



Last year PDF sponsored two Kingian nonviolence trainings in the Bay Area, and PDF Program Coordinator, Kazu Haga, became certified as a Kingian Nonviolence trainer. Over the fall, he started working in Oakland to implement Kingian theory, especially in relation to the Oscar Grant shooting by a BART policeman, Johannes Mehserle. Kazu reported to PDF's Board about the trainings, and Board members suggested that PDF learn more about the theory. They embraced Kazu's suggestion to have a two-day introductory training for Board and staff.



CLOCKWISE, FROM TOP LEFT  
 Jonathan Lewis leading the workshop;  
 Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr.;  
 workshop exercise

# Kingian Nonviolence Workshop for PDF

"I'm very excited about the possibility of this for PDF, but also for my own work with formerly incarcerated people," said Board member, Tina Reynolds. "What's missing in much of the criminal justice work I see is how to act another way. We need to change people's thinking about conflict and conflict reconciliation."

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his allies developed this theory of nonviolence, which became the organizing model behind the Civil Rights Movement. The curriculum that PDF Board and staff followed at our January Board meeting was written by Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr. with David C. Jehnsen. PDF was privileged to have Dr. LaFayette and his wife, Kate, a certified trainer, attend the session. Board members, staff, family and friends also participated, making up a group of 17, ages 21 to 65. "We've been talking about this for so long," said Board President, Teresa Juarez at the outset of the training. "We are seeing the process which underlies peaceful communities. I think this training will answer a lot of questions for me."

During an emotional and intense two-day work-

shop led by Kazu and Jonathan Lewis, Director of Nonviolence Education for **The Gathering** (a PDF program partner), punctuated with wisdom, insight and storytelling from Dr. LaFayette, PDF participants investigated the methodology and principles underlying nonviolent conflict reconciliation.

## The PDF Training

Kingian nonviolence uses a three-step process: 1) an analysis of the nature of human conflict; 2) the philosophy of nonviolence and reconciliation; and 3) methodologies for organizing campaigns.

In a lively discussion, PDF participants examined and questioned the principles, trading stories and fears. "Your spirit is enriched and much more powerful because of your experience, even when it is negative," encouraged Dr. LaFayette. "Brokenness can allow you to grow stronger in the broken places."

"This helps us understand the work we're already doing in a deeper way," commented Board member, Lori Goodman. "We do this work because we care—in

some way it is therapy for us in the face of the violence we see everyday."

Dr. King's organizing model has six steps: *information gathering* (not jumping to uninformed conclusions or actions), *education*, *personal commitment*, *negotiation* (the most important step in an organizing campaign), *direct action* (a useful tactic, where the goal is to give yourself leverage to go back to the negotiating table), and *reconciliation* (not just at the leadership level, but between the communities).

With PDF participants, Dr. LaFayette focused on the organizing model in detail. "Test reactions before you protest," said Dr. LaFayette, noting the early dry runs made by the lunch counter demonstrators in Nashville, TN. This part of information gathering helps you to understand the thinking of your opponent, and to deal with your own fears. "Be aware of different audiences," he added, discussing education. Work on a local problem that correlates with a national issue, so that the issue can be framed in three words or less.

## Recent Grants

(A STAR DENOTES A NEW GRANTEE)

★ The Caia Connection, Victoria, BC, Canada  
www.caiaconnection.com

Cambodian Water Project of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA  
www.peacedevelopmentfund.org/page/h2o

Center for Environmental & Economic Justice, Biloxi, MS  
www.envirojustice.com

Center on Race, Poverty & the Environment, San Francisco, CA  
www.crpe-ej.org

Changing Worlds, Chicago, IL  
www.changingworlds.org

Chiapas Media Project/Promedios, Chicago, IL  
www.promediosmexico.org

Class Action, Hadley, MA  
www.classism.org

Commonwealth Center for Change, Northampton, MA  
www.commonwealthcenter.org

Community Involved in Sustaining Agriculture, South Deerfield, MA  
www.buylocalfood.com

Confederación Nacional Campesina (National Farmworker Federation) – CONFENACA, Provincia La Vega, Dominican Republic

Defense Depot Memphis Tennessee – Concerned Citizens' Committee, Memphis, TN

Education to Empower, Framingham, MA  
www.educationtoempower.org

International Indian Treaty Council, Palmer, AK  
www.treatycouncil.org

La Mujer Obrera, El Paso, TX  
www.mujebrera.org

Minding The Arts, Amherst, MA  
www.mindingthearts.com

National Day Laborer Organizing Network, Los Angeles, CA  
www.ndlon.org

National Priorities Project, Northampton, MA  
www.nationalpriorities.org

New Mexico Alliance, Chimayo, NM

Northwest Social and Environmental Justice Institute, Zillah, WA

★ OneFam, Oakland, CA  
www.onefam.org

Pine Bluff for Safe Disposal, Pine Bluff, AR

The Prison Birth Project, Northampton, MA  
www.theprisonbirthproject.org

★ Progressive Communicators Network, Easthampton, MA  
www.progressivecommunicators.net

Promoting Active Nonviolence, Colrain, MA

Tanzanian School Aid Project, Amherst, MA  
www.peacedevelopmentfund.org/page/tanzanian

White Earth Land Recovery Project, Callaway, MN  
www.welrp.org

WMUA 91.1 FM (*Democracy Now!*), Amherst, MA  
www.wmua.org

Women on the Rise Telling HerStory, Bronx, NY  
http://womenontherise-worth.org/



TOP RIGHT  
Dr. Mildred McClain of Citizens for Environmental Justice and Rev. Brendolyn Jenkins of Imani Group

TOP TO BOTTOM  
Dr. McClain, a BASE delegate, presents a gift on behalf of impacted communities to Claire Greensfelder of International Forum on Globalization, a longtime friend and ally.

BASE's Press Briefing, "Ruling Out the Nuclear Option": *from left to right*, Paul Haible (PDF), Kazu Haga (PDF), Earl Tulley (Diné CARE), Miguel Moreno (Product of Aztlan), Chief Gary Harrison (Chickaloon Village)

BASE delegates with the Prince of Monaco: *from left to right*, Chief Gary Harrison (Chickaloon Village), Prince Albert II of Monaco, Rev. Brendolyn Jenkins (Imani Group), Earl Tulley (Diné CARE)

Earl Tulley interviews a Sámi youth (representing the indigenous people from Northern Europe).

### DEVELOPING PEACE

#### MEANS

Creating world class,  
green and sustainable,  
decentralized and  
humane urban centers  
and cities while  
rebuilding Detroit, New  
Orleans, Port-au-Prince,  
Gaza, Baghdad and  
Kabul.



## GOOD NEWS/BAD NEWS FROM

A delegation from PDF's BASE Initiative (Building Action for Sustainable Environments), along with representatives from over 190 nations and a huge cast of NGO representatives, gathered in Copenhagen, Denmark last December for the United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP 15). Representatives from BASE and PDF included Earl Tulley of **Diné CARE**; Dr. Mildred McClain of **Citizens for Environmental Justice**; Rev. Brendolyn Jenkins of the **Imani Group**; Miguel Moreno of the **Product of Aztlan**; Paul Haible, PDF's Executive Director; Teresa Juarez, President of PDF's Board; and Kazu Haga, PDF's Program Coordinator. Included in the delegation was Chief Gary Harrison of **Chickaloon Village** (Alaska) and the Arctic Athabaskan Council, whose prior experience at climate change meetings and in Copenhagen helped the delegation navigate COP 15.

The BASE delegation spent the week voicing the concerns of communities impacted by the nuclear cycle: *that nuclear energy is not clean, green, cheap, efficient, safe or renewable*. As the Obama Administration advances a nuclear option we believe that nuclear power cannot be considered part of the solution to climate change. In fact, current analyses have found that investing in new reactors will slow the development of cheaper, faster, safer and more secure energy sources. Interestingly, PDF was the only environmental justice NGO from the U.S. promoting a non-nuclear approach, and one of the few worldwide that was raising the issue of nuclear energy at the conference.

The road to Copenhagen began in 1992, when countries met in Rio de Janeiro at the Earth Summit and adopted the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, establishing the foundation for an international response to global warming. The Kyoto Protocol followed, which the U.S. initially signed but then did not ratify.

More recently, China has aggressively pursued a role as the world's leading exporter of clean energy technologies, while investing heavily in nuclear power. President Obama invoked nuclear power in his State of the Union address and later announced federal loan guarantees for the first new nuclear power plants to be built in the U.S., saying more nuclear power is needed to keep pace with others such as China, Japan and France.

Indeed, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission changed the status of the Tennessee Valley Authority's nuclear reactor project from "terminated" to

"deferred," enabling work to resume on a project which was officially dead in 2006. More than 100 projects were abandoned during the 1980s and 1990s in the U.S. With the TVA taking this first step, others may soon follow.

### All Those Mines, and the Waste

BASE's goal was to represent those who live with the uranium mines, enrichment plants, transportation routes and numerous research, production, storage and waste facilities that are part of the nuclear industry-- which are NOT carbon neutral. Even though President Obama started a commission which will, in two years, provide a report on how the U.S. will handle the accumulating waste, for these communities, the nuclear cycle has never been, and will never be, peaceful or clean.

"For the first time in my history in the movement," said PDF's Teresa Juarez, "the burden indigenous people throughout the world have carried was clear from the Latino, Caribe and African nations. In Copenhagen, we wanted to make PDF visible, to show that people in the U.S. are working on anti-nuclear issues and innovative energy applications. In that, we were able to succeed on behalf of the BASE communities."

"We had limited, modest expectations but we wanted to get our point across that nuclear energy is not a solution to climate change. We're working with the Federal Interagency Working Group on Environmental Justice, and other agencies, trying to influence them to reflect our perspective," added Dr. McClain, whose community lies down river from the Savannah River Site in South Carolina.

In fact, PDF's office in Amherst, MA is just south of Vermont Yankee, the source of recent leaks and breakdowns. A local, vocal, anti-nuclear community fought a re-licensing effort on a plant that has exceeded its structural soundness mandate. Sharing their concerns, the Vermont Senate voted to block operation of the plant after the license expires in 2012. PDF grantees, **Citizens Awareness Network** and **Vermont Citizens Action Network**, have been an important part of this anti-nuclear community.

### A New Economic Order

Analysts in the U.S. estimate that new technologies such as wind and solar power could support 20 million jobs by 2030. China not only plans to generate 15 percent of its energy from renewable sources by 2020, but hopes to become the world's leading exporter of clean



Darrin Henry and Lori Goodman

## KINGIAN NONVIOLENCE

CONTINUED FROM COVER

Commenting about the need for personal commitment, Dr. LaFayette said, “When you get involved in a movement, there is no timetable. You have to be prepared to go all the way.”

Dr. LaFayette shared a wealth of stories about negotiations in the Civil Rights Movement, using the lunch counter sit-ins as a prime example. “In traditional negotiations, you take all you can get and still leave your opponent happy. With nonviolent negotiations, we want the opponent to feel they are also getting the most out of a situation and want to become your ally.” Don’t change your demands in the middle of your negotiations, even if you sense your opponent is vulnerable, he advised. This gives your opponent the opportunity to save face and to enlist as your ally.

“Take direct action only after you’ve tried negotiating and it’s not working,” he stated. The purpose of direct action is to get your opponent back to the negotiating table, “not to demolish them.” Finally, reconciliation allows you to find a way to work together for a new goal.

Four major types and three levels of conflict were identified by the trainers: “pathway” conflict, where people have the same overall goals but different methods for reaching them; “mutually exclusive” conflict, where people have different goals but choose to function together; “distributive” conflict when there are not enough, or the *perception* that there are not enough resources for everyone; and “value conflict,” describing people who have different values and different visions.

Levels of progressive conflict consist of: “normal” (a result of daily life pressures), “pervasive” (conflict may erupt at any moment), and “overt.” Overt conflict, the trainers explained, is the accumulation of smaller conflicts which are not reconciled. It is necessary to understand the roots of overt conflict. We need to understand the history of a situation in order to reconcile the conflict.

“Systemic violence is an everyday thing,” Executive Director, Paul Haible, noted. “We live in a steady state of violence, with trauma passed on through generations.” Separating the parties to a conflict that has become overt, and defusing the situation back to the pervasive level and then, ultimately, to the normal level is the goal to manage confrontation.

“Violence is the language of the inarticulate,” said Dr. LaFayette. “Use as much of the theory as you can to accomplish nonviolence,” noting that there is no pure theory here. “People of goodwill outnumber the greedy,” he concluded. “Yes, we can change things. I have hope.” ■

## Dr. King’s Six Principles of Nonviolence

1. Nonviolence is a way of life for courageous people. It is a positive, vital force for change confronting the forces of injustice.
2. The Beloved Community is the framework of the future. Achieve a reconciled world by finding solutions that benefit everyone.
3. Attack forces of evil not persons doing evil. We need to address the systemic reasons and analyze the fundamental conditions of the conflict, rather than attack personalities.
4. Accept suffering without retaliation for the sake of the cause to achieve the goal. This is not just a moral precept; it is also strategic and communicates concern to one’s own friends and community as well as to the opponent.
5. Avoid internal violence against the spirit as well as external physical violence. The process of the campaign has to be nonviolent.
6. The universe is on the side of justice. This is a leap of faith, which introduces a new moral context in which nonviolence is both the means and the end.

## COPENHAGEN

energy technologies. It is rapidly becoming a world leader in solar power, with one-third of the world’s manufacturing capacity.

Yet COP 15 failed to produce a legally binding action plan for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, despite years of advance work on the part of member countries and NGOs. Instead a five-page concept agreement emerged from five nations without specific targets, timelines or verification agreements to curb greenhouses gases. It was almost universally viewed as a failure beyond those governments that signed it.

“An 80% emissions cut in 40 years is a massive change,” commented PDF’s Kazu Haga. “It requires a brand new global economic and industrial system.”

Establishing a new economic order seems to be at the heart of the inability to come to a definitive, legally binding action plan. “Climate Change is the new Cold War, and Copenhagen was a global forum for that discussion of the world economy, historical relationships, standards of living, power dynamics, resource wars and the haves and the have-nots,” stated PDF’s Paul Haible.

“It is yet to be determined what reducing greenhouse emissions means for many underdeveloped countries. They can’t bear the cost of developed nations’ lifestyles anymore,” added Ms. Juarez. “But it was a very historical time for PDF to be there and be visible in that arena despite disappointment in the outcome. It reaffirmed PDF’s commitment to the support we provide to local communities across the U.S., whose struggles for environmental and economic justice are as relevant now as they ever were.”

While the PDF/BASE delegation shared the frustrations of many people at the conference, PDF considered our journey a success. BASE held the only organized press briefing from inside the conference addressing nuclear issues and the relationship between power and weapons regimes, reinforcing the importance and the wisdom of the communities BASE represents.

Through meetings with other U.S. grassroots leaders, large NGOs and the Prince of Monaco; participation in panel discussions and strategy meetings; and expressing our position wherever we were--we made our voices heard. We will continue to speak and organize as we prepare for next year’s COP 16 meeting in Mexico.

BASE participation was made possible by generous grants from the Lia Fund and the Marguerite Casey Foundation. Many thanks go to the Arctic Athabaskan Council for credentialed the BASE delegation at COP 15. ■

Many thanks go to **Michelle Curry**, for nine years of service to PDF on the Board of Directors. Michelle came to PDF, Paul Haible recalled, as a referral from Youth on Board. “She impressed us immediately.” After working in IT in the San Diego area, Michelle is headed for medical school to become a social justice physician with a degree in public health. “I am leaving PDF in such a good place,” she commented, “and I see all that we have done to get there. It speaks volumes about where we can go in the future. I have grown up with PDF!”

A new tenant in the Amherst office is also an old friend: **Lois Barber of Earth Action**. Not only has Earth Action been a PDF grantee, but Lois was the contractor in 1983 when PDF renovated the Amherst house to become office space. PDF continues to maintain its staff offices on the second floor, while the first floor offers common meeting space for PDF and the other tenants.

PDF’s **Bay Area community advised fund organizing committee** met twice this winter, establishing a goal to raise \$100,000 for local grants. The fund will focus on grassroots communities, building on the long history of the social justice movement in Northern California. “Our goal is to leverage dollars in the Bay Area in support of local organizing around the economy, climate change, movement infrastructure—and to build bridges with other funders,” said Paul Haible. “We want to encourage more collaboration among donors, foundations, grassroots activists and public officials to build a community around our mission: to nourish, foster, and encourage the diverse communities that are essential to building a peaceful, just and equitable world.”

The efforts to respond quickly to the earthquake in **Haiti** were met with energy by PDF, our donors, grantees and partners. In just a couple weeks, together we raised over \$15,000, which was distributed to Doctors Without Borders, CONFENACA and Grassroots International. ■

## Consider a PDF Donor Advised Fund if:

1. You are interested in funding certain issues but not familiar with grassroots groups working in that sector of the movement;
2. You want to learn about a particular issue, region, or community;
3. You want to join other donors and activists and be part of a giving circle.

A Donor Advised Fund is simple to start at PDF, easy to understand, and gives you the information you need to recommend grants to the community groups that need them the most.

For more information on Donor Advised Funds, call Ray Santiago, at 800-424-3557 x101 or email, ray@peacefund.org.

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*Leadership and the Revolution***

## Peace through Justice



CLOCKWISE, FROM TOP LEFT  
Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr., Miguel Moreno, Kate LaFayette,  
Seth Goodman, Maehki El-Issa; Teresa Juarez, Seth Good-  
man; Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr.

# LEADERSHIP AND THE NEXT REVOLUTION

In a wide-ranging discussion of nonviolence, time spent in jail, spirituality and the history of the Civil Rights Movement, PDF staff, Board and family members spent two days with one of the Movement's key strategists, Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr. He was a co-founder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a leader of the Nashville Movement, the Selma Movement and the Freedom Rides. Working with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. LaFayette directed the Alabama Voter Registration Project, was National Program Administrator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and National Coordinator of the 1968 Poor Peoples' Campaign. Dr. LaFayette, an ordained minister, is currently a Distinguished Senior Scholar-in-Residence at Emory University.

With such a distinguished résumé, and so many years of on-the-ground experience, it was as exciting for the young people at PDF as well as their elders to hear the thoughts, advice and stories of a master strategist and tactician. Dr. LaFayette aimed his well-chosen words squarely at building leadership among the young people in the room. "You need to become the leaders," he told them. To the veterans he said, "We need to figure out how to multiply ourselves as quickly as possible. Elders need to identify 12-15 young people to carry this movement forward. We need to change our roles from being the 'doers' to becoming mentors for a critical mass of young people.

"You are the bridge between the people with power and the grassroots communities," he told the PDF participants. Dr.

LaFayette talked about how to sustain a movement until you achieve your goals. You have to move people to rethink their assumptions and believe in change, he said. "It comes about more rapidly—and is more sustainable—when you get masses of people involved."

"The best leaders may not be the obvious choices," Dr. LaFayette warned Miguel Moreno, a youth leader from Product of Aztlan, who talked about pervasive drug use and despair among all ages in his New Mexican community. "Maybe you want to get the mothers, the older women, to lead the way."

Dr. LaFayette was explicit that there was much change still to come and instructed the group to remember that Dr. King said there were four conditions for a successful revolution:

- ▶ Be clear about the change you want to make, and your goals.
- ▶ Have well-trained people.
- ▶ Win sympathy, if not the active support of the majority.
- ▶ Split the opponent's "army." No revolution has ever been won with the army intact.

He pointed to the Jena, LA "Jena Six" as a very successful one-day demonstration that dissipated as a movement because there were no next steps. Without a total strategy, he noted, it is hard to sustain your goals. "Some people run so fast they run right past the goal," Dr. LaFayette told the group, advising patience and planning. "I'm here to show you how to prepare the right soil so it can bear the best fruit." ■

### Mission Statement

THE PEACE DEVELOPMENT FUND works to build the capacity of community-based organizations through grants, training, and other resources as partners in the human rights and social justice movements. As a public foundation, we nourish, foster, and encourage the diverse, self-sustaining and economically viable communities that are essential to building a peaceful, just and equitable world.