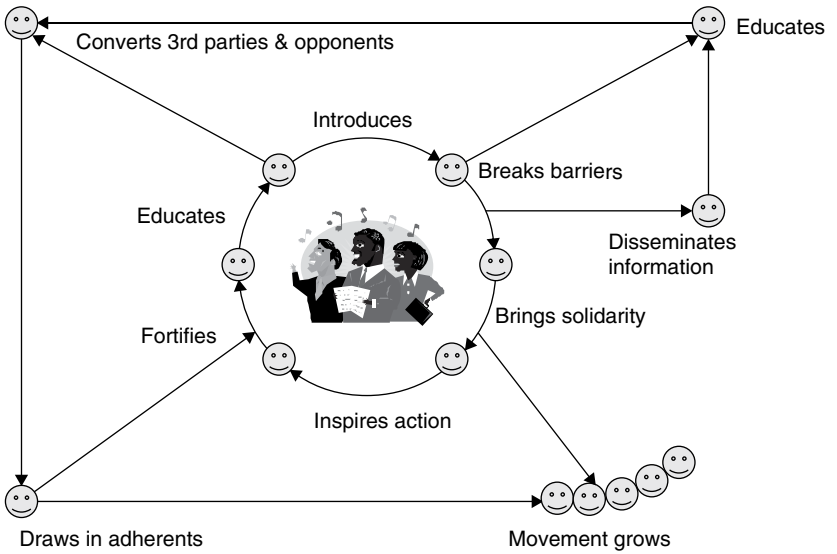

Figure 36 How the arts work within and outside a movement

tools of empowerment, inspiring action, fortifying and bonding activists, and helping them build strong, sustainable movements (Figure 36). The third benefit of the arts is tactical, in that they assist civil disobedience to be more effective in achieving specific short-term objectives, such as blockading a mining or logging operation.

The boundaries of these categories are not particularly rigid. There is certain overlap, for example, where the inhibition of violence assists tactical objectives as well as holistic ones. Often, art forms perform multiple roles simultaneously, such as when colourful banners are placed on physical barriers blockading roads, to warn vehicles, impart messages, and intimate that the blockade is a nonviolent community action rather than an aggressive act.

Holistic Benefits

Constructive Programme

Making artworks can be the 'flipside' of protest, balancing negativity with a positive element as activists work creatively and productively as well as being critical. This accords with Gandhi's advocacy of a constructive programme, where activists try to create through positive action a model alternative society, as well as protest against problems in the mainstream one. Ingredients such as *art* and *fun* help create alternate movements that people actually want to join. As a sticker proclaimed about the 1994 Fraser Island 'Great Walk' for conservation and social justice: 'Happy therefore successful'.

Having a well-balanced, enjoyable movement also aids its sustainability:

> [The Battle of Seattle] included art, dance, celebration, song, ritual, and magic. It was more than a protest; it was the uprising of a vision of true abundance, a celebration of life and creativity and connectedness, which remained joyful in the face of brutality and brought alive the creative forces that can truly counter those of injustice and control.[134]

Prevention of Violence

The arts play another extremely valuable role in ensuring adherence to nonviolent principles: *art forms used in Australian protests have repeatedly diffused tensions and prevented violence*. I saw a clear example of this at Roxby, when a line of tense police was confronted by a line of angry protestors. In a situation spiralling towards violence, a Maori activist, Winniatta, calmly strolled down the space between the lines, playing his guitar and singing. The lines moved apart, confused by this incongruous action. Then an acrobat unexpectedly flung himself down the space in a spectacular series of somersaults, further disrupting the confrontation. The bravery, unorthodoxy and breathtaking skill of those actions successfully defused the tension and no violence ensued that day. This is an extremely important function of protest arts.

Perhaps the most valuable art form for reducing violence is music. It can soothe frazzled nerves, release tension, and even avert riots. It often provides a channel for anger and nervous energy, so that rather than a group degenerating into a shouting match with opponents, they can sing about their concerns, anger and frustration, as happened at the 1983 ALP conference. Music can also be introduced to calm an angry crowd, as at a 2002 rally by Kooris and supporters over police brutality at Armidale Police Station, where a woman Elder began a soothing song which effectively prevented a riot. Street theatre and singing by the group Art and Revolution helped reduce police (and other) violence in the Battle of Seattle.[135]

The videoing, still photography and audio recording that activists often use to record protests also influences it. In my experience, the very presence of photographers can reduce violence, because most people are reluctant to be depicted acting brutally. Other art forms can also be useful in channelling nervous tension. A woman who carried the John Howard puppet in Armidale's 2003 peace march commented that it helped quell her nervousness by giving her a focus and something to do with her hands.[136]

Movement Development and Sustainability

Inspiring, Fortifying, Encouraging Activists

In modern Western society, many people feel helpless and disempowered for a number of reasons, such as its tremendous pace of change.[137] Art forms such as music, therefore, have another important role to play in inspiring people to overcome their fears and take action.[138] Music can also encourage and fortify at moments requiring courage, such as prior to acts of civil disobedience. The mass dancing to *Midnight Oil* music at Roxby led to an effective blockade of the mine. Some felt so impassioned we refused to leave and were arrested, thereby slowing work and gaining media coverage.

Music has also been prominently used by jailed activists, fortifying people to endure the ordeal of jail. It facilitated communication between women's and men's sections, and between arrestees and supporters, and inspired some to refuse bail and remain in jail.

Activists usually prefer protests that have music, with one woman commenting that an Armidale rally was 'made by the music', and that it would have ended much earlier without it. This suggests that music can provide a focal point for a protest, diverting attention away from other supporters who may be feeling self-conscious for displaying dissent in a public space. In the case of street theatre, activists can use masks, make-up and costume to help them find the courage to speak out in hostile settings, with large crowds and many police and cameras.

Through art, one can also see tangible results of one's work, for example, banners, sculpture, puppets or paintings (Figures 37–8). This can be

Figure 37 'Vive La Revolution', collage featuring peace blockade in Brisbane, c.1988, and TWS banner-drop c.1993, by the author

empowering when other work such as initiating and sending off petitions, writing articles and submissions and doing radio shows often seems to disappear into a black hole – there is little feedback, economic reward or recognition, and one's effectiveness is uncertain. This aspect of the arts can encourage activists to maintain the struggle during difficult periods. It also produces resources which can be used repeatedly.

Group Dynamics

Art forms can be invaluable in introducing activists to each other – 'breaking the ice'– and helping them to bond and build solidarity and trust. Music at the Franklin blockade filled this role admirably, as did singing at the Lakeside protest, and the creation of the puppet show at Jabiluka. Arts can

Figure 38 '100% Proof', mixed media artwork about the rising oceans, by the author (private collection)

also help deal with group dynamics issues such as sexism, homophobia or passive smoking, as on the Fraser Island 'Great Walk', where theatre and poetry performances encouraged participants to examine their racial, sexual and gender politics, and smoking habits. These uses of the arts help build a sustainable movement by emphasising the importance of respectful, egalitarian processes and strong, well-bonded affinity groups.

Networking, Building Movements

Numerous art forms help protestors identify sympathisers, thereby creating large informal networks. Such arts include music, architecture, badges, bumper stickers and fashion – the latter including clothing, hairstyles, tattoos and body-piercings. Such new networks have become recognised as significant subcultures. Examples include the 'hippies' who made dramatic adjustments to their lives and created parallel institutions like intentional communities,[139] and the later 'ferals' – 'a subculture that fed an entire regional movement of social and cultural renewal'.[140] In a cyclic process, from these communities have arisen many protests, such as Mt Nardi and Chaelundi.

The use of symbols on these stickers, banners and badges is important in this regard, as these are often readily identifiable symbols with powerful connotations. The green triangle with 'No Dams' that was used in the

Franklin campaign became so identified with success that it is now recycled repeatedly, such as in the current 'Lock the Gates' movement against coal seam gas.

Inclusivity

Live music is one of the most inclusive of the arts in that at its simplest it requires nothing more than the human voice or hands to clap. Since, as well as music, there is a variety of art forms available, activists have a diverse range of activities in which they can engage, employing creativity, teamwork and different skills. They may engage in different activities at different levels of intensity – from starring roles to making banners and *papier maché* puppets – and still be part of the protest, even from a young age (Figure 39). This provides a range of options for potential activists, who might be frightened off if they see 'locking-on' or making speeches as the only options. Such inclusivity helps the movement to grow in size:

> The arts can aid engagement and participation by a broad cross-section of the community, strengthen a community's abilities to promote inclusion, and provide powerful vehicles for community mobilisation, empowerment, and information transfer.[141]

Avoiding Burnout

A number of objections to Gandhi's advocacy of self-suffering have been raised, particularly by feminists. Nevertheless, suffering has been part of many blockades, arrests and court-cases. Blockaders have often made sacrifices, losing property, vehicles, licences, money, social security, and employment. This is 'partly strategic – it is difficult to punish someone who has nothing – but it is also suffering'.[142]

Many activists have suffered from physical and mental health problems, with one activist who played a full-time[143] but unpaid role in coordinating Timbarra anti-gold mine actions telling me he had turned to heavy substance abuse in Sydney afterwards, as he struggled to recover from the stress. This stress-related 'burnout' causes the movement to lose valuable personnel.[144] It is therefore important to recognise the role that the arts can play in preventing unnecessary suffering and burnout. We have seen above that the arts bring both balance and diversity to activism, providing a wide variety of avenues through which to protest, self-express and release emotional tension. This balance and diversity means that there are opportunities for activists to shift roles rather than working only in one area, moving for example from highly stressful organisational roles to more relaxing – even therapeutic – work such as puppet-making, drumming or banner-painting.

Figure 39 Girl in whale-suit, anti-whaling day, 5 November 2010, Japanese Consulate, Sydney

Recording Protests

The recordings of protests mentioned earlier in the context of media, are also used for a variety of other purposes, such as grassroots information-sharing, movement learning, historical purposes, academic research, and for personal records, healing and empowerment. Some writings are fictionalised into novels as Derek Hansen did with *Blockade*[145] or I did with *Horizontal Lightning* about the Penan rainforest blockades.[146] Others are turned into radio plays, poems, cartoons, or songs such as Penelope Swales' 'Black Carrie' – about a NEFA activist, and Judy Small's 'Women of Greenham Common'.

Recently, the walls of Cairo, Damascus and Tripoli have been covered in murals commemorating the uprisings, and local art scenes have flourished. As authorities try to whitewash walls and corporations such as Coca-Cola use street art to rebrand themselves as revolutionary, artists are returning to the streets to reclaim them.[147]

Recording actions can also be useful in court-cases. At the court-case for my arrest at Jabiluka, video footage (taken by police!) clearly shows a gate being opened by police rather than torn down by protestors as a policeman had alleged. This footage showed that that policeman was an unreliable witness, and it successfully cast doubt upon the prosecution's case.

Such footage can also be useful in nonviolence training, by showing what would-be protestors may face. This enables them to better prepare in order to remain nonviolent under the most extreme of circumstances. It can also radicalise audiences by showing them that the violence they have observed on the mass media may be caused by the police and not the protesters.

Tactical Benefits

There are *tactical* advantages to the creation of a liminal atmosphere, because, with unusual behaviour condoned at such times, civil disobedience actions such as blockading a road are liable to succeed for longer before the authorities take action to stop them. *Therefore, good-humoured chaos is often deliberately engineered to further tactical objectives.*

Forest blockaders often occupied logging roads not with passive sit-ins but with vigorous games of frisbee, football and cricket (see Figure 40). These created some common ground with the (largely male and working class) opponents, and were less strange or threatening than a 'formal' protest. With their playful, physical element, they relaxed blockaders but were also an assertion of fearlessness and our right to be in public forests. It was activist theatre – positing community authority rather than coming from a position of fear and powerlessness.[148]

At Roxby, the arts also clothed disruptive acts in less-threatening guises:

> A stylized theatre developed between police, protesters and workers. Painted demonstrators gathered at the gates at shift change and made human pyramids in the hope of jumping the fence, but they were dispersed by police. The Sleepy Lizard affinity group … bound themselves together as one lizard unit and flopped at the most inauspicious times under the wheels of the shift bus or police vehicles … Fifty [arrestees] were women who bound themselves together with strips of material in a passive protest, symbolic of the interconnectedness of life.[149]

Art creates dilemmas for police, as they are more reluctant to disturb a popular artistic performance than a traditional rally. Police are less likely to arrest a clown than an angry demonstrator, even if they are both 'trespassing', because the costume and performance reduces the activist's threat. Such activists seem to float through lines of police as if invisible, while others are being hauled off to custody. As Chaelundi performer Jeremy Bradley notes, 'We were outrageous and confrontational but were never arrested.'[150] If they *are* arrested, public sympathies may rest with the performer, or at least remain neutral and questioning rather than automatically supportive of the police.

Thus the arts (and their associated status) are useful in adding to the confusion experienced by authorities,[151] and in diverting police attention away from some activists. This has tactical advantages in allowing the activists to

Figure 40 A cricket game occupies the road during a south-east NSW blockade against wood-chipping

move to areas of the blockade where they are most needed, and to be part of a blockade for longer before they are arrested. Magnified by many such activists, these tactical benefits are considerable, advancing the short-term strategic objectives of the blockade.

Multiple Foci

Creating multiple foci of attention through the arts can also be a tactical tool of nonviolence. Having a single focus at a blockade, such as a mob shaking a gate, is concentrated, confrontational and easy for police and army personnel to control. Multiple foci – for example, clusters of musicians, street theatre, sculpture and lock-ons – decentralises the action, making it less confrontational as well as harder to control. However, such diversification of tactics also makes the protest more complex, and thus harder for the mass media – inclined to simplification – to report. Therefore, we can see again the importance of writing and recording for mainstream media, and creating new media outlets.

* * *

The use of the arts by activists is a widespread and effective tool of nonviolence and social change. Many different art forms are used, and they

have various and often multiple functions, aiding conversion, holism, movement development and sustainability, and tactical objectives. Artistic activism creates innovative protests that engage audiences and attract media attention through characteristics such as novelty, creativity and humour. It has an ability to aid efficient and effective communication, to impact holistically on a number of levels, to educate, persuade, and, ultimately, to convert. These benefits, along with the ability of art forms such as music to prevent violence, inspire, fortify, bond, include and encourage activists, and otherwise aid their group dynamics, enables movements to spread widely and rapidly, and erodes the numbers and power of opponents. Journalistic activism, using art forms such as film-making and writing, further spreads the ideas, sounds, images, ideals and emotions of protesters to wide audiences via the mass media and flourishing independent media. New communication and recording technologies enable campaigners to promulgate and better control their media image, while the internet aids them to post their own stories, films and images on websites, social media and via emails as alternatives to the corporate media.

Physicist and Greens politician Fritjof Capra has observed that capitalism's overemphasis on rational, masculine attitudes and values, is being challenged by a more holistic, *cultural* transformation:

> … leading to the emergence of a new vision of reality that will require a fundamental change in our thoughts, perceptions and values.[152]

Although artistic activism is seldom acknowledged as important, it is 'at the root of democratic advance, social movement mobilisation and theoretical renewal'.[153]

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7
Creating Campaigns and Constructive Programmes

This chapter looks at creating change from below – by ordinary people – the nonviolent grassroots approach. It does not discount the great change that can occur from above, and ideally the two types of action should occur together. But faith in the 'top-down' approach only is disempowering. Often it is passing the buck onto some-one else, an attitude that goes to the very top. We need to take back our power from governments and corporations – idea power, economic power, physical power and political power. The chapter begins by looking at how to create a nonviolent campaign, before moving on to a 'constructive programme' for combating global warming.

Although much of the activism described earlier has been *ad hoc*, spontaneous and poorly–planned, there have also been core groups of activists at the centre of many campaigns. The best groups had a clear, holistic philosophy, long-term and short-term aims, and realistic strategies for achieving them. They engaged in research and analysis of the issue, and had a clear organisational structure (preferably non-hierarchical and transparent), egalitarian decision-making, and good communication systems. Ideally, they had a strong commitment to nonviolence, ensuring that participants were well-trained and disciplined. They engaged in a broad range of tactics aimed at different levels of society. They varied concentrated and dispersed types of action to avoid repression. Humour, creativity and the arts were an important part of the campaign, balancing resistance and protest with celebration of life.

Research, Analysis and Strategising

Thorough research is essential for any campaign, and deep analysis is necessary to get at the root cause of an issue. Using consent theory, what are the pillars of support for your opponent and what are their weaknesses? How can you capitalise on them? Who are potential supporters of the campaign, and how can you grow your movement? Developing the aims of the campaign is also important, as some may want just a simple reform

whilst others in the group are after larger, long-term solutions (revolutionary nonviolence).

Even if you choose the latter, it's worthwhile setting short-term goals so you have something to celebrate and a measure of your effectiveness. Aiming for world peace is admirable but can lead to burnout and disillusionment when you don't appear to be getting anywhere. Aiming for a local boycott of shares in military-related companies is much more achievable, and can lead to bigger things. All the same, even if your group's aims are thwarted (such as attempting to close a military base), try to see the positives your campaign has achieved. You may have educated yourselves in a number of different ways (information, group processes, social change mechanisms), inspired others, established good friendships and networks, set up local precedents and police protocols for nonviolent action, and laid the groundwork for a later wave of activism to succeed.

It's important to look for solutions, not just problems, to look at the big picture, and to remember the human element. For example, if you want to close a coal mine, what alternative employment could be created? How should this be funded? You shouldn't confine yourself to looking to governments only but talk with business too – for the most part, they have more money than governments.[1] This is not necessarily 'selling out', but being flexible and open-minded rather than dogmatic. Insurance companies, for example, are a big exception to the business community's complacency about global warming, because paying for increasing natural disasters is threatening their survival. Disasters such as the New Zealand earthquakes, Thai floods, and Japanese tsunami cost the world economy about $350 billion in 2011.[2]

There are convincing arguments from the Left that nothing short of the end of capitalism will solve our environmental crises,[3] but truly-free enterprise has many benefits. Dealing with business (particularly small locally-accountable businesses) and conservative parts of society (especially the anti-bureaucratic elements) can be very productive. In Australia, alliances against inappropriate, poorly-regulated coal seam gas development on rural land is finally bringing together traditional enemies – farmers and conservationists – people who theoretically have much in common: caring for their country. If we're to get a sustainable society off the ground, we'll need both wings to fly.

The Philosophy of Action

One question which often arises is whether insider or outsider activism is better. Should we work from within the system (as politicians, lawyers, local government employees) to change the system? Or does that tend to corrupt people and make them conservative? Is it better to stay as an independent outsider group, holding rallies, making media statements and 'locking-on'.

Should we appeal to elites to bring in progressive legislation or focus on grassroots education and actions?

Generally, movements benefit from having a wide range of groups, using a variety of tactics. As Helen Woods from Earth First! argues:

> So what if Sierra Club [US conservation group] feels like doing the courtyard scene! *Let them do it!* … That's such an important avenue. Why are we at each other's throats just because our ways are different and our means are different? We all have the same goal – to save our Mother.[4]

It's also possible to take a middle path between revolutionary and reformist nonviolence:

> Like most activists, ecofeminists find themselves becoming systems opponents *and* systems managers. That is, they are critical of government and industry while still engaging with these structures for vital interim and short-term solutions: such as demanding wilderness reserves, law reform and affirmative action, rape crisis centres, and animal shelters.[5]

French activist Jean-Marie Muller too argues for some engagement with governments, such as when attempting to replace traditional modes of defence:

> Negotiations won't bring overnight abolition of the armed forces, unilateral disarmament and the choice of civilian nonviolence as the sole form of national security. What we need is a process of transarmament: a sociopolitical dynamic transforming our militarised society into a civilised one.[6]

Muller argues that the compromise of civilian defence is a necessary step in replacing traditional defence with nonviolence, and he warns that maintaining an extreme, purist stance achieves little, as anarchists and pacifists are:

> both inconsequential if they reject [civilian defence]. Rather they should be the first to adopt a pragmatic attitude that would *advance* their goals instead of an ideological one which serves merely to affirm them.[7]

So although principled, revolutionary nonviolence should be the ideal aimed towards, pragmatic nonviolence is much more palatable to the masses and their governments and militaries, and needs to be embraced in the short term if the world is to rapidly reduce its armed forces.

Holism, Inclusiveness

Movements should be inclusive, encouraging a variety of people, including minorities, to participate.[8] Movements that can weave the aspirations

of different factions into 'an inclusive, unifying vision are more likely to achieve mass participation and to undermine the loyalties of its opponent's supporters'.[9] Including children in movements can be rewarding for all parties, and parenting should be supported. Given that most warmongers (such as Hitler and Stalin) were brutalised as children, the importance of 'parenting for peace' cannot be overestimated.[10]

Patriarchal, sexist, racist or homophobic behaviours will cause new problems requiring resolution, sometimes in the middle of intense direct actions. Dealing with them can be difficult and time-consuming and some have argued that these issues are not relevant or should be dealt with outside the campaign. More convincing, however, is the argument that they detract from campaigns, cause divisions and discontent, drive people away, and stop movement growth; they should not be tolerated by any progressive group.

Nevertheless, it's worth seeking creative ways of dealing with such problems, such as isolating the group that needs to deal with it, and letting the main group get onto other things. Including contingency plans at the outset of any campaign is one step; another is to include awareness-raising discussions during nonviolence training.

Organisational Structure

Tribal models, such as Councils of Elders, which allow new members to join after they have served an apprenticeship, may provide a good balance between egalitarianism and natural leadership through expertise. (In one Aboriginal model, these meet for as long as it takes to resolve an issue, with someone putting more wood on the fire if they feel the discussion is unfinished.) *Demarchy* systems share and rotate leadership between individuals and groups which represent wider communities.[11] Informal networks of independent affinity groups of up to fifteen members, further decentralise power. Team-building and trust exercises help create strong bonds and synergies in them.

One of the advantages of decentralisation is that the arrest of one person is less likely to cripple the movement. When the Iranian women's movement organised a protest on International Women's Day in 2005 at Students Park in Teheran, the Ministry of the Interior summoned the organiser to a local office and ordered her to call off the action. She responded that demonstrations were permitted under the constitution provided they broke no Islamic laws, and that the movement had no leaders but made its decisions collectively, so no-one would listen to her if she tried to call off the event.[12]

Consensus decision-making is part of many tribal communities, whereas it may be new to other communities, and requires not abandoning when it proves difficult, but improvement through practice. Although rejected by some active resistance groups, it is back in the latest wave of Occupy activism,

with its commitment to participatory democracy. Like nonviolence, it is evolving, with one subtle innovation being the use of hand signals to indicate quickly a group's feelings on an issue. Caroline Estes describes consensus as a feminist-type method, being inclusive, compassionate, caring and taking heed of minorities.[13] Awareness of conversation dynamics is important – is one person or group (older, male, Anglo?) dominating the conversation?[14] Innovative processes, such as brainstorming sessions, can develop new ideas, enliven processes and air a diversity of ideas.

Dealing with the emotional aspects of a campaign is often overlooked, even though unresolved tensions can wreak havoc.[15] At meetings, one role (with the wonderfully 70s name of 'vibeswatcher') is to monitor the emotional levels, and suggest ways of alleviating heated meetings. Although some feel uncomfortable with the 'touchy-feely' nature of some groups, or dismiss them as 'fluffy', daggy things like group hugs can help to break barriers and dissolve the pretence that mind, body and heart are separate.

Communicating well is essential. Internally, everyone should hear of information and decisions swiftly and directly rather than via the distortions of the rumour mill. Movements also need to communicate with their opponents, so their aims are clear and respectful dialogue can occur, and with the public, preferably using traditional methods like posters and pamphlets as well as the latest technologies, since cyberactivism alone may reinforce movement participation inequalities.[16]

Training and Discipline

Nobody expects to arrive at the Olympics and play it by ear: success involves years of training. So too with changing the world through nonviolence, you need solid training, discipline and group cohesiveness, preferably aided by experience.

Gandhi brought a strict discipline to the actions he oversaw. This was further developed by the Muslim Pashtun movement led by Ghaffar Khan, whose nonviolent 'army', *Khudai Khidmatgar*, ran schools, and established a journal and constructive programmes for economic independence. Its members swore an oath, went to training camps, engaged in military-style drills and physical exercises, had a strict nonviolent discipline and worked hard. They performed voluntary duties in the community, raising awareness and gaining considerable support. Despite brutal repression, they used boycotts, noncooperation, pickets and protests against the British.[17]

Another exemplary model of preparation was by the Reverend James Lawson, a leader of the US's civil rights movement. Lawson worked through local churches, ran training workshops and monitored all protest action.[18] Prospective activists had to endure sessions where they were taunted and physically abused, to prepare themselves for the real thing. Their disciplined dignity in Nashville's lunch-counter sit–ins (a well-chosen target) grew the

campaign from a handful of students to mass rallies and boycotts involving most of the African-American community. Timely questions of Nashville's mayor by actionist Diane Nash at one of these rallies elicited the groundbreaking response that the counters *should* be desegregated. Lawson argues that effective nonviolence rarely occurs spontaneously, but needs 'fierce discipline and training – it has to be done systematically'.[19]

Arrest watchers are necessary to check who is arrested, where they are taken and how they are treated; to relay information to spokespeople, organise legal and moral support and, on their release, to provide a hot drink, food, warm clothes and a lift home or bed for the night. Teams of legal personnel should be available to provide pre-action information on legal rights, what kind of charges may be laid and what consequences these may have in future careers. They should also provide legal support to arrestees, explain bail conditions and the consequences of rejecting bail, and assist in court-cases.

Celebrating victories and taking time out for rest and reflection are often forgotten in the series of crises that activists may feel trapped within, overwhelming and burning them out. It's important to make an effort to eat together and well, to socialise, play, dance, and bushwalk – nature is a great healer and can inspire the next campaign phase.

Developing and preparing for a nonviolent campaign is developed in detail in books such as the 'Activists Handbook'[20] and 'Nonviolent Struggle' by CANVAS, while practical tips for active resistance can be found on the net.[21] Let's now examine some aspects of climate campaigning, including its 'constructive programme'.

Switching to Sustainability

As with the military-industrial complex, polluting industries such as the coal, uranium, cars and planes are heavily subsidised by governments (in supposed 'free markets').[22] Truly-free markets would end these subsidies, so that cleaner industries can compete equally. Green socialist policies would actively support increased public transport, car pools, better urban design (such as transit lanes and pedestrian-friendly cities); better architecture (such as passive solar design) and insulation to minimise heating/cooling; environmental education (to counter the 'widespread belief that what happens to the environment is not caused by our own actions, but by someone somewhere else'[23]); strong anti-tobacco legislation, and microfinancing. Stronger environmental legislation, such as bans on coal-fired and nuclear power, could be supported by environmental jurisprudence – justice systems that recognise the rights of nature.[24] International agreements on environmental, human rights and labour protection should carry the same weight as trade agreements.

Spain's solar systems demolish the furphy that renewable energy cannot supply the baseload energy demanded by industrialised societies.[25] One plan

outlines a way for Australia to transition to 100 per cent renewable energy within ten years, using a combination of energy efficiency, fuel-switching from gas and oil to electrified energy services, and commercially-available technologies. The plan argues that it is both technically-feasible and economically-attractive, requiring only social and political leadership.[26]

Former military personnel may be a key part of renewable energies. As the UK's austerity drive closes bases and cuts the number of personnel and equipment, some personnel are being grabbed by the wind industry. The Irish-based wind energy business *B9 Energy* states that servicemen and women have transferable skills which can solve the industry's engineering shortage:

> The ex-helicopter engineers, for example, are multi-disciplined technicians, which means mechanical, electrical control, electronic engineering and a bit of structural….They've got good communication skills, their written word is very good, they're disciplined and willing to stay until the job is finished, so it's an easy job for us to convert those guys into the wind industry.'[27]

Similarly, Brazilian naval units are being used against smuggling of endangered species, and to monitor large areas of Amazon rainforests, with the Ghanaian airforce engaged in similar work, while Chinese personnel have engaged in tree planting, forest protection and emergency relief work.[28]

Where we put our money – our economic counterpower - is important. Every person who supports ethical businesses helps them grow, and reduces financing of polluting practices. Participating in *Buy Nothing Day*, transferring savings and superannuation into ethical funds and credit unions,[29] and boycotting rainforest timbers are all actions that transfer wealth from problems to solutions.

The Transition Towns movement, aiming for a smooth transition to a world post-Peak Oil, has a credo of 'Reduce, Recycle, Repair', with the first of these being the most important.[30] It is providing leadership and ideas relating to our lifestyles – our transport choices, growing vegetable gardens rather than resource-intensive lawns[31] (Figure 41), challenging inequitable land and economic systems, and developing communities. We need to green *every* aspect of our lives.

Despite sustainability still being low on the priority list for many, including at government levels, in a decade the movement has achieved considerable change in my town of Armidale, establishing a community garden, farmers' markets, creek rehabilitation through re-vegetation and sculpture, bike awareness rallies and loans of electric bikes, organic garden and sustainable housing tours, better recycling, woodsmoke reduction, new sustainability degrees, solar and wind projects, and a planned sustainability precinct.

Figure 41 Pollution rising from mower

Critical Mass Reclaims the Streets

Cars not only produce a lot of greenhouse gases; the roads and parking lots they require take up to 60 per cent of some urban areas.[32] An international movement called 'Reclaim the Streets' holds street parties to reclaim streets for pedestrians. In 1995, a group took over London's Camden High Street. As more parties followed and the movement grew, 10,000 people closed a UK motorway. Hidden under the skirts of stilt-walkers, and drowned out by a sound system pumping out dance music, people drilled into the road to plant trees, and distributed leaflets declaring 'Beneath the tarmac, the forest!'[33]

Another movement, 'Critical Mass', holds bike rallies to promote the non-polluting alternatives of bikes, and make a statement about the need for more spending on bike systems (bike-lanes, promotion, educating drivers) and less support for cars. Riding *en masse,* for example across the Sydney Harbour Bridge, provides the security that riders rarely get to enjoy. Criticised for holding up the traffic, they respond that they *are* the traffic.

Sustainable Paper Use

Paper consumption is responsible for a great deal of deforestation.[34] Over 15 million hectares of Earth's forests are destroyed every year. Over

90 per cent of Australia's old growth forests have been cleared and logged since Europeans arrived. Wood-chipping continues to drive the destruction of native forests, with over three quarters of our trees being wood-chipped. This destroys habitat, biodiversity and carbon sinks as well as degrading water catchments, polluting rivers and reducing water supplies.[35] Reducing consumption, printing two-sided, boycotting unethical brands, and supporting *Evolve, Vision, Fuji Xerox Recycled Pure, OfficeMax 100% Recycled Copy Paper* or *Ecocern* are options. At an industry level, paper could be made more sustainably from bamboo or hemp rather than trees.

Organics

The seemingly-advanced systems of agribusiness have a large carbon footprint, due to their dependence on fossil fuels for ploughing, planting, harvesting and the creation and distribution of fertiliser and pesticides. Organic agriculture (or bio-agriculture), on the other hand, reduces global warming by sequestering (storing) CO2 in the soil. Farming a hectare organically removes up to 2,200 kilos of CO2 from the air each year:

> This is not based on untested concepts like 'carbon capture' or 'clean coal' but on current practices that can easily be adopted by other land managers. The widespread adoption of current organic practices could make many countries CO^2 neutral.[36]

Converting 10,000 medium-sized farms would be equivalent to taking 1,174,400 cars off the road.[37] Organic farming avoids synthetic sprays and chemical fertilisers, thereby protecting human and ecosystem health.[38] (A subset, biodynamic agriculture, is based on Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy; independent trials have found some of its practices very effective, such as the ThermoMax spray formulated to protect blossoms from late frosts.) Organics also involves a focus on local resources, efficient and minimal use of off-farm resources, humane treatment of livestock, and fair treatment of workers and trading partners. Based on four guiding principles: *health*, *ecology*, *fairness*, and *care,*[39] it calls for soil-building through composting and mulching, rotating crops and using mixed and 'companion' plantings to avoid pest build-up, and using animals for weeding and fertilising.[40]

Permaculture takes these principles further, and it has profoundly influenced the transition movement. Devised by Australians Bill Mollison and David Holmgren, it is rooted in systems developed over millennia by many different cultures. It is a design system based on ethics and principles used to establish, design, manage and improve efforts made by individuals, households and communities towards a sustainable future. A row of grape-vines in a field with bare earth underneath is not permaculture, but grape-vines growing up a trellis by a house to give summer

shade, with a living mulch of strawberries and clover underneath, is. Permaculture uses natural resources in innovative ways, making its elements support one another in an integrated way; it is based on 'protracted and thoughtful observation rather than protracted and thoughtless action',[41] requiring minimal input of work or energy beyond the establishment phase. It concentrates useful yields on minimal parcels of land, enabling an abundance of organic food without back-breaking work or destroying wild spaces, which are instead encouraged to regenerate and thrive. As well as food and fibre production, permaculture encompasses building design and the ethical use of money.

Some countries, such as Africa, could cope more easily with conversion to permaculture; others, such as China, may struggle.[42] Feeding an ever-growing global population in a world with more extreme weather will be difficult, requiring a balance of permaculture principles (supported by the latest scientific advances) with economies of scale. Partly this will require better governance of our agriculture, so it wastes less and benefits everyone, not just pockets of privilege.[43] The heavy-subsidisation and protectionism of western agribusiness should be transferred to permaculture. Diets heavy in red meat, requiring excessive water, land and grain, are not globally

Figure 42 One day's harvest from the permaculture garden of the author's family

sustainable.[44] Ungulates are particularly unsuited to the ancient soils of Australia.

The energy consumed in transporting food often outweighs the nutritional energy in the food itself,[45] so ideally, every locality should be self-sufficient in food (see Figure 42). This doesn't mean every household has to garden, but a commitment to locally-grown food could boost employment as well as act on climate change and peak oil.[46] Decentralised agriculture aids food security; a diversity of crops growing over wider areas means less vulnerability than monocultures to disease, pests, war and natural disasters.

Guerilla Gardening

Having garden space is a luxury that most of our increasingly-urbanised world does not enjoy. Some people, uninterested in battling bureaucracies to establish a community garden (Figure 43), opt for 'guerilla gardening', a term invented in 1973 by Liz Christy, a New York oil painter. Her Green Guerillas (glamourised in the movie *Green Card)* now support thousands of gardeners with plant materials, design assistance, organisation and community facilitation.[47] Some gardens were only saved through mass rallies; others still face threats, including from illegal pre-emptive strikes by contractors who attempt to destroy them so the gardeners will not resist their being sold off. Some gardeners now use active resistance techniques ('Garden Defence Mechanisms'), chaining themselves to 'dragons', establishing hammocks high up in trees, or establishing *casitas* – small shelters for living in during occupations.[48]

Guerilla gardening is not really new; it is practiced in poor neighbourhoods throughout the world. But its adoption by many in the West has brought attention to some vital issues – the need for better utilisation of land and the need for radical change to how we view land and 'own' it:

> Most people own no land… Guerilla gardening is a battle for resources, a battle against scarcity of land, environmental abuse and wasted opportunities. It is also a fight for freedom of expression and for community cohesion. It is a battle in which bullets are replaced with flowers.[49]

If private land is lying idle, what is wrong with people growing food on it? If the neglected land is publicly-owned, don't taxpayers have a right to use it?

> I do not wait for permission to become a gardener but dig wherever I see horticultural potential. … I, and thousands of people like me, step out from home to garden land we do not own. We see opportunities all around us. Vacant lots flourish as urban oases, roadside verges dazzle with flowers and crops are harvested from land that was assumed to be fruitless.[50]

Figure 43 Sustainable Living Armidale's nascent community garden

Squatting

Many people rightly ask, is it just that so many people are homeless or paying exorbitant rents or mortgages, yet there are unoccupied houses everywhere, with 120,000 residential houses and many commercial spaces vacant in Sydney alone?[51] Squatting – the unauthorised occupation of vacant housing – is one solution to this inequity. Some call it illegal, but housing is a basic human right under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[52] Squatters' rights are recognised in some places and supported by groups such as 'City is Ours'.[53] Squatting can be liberating but unless you are well-protected be wary of investing too much time, energy and resources in it.

Squatting is also a protest against land ownership. Only one-third of Australian households own their own homes; another third rents, the other third has a mortgage.[54] Most people spend around a fifth of their income on rent or mortgages;[55] for some it's more than half.[56] Some pay rent or struggle to pay off a mortgage all their lives. Yet, if a house can be built in weeks, why do we pay for it forever? Why do we pay banks two to three times what our house is worth?[57] Why, despite all our labour-saving devices, do we work longer hours than the supposedly-primitive hunter-gatherers,

who got all they needed in a few hours' work daily, and spent the rest of the time in family-oriented leisure, education, and cultural and spiritual activities. Clearly, banks and major landowners are living on the backs of ordinary workers, making money not from their own labour but because they own capital.

It's clear whose side political leaders tend to be on. As Greenpeace's Kumi Naidoo asked of them at a massive climate rally in Copenhagen, 2009:

> If you can find not millions, not billions, but trillions of dollars to bail out banks, the bankers and their bonuses, how is it that you cannot find the money to bail out the planet, the poor, and our children?[58]

The Occupy movement, taking on the vacancy in moral leadership, has in some places extended their occupations of public spaces to include unoccupied private property, with Occupy Sydney taking over a vacant commercial building in the CBD, and a US coalition occupying a woman's home threatened with foreclosure.[59]

The intentional community movement, dedicated to cooperation and 'living simply so that others can simply live', began on a large scale under Gandhi in India and spread globally in the 1960s.[60] Some Australian communes have survived, some even thrived. Others were racked with paranoia, dysfunction and police harassment due to marijuana growing and abuse, or had poor land security. The best have strong agreements devised by the occupants, good communicating, a balance of communal and private space and activities, and restrictions on drugs (including tobacco and alcohol), cats and dogs. Similarly, co-ops are a great step towards better communities, resisting the individualism of capitalism. Each co-op, however, needs to determine a size and ethos that works well for it, and it needs committed people.

Learning Sustainability from the Experts

Despite ongoing dispossession and genocidal policies, Aboriginal people have no doubts whose land Australia is. As Margaret Kemarre Turner, an Akarre woman from central Australia, says in English, her fourth language:

> And still now, there is no piece of land, anywhere in Australia, that doesn't have someone to speak on its behalf. It doesn't matter how built over it is. … If you're an Indigenous person, there is always somebody there to talk about that piece of land.[61]

Aboriginal resilience has been astounding, and they have much to teach the world about sustainability, having the oldest continuous culture on Earth, at upwards of 50,000 years. This makes the Greek, Roman and British Empires

a blink of an eyelid, and the already-declining age of America as a superpower even shorter. They have had some environmental impact – some claim they hunted the megafauna to extinction (though others cite climate factors), but they had very little impact in recent millennia.[62] We can learn from their relationship to the environment, so different to the dig-it-up, chop-it-down attitude of industrialisation:

> And our Land is as sacred as yourself. ... And always, you treat the Land good, the Land treats you the same. … We eat from the Land, we live on the Land, the Land teach us, show us. ... [T]hose water birds, they'll tell you where to find water and food. … The Land and the people are the same. Same. … Digging the Land is just like making a hole in somebody's body. The Land is a living thing. So digging or pulling trees down is just like killing somebody's body'.[63]

When such actions are necessary, however, there are rituals to request forgiveness. Their success at survival questions some of our ingrained prejudices – that settled agriculture and the growth of cities (usually accompanied by hierarchical class systems) are preferable to a nomadic or seminomadic system; that having lots of possessions is preferable to having a culture with little attachment to material things (the Buddhist ideal); that written cultures are better at recording the past, when in fact well-organised oral history systems record events dating back thousands of years (such as one involving four custodians and their *tuckandees* – remote 'brother' or 'sister' – on any major story[64]). NSW's Dhungutti people, for example, have stories about a giant wombat at *Berarngutta* (prohibited area), probably referring to the Diprotadon which has been extinct for 5000 years. Another story, about a Queensland flood, seems to go back as far as 20,000 years, which far outdoes any written histories.

Theirs is a profoundly different worldview to the one behind agribusiness. Tex Skuthorpe and Karl-Eric Sveiby's inspiring book *Treading Lightly* describes the intricate sustainability strategies and unusual systems of leadership, organisation and education which enabled Aboriginal nations such as the Nhunggabarra to thrive over tens of thousands of years.[65] Similarly, Aboriginal writer Dennis Foley shows how traditional food-gathering in Sydney was not a random and desperate struggle, but highly-organised, regulated permaculture, too subtle for the invaders to appreciate, and involving species alien to them.[66]

Inspiring alternative praxis from other cultures abounds, such as the Bhutanese dedication to Gross National Happiness rather than Gross Domestic Product, or the Balinese cooperative, community-owned irrigation systems, that are linked into Hindu practices. Can we combine such ancient wisdom with the best of our modern, globalised world to feed everyone sustainably? What can humanity learn from Aboriginal and other indigenous

cultures about land management, bush foods, and traditional medicines? Just as importantly, how can they be paid, given that rent for use of their lands, and compensation for their travails, is long overdue?

Empowering Women

Insufficient effort has gone into analyzing how gender relations affect the drivers of climate change. For example, in the global North, which is disproportionately responsible for global warming, the transport sector has a huge carbon footprint. Women there are less likely to own cars and more likely to use public transport, and in Europe tend to drive smaller and more fuel-efficient cars because they are not viewed as status symbols. As Betsy Hartmann argues, there is a:

> need to look at gendered dimensions of consumer desires as they affect energy use. Advertising is highly gendered – the typical SUV or pick-up driver portrayed in automobile ads in the U.S., for example, is a male, either alone or with his mates, out to conquer the rugged wilderness. If there are women in the picture, they are usually sleek and beautiful, adding an element of sex appeal. Thus notions of masculinity and femininity are strategically deployed to create and sustain a wasteful, gas-guzzling culture, from promotion of ATVs as 'toys for boys' to the military-civilian Hummer crossover as a potent symbol of American manhood.[67]

The fields of early warning systems and disaster management are male-dominated and there has been a wholesale neglect of gender issues in international climate change agreements. The carbon accounting systems resulting from them marginalise non-corporate, non-state and non-expert contributions toward climatic stability and are creating new exclusionary forms of property rights.[68] One example is the expansion of monoculture eucalyptus plantations in Minas Gerais, Brazil, in public lands that by law should go to poor peasants. The plantations restrict women's access to wild foods and firewood, and reduce water supplies and biodiversity.

How can women's movements for peace and the environment contribute to a broader vision of climate justice and more practical, localised solutions that reduce emissions while increasing the incomes and power of poor women and men? How can they mount an effective feminist challenge to sexism in the climate change arena?

One necessary reform is for the women's work to be recognised as a major but largely uncounted economic activity, feeding much of the world.[69] Many aid organisations and development agencies are finding that providing assistance directly to women is sometimes the best way of helping the community as a whole. Another reform is to ensure equal representation at the upper echelons of politics, business and media.

We should also recognise the huge role women play in cultivating peace – mainly at grassroots levels. Women have been at the forefront of peace activism, partly because they suffer the most from war. (Increasingly, violent conflicts impact primarily on civilians, with women and children deliberately targeted. The safest places in modern wars are in militaries!)

The long and proud history of nonviolence is finally seeing the light of day, after millennia of history from a military standpoint dominating. But even nonviolence histories are lax at pointing out the vital role many women have played in nonviolent struggles. Although men are considered the main thinkers on the subject, it is important to note that theory, as the Marxists say, arises from action, and women's actions have often proved to be turning points in campaigns.

In the mid-1950s, it was the Women's Strike for Peace that finally ended McCarthyism and its communist witch-hunts. When its leaders were called before the House Un-American Activities Committee, the group responded *en masse* and with civil disobedience, exposing the bullying nature of the committee.[70] Rosa Parkes' refusal to give up her seat sparked the US civil rights movement, while Diane Nash's two questions put to the mayor of Nashville were a turning point in the desegregation campaign. The Australian campaign against the Vietnam War was initiated by a mothers' group, *Save Our Sons*. Wangai Maathai involved Kenya's National Council of Women in tree-planting – an innocuous enough activity that led to the Green Belt movement which not only planted millions of trees but led national anti-corruption campaigns. Though she has been beaten and jailed, Maathai has become a leading international spokesperson for 'cancel the debt' campaigns, won a Nobel Peace Prize and been a government minister.[71]

Poland's *Solidarnosc* campaign may have faltered if Alina Pienkowska had not climbed on a barrel and addressed workers about to abandon a strike at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk.[72] The mothers of people 'disappeared' by the Argentinian *junta* bravely formed *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* in 1977; they kept the flame of resistance alive when few others dared.[73] Following an encirclement of the Pentagon by 2000 women in 1980, British women's actions at Greenham Common between then and 1994 saw both the cruise missiles and the US Air Force personnel removed.[74] Women led peace movements in Bougainville and Ireland, while Aung San Suu Kyi continues to lead the Burmese struggle for human rights and democratisation.

Small is Beautiful

Many economists and politicians take it for granted that growth (both of economies and populations) is essential, but this paradigm is not sustainable. Societies reliant on boom must also expect bust, whereas steady state societies would be more stable, better-organised, and more relaxed.[75] One of the reasons for the reliance on growth is to avoid making radical or

structural changes to the system. If the economy keeps growing, even the poor get more, because the 'economic pie' is bigger.[76] If, however, growth is halted or reaches its limits (which appears to be happening due to environmental constraints such as global warming), keeping the poor happy requires redistribution of wealth or better political and corporate 'spin' to make them accept their lot. The latter, however, clashes against the corporate desires to get people (through saturation advertising) to consume more and more.

To keep populations growing (despite the extreme loss of biodiversity due to ever-expanding development), politicians in societies such as Australia have encouraged citizens to have more children. Those who oppose population growth are often accused of being racist, foolish and elitist,[77] while one group bizarrely claims that a green fascist movement led by Prince Phillip wants to reduce the global population to one billion through genocides.[78] Rather than adequately funding training institutions to train new skilled workers, governments have poached skilled workers from LDCs where they are more needed. At the same time, they have excluded, jailed and vilified the most desperate people, who are often fleeing from wars created by the DCs, such as in Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Alternative Political Systems

Mainstream economics has tended to push the idea that bigger is better, and that technology is always beneficial. Countering this is a strand of economics pioneered by British economist E. F. Schumacher, who argued that small-scale projects can be more humanly satisfying, have better social aspects and localised control, empowering people. It argues for technology to be suited to people rather than for profit, or technology for technology's sake.[79]

More equal societies, such as the Nordic ones, generally have lower crime rates, better health, higher education levels, and more contentment, as Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson argue in *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better*.[80] Groups such as the Southern Cross Climate Coalition are calling for the creation of a new economy, with industrial policies that build alternative, sustainable technologies, create good jobs in low-income communities, and unify labour and environmental movements, who are too often seen as on opposite sides of the fence.[81]

'Globalisation' is often promoted as the only game in town. The fall of the Soviet Union was seen as the end of communism, conveniently overlooking the fact that one of the world's powerhouses, China, is at least nominally communist. Additionally, Cuba continues to flourish, exporting many doctors as well as sustainability experts, having been forced to become a low carbon economy when the USSR's collapse virtually ended

their oil imports.[82] Its long history of anti-gay discrimination now appears to be improving.[83] Socialist principles help achieve the egalitarianism and philanthropic aid programmes of the Nordic countries, and Australia's education, welfare, health and workplace systems have their roots in strong labour movements.

Anarchism has a proud but little-known history of opposing tyranny and promoting freedom from oppression, authority and bureaucracy. Its apex may have been in 1930s Spain, where entire regions operated under anarcho-syndicalist principles, balancing the freedom of anarchism with the collective organising of unionism. The bold experiment at the time of a left-wing Republican government was crushed by Franco's Fascists, aided by the Nazi Luftwaffe and supported by the Catholic Church, and even their communist 'comrades' turned on them at various junctures.[84]

One of their practices was to make all public transport free, claiming that their taxes paid for it already, and that it worked more efficiently when, for example, drivers did not have to delay the trip while taking money. Even if it meant providing free transport for non-taxpayers such as tourists, wouldn't this be a tourist attraction? Today, more efficient and better-patronised public transport would reduce the high carbon footprint of private car use. A movement recreating the free transport systems of the Spanish anarchists is currently spreading across Europe. Known in Greece as *Den Plirono*, and in Spain as *Yo No Pago*, the 'I Don't Pay' movement involves people engaged in civil disobedience by refusing to pay for public transport, and even jamming the ticket equipment.[85]

Many researchers have noted the parallels between anarchism and how nonviolent direct action campaigns (from the Franklin River to Occupy) are organised. The Popular Assemblies of Spain's current *Indignados* movement, for example, have developed a sophisticated set of radically-democratic organisational dynamics.[86] Is it possible to combine the desire for decentralised decision-making and minimal red tape that anarchists advocate (which, after all, is shared by many businesspeople and farmers) with the social justice, strong environmental policies and collectivity of green socialism?

Other alternatives we should examine include internet-based referenda on all major issues (which would require vastly–improved education and media), re-organising governance according to bio-regions, and enacting a single-tax system, with minimalist bureaucracy and the abolition of all taxation except that on the unimproved value of land?[87] Similar to how councils charge ratepayers, the system would encourage enterprise and efficient use of land, and reduce wage-slavery through removing the life-long indebtedness many people have to banks and landlords.

One reason many women do not engage in political systems as much as men is that they simply don't agree with how they work, particularly their oppositional, unconstructive bickering which achieves so little at such a cost. Through their activism and constructive programmes through NGOs,

they are strengthening parallel processes of cooperative organising that may have far-reaching effects. As Germaine Greer has said,

> Women could make politics irrelevant by a kind of spontaneous cooperative action the like of which we have never seen, just so far from people's ideas of state structure and viable social structure that it seems to them like total anarchy and what it really is is very subtle forms of interrelation which do not follow a hierarchical pattern which is fundamentally patriarchal. The opposite of patriarchy is not matriarchy but fraternity and I think it's women who are going to have to break the spiral of power and find the trick of cooperation.[88]

Patriarchy, while often benefiting men, also restricts them to narrow social roles and pushes them towards risk-taking hyper-masculinities.[89] Countering this requires re-examination of our conceptions of masculinity, as well as concerted efforts by everyone to make our language and ways of interacting more likely to engender peace.[90] Brian Martin (*Nonviolence versus Capitalism*),[91] Ted Trainer (*The Transition: Getting to a more sustainable and just world*)[92] and *Pace e Bene* (among many) explore the cultural practices of daily life that support nonviolence and sustainability instead of militarism, and there are some promising initiatives evident, such as making junior sport in Australia more inclusive and less competitive. Eco-friendly spiritual practices and philosophies are important to reverse violent and polluting behaviours.[93] As John Seed phrases it, – although the global environmental crisis can be very upsetting,

> To suddenly be in a position where we're being called forth to address an issue of this magnitude, I just think it's a tremendous privilege.[94]

* * *

It will not be easy. Nor will reducing militarism and replacing it with nonviolence along with diplomatic, economic and political alternatives. There are formidable obstacles to be overcome such as MIMEC and other powerful vested interests that benefit from the polluting status quo, and the cultures they support.

However, as the Sam Cooke song goes, 'A Change is Gonna Come'. With grassroots change you may plug away for years and see little success. But each action builds up a little pressure; multiplied by millions the pressure can gradually reach critical mass and suddenly blow away old regimes, institutions and paradigms. As chaos theory has illustrated, given the right conditions, the ripples from a water dragon leaping into a billabong can lead to a flood thousands of kilometres away.

As Schell writes, throughout recent history there has been an inexorable tendency towards democratisation, but particularly since the 1950s, with numerous seemingly-powerless countries throwing off the shackles of wealthy, well-armed colonial regimes, largely through nonviolence. The British Empire, the greatest empire on Earth until then, was ended by this desire for freedom.

Kennedy's space programme, although based on earlier research, took only ten years to put humans on the moon – a task few believed was possible. The dismantling of USSR's totalitarian empire was even faster, astonishing the world. Major cultural upheaval in the 1960s brought greater rights for women and African-Americans, with Obama's election unthinkable only a few years earlier. The ICT revolution has connected much of the world as it has never before been connected, with unprecedented volume, speed and accessibility of information. More than ever do we have the 'global village' that Marshall McLuhan described.[95] We can continue to evolve, and create together a green global village where conflict is dealt with in nonviolent ways.

The U-turn is already happening. New Zealand's blockades of US warships by dozens of small vessels led to a government ban on those warships. The *Konversiya* (conversion) of the Soviet militaries, although flawed (three nuclear missiles disappeared!) and slow has seen some impressive changes, with rocket shells being converted to baby carriages, torpedo boats becoming catamarans, cruise missile launcher production factories now making chocolate truffle tins, and hydrofoil patrol craft minus their missiles now high-speed passenger ferries.[96]

In 2008, the world for the first time invested more money in renewable power sources than in fossil fuels and nuclear electricity. US emissions fell by 9 per cent between 2007 and 2009, mainly because of the economic recession but also because of more efficient energy use, and switching to greener energy. By 2009, more than 650 university and college administrations in the US had pledged to eliminate carbon pollution on their campuses *altogether*, because of student pressure.[97] Students are mainly young, poor and relatively powerless, but they're numerous and a force to be reckoned with when they're organised.

By 2010, a campaign called 'Beyond Coal', loosely coordinated by the Sierra Club, and using protests and appeals, had succeeded in getting 129 proposed new coal-fired power stations cancelled or prohibited, with another fifty facing legal challenges, and coal company stocks being downgraded on Wall Street.

In Mali, reafforestation as part of agro-forestry has increased water availability and crop yields by 400 per cent in some areas.[98] The Netherlands is a country extremely susceptible to rising sea levels – it's known as 'the drain of Europe'. Although its carbon footprint reductions could improve, it has developed a comprehensive 200-year plan for adapting to climate change.

Supported by private enterprise which accepts the need for urgent action, the plan aims for mainstream adoption so that it becomes part of all aspects of life, all policies and actions. It involves socio-economic changes (what the country produces, where people live) as well as engineering (adding sand and vegetation to dunes, strengthening and raising the secondary dykes, giving up some land to widen rivers).[99]

Some small, mainly symbolic actions are growing into world-wide events demanding stronger action. *Earth Hour*, for example, calls for people to switch off lights and appliances for one hour every March. From humble beginnings in Sydney in 2007, it has now spread to 5,000 cities in 135 countries, and in 2012 involved icons such as the Sydney Opera House and Harbour Bridge, the Eiffel Tower, the Burj Khalifa, Times Square, the Las Vegas strip and cities across China. It now includes unplugged events, a solar-powered cruise in Newcastle, and live commentary and photos from the International Space Station.[100] Can we move on to *Earth Day*, then *Earth Week*, and *Earth Month*?

* * *

Nonviolence is an essential ingredient of sustainability. We can no longer afford – in any sense – the extravagance of militarism. We are at that juncture of human and planetary evolution where we get rid of it or perish. As

Figure 44 A woman buried up to the neck in the hot sun at a c1991 blockade against a sewage outfall near Coffs Harbour, NSW, accepts a welcome drink

Martin Luther King observed, 'It is no longer a choice between violence and nonviolence in this world; it's nonviolence or nonexistence'.[101]

Nonviolent dispute resolution methods will increasingly be necessary as global warming leads to new conflicts around the globe and increases the stream of climate refugees. As Peak Oil intensifies corporate and government pressures to access fuels, widespread, determined nonviolence is necessary to end the polluting practices of vested interests such as the military-industrial complex and Big Oil. Active resistance and artistic activism provide strong new options for achieving this (Figure 44).

The constructive programme of nonviolence is needed to help build new societies out of the ashes of the current petrol-scorched earth: holistic green societies with radically different underlying philosophies, paradigms, institutions, processes of economics and politics. Radically different, yet at the same time drawing on the best of the old: traditional wisdom, common sense, egalitarianism, community – and the best of the new: global networks, incredible ICT advances, and innovative scientific breakthroughs that help people and the planet. There is no doubt that, collectively, we have the power to shut down militarism. As Joe Hill sang from prison, in 'Workers of the World, Awaken':

> If the workers took a notion they could stop all speeding trains; Every ship upon the ocean they can tie with mighty chains. Every wheel in the creation, every mine and every mill; Fleets and armies of the nation, will at their command stand still.[102]

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