



Book Reviews

Marty Branagan, ed. *Global Warming, Militarism, and Nonviolence: The Art of Active Resistance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Australia's nonviolent protest movement has played important roles in the international struggle against the interlocking forces of social/ethnic injustice, environmental damage, militarism, and climate distortions. In this book, Marty Branagan surveys several campaigns across Australia from the early 1980s to the Occupy movement. His purpose is to recount the urgencies, strategies, improvisations, internal debates, and relative degrees of effectiveness within the movement as the peace and environmental campaigns have converged. Nonviolent activists everywhere will find this book highly valuable as they discuss the lessons learned over the years in Australia and elsewhere. Lecturer in Peace Studies at the University of New England, Australia, Marty Branagan writes with the authority of a long-time participant in the campaigns, starting with the early 1980s' broad-based campaign to keep the Franklin River in Tasmania wild. He has been a leading strategist in many of the campaigns that he analyzes in this book. His detailed accounts explore and assess the many degrees of nonviolent intensity, "the range of nonviolent options," from direct action such as blockading roads to spiritual efforts such as prayer and rituals.

The opening chapter, "Global Warming and Militarism," is an incisive survey of the literature on the environmental costs of militarized economies internationally. He understands the military-industrial complex broadly, from actual material production and its pollution costs to corporate investment in political lobbying and even the broader public culture of journalism. One sharp focus of his concern is the specifics of military operations, especially as they are hidden from public awareness in many ways. He places the Australian Defence Force in comparison with the American military, which has a budget equaling roughly half of the entire global military budget. No

national analysis outside the United States can be properly understood aside from that context.

The anti-nuclear campaign of the 1980s was a major focus of the Australian movement, centering on complex and innovative strategies in 1984 at the Roxby Downs uranium mine in the remote desert of South Australia. That concerted action was motivated by “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, centralized, secretive, security risks), and disposal of long-term radioactive waste” (78–79). Some of these campaigns have specifically opposed Australia’s collaboration with the American military. For example, he briefly mentions the 1983 protest at Pine Gap, a highly classified site southwest of Alice Springs that still hosts a key American satellite tracking system that manages drone operations for one-third of the world’s skies. The Roxby Downs campaign also highlighted ways in which white activists worked with aboriginal people on traditional homelands. A similar action was the partially successful Jabiluka campaign against uranium mining inside Kakadu National Park in the Northern Territory. These were similar to many other campaigns on traditional lands of indigenous people in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere.

Branagan links militarism and its resisters to global warming in several ways. A fundamental issue is the carbon budgets of military operations, especially the American armed forces. He reminds us in telling details that the Pentagon is the largest single consumer of petroleum in the world. In the Australian setting, he recounts several rain forest protection campaigns, even though these campaigns were not directly related to military operations. As the campaigners insist, *militarism* is a broad matter, a dynamic that pervades society. Branagan defines militarism as “a complex social, cultural and discursive phenomenon responsible for directing people’s and organisations’ responses towards violent pathways.” This wide-ranging understanding is surely appropriate: As these campaigns show, the military and the civilian economy are so closely bound together that it is almost arbitrary to separate them, particularly in relation to impacts on global climate.

Pursuing his analysis of the evolving strategies and technologies of people’s movements, Branagan devotes a chapter to “Internetworking,” in which he traces the increasingly powerful use of the Internet to communicate quickly among campaigners everywhere, from John Seed’s

early work on rain forest action networking and the efforts to support the Penan indigenous people in Borneo, to the Arab Spring upheavals in the Middle East and the international Occupy movement. Another chapter, "Artistic Activism," emphasizes the importance of using art and music to sustain people's movements. Australian activists have often had to sustain their movement under exhausting conditions, and they have been highly imaginative in producing music and art onsite as campaign strategies.

This is a hardheaded book, full of uncompromisingly self-aware accounts of successes and failures, unity and tensions and fragmentation in the movements. It is richly documented, a major source of case studies and materials for activists in the peace, justice, and environmental sanity movements anywhere.

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Nan Levinson. *The New Antiwar Soldiers and the Movement They Built.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014.

When the Nixon administration ended the military draft and created an all-volunteer army in the early 1970s, it did so to quell antiwar opposition and prevent a repeat of the unprecedented collapse of morale and discipline that crippled the U.S. armed forces during the Vietnam War. The assumption was that soldiers who volunteer for service would be less likely to dissent and more willing to follow orders. Contrary to these expectations, however, a significant movement of antiwar opposition emerged within the U.S. military during the war in Iraq. Dozens of organizations emerged among recent veterans, military family members, and active duty service members to demand U.S. military withdrawal. This movement against war was much smaller than the Vietnam-era resistance, as was the war itself and the broader antiwar movement, but the soldiers and vets who spoke out for peace played an important role in mobilizing public opposition to war and military occupation.

In this well-written narrative, Nan Levinson focuses on what was arguably the most influential organization within the military peace movement, Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW), patterned after its Vietnam-era namesake, Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Levinson constructs her narrative through the personal stories of dozens of