

## APPENDIX III: WHO'S WHO IN FOSSIL FUEL DIVESTMENT

### The Thought Leaders

#### **Naomi Klein, bestselling author of *This Changes Everything: Capitalism Vs. the Climate***

Naomi Klein (1970- ) is a member of the board of 350.org and the author of the best-selling *This Changes Everything: Capitalism Vs. the Climate*, now being translated into 20 languages. Her other books include *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* and *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, which tells the “gripping story of how America’s ‘free market’ policies have come to dominate the world—through the exploitation of disaster-shocked people and countries.”<sup>748</sup> A critic of corporate capitalism and globalism, Klein is a contributing editor for *Harper’s* and reporter for *Rolling Stone*, and she writes an internationally syndicated column for *The Nation* and the *Guardian*. In 2004, her reporting from Iraq for Harper’s won the James Aronson Award for Social Justice Journalism.

#### **Bob Massie, president, New Economy Coalition**

Bob Massie (1956- ) is president of the New Economy Coalition, former president of Ceres (the largest coalition of investors and environmental groups in the United States), co-founder and first chair of the Global Reporting Initiative, initiator of the Investor Network on Climate Risk, and an ordained Episcopal minister. A Democratic candidate for Massachusetts lieutenant governor in 1994 and US Senate in 2011, Massie is a long-time political activist. He was active in the anti-Apartheid divestment campaign and is the author of *Loosing the Bonds: The United States and South Africa in the Apartheid Years* (1998), which won the Lionel Gelber prize for the best book on international relations in the world. Massie has been an outspoken supporter of fossil fuel divestment. When Bill McKibben first considered jumpstarting a national divestment campaign, he first consulted Massie, who wrote to him, “Given the severity of the climate crisis, a comparable demand that our institutions dump stock from companies that are destroying the planet would not only be appropriate but effective. The message is simple: We have had enough. We must sever the ties with those who profit from climate change—now.”<sup>749</sup> In May 2014, he was part of the student-led blockade of the president’s door at Harvard, which resulted in the arrest of one student who refused to step aside.<sup>750</sup>

748 “The Shock Doctrine,” *Naomi Klein*. <http://www.naomiklein.org/shock-doctrine>.

749 McKibben, *Oil and Honey*, pg. 152.

750 Amna H. Hashmi, “Undergraduate Protester Arrested for Blocking Entrance to Mass. Hall,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 1, 2014. <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2014/5/1/divest-protester-arrested-mass-hall/>.

**Bill McKibben, founder, 350.org**

Bill McKibben (1960- ) is the architect of the global fossil fuel divestment movement. In 2008, with the support of the Schumann Media Center, McKibben founded the activist group 350.org with six recent Middlebury College students to build “a global climate movement” working to reduce the atmospheric parts per million of carbon dioxide from 400 to 350.<sup>751</sup> Three years later, McKibben and 350.org launched the Go Fossil Free divestment campaign now active at hundreds of institutions. Named by the *Boston Globe* “probably America’s most important environmentalist,” McKibben is the best-selling author of 15 books, including *Oil and Honey*, an account of the divestment movement’s origins. McKibben is also a Schumann Distinguished Scholar in Environmental Studies at Middlebury College, where since 2001 he has taught principles of environmental advocacy, sustainability, and community organizing. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the 2013 winner of the Gandhi Prize and the Thomas Merton Prize, the recipient of honorary degrees from 18 colleges and universities, and in 2009 was named to *Foreign Policy*’s inaugural list of the world’s 100 most important global thinkers.<sup>752</sup>

**Naomi Oreskes, Professor of the History of Science, Harvard University**

Naomi Oreskes (1958- ) is a historian of science best known for *Merchants of Doubt*, which she co-wrote with NASA historian Erik Conway in 2011, and was turned into a film in 2014. *Merchants of Doubt* argues that tobacco companies and other corporations funded scientific studies that obscured the danger of their products, and that fossil fuel companies do the same today. Oreskes is a prominent supporter of Divest Harvard, the student group advocating for fossil fuel divestment there, and of Bowdoin Climate Action, of which her daughter, Clara Belitz ’17, is a member. In April 2015, when Bowdoin Climate Action (including Belitz) held a two-day sit-in at Bowdoin president Barry Mills’ office, Oreskes and other parents and alumni published an open letter “to express our support for” the sit-in and the divestment campaign.<sup>753</sup>

**Vandana Shiva, physicist and activist**

Vandana Shiva (1952- ) is a leading advocate of eco-feminism and environmental justice. Supporting fossil fuel divestment because “it is not an investment if it is destroying the planet,” Shiva is an internationally known speaker, author, and, according to *Time Magazine* in 2003, an environmental “hero.” *Forbes* in 2010 called her one of the Seven Most Powerful Women on the Globe. Shiva is the founder of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology in Dehra Dun; Navdanya, a movement in India

751 “What We Do,” 350.org. <http://350.org/about/what-we-do/>.

752 Rebecca Frankel, “The FP Top 100 Global Thinkers,” *Foreign Policy*, November 25, 2009. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/25/the-fp-top-100-global-thinkers-7/>.

753 “Alumni and Parent Endorsement of BCA’s Sit in for Climate Justice,” Bowdoin Climate Action, April 1, 2015. <https://bowdoinclimateaction.wordpress.com/2015/04/01/endorsement-of-bcas-sit-in-for-climate-justice/>.

for ecological diversity, native seeds, and organic food; and Bija Vidyapeeth, an international college for sustainable living.

### **Desmond Tutu, Archbishop**

Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1931- ) is an Anglican clergyman from South Africa who campaigned to end South African apartheid in 1993. In 1984, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.<sup>754</sup> Through the Desmond and Leah Tutu Legacy Foundation and the Desmond Tutu Peace Foundation USA, Archbishop Tutu promotes global peace and human rights. In 2014, he endorsed the fossil fuel divestment movement as a successor to the 1970s Apartheid divestment movement. In an opinion piece for the *Guardian* titled “We Need an Apartheid-Style Boycott to Save the Planet,” Tutu credited the Apartheid divestment movement with applying both economic and “serious moral pressure,” and predicted that the fossil fuel divestment campaign would meet similar success: “We cannot necessarily bankrupt the fossil fuel industry. But we can take steps to reduce its political clout, and hold those who rake in the profits accountable for cleaning up the mess.”<sup>755</sup>

## **The Funders**

### **Tom Steyer**

Tom Steyer (1957- ) describes himself as simply “an active citizen.”<sup>756</sup> In 2012, after he read Bill McKibben’s *Rolling Stone* piece that set off the divestment movement, Steyer called McKibben and asked to meet. They hiked in the Adirondacks, and after coming down the mountain, Steyer quit his post as CEO of Farallon, the hedge fund he had founded. He then started Next Generation, a \$4 million nonprofit aimed at promoting “clean” energy.<sup>757</sup> During the 2014 elections, the NextGen Climate Action PAC spent \$74 million<sup>758</sup> (\$67 million of which Steyer contributed<sup>759</sup>) supporting Democratic candidates committed to fighting climate change. Steyer himself is a billionaire who has become the environmental movement’s equivalent of a Charles or David Koch. In 2012, Steyer announced that he would end his own “ecologically unsound” investments, and by June 2014 he had divested from fossil fuels.

754 “Desmond Tutu – Facts,” Nobel Prize. [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1984/tutu-facts.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1984/tutu-facts.html).

755 Desmond Tutu, “We Need an Apartheid-Style Boycott to Save the Planet,” *Guardian*, April 10, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/10/divest-fossil-fuels-climate-change-keystone-xl>.

756 “Thomas F. Steyer,” The Next Generation. <http://thenextgeneration.org/about/people/tom-steyer>.

757 Center for the Next Generation, 2013 990 tax forms. <http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2013/371/618/2013-371618863-0af30254-9.pdf>.

758 “NextGen Climate Action,” Open Secrets, 2014. <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00547349>.

759 “NextGen Climate Action,” Open Secrets, 2014. <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/pacgave2.php?cmte=C00547349&cycle=2014>.

**Schumann Media Center**

The Schumann Media Center funds Bill McKibben (who was a trustee of the Center before he started 350.org), 350.org, Middlebury College, and the leftist pro-divestment online news magazine *Common Dreams*. Among the trustees are Michael Johnston, who led the successful divestment discussion at Union Theological Seminary.

**The Executives****Michael Brune, executive director, Sierra Club**

Michael Brune (1972- ) is the executive director of the Sierra Club, the largest grassroots environmental organization in the United States. Previously he was executive director of the Rainforest Action Network and an organizer for Greenpeace. Brune has written *Coming Clean – Breaking America’s Addiction to Oil and Coal*, published by the Sierra Club. In 2011, before McKibben formed 350.org’s Go Fossil Free campaign, the Sierra Student Coalition began supporting individual campus divestment campaigns.

**Anthony Cortese, principal, Intentional Endowments Network**

Anthony Cortese (1947- ) is one of the founders of the sustainability movement in American higher education. After co-founding in 1992 the nonprofit Second Nature with John Kerry, Teresa Heinz, and Bruce Droste to implement in higher education the principles of sustainability outlined in the UN’s 1987 report *Our Common Future*, Cortese became president of Second Nature. He organized the American College & University Presidents’ Climate Commitment and co-founder of the Association for the Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education and the Higher Education Association Sustainability Consortium. He was also one of the founding members of the US Environmental Protection Agency. He is now a principal at the Intentional Endowments Network, which aims to help institutions align their endowments with sustainability principles.

**Ellen Dorsey, executive director, Wallace Global Fund**

Ellen Dorsey helped nurture some of the first divestment campaigns. She approved the summer 2011 meetings at the Wallace Global Fund that strategized for six early divestment campaigns, and she made an early appearance at a Swarthmore Mountain Justice event in April 2012.<sup>760</sup> Dorsey has been executive director of the Wallace Global Fund since 2008. Previously she worked in the Environmental Program in the Heinz Foundation (Teresa Heinz, along with John Kerry, founded the first American sustainability advocacy group, Second Nature, in 1993), and as executive director of the Rachel Carson Institute.

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760 *Institutional Memory Document*, Swarthmore Mountain Justice .

**Christiana Figueres, executive secretary, UN Framework Convention on Climate Change**

Christiana Figueres (1956- ) is the executive secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, an international environmental treaty created in 1992 to coordinate national efforts to stop climate change. Figueres is tasked with midwifing the December 2015 Paris agreement on climate change. Figueres is an outspoken advocate of fossil fuel divestment and the “carbon bubble” argument, which holds that the value of fossil fuel investments are vastly overestimated and will implode when environmental externalities are considered in their valuation. Born in Costa Rica, Figueres received a bachelor’s degree from Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania and a master’s degree in anthropology from the London School of Economics . When students with Swarthmore Mountain Justice occupied the college finance building for 32 days in March and April 2015, Figueres sent a letter to students and board members at her alma mater, saying that as “a mother and a concerned global citizen I align myself with that clarion call” to divest and urging the board to consider divestment as a protection against the carbon bubble.<sup>761</sup>

**Stephen Mulkey, former president, Unity College**

Stephen Mulkey led Unity College to become the first university to adopt Bill McKibben’s call for divesting from fossil fuels. (Unity’s November 2012 decision followed Hampshire College’s January announcement that it already had been screening out fossil fuel companies.) Mulkey became president of Unity College in 2011 and previously served as director of the environmental science program at the University of Idaho, and a professor of botany at the University of Florida.

**Full-Time Youth Activists****Kate Aronoff, communications coordinator, New Economy Coalition**

Kate Aronoff is one of the original founders of the first fossil fuel divestment campaign and now a full-time writer. At Swarthmore College, Aronoff attended the fall break 2010 trip to Appalachia with Peace and Conflict Studies professor George Lakey that launched Swarthmore students’ interest in divestment, and returned to campus to help found and lead Swarthmore Mountain Justice. She also co-founded the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network, where she still serves on the coordinating committee. Aronoff graduated from Swarthmore in 2014 with a degree in history and now works as communications coordinator for the New Economy Coalition, a network of progressive groups working to create “deep change in our economy and politics” so that “people, communities, and ecosystems thrive.”

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<sup>761</sup> Letter from Christiana Figueres to Mr. Gil Kemp, chair of the board of managers, Swarthmore College, March 23, 2015. [https://www.scribd.com/doc/259754566/Letter-from-Christiana-Figueres-regarding-Swarthmore-college-and-fossil-fuel-divestment?secret\\_password=Cq16jpLOEYLbxXJizmTj](https://www.scribd.com/doc/259754566/Letter-from-Christiana-Figueres-regarding-Swarthmore-college-and-fossil-fuel-divestment?secret_password=Cq16jpLOEYLbxXJizmTj).

**May Boeve, executive director, 350.org**

May Boeve is a 2006 Middlebury College graduate and one of the founders of 350.org. She is now 350.org's executive director.

**Sara Blazevic, recent graduate, Swarthmore College**

Sara Blazevic spoke on stage with Bill McKibben at the November 2012 Philadelphia stop on his "Do the Math" divestment kick-off tour.<sup>762</sup> A 2015 graduate of Swarthmore College, where she studied comparative literature, Blazevic was a member of Swarthmore Mountain Justice's core organizing team and is a leader in the national divestment campaign. She is one of many alumni to pledge to remain active in the campaign after graduation.<sup>763</sup>

**Guido Girgenti, recent graduate, Swarthmore College**

Guido Girgenti is a 2015 graduate of Swarthmore College, where he majored in political science and was a member of the core organizing group of Swarthmore Mountain Justice. He transferred to Swarthmore after two years at Occidental College, where he was an urban and environmental policy major, to join the divestment campaign there. In between, he spent a gap year as the East coast coordinator for 99 Rise, a community organizing group focused on creating a "democracy that responds to the real needs of 'the 99%'"<sup>764</sup> by getting "big money" out of politics. Girgenti is an alumnus of the Occupy branch in Los Angeles, where he was arrested and later profiled by the *New York Times*.<sup>765</sup> (He also spent a winter break writing about and organizing for the Occupy movement in LA, using a financial grant from the Occidental politics department.) Girgenti's career in community organizing and social activism began when he was fifteen with a trip to New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, which sparked his interest in looking at issues "through the lens of racial and economic injustice."<sup>766</sup>

**Jess Grady-Benson, alumni organizer, Responsible Endowments Coalition**

Jess Grady-Benson co-founded the Claremont Colleges Fossil Fuel Divestment Campaign and led the campaign at Pitzer College (one of the Claremont colleges in California). She served on the college's Climate

762 "Sara Blazevic / Do The Math Philadelphia / 11.17.12," *Swarthmore Mountain Justice*, YouTube, November 22, 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QRWVlqvTYDE>.

763 [http://www.studentsdivest.org/sara\\_blaze\\_swarthmore\\_15](http://www.studentsdivest.org/sara_blaze_swarthmore_15).

764 "About 99Rise," 99Rise. <http://www.99rise.org/about>.

765 Elisa Mala, "Voices From the Front: Guido Girgenti," *New York Times*, January 22, 2012. [http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/01/22/education/edlife/20120122\\_edlife.html](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/01/22/education/edlife/20120122_edlife.html).

766 *Ibid.*

Change Working Group that developed a divestment and sustainability proposal that was unanimously approved by the college board of trustees and worked to train other students around the country. After graduating from Pitzer in 2014 with a degree in environmental analysis, Grady-Benson became the Alumni Organizer at the Responsible Endowments Coalition, where she works to build alumni interest in divestment and to retain activists after graduation. She is also a member of the Coordinating Committee for the student-run Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network, and a mentor in 350.org's Training Corps.

### **Sachie Hayakawa**

Sachie Hayakawa is a Swarthmore graduate who was active in Swarthmore Mountain Justice. Now living in Philadelphia with the Maypop Collective, Hayakawa is coordinator of regrating and reinvestment for the New Economy Coalition. She also works as a fellow with The Wildfire Project to support grassroots groups to build “the foundation for a powerful movement toward political, economic, and ecological justice.”<sup>767</sup> Haykawa serves as a leader of the People of Color caucus of the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network and its “#BlackLivesMatter & Ecology” reading group.<sup>768</sup>

### **Jamie Henn, 350.org**

Jamie Henn is one of six Middlebury College graduates who helped Bill McKibben found 350.org in 2008 after coordinating the 2007 Step it Up campaign with 2,000 demonstrations demanding action on climate change. He studied history at Middlebury and is now 350.org's strategy and communications director.

### **Hannah Jones, Responsible Endowments Coalition**

Hannah Jones graduated from Swarthmore in 2012, helped found Swarthmore Mountain Justice, and now lives with the Maypop Collective. She works part-time for the Responsible Endowments Coalition and as the coal finance campaign organizer at the Rainforest Action Network.

### **Will Lawrence, recent graduate, Swarthmore College**

Will Lawrence was a founding member of Swarthmore Mountain Justice. Graduating from Swarthmore College in 2013 after studying sociology and anthropology, Lawrence worked as a researcher for Peace and Conflict Studies professor and divestment inspirer George Lakey. Lawrence also wrote his senior

767 “Our Mission,” The Wildfire Project. <http://www.wildfireproject.org/about/mission/>.

768 “DSN People of Color Caucus,” Fossil Fuel Divestment Students Network. [http://www.studentsdivest.org/poc\\_caucus](http://www.studentsdivest.org/poc_caucus).

thesis, "Managing Dissent: How Swarthmore College's Administration and Board of Managers Respond to Student Activists," on the history of student activism, including the history of the fossil fuel divestment campaign. Lawrence continues to volunteer with the Coordinating Committee of the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network. He lives in Philadelphia with other divestment and progressive activists in the "Maypop Collective for Climate and Economic Justice," a shared home that serves as an activist training hub funded by donations.<sup>769</sup>

### **Zein Nakhoda, member, Maypop Collective**

Zein Nakhoda is a graduate of Swarthmore College and a member of the Maypop Collective. He serves as a leader of the People of Color caucus of the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network and its "#BlackLivesMatter & Ecology" reading group.<sup>770</sup>

### **Deirdre Smith, 350.org**

Deirdre Smith is the strategic partnership coordinator at 350.org and previously served as 350.org's national divestment organizer. She is the author of a viral 350.org blog post from 2014, "Why the Climate Movement Must Stand with Ferguson," linking Hurricane Katrina and other natural disasters to environmental racism. Smith started her community organizing career in water rights and anti-coal activism in New Mexico. She is a member of the board of the New Economy Coalition.

## **Professor Activists**

### **Cynthia Kaufman and Carlos Davidson**

Cynthia Kaufman and her husband Carlos Davidson founded the national Faculty/Staff Divestment Network, a support group of professors and college staff active in fossil fuel divestment campaigns. Kaufman, the author of *Getting Beyond Capitalism*, is the director of the VIDA Institute for Democracy in Action at De Anza College, which divested from fossil fuels in October 2013. Kaufman had assisted the national divestment campaign and encouraged students to earn "service learning" and "civic engagement" class credit for working on the divestment campaign. Davidson is a professor and program coordinator in environmental studies at San Francisco State University, which divested in May 2013.

769 "Donate," Maypop Collective for Climate and Economic Justice. <http://maypopcollective.org/donate/>.

770 "DSN People of Color Caucus," Fossil Fuel Divestment Students Network.



**George Lakey**

George Lakey is a seasoned Quaker activist who inspired the fossil fuel divestment campaign at Swarthmore College. As visiting Peace and Conflict Studies professor, Lakey brought students to West Virginian Appalachia to witness mountaintop removal coal mining and meet local activist Larry Gibson, who warned the students “If you don’t do anything about this, then I’ve wasted my time.” Lakey and his students also built the Global Nonviolent Action Database of historical peaceful protests.<sup>771</sup> Lakey’s activism includes sailing into a Vietnam warzone to protest the war and deliver medicine; getting arrested for picketing a PNC bank that had lent money to coal mining companies; training Thai feminist and labor organizers; and leading peace-keeping workshops in South Africa. He co-founded the activist group Training for Change and the Earth Quaker Action Team, which sponsors environmental protests.

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771 *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, Swarthmore College. <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/>.