

OUR PLANET

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Can we save our planet

What the climate movement can learn from the nuclear freeze campaign



OUR PLANET

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A mom's guide to decluttering

WHY MY KIDS GAVE UP ALMOST ALL THEIR TOYS

By Shannon Hayes

I hate clutter, and one morning I just couldn't take it anymore. Here's how I got my kids to throw out their toys and tidy up our house.

I have a habit of starting most mornings before the sun. I like to move through the house in the dark, avoiding artificial light as much as possible. I usually slip outside to watch the stars before the sky lightens, then return indoors to sit beside the window as the lightning bugs show off their final blips.

I feel like I'm about to be swallowed alive by all the kid crap in my house. Saoirse returned home from summer camp yesterday, and this morning I trip over her camp gear on my odyssey through the dark. My bare feet are stabbed by plastic shards which have snapped off toys strewed about the floor. I kick aside piles of

juvenile debris to clear a path to the door, and kick away more on my way back inside toward my favorite chair.

As I sit down, I meditate on the new aura of strength and confidence around Saoirse upon her return from wilderness summer camp. And I want to honor that growth. But while I sit in the dark, and think about my daughter's new maturity, I feel like I'm about to be swallowed alive by all the kid crap in my house. My throat is constricting. I feel pressure building up behind my eyes.

I hate stuff. I hate clutter. Bob and I have made every attempt to raise our children to be non-consumers, but our house has filled up with junk in spite of our efforts. Sometimes I think being a "non-consumer family" makes us bigger targets for crap. With the best of inten-



tions, folks often cast their belongings onto us, assuming my children will appreciate hand-medowns. Or they indulge my daughters with new and glorious items, knowing that their curmudgeonly parents aren't likely to part with dollars for the whims of childhood. The more Bob and I resist consumption, the more the picked bones of consumerism pile up.

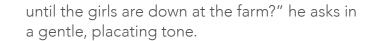
I'm familiar with the parental debates surrounding decluttering. I've heard friends and family bemoan the cruelty of mothers who threw away sandbox toys and brazenly donated favorite stuffed animals and action figures to Goodwill. In past years, Bob and I have exercised something we call Dawn Patrol to avoid unnecessary trauma. When the kids sleep down at the farm we work through the night and sneak garbage

bags of old toys, books, and clothes out of the house before their return.

THAT TRICK WORKED BETTER WHEN THEY WERE YOUNGER. THEY'RE ON TO US.

Now, after Dawn Patrol, they come up to us and ask about their missing items. "Where's my giant stuffed dog from Uncle Sean? Where is that pop-up book from Auntie C? Where is my plastic castle?" When they leave the house now, I am certain they take a mental inventory of their belongings.

By the time Bob comes down to make coffee, I've begun dumping piles of toys in the center of the living room floor. "Don't you want to wait



"I don't care anymore." My words are sharp.

The more Bob and I resist consumption, the more the picked bones of consumerism pile up. And it's true. I don't care if I am being insensitive to my children's feelings. I don't care if I am making them feel powerless by depriving them of their possessions. I could honor their feelings by tolerating the mess, but then I would be a bitter, angry, passive-aggressive mother. On this day, in this moment, ruthless cruelty is my most direct route back to kindness.

"Did I mention I need to get to the farm a little early this morning?" Bob's voice comes out in a slightly higher register as he backs away from the coffee pot. "I left you some coffee..."

He is gone by the time the kids are up. And they see the bloodlust in my eyes, too. "You have two choices," I keep my voice even. "You can help, or you can go down to the farm and swim for the day. But you CANNOT stop me. I want every toy in this house on this living room floor," I direct.

There is a method to my madness.

IF THEY HAVE TO SEE ALL THEIR TOYS IN ONE PLACE, THEY WILL RECOGNIZE THE ENORMITY OF THE SITUATION.

Plus, I work a lot faster without having to hunt down objects. And a lot more gets tossed when it is all visible. Ula jumps at my command and begins the work before she even starts her breakfast. Saoirse narrows her eyes at me, an open challenge.

"I can sort my stuff on my own," she says slowly. I feel the daggers. How dare I ruin her



glorious return from wilderness camp with a cleaning frenzy?

I don't look away. "I want all of it. Down here. On the living room floor." With my toe, I trace two circles with 18 inch diameters on the rug. "When we're done, you each can keep enough stuff to fill one circle. I will decide which legacy toys can be kept for your own children, and they don't have to count in the circle. And there will also be a small section for toys related to homeschooling. That's it."

"I'll just sort in my room." Saoirse says defiantly.

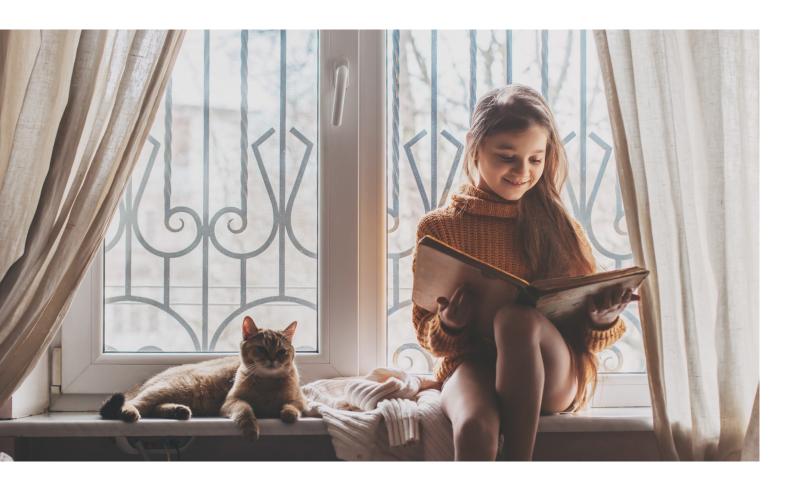
"Here. I want you to see it all together first. Or go to the farm and leave me to it."

"We'll stay," they say in unison.

"The minute I catch either of you cheating, you're fired."

If they have to see all their toys in one place, they will recognize the enormity of the situation. Ula makes a pretty fair effort for an 8-year-old. She dutifully helps me create the massive pile that fills our living room. But once I start to sort items into bags for either the thrift store or the garbage she begins to panic. I notice her squirrel little objects into her pockets, then





secretly slip upstairs to hide them. At the same time, Saoirse takes a different tack. She leaves objects in her room, assuming I won't go up to check.

"That's it!" I think there might be foam around the corners of my lips by this point. "You're both fired! Get into the car! You're going to the farm!"

Ula runs for the car. Saoirse doesn't move. She stares me down. With confidence, I am reminded, comes the inner strength to disobey. some modeling clay. I pull into the driveway at "I'm staying."

"You will not. You're cheating." She follows me out to the car. From the back seat she meets my gaze as I speed down the road to the farm.

"You're not being fair!" She screams at me. "You can't just take away our stuff! We need those things!"

I slam on the breaks and gaze back at her through the rearview mirror. My voice is suddenly calm. "You just spent a week living outdoors. The only toys you had were a 4-inch knife and a borrowed soccer ball. Do you mean to tell me you still need everything that's on that living room floor?"

There is silence. After a few moments. Ula recites a short list of what she hopes to save: some stuffed animals, the Barbies, one porcelain doll, the farm. Ula gets out and runs to the safety of her grandmother's arms. Saoirse stays behind, daring me to kick her out of the car.

"I CAN DO IT," SHE SAYS SOFTLY.

I am no longer angry. "I can't live with the clutter, Kiddo," I tell her. "But I won't make you be there while I go through it all. It's too hard on you."

"Mom. I can do this. I want to do this."

I assent. She gets one more chance.

I SEE A NEW PRIDE IN HER - ONE THAT COMES FROM KNOWING WHAT SHE DOESN'T NEED.

We turn around and drive back up the mountain. At first, she can't physically put the objects in the bags. She pleads a few times, but when I look up at her with my fiery gaze, she backs away. She moves to the far end of the pile, and chooses to read to me from her newest book rather than witness the exodus. Her story is interrupted with each bag I haul out the door.

We stop in the heat of the afternoon, strip off our clothes, then run outside naked and spray ourselves with the hose. We make two iced mochas in the blender, then sip them on the screen porch while she recounts stories from camp. Caffeine, I've found, is a powerful enabler for discarding.

We return to the pile. This time, she sits closer to where I work. A few more times she interrupts, then quickly looks away and shouts, "No! Just do it. I don't need it!" By the time we are done, her toys fit into a picnic basket.

"I feel like a tornado victim," she says quietly. "Something suddenly blew through, and now I've lost everything."

"But you'll learn what you can do without," I reply.

The next day, Ula comes home, and Saoirse's despair has melted into pride. "Look how clean and nice it is!" She leads Ula up to the

loft where her few toys granted permanent amnesty are arranged. Ula is so absorbed with her simplified surroundings, suddenly able to immerse herself in play (rather than looking for things), she doesn't notice Saoirse disappear. I am in the kitchen fixing supper when she passes through, headed up to her own room. A few minutes later, she comes down with an armload of clothes. "I don't need these anymore." she tells me. Then she carries them away. I see a new pride in her—one that comes from knowing what she doesn't need.

The job is not done. The next day, we target craft supplies. The task is so enormous that I decide it must be divided into three days. Day one is for paper and anything that touches paper— from markers and crayons to paintbrushes and glue.

We work into the night, sorting pens, discarding old drawings, testing markers. We chatter and laugh, and by bedtime, for the first time in our family's history, we know where every pen, colored pencil, coloring book, and pair of scissors lies. And I'm able to sleep happy, until tomorrow, when we begin sorting through all the sewing supplies.

Shannon Hayes wrote this article for YES! Magazine. Shannon writes, homeschools, and farms with her family from Sap Bush Hollow Farm in upstate New York. Her newest book is Homespun Mom Comes Unraveled.

Learn more at TheRadicalHomemaker.net

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Big city living

May help you slow down, stress less, and be happy.
Really!

By Zanna McKay

From New York City to Barcelona, cities across the world are turning to "slow living" to make their communities happier and healthier in the face of increasing urbanization.

The industrial city of Wenzhou, China, (population 2 million) is currently known for its rapid development as an economic hub, but some residents hope it may someday be known as a "slow city."

Recently, a delegation of Wenzhou citizens visited the Tuscany headquarters of Cittaslow, an organization credited with starting the slow cities movement. The delegation was concerned about the side effects of a hyper, fast-paced life and wanted to learn more about how living slow might preserve cultural heritage in

China. The delegation visited local markets and artisans' studios, including a shop where the Italian art of handmade shoes is still practiced. The artisans they met emphasized the role Cittaslow has played in preserving the value of crafts, like shoemaking, that are only possible with a great deal of time invested and a strong local economy.

EVERY CITY HAS A UNIQUE PERSONALITY THAT CAN BE PRESERVED AND A LOCAL COMMUNITY THAT CAN BE STRENGTHENED.

The United Nations projects that nearly 70 percent of the world's population will live in cities by 2050. And indeed, the industrial and economic hubs of the world may be the last places



that evoke ideas about living slow. But with inevitable population growth in urban areas on the horizon, many city governments are trying to make their communities more enjoyable to live in and less destructive to the environment.

THE BEGINNING OF SLOW CITIES

Cittaslow grew out of Slow Food, a local food movement founded in 1986 to counter the rise of fast food in Italy. Thirteen years later, Cittaslow became a way to expand Slow Food concepts.

"The 'slow' philosophy is applied to not only what you eat and drink, but to all aspects of life in a town," said Paolo Saturnini, Cittaslow's founder

Saturnini created the organization when he was mayor of Greve, in Chianti, to push back against Currently there are 192 certified slow cities globalization and preserve the unique treasures of Tuscany. He was inspired by interactions he saw in Italian piazzas, like the market the delegation from Wenzhou recently visited.

HE SAW VALUE TO WHAT HAPPENS WHEN PEOPLE COME TOGETHER FACE TO FACE, CATCH UP, RELAX, AND TAKE IN THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

Slow city principles stress the importance of things like eating local, in-season food, shopping at locally owned businesses, and preserving cultural heritage and small-operation craftsmanship. Supporters of the movement also emphasize the value of a life where work is not necessarily prioritized above all else, and the importance of making room for natural environments so residents can experience the rhythm of the seasons. Over the years, Cittaslow has sought to prove every city has a unique personality that can be preserved and a local community that can be strengthened.

worldwide. Sonoma, California, was one of the most recent additions to the growing list. To be certified, Cittaslow towns must have fewer than 50,000 people.





But that is beginning to change. Pier Giorgio Oliveti, director of Cittaslow, said he has noticed a huge influx of interest from major metropolitan cities over the last five years. According to Oliveti, the technological infrastructure available in bigger cities, such as broad-reaching public transit, is a boon to those who want to simplify. One of Cittaslow's core values is utilizing today's technological innovations to recreate the slower lifestyle of the past.

"THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A SLOW CITY THAT IS NOT ALSO SMART," SAID OLIVETI. "INFRASTRUCTURE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE ESSENTIAL."

LIVING AT THE THIRD STORY

Although some city governments are just now catching on to Cittaslow's ideas, individuals have been implementing slow living principles on their own for quite some time. William Powers, a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute in New York City, recently spent a year living slowly in Manhattan, a practice outlined in his new book, New Slow City. Cittaslow and Slow Food provided the foundational concepts, said Powers, for his experiment.

In order to slow down in Manhattan, Powers and his wife uncluttered their lives by giving away nearly 80 percent of their possessions and moving into a 320-square-foot apartment. He also downsized his work week by working more

efficiently. Instead of facing a constant stream of consulting, writing, and public speaking, Powers assessed his income-to-time-invested and then squeezed the most strategic tasks into a two-day work week.

Living slow, says Powers, "starts with each of us creating space to ... ask the core questions, like:

> HOW DO WE FIND BALANCE IN A WORLD THAT IS CHANGING MORE QUICKLY THAN EVER **BEFORE IN HISTORY?"**

During his yearlong experiment, Powers used his liberated time to explore New York. As he strolled downtown, flâneur style, he developed his own slow-city principle: "living at the third story." Every time he walked down the street he made a conscious effort to observe the sky, trees, and birds above him. He noticed that doing that helped him ignore the often-stressful commotion on the city's ground level and instead observe the hawks stalking pigeons from the Washington Square Arch or the leaves changing on trees growing from the sidewalk.

Thanks to increased interest from citizens like Powers, the world's biggest cities are taking steps to implement Cittaslow principles and make it easier for residents to work less, build community, and enjoy nature.

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Barcelona

Barcelona

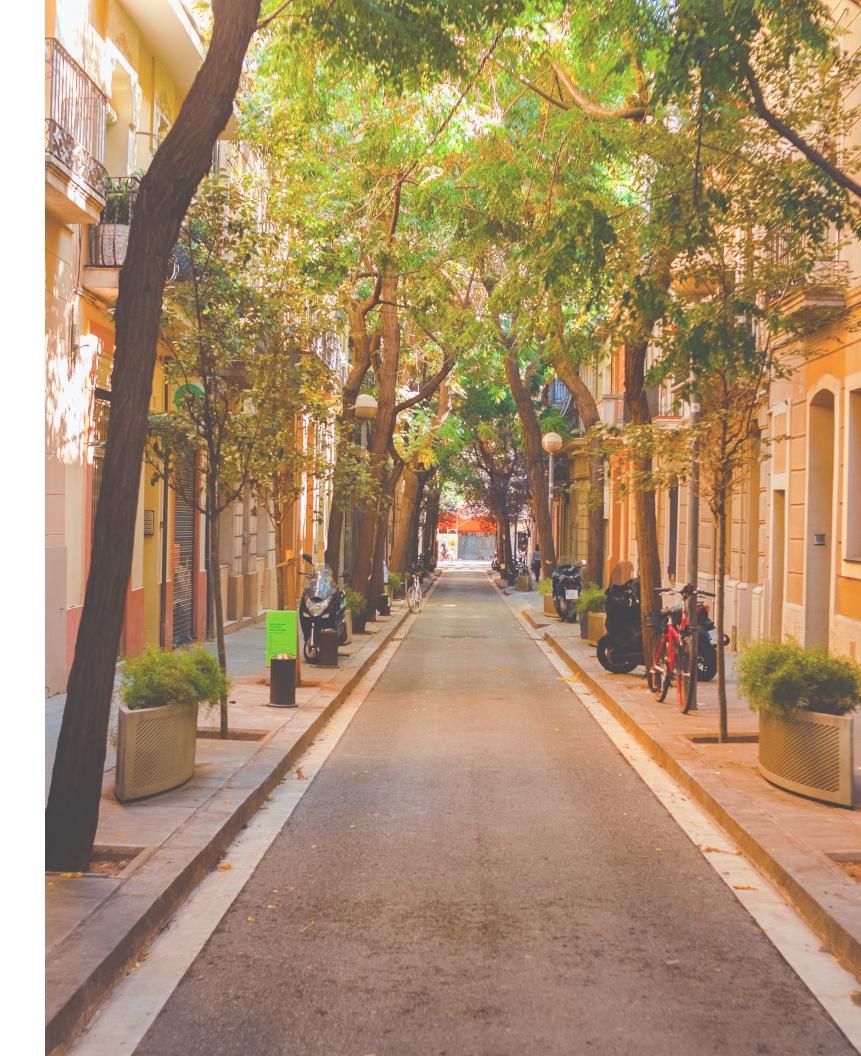
POPULATION: 1.6 Million

WHAT: Urban Agriculture

SLOW PRINCIPLE:

Smart City/ Green Urban Sanctuaries

Barcelona's mayor and the city's chief architect have both been working with Cittaslow for years, spearheading the organization's new project, "Cittaslow Metropolel." The project, geared toward bringing slow living principles to big cities, has a long list of participating cities including Busan, South Korea; San Francisco, Rome, and Milan. Barcelona's mayor announced the city's ambitious goal at the 13th Biennale of Architecture in Venice, saying he wants Barcelona "to be a city of productive neighborhoods at a human pace, making up a hyperconnected city of zero emissions." Inspired by a lecture given by Olivetion slow living principles, students at the Institute for Advanced Architecture of Catalonia (IAAC) were recently challenged to imagine each neighborhood in Barcelona as a slow city, with each piece connecting as one giant "smart city." One idea that emerged from IAAC was to transform typically underutilized urban spaces, like pedestrian bridges, as urban agriculture sites that double as green sanctuaries for citizens. More greenery means cleaner air and fresher food, and aligns with the slow principle of keeping nature within reach.





Tokyo

WHERE: Tokyo, Japan

POPULATION: 13.4 Million

> WHAT: Voluntary Blackout

SLOW PRINCIPLE:

Minimizing Environmental **Impact** Tokyo, one of the largest cities in the world, is home to its own slow living organization called Sloth Club. Founded more than 15 years ago, the club's mission includes minimizing "our destructive impact and finding joy in our life without consuming an endless chain of meaningless things." In admiration of the sloth's slow style, the club also works to save sloth forest habitat in Ecuador by supporting fair-trade products from the region.

Back in Tokyo, members of Sloth Club follow principles like eating slow, supporting local businesses, upcycling (repurposing something that could have been thrown out), and walking or using public transport. One of the club's main initiatives is a national campaign calling for residents of Tokyo to turn off electric lights for two hours in the evening during the summer and winter solstices to promote an appreciation of natural light and minimal use of electricity.

Providence Columbia

WHERE:

Providence, RI, and Columbia, MO

POPULATION:

Walking School Bus

SLOW PRINCIPLE:

Community Organizing

The "walking school bus," an original tenet of Cittaslow, is gaining popularity in places like Providence, Rhode Island, and Columbia, Missouri, where 178,000 and 115,000 thousands of schoolchildren walk to school en masse, WHAT: guided by an adult volunteer. Last year Molly Rusk wrote an article for YES! Magazine about how the trend benefits student's health and builds strong community ties.



Denver & New York

WHERE:

Denver, CO, and New York, NY

POPULATION:

649,0000 and 8.5 Million

WHAT:

Micro-apartments

SLOW PRINCIPLE: Downsizing

Denver and New York are about to cut ribbons on new micro-apartment complexes, akin to the efficiency apartments that were commonplace decades ago. For people looking to slow down their routine, affordable apartments in downtown Denver and New York City give those who would normally have to commute the ability to walk or bike to their offices.

Residents of these micro-apartments save money, can spend less time working, and minimize their impact on the environment. The units, which tend to average a compact 330 square feet, include a kitchen, bathroom, balcony, and an in-house bike and car-sharing program.





We are not alone in our cities

12 WAYS ANIMALS HAVE ADAPTED TO URBAN LIFE

By Matt Soniak

City living is changing animals in surprising ways. But they're also transforming the cities they share with us.

As cities expand, it's not just humans who are becoming increasingly urbanized. Concrete jungles and actual jungles are no longer realms apart, and as natural and human-created environments bleed into each other and intertwine, animals that walk on four legs, six or eight legs, fly or slither are calling cities home more and more.

In Feral Cities: Adventures With Animals in the Urban Jungle, released this month by Chicago Review Press, author Tristan Donovan finds that just like shifting from rural to urban living changed humans, city living is changing ani-time, urban wildlife is changing the way some cities operate and use their resources. Here are just a few examples of that back and forth from the book and other recent research.

THEY GET BIGGER

For some animals, urban areas are all-you-caneat buffets. There are bugs, garbage, and prey animals to eat, and even humans who will feed you. Sometimes this means that animals eat better in the city than they do in "the wild."

For example, Donovan says that gopher snakes in Paradise Valley, Arizona are consistently larger and in better shape than their country cousins because they have a steady supply of rats to eat. Meanwhile, in several towns around Lake Tahoe, urban bears pack on the pounds thanks to an abundance of trash and leftover food from humans and weigh almost a third more than rural ones.

Collisions with cars may be the biggest killer of Chicago's estimated 2,000 coyotes, but many of them have learned a thing or two about navigating city streets safely. Scientists study-



ing the animals as part of the Cook County they'll sit patiently on the sides of roads and on street corners waiting for traffic to stop at a red light before trying to cross. They even seem to understand divided highways, and will watch only in the direction of oncoming traffic, without looking the other way. If there's a median, they'll dash across one section of the road and repeat the process.

THEY DOWNSIZE THEIR HOMES

Like a person who shares a place with four roommates so they can live in a great neighborhood downtown, some urban animals trade personal space for the convenience of the city.

In England, rural foxes have roughly a square mile of territory to themselves, but city foxes share that same size space with up to 14 other animals. Urban rabbits don't have to share their space as much, but they have less space overall. A study in Germany found that rabbit bur-

rows in the country are large, spread-out, and Urban Coyote Research Project have found that house many animals, like a rambling multifamily country estate, while city burrows are smaller, simpler, more evenly distributed, and home to fewer individuals, like an underground complex of studio apartments.

THEY CHANGE THEIR SCHEDULES

Some city animals will change their daily schedules to exploit urban resources or avoid conflict with humans.

In Bangkok, Thailand, and New York City sparrows have become night owls, staying out later to feed because the bright lights around buildings draw plenty of insects. Urban bears around Lake Tahoe also work the night shift, eating and moving more after sunset so there's less risk of bumping into people. In Germany, boars have adjusted their activities to humans' schedules.

During hunting season, the animals are known to commute from rural forest areas to the





suburbs of Berlin during the weekend to avoid hunters, and then head back to the country during the week when the forests are safer.

THEY MOVE AROUND AS AREAS GENTRIFY

Urban sparrows in London are drawn to old run-down homes with holes or nooks and crannies to build nests in. As neighborhoods change and old houses are renovated or torn down and replaced, their winged residents often have to fly off and find a section of the city that's more accommodating.

In India, development is also leaving sparrows without an easy food source. In the past, the birds would pick at leftover bits of grain and vegetables as people cleaned and prepared food outside their home or at an open window. Now, more urban Indians have access to grocery stores and prepared and packaged foods, and sparrows have to fend for themselves more.

THEY'RE HEALTHIER

With more resources and fewer predators, urban animals often have an easier life than their rural counterparts, and in several species that's reflected in their mortality rates and health.

Chicago's coyotes have an annual survival rate twice that of rural coyotes living outside of protected areas. Monkeys living in Jodhpur, India emerged largely unscathed from a se-

vere drought in the early 2000s that cut rural populations by almost half. And while calling a rat clean is maybe going a bit overboard, city rats tend to carry fewer diseases and parasites than rural ones because, researchers think, they have less contact with livestock excrement from farms and their human neighbors don't harbor many parasites.

THEY GET BOLDER

Routine exposure to humans lessens animals' fear of us, and the occasional handout teaches them to associate us with food.

In Los Angeles, this led to some problems after people started leaving plates of food out for animals in Griffith Park. Some coyotes had gotten used to the free meals and would approach people in the park, nip them on the shin as a way of asking for some food (the same way they do with fellow coyotes), and then sit and wait for a handout. Eventually, three coyotes that had gotten too used to humans and free snacks had to be killed to prevent conflicts.

ARCHITECTURE BECOMES WEAPONIZED

Every year, Indianapolis sees an influx of starlings that Donovan says makes downtown feel like a scene out of Hitchcock's The Birds. Starlings crowd into city parks and congregate all over buildings, leaving park benches, windows and sidewalks "slippery with waste."

27 OUR PLANET OUR PLANET 28 The birds' droppings are acidic enough to eat away at limestone and copper and carries diseases and parasites.

To protect public property and public health, some buildings in the city are outfitted with a number of tools to discourage the birds from hanging out on and around them. There are rooftop sound systems that blare starling distress calls to scare them away, plastic nets and electrified wires that prevent the birds from landing on ledges, and even a large balloon decorated with eyes that the starlings find terrifying.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS PICK UP NEW SKILLS

Forget the cat stuck in a tree. In Miami, the county fire rescue service deals with the city's populations of exotic snakes and other reptiles. Moving into animal control made sense for them, says Donovan, because they were already up and running 24 hours a day and most citizens called 911 when they spotted a weird or scary animal. The service has its own internationally renowned venom response unit that's equipped with the largest store of antivenoms in the U.S.

CITIES KEEP HUNTING SQUADS ON CALL

When the wild boars that roam Berlin get sick or injured, they can get very aggressive and

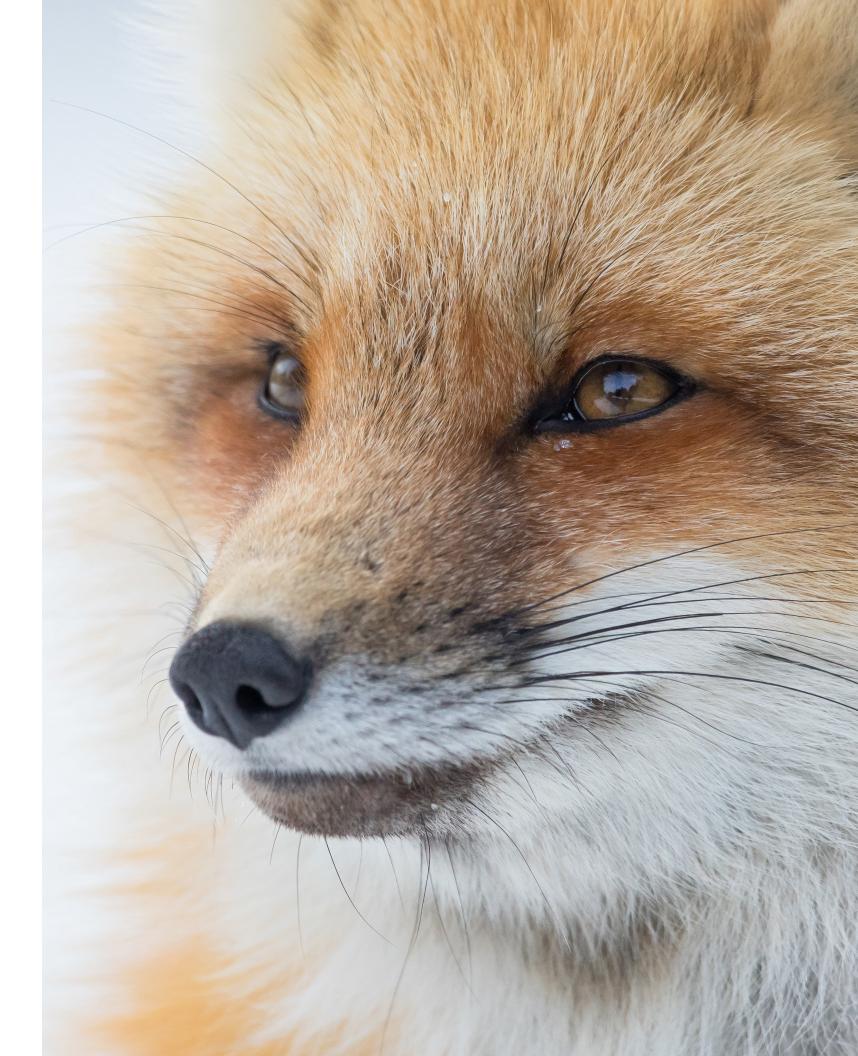
lash out at people, which often means they need to be destroyed. Gunning down a several-hundred-pound boar on a busy street isn't exactly easy, though, and the city police department is often reluctant to take on the task because of paperwork involved. So the city's wildlife officer regularly calls on a volunteer force of Stadtjägers, or city hunters, to contend with the boars in exchange for any meat that's fit to keep from the animals.

SOME GO DARK OR BUILD FOR THE BIRDS

Cities can be a great place for birds to live, but for those that are just passing through, they can be a death trap. Chicago happens to lie in the path of the Mississippi Flyway, a major northsouth route for North America's migratory birds, and the city's lights can distract and attract them, leading to collisions with buildings.

In one night, there can be as many as 1,000 collisions at one building, according to Chicago Bird Collision Monitors. In response, Chicago and other cities on migratory routes have implemented "lights out" programs where buildings keep their lights off at night. Other cities, like Toronto, require that new construction implement certain "bird-safe" design aspects, like exterior lights that don't point skyward and timers or motion sensors that switch interior lights off when the day is done.





5 Medicinal Herbs You Can Grow in Your Backyard

By Miles Schneiderman

These herbs aren't just for cooking - here's how you can use them to treat ailments from asthma to anxiety.

At its core, most of medicine is still herbology, according to Dr. Jenn Dazey, naturopathic physician at Bastyr University's Department of Botanical Medicine. And growing your own medicinal garden is easier than it might seem. In fact, you might already have one. Many common culinary herbs have a long history as traditional medicines.

THE THEFT







3. Catnip

NEPETA CATARIA

USE IT FOR:

Treating common psychological problems such as insomnia, anxiety, and addiction. It's also a natural sedative for children, particularly when they are sick, as it helps soothe the stomach and relax the body.

GROW IT:

Catnip is a perennial that prefers rich, welldrained soil or loam and will grow in full sun or partial shade.

HOW:

Dry leaves and mix with honey for eating, or brew in a tea.

INTERESTING TO NOTE:

Catnip can also be used as an insect repellant, although Dr. Dazey recommends avoiding it if you are planning to enter forests or jungles populated by large cats.







Can we save our planet?

WHAT THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT CAN LEARN
From the Nuclear Freeze Campaign

By Duncan Meisel

The Nuclear Freeze Campaign of the 1980s saved the world from nuclear war. Here's what today's climate activists can learn from its success.

2014 was the hottest year in recorded history. 2015 is on track to be even hotter – and yet, before the most important international climate talks of the decade, even the most ambitious promises of action will fall short of what science demands.

At the same time, the movement to stop climate change is also making history – last year the United States saw the biggest climate march in history, as well as the growth of a fossil fuel divestment movement (the

fastest growing divestment campaign ever), and a steady drumbeat of local victories against the fossil fuel industry.

In short, the climate movement, and humanity, is up against an existential wall: Find ways to organize for decisive action, or face the end of life as we know it. This is scary stuff, but if you think no movement has ever faced apocalyptic challenges before, and won, then it's time you learned about the Nuclear Freeze campaign. Following Ronald Reagan's election in 1980, the global anti-nuclear movement also stood up to a global existential crisis – one that was also driven by a wealthy power elite, backed by faulty science and a feckless liberal establishment that failed to mobilize



against a massive threat. The movement responded with new ideas and unprecedented numbers to help lead the world towards de-escalation and an end to the Cold War.

Under the banner of the Nuclear Freeze, millions of people helped pull the planet from the brink of nuclear war, setting off the most decisive political changes of the past half century. The freeze provides key lessons for the climate movement today; and as we face up to our own existential challenges, it's worth reflecting on both the successes and failures of the freeze campaign, as one possible path towards the kind of political action we need.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NUCLEAR FREEZE CAMPAIGN In 1979, at the third annual meeting of Mobilization for Survival, a scientist and activist named Randall Forsberg introduced an idea

that would transform the anti-nuclear weapons movement. She called for a bilateral freeze in new nuclear weapons construction, backed by both the United States and the Soviet Union, as a first step towards complete disarmament.

Shortly afterwards, she drafted a four-page "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race" and worked with fellow activists to draft a four-year plan of action that would move from broad-based education and organizing into decisive action in Washington, D.C.

Starting in 1980, the idea took hold at the grassroots, with a series of city and state referendum campaigns calling for a Nuclear Freeze,

ESCALATING INTO A MASSIVE, NATIONWIDE WAVE OF BALLOT INITIATIVES IN NOVEMBER 1982



 ${\sf MICHAEL\,EVANS,\,THE\,WHITE\,HOUSE/GETTY\,IMAGES}$

- the largest ever push in U.S. history, with over a third of the country participating.

The movement also advanced along other roads: In June 1982, they held the largest rally in U.S. history up to that point, with somewhere between 750,000 and 1 million people gathering in New York City's Central Park, along with countless other endorsements from labor, faith and progressive groups of all stripes. Direct action campaigns against test sites and nuclear labs also brought the message into the heart of the military industrial complex.

The effort continued into electoral and other political waters until around early 1985, pushing peace measures at the ballot box and in the nation's capital, but never quite returned to the peak of mobilization seen in 1982.

The impact of this organizing was palpable: President Reagan went from calling arms treaties with the Soviets "fatally flawed" in 1980, and declaring the USSR an "evil empire" in a speech dedicated to attacking the freeze initiative in 1983, to saying that the Americans and Soviets have "common interests... to avoid war and reduce the level of arms." He even went so far as to say that his dream was "to see the day when nuclear weapons will be banished from the face of the earth." The movement's popular success led the president to make new arms control pledges as part of his strategy for victory in the 1984 election.

"If things get hotter and hotter and arms control remains an issue," Reagan explained in 1983, "maybe I should go see [Soviet Premier Yuri] Andropov and propose eliminating all nuclear weapons."

Reagan's rhetorical and policy softening in 1984 opened the door for Mikhail Gorbachav – a true believer in the severity of the nuclear threat, and an advocate for de-escalation – to



LIONEL DELEVINGNE, OUTRIDER, ORG

rise to power in the Soviet Union in 1985. Gorbachev's steps to withdraw missiles and end nuclear testing, supported by global peace and

justice movements, created a benevolent cycle with the United States that eventually brought down the Iron Curtain and ended the Cold war.

Although the freeze policy was never formally adopted by the United States or Soviet Union, and the movement didn't move forward into full abolition of nuclear weapons, the political changes partially initiated by the campaign did functionally realize their short term demand.

AS A RESULT, GLOBAL NUCLEAR STOCKPILES HAVE INDEED BEEN DECLINING SINCE 1986,

as the two superpowers began to step back from the nuclear brink.

THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT HAS ROOM TO GROW

While the Nuclear Freeze shows that movements can move mountains – or at least global super powers – it also shows that the climate movement isn't yet close to doing so. For starters, its size is not at the scale of where it needs to be – not by historical measures, at least. The

largest mobilization of the Nuclear Freeze campaign was the largest march in U.S. history up to that point, and included double the number of people who participated in the People's Climate March. The referendum campaigns that reached their peak later in 1982 were historic on a different scale as well: They were on the ballot in 10 states, Washington, D.C., and 37 cities and counties, before going on to win in nine states and all but three cities. The vote covered roughly a third of the U.S. electorate.

This was a movement powered by thousands of local organizations working in loose, but functional, coordination. Even in 1984, which is generally considered after the peak of the Nuclear Freeze campaign, the Freeze Voter PAC (created at the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign conference in St. Louis in 1983) included 20,000 volunteers in 32 states – an electoral push thus far unmatched in the climate movement's history.



At the same time, this moment also showed how quickly movements can decline. While the Nuclear Freeze campaign thrived in the very early 1980s, press and popular attention rapidly dissipated. There are many possible reasons that could explain this: from a shift in strategy away from grassroots campaigns towards legislative action (the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign conference moved from St. Louis to Washington, D.C., around this time), to a softening of President Reagan's nuclear posture, taking the wind out of the movement's sails. The real answer is probably a combination of all of the above. From a peak of organizing in 1982-83, participation in the movement significantly declined by the mid-1980s, and mostly dropped off the political radar well before 1990.

FEAR IS A REAL MOTIVATOR AND A REAL RISK

What drove the initial outpouring of action? In no small part, it was fear. As Morrisey, lead singer of The Smiths, sang in 1986,

"IT'S THE BOMB THAT WILL BRING US TOGETHER."

In the late 1970s, research about the survivability of a nuclear conflict became dramatically clearer, showing that even limited nuclear exchanges could threaten all life on Earth. Also in this period, Physicians for Social Responsibility initiated a widespread education campaign that dramatized the local impacts of nuclear conflict on cities around the country. These developments, combined with the real impact of Reagan's escalatory rhetoric, created fertile ground for the freeze campaign, allowing movement voices to appear more reasonable than the technocratic nuclear priesthood that had lost touch with the public's fears. Only when Reagan began to step back his posturing and present alternative arms control proposals was he able to blunt the power of the movement.



LEE FREY/GETTY IMAGES, OUTRIDER.ORG

The debate about the use of fear in the climate movement is ongoing, but compared to the debate about nuclear weapons, the mainstream climate movement under-appeals to the fear of climate change. While it's clear that apocalyptic, decontextualized appeals to fear are demotivating, grounded assessments of the problem that speak honestly about how scary the problem really is, and are attached to feasible solutions are crucial to mobilizing large numbers of people. One example of an effective appeal to fear was Bill McKibben's widely-read 2012 Rolling Stone article "Global Warming's TerrifyingNew Math," which succeeded for several reasons: First, it used specific, scientifically grounded numbers to explain approaching thresholds for serious change. Secondly, it also was connected to a new, national organizing effort to divest from fossil fuels, including a 21-city tour that provided critical mass to begin campaigning.

Nevertheless, fear is, by its nature, hard to control and – in the case of the freeze campaign – it provided an opportunity for co-optation of the movement's rhetoric. Most significantly, President Reagan's Star Wars program was able to redirect the fear of nuclear exchange into a technocratic, bloated military project – rather than solutions to the root cause of the problem. The Reagan administration drew on the president's personal charisma and reflexive trust in the power of the military industrial complex to transform some of the concern generated by the movement, and turn it towards his own ends.

The climate movement faces a similar threat from technical solutions that benefit elites, such as crackpot schemes to geoengineer climate solutions by further altering the Earth's weather in the hopes of reversing planetary heating, as well as other unjust ways of managing the climate crisis.

DISCUSSIONS ABOUT BIG PROBLEMS NEED TO BE PAIRED WITH APPROACHABLE, BUT BIG SOLUTIONS.



ONE SIMPLE DEMAND

The Nuclear Freeze proposal turned the complex and treacherous issue of arms control into a simple concept: Stop building more weapons until we figure a way out of the mess. It was a proposal designed to be approachable in its simplicity, and careful in the way it addressed competing popular fears of both nuclear annihilation and perceived Soviet aggression.

The idea of a bilateral freeze – the United States stops building if the Soviet Union does too – handled both of these concerns in a way that made the nuclear problem about growing arms stockpiles, not the specifics of Cold War politics. Even though the movement against nuclear weapons had existed as long as the weapons themselves, the idea of the bilateral

freeze turned arms control much more into the mainstream of American political discussion at a moment of real escalation with the Soviets.

In a certain way, climate change is simple too: We need to stop building fossil fuel infrastructure wherever there are viable renewable or low-carbon alternatives, and do it quickly. Growing the movement in this moment will require bold, bright lines that provide moral directness and opportunities to take giant leaps forward in terms of actual progress to reduce carbon emissions.

The simplicity of the freeze idea was intentional. At their meeting in 1981, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign made it clear that the path to power was not through access in Washington,

but through "recruiting active organizational and public support" – a strategy that required demands that were easy and quick to explain.

Developing such active public support was a wide-ranging process, but the campaign distinguished itself from other contemporary peace movements by its use of the electoral system – first via local and state referendums in 1980-82, and then with initiatives like Freeze Voter in 1984.

The referendum strategy, in particular, was a tool that offered intuitive, broad-based entry points for organizing with clear steps for participants. And it worked: The freeze campaign won an overwhelming number of the referendums it was a part of in 1982. Combined

with demonstrations, education campaigns and other grassroots actions, this strategy allowed the movement to translate public sympathy into demonstrable public support.

It is possible that the current moment in the climate debate could be ripe in a similar way. The public broadly favors more climate action , but is faced with relatively few meaningful opportunities to act on it. The task of growing the climate movement is in many ways a task of activating these people with opportunities for deeper involvement.

OTHER LESSONS LEARNED

An important caveat must be made when discussing the breadth of the freeze campaign's support. Its demographics – mostly

white and more middle class than the public at large - reflected those of the establishment peace movement from which it came. That lack of diversity not only represents a failure of organizing, but also could have contributed to the movement's lack of staying power and lasting political potency.

While at least one key freeze organizer I spoke with said explicitly that the climate movement is succeeding in this regard in ways they never did, the experience of the Nuclear Freeze explains just a few of the perils of failing to create a real diverse climate movement.

THIS IS A CHALLENGE THAT WILL TAKE WORK THROUGHOUT THE LIFE OF THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT, BUT IT'S AT LEAST UNDERWAY IN SOME KEY REGARDS.

The freeze campaign thrived on an initial wave of activism that was grounded in local organizing via the referendum strategy. But after organizing shifted (perhaps prematurely) more towards legislative strategies, the next steps for the hundreds of thousands of people involved in the campaign never emerged. After the freeze became mainstream discourse – supported by hundreds of members of Congress, presidential candidates and millions of voters - the next step towards disarmament remained murky.

Ultimately, the referendum strategy was symbolic: Cities and states did not have any formal power over U.S. or Soviet nuclear arsenals. But symbols matter, and so does democracy. The overwhelming vote for the freeze in 1982 shifted the political ground out from underneath liberal hawks and the president, allowing more progressive voices to ride the movement's coattails - to the point where the 1984 Democratic Party platform included a freeze plank. In other words, it turned diffuse public opinion into a concrete count of bodies at the polls.

The referendum vote also asserted the right of people to decide such weighty issues, taking them out of the realm of the military industrial complex and into the light of day. When asked, people wanted a chance to be involved. The massive and democratic nature of the freeze campaign struck a blow against the social license of the nuclear industrial complex by yanking the implied consent of the majority of the American people from both the military's leadership and their tactics.

THE PATH FORWARD IN AN UNCERTAIN TIME

As the divestment movement grows, particularly on college campuses – another effort aimed at the social license of an entrenched and distant power elite – the lessons of the freeze campaign suggest that the climate movement will need to answer many important questions in the coming months and years.

We know how to march, but what comes next? Public opinion has shifted, perhaps decisively, but how do we turn that diffuse energy into a story about the need for action? If we mobilize in 2016 for the election, what comes in 2017? And if we organize towards a single big demand, as the Freeze campaign did in the 80s, how will we translate that into ongoing power?

The climate movement faces an epic, unique struggle, but the challenges it faces as a movement are not as singular as some may think. As the movement ventures onto new ground, it's worth remembering that others have done what felt like the impossible, in the face of an uncertain future - and triumphed.

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Staying Human

in a time of climate change

NEW AUTHOR ON SCIENCE, GREIF, AND HOPE

By Christopher Zumski Finke

For geographer and author M Jackson, knowing climate science isn't enough. We need to get our hearts involved too.

Author M Jackson's While Glaciers Slept: Being Human in a Time of Climate Change was released last week by Green Writers Press. In the book, Jackson's first, she examines climate change by combining personal stories with scientific exploration. As both a scientist and a writer by trade, Jackson studied climate change and how to communicate science through writing at the Environmental Science Graduate Program at the University of Montana.

sitates an experience of grieving." "I wanted to explore our capacity to experience futures that are shapeable and malleable and

personal loss – the loss of family, the loss of

lovers, the loss of a local landscape, the loss of certainty in the weather – to grieve profoundly while simultaneously not giving in," Jackson says.

In the opening pages of While Glaciers Slept, Jackson explains that both her parents died of cancer within two years of one another while she was in her twenties. Her experiences of loss, and the despair that followed, is the central current of her book.

> "CLIMATE CHANGE, LIKE THE LOSS OF PARENTS, NECESSITATES AN EXPERIENCE OF GRIEVING,"

"Climate change, like the loss of parents, necesthe 32-year-old author says. "That also includes" picking up the pieces and moving forward into hinged upon millions of individual imaginations."



with the scientific exploration of our Earth and solar system. When she opens a chapter with learning of her father's cancer for the first time, readers end up in a discussion about the history of wind power as a human energy source (it starts in seventh century Afghanistan, for the record). Bill McKibben, who wrote the introduction to While Glaciers Slept, draws on the duality of Jackson's book by asking if our big human brain "has come attached to a big enough heart to get us out of the trouble we're in." Jackson herself hopes blurring the distinction between the heart and the brain will help humans make it through this period.

The jacket of Jackson's book describes her as an adventurer, and the word seems to fit her well. As a trip leader with the National Geographic Student Expeditions, Jackson takes students on field assignments to study different After my mother died, I was numb, in shock, cultures and the diversity of the natural world. Currently, she's heading to Iceland, and then Alaska, on a tour of lectures about climate change. Despite her busy schedule, Jackson has managed to find the time to also become a ment, my mind kept telling me not to stay in Ph.D. candidate in geography at the University

Jackson expertly pairs her loss, grief, and anger of Oregon. Once her lecture tour is done, she will head back to Iceland for nine months of doctoral research on the effects of glacial loss on the Icelandic people.

> In the midst of her adventuring, I chatted with Jackson over email about her book, the vulnerability of writing about loss, and how she

REMAINS HOPEFUL WHEN **CONFRONTED BY THE** CHALLENGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE.

Christopher Zumski Finke:

You could have written one book about climate change, and another one about how you've coped with the death of your parents. Instead, you combined them into a single book. Why?

M Jackson:

and having a difficult time engaging with the world. In many ways, I just turned off. It was too much to handle. But while my heart was in pieces and tucked down in the darkest basethat grief-stricken landscape for too long - or

I might not come back. So I started writing – because, for me, writing makes me feel like I am participating in the world. I started writing about my mother.

But then my father died, and there I was, numb and in shock again. And my heart was not coming out of that dark basement. Eventually, when my mind piped up and started chatting, it drew analogies between what I was experiencing – the loss of my parents – and what I was researching - climate change. The language for both is quite similar. This is what I focused on.

Zumski Finke:

Your book explores the loss you felt, and pairs it with climate change, energy solutions, and scientific discovery. Big heart and big brain, as Bill McKibben puts it in your book's intro. Are you a heart or head person?

Jackson^{*}

I am both a big heart and a big brain person, but I think my heart tends to filter my mind.

Zumski Finke:

How does that dynamic influence your thinking about climate change?

Jackson: I think we can create the very best science out there about the problems of climate change, yet if we aren't filtering that science through our hearts, there remains - as we see today – a disengagement.

> PEOPLE INTELLECTUALLY UNDERSTAND CLIMATE CHANGE; WE KNOW "THE SCIENCE" OF IT. BUT NOW, VITALLY, WE NEED MORE HEART.

Zumski Finke:

I want to ask about the section of your book when you're brought into close contact with the woman driving the car that crashed into your mother and led to the amputation of her leg. In those pages you explore your impulse for violence, and your thoughts wander into cold, alien planets hidden in the cosmos. It's a beautiful piece of writing. What is it like writing, and sharing, such personal pieces of your experience?

Jackson:

Climatic changes are experienced first through the human condition. We are living in this changing world together and subsequently are in many ways responsible to one another for our



actions. That's a really big thing. How do we even start that move forward in a productive manner? If anything, climate change has shined a really bright light on the rampant inequities of Jackson: the human condition on this planet.

WHY ARE WE ALL NOT ANGRY?

For me, I think that authentically sharing our personal experiences – the good and the bad and everything in the middle - is an excellent place to start, to move forward into our shared future. In the book, I tried to share my experience as I lived it. And there are times when I go back through the pages and certain things catch me. This was a hard book to write, and it makes me vulnerable in a way to the world. But then, we have to be vulnerable. Climate change imaginative people must have about who we is made up of millions people, human beings with human lives. My story is your story, and our

7umski Finke:

Your book has garnered attention from climate change deniers and trolls. That started even before it was released. How are you handling that?

Jackson:

Today, I'm largely ignoring them. I wasn't at first, and I found the negative attention – let's call it what it is: hate mail - incredibly hurtful. But that was in the beginning. The thing is, while my heart goes out to the people who think sending bullying, sexualized, and hateful letters is somehow helpful, I do not have time for them.

Climatic change is increasing on our shared planet. I'm interested in moving forward and working on collective and creative methods for living with existing climatic changes and ameliorating further impacts.

Zumski Finke:

Are you optimistic about the future of combating climate change?

I am not necessarily optimistic about combating climate change – I'm not sure that is the most helpful way to think about the changes that are and will be happening. I am optimistic about slowing and lessening our global greenhouse gas emissions, learning to live with present day climatic changes, and shaping our future and our society's place within that future.

Climate change is not an enemy to be vanquished; it is a phenomenon deeply tied to our daily lived existence. It is part of the conversation our mixed up, beautiful, contrary, and are as a people and where we want to go.

I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PEOPLES' BETTER SELVES, AND I THINK RIGHT NOW IS AN OPTIMISTIC, HOPEFUL TIME WHERE WE CAN BE BOLD TOGETHER.

Zumski Finke:

That's a nicely described vision for climate optimism. How do you manage to stay that way?

Jackson:

For me, there isn't another option. I don't find terrifying messages of apocalyptic disaster all that helpful, nor the messages about every single thing that wasn't done perfectly right.

There is no fabled "solution" for climate change. Rather, there are a million and more creative ways to engage at multiple scales across the planet. What works in one place might not translate to another, or up or down a scale of governance. What I have seen are hundreds of thousands of people quietly getting things rolling.

