Panel III: This is the Moment of Truth

Rey León, Roger Lin, Camille Pannu, Irene Vasquez

ROGER LIN: While everyone is taking their seats, I wanted to quickly just thank the prior panelists today and bring it full circle, back to Mustafa's opening keynote, where he asked, "Who is fighting these fights? Who is doing this work in fighting for justice?" He pointed out that many of the people fighting these fights, many of the advocates, are people who look like you and are also the same age as you. That is why we have this panel. What can you, as students, do to get involved in the environmental justice or social justice movements?

My name is Roger Lin. I am one of the attorneys in Berkeley Law's Environmental Law Clinic. We do environmental health and environmental justice cases.

We have fantastic panelists who are going to dive into the question: What can students do right now for the environmental or social justice movements? I will let them introduce themselves. I have had the immense privilege of working alongside some of them.

IRENE VASQUEZ: Hello. How are you? I hope you are all well. My name is Irene Angel Vasquez. I am Southern Sierra Miwuk and Mono Lake Paiute. I am Irish on my mother's side, and Yaqui and Mexican on my father's side.

I am grateful to be here today, standing on Huchuin, the Costanoan Ohlone word for this area. I was blessed to be raised in my ancestral territory in Mariposa and Yosemite, attending ceremonies that were only recently allowed by federal law in 1978. These hidden ceremonies were revitalized in Yosemite in the 1980s.

My grandma and many of my elders born in the Yosemite Indian Village in the 1930s—where the medical clinic now stands—were not so lucky. They were evicted from their village and attended Indian boarding school in North Fork, the geographic center of California, where they were taught to be ashamed of themselves and their culture. They were forbidden to speak Indian, as my grandma says. Twenty-three elders from that village and the Wahhoga Village in Yosemite served in our armed forces, including my grandma, who served two tours. Many of my cousins and relatives from my generation have also served.

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I have known many elders, including my great-uncle, Fred Biel, who have passed away without this acknowledgment. This denial of our existence is convenient to the federal government. To us, it is painful.

Without federal acknowledgment, we are denied the same rights reserved for federally recognized tribes. My tribe's experience is nothing out of the ordinary, especially in California, where tribes like mine were left landless when the 120 signed treaties in the 1850s were unratified and hidden away by the Senate. Without federal recognition we are unable to apply for federal grants that help revitalize endangered cultures and languages.

We are also denied the same health benefits that are guaranteed to members of federally recognized tribes, even though we face the same health disparities that stem from the social effects of forced family separation. And we know that is wrong. Without federal recognition, native students like myself are also ineligible for scholarships reserved for students from federally recognized tribes.

In 2016, during the National Park Service's centennial year, a new "Gathering Rule" was implemented that allows tribal members from federally recognized tribes to apply for a permit after implementing an environmental assessment with a finding of no significant impact. This rule disenfranchises smaller tribes without financial resources and prohibits tribes like mine, and elders born in Yosemite, from gathering medicines and plants used for traditional purposes, including basketry. This environmental injustice continues to perpetuate the notion that we are separate from nature, the notion that our gathering and caretaking practices, necessary for quality plant material for baskets, are actually detrimental to our ancestral homelands, now called "public lands."

This notion is so ingrained that once, a forestry department chair asked me whether anyone wants to make baskets anymore, completely unaware of the indigenous practices that once made our forests and meadows healthy. I do not blame them, though. I just know that they have not been so lucky to sit with baskets.

The National Park Service has made this new rule to appease Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility, who have no understanding of the importance of reciprocal relationships for ecological biodiversity and for human health. We know the effects of fire exclusion suppression. In this same regard, the National Park Service continues to suppress indigenous caretaking practices, contradicting their own statements regarding limiting overly burdensome bureaucratic policies that impact traditionally associated tribal groups and people and our ability to continue our culture and traditions. The National Park Service is also ignoring the existence of my ancestors'—our ancestors'—ability and responsibility to care for the park-like settings of Yosemite Valley, once called *Ahwahnee*—place shaped like a gaping mouth, *ahwa* meaning mouth in Miwuk.

This lack of acknowledgment has been ongoing since before the official papers were filed with the Office of Federal Acknowledgment in 1982. My elders have been fighting with the National Park Service for our right to practice our traditions and ceremonies since the 1970s, 1960s, 1930s, and really since the first treaties were signed.

Recently, the Office of Federal Acknowledgment denied our petition for federal recognition in November of 2018. Public comment on their proposed finding is open until May 22, 2019. I am here today to ask for your assistance in writing to the Department of the Interior to support the Southern Sierra Miwuk Nation and our federal acknowledgment, so we can grow stronger and lift ourselves from poverty; restore our caretaking traditions and responsibilities; and help our homeland, Yosemite, for all our relations. Thank you for listening.

REY LEÓN: Thank you for that. You inspired me to also share at least one word in my people's language, because we are still here, right? *Neranskia*. That means good day in Purépecha. Purépecha, indigenous peoples from the area of Michoacán, and not just within those boundaries. Those boundaries were made after.

My name is Rey León. I was born in Fresno, raised in Huron. My family is from the area of Michoacán, the heart of Mexico. I have been doing air quality environmental justice work for about fifteen or sixteen years.

I was raised in the farm-worker community of Huron. It is a farm-worker town. It is on the west side. If you take the I-5 freeway down to Los Angeles, you pass near us. When you pass Harris Ranch on the way up, you pass Kettleman City.

My father arrived in California in the early 1950s as an undocumented immigrant, an orphan, looking to find an identity and a place where he could be somebody. In 1957, he became a *bracero* farm worker. But in 1957, my father became a permanent resident and later was able to get the paperwork together for my mom and my three oldest siblings.

In 1963, they were driving to Five Points, where my dad had secured housing. When they were on the road they heard about the assassination of JFK. So, my dad dropped off the family in Five Points in an empty house with just one mattress in one room and rushed to Huron, about twelve miles away, and got an old, used, black-and-white little thirteen-inch TV to watch the coverage of what had happened. My dad was a Kennedy Democrat ever since.

We just lost my dad last year on August 1st. He was eighty-one years old, a very hardworking man, and very reminiscent of what our communities are made of—some very hardworking, farm-working people, working because they know they are not going to reach that point where they are going to get an education. My dad told me that when he was a kid, and he arrived in Baja California, where one of his uncles was, he would see my uncle sending off his children to school. And my dad would just look at them go off, and just *tenía las ganas de estudiar*—with that want, that will to study. But that was not an option for him.

But he worked with, as he would call them, his hands of gold—*manos de oro*—because of the years that he worked as an irrigator. Those are the guys that

are out there all the time, making sure that the water gets to the plants and all that. He became a small business owner. I am the youngest of seven siblings; my siblings grew up working in the fields. I was the lucky guy that grew up working in the restaurant. I had to deal with all kinds of folks.

Huron today is the brownest city in the country, at 98.7 percent Latinos. We have at least twelve languages spoken, at least eight of which are Mesoamerican indigenous languages. The other four are Spanish, English, Punjabi, and Arabic.

Even though it is all brown, it is very diverse. And it is a classic environmental justice community. Depending on the season, we could be surrounded by lettuce, tomato, onions, and garlic, and at the same time, corn and wheat. We are truly the face of the fruit of what the Valley provides for the rest of the country, and to some extent, the world.

The problem is that our region, the San Joaquin Valley, while it may be the richest in terms of agricultural revenue, it is the poorest in terms of the people. One example: Tulare County about eight years ago was number one in agricultural revenue in the state and in the country. But at the same time, it was the number one poorest county in the state.

When we talk about environmental justice, we are also talking about economic justice. A great deal of the time, we are also talking about education equity. Huron is neighbored by a town called Coalinga, which used to be called Coaling Station A—the name of a stop where trains loaded coal and later oil.

Huron started as a labor camp, a farm-worker labor camp. The roots of how these communities were initiated will give you an idea of the power structure that developed and made Huron a colony. To this day, we are having issues in terms of the school district.

We are trying to break off. For a while we have been fighting to break off so we could have not only our own high school, but have our own district and our own leadership—instead of having just two board members out of five, meaning we are always in the minority and never able to get what we need for our people.

When you are in environmental justice, when you are an organizer or a leader within environmental justice, that is not the only thing you are fighting for. You are fighting for better quality education so your kids can end up at Berkeley Law, hopefully. For them to at least have the opportunity to have a fighting chance. When they are cropping us early on, and we do not even make it to walking the stage, that is a problem.

I wish I had some Huron kids here right now that were in law school, because when we are talking about environmental justice, I mean, let's get our kids from our community, warrior them up, and bring them back home. That is definitely not parachuting, right? That is empowering your community to be able to fight the fight.

"We speak for ourselves." That is what we say. And that is no different from our native language: We started an annual convening, bilingual, in Spanish and in Purépecha. We do it in Farmersville in Tulare County. And it is the fifth one. That is important in terms of just the whole notion, the culture, and the necessity of us being able to speak for ourselves, organize for ourselves, and decide for ourselves, right? The empowerment has to be from within. Assistance is always cool. But I always tell people: for the folks who come in, be on tap, not on top.

Anyway, I am very proud of being from the San Joaquin Valley. Very proud of having gone to Berkeley. Very proud of having taken over California Hall for Third World College. Very proud of having taken over the Campanile and dropping a *mecha* in the Campanile. The struggle will continue. It is kind of rough. But the fact is that, at least, there are people that are doing it.

At least in Huron, I can say that for sure in the Valley we have a good coalition that did not exist about fifteen years ago. We have some infrastructure that we have built, relationships with colleagues.

That is part of it, right? The meaning of Purépecha is "the people who visit each other." I think that is revolutionary. Because if you are going to be in the struggle, then you have got to know who is in the struggle with you.

I grew up with my mom taking me everywhere to visit every relative. So, to this day, I know my relatives in California—in Baja, California—that migrated in the 1930s, and, of course, my relatives in Michoacán. We have got to visit each other.

We have got to maintain our alliance strong, our network strong, because those on the other side are very powerful. They have more power than I do—and that is for sure—and more money, right? I am glad to be here with all of you today. I am looking forward to the questions. Thank you. Gracias.

CAMILLE PANNU: Hi. My name is Camille Pannu. Thank you to everyone for staying. I promise that this is going to be an awesome panel, because we are going to talk about how to ruckus, which is really, really fun to talk about after talking about all the ways that we have been losing, and how difficult it is to do this kind of advocacy. We have to keep a hold on the hope that is out there too, and remember that we do have power to wield.

I will try to keep my introduction a little bit shorter. I think it is more important for you to get to hear from grassroots advocates. I grew up in Richmond, California. The refinery caught on fire a couple times then, too.

I ended up transferring districts for high school, because at the time the Richmond Unified School District—which later changed its name because it went through bankruptcy when I was in second grade—did not offer any kind of education that would allow you to be eligible to apply to a public university in California. And I could not afford bus fare to take auxiliary courses because I was working full time when I was fourteen. I know that is illegal, but I did it.

I ended up transferring districts to a community that was about two to four miles away from where I had grown up, a very different community.

I lost about ten of my childhood friends to gun violence and gang-related violence. Several of my friends had dropped out of school because they became

pregnant. We were in a community where no one really cared what happened to us, and it was very clear. When I was a kid growing up, Richmond was the murder capital of the United States for three years in a row.

Then, I went to this high school in a super affluent, almost exclusively white district. I was not ready for it. It was the biggest culture shock I have ever had in my entire life. And I have lived in rural Kenya. Going to suburbia was much, much worse for me. But it gave me the opportunity to apply to university.

Getting to see the differences in life experience between people who were given everything and people who were never given anything at all and told they were lazy, despite working all the time to survive, led to a profound political awakening for me. I went here to Berkeley—"Go Bears." I came to a public university in part because I could afford to go. I could not afford to go to other places. I worked my way through college, too, and paid for it. But I also went here because I felt like the people of the state of California had invested in me. I wanted to get my education and then serve the people of California, and in particular my community. I wanted to serve Richmond.

I felt like we were not represented in the undergraduate class. There were only four of us from Richmond out of an entering class of 5,500. We knew each other, which is crazy because that is a big city to know each other from, or at least I think it is relatively big.

While I was an undergraduate, I did not do environmental studies. I studied critical development and political economy. I studied poverty in rich countries, essentially. The reason I was not into environmental areas is because I did not see myself there. So I was like: "I am glad there are people thinking about biodiversity and people who are thinking about conservation. But no one is talking about people, and I care about people."

I spent four years, mostly doing student-of-color multicultural organizing around third-world studies and the Third World Liberation Front Movement, as well as ethnic studies and recruitment and retention into universities (because I grew up in an immigrant family that thought that education is the key to liberation and success). That belief turned out not to be entirely true, but for my family, it had played that role. So, they very much believed in it.

I was kind of trying to chase the question: What are the things that doom people from the start? What are the things that set you up to be in a place like Richmond, where no one cares what is going on, where no one cares about you? People who live there care a great deal. But no one outside of the folks who live there cares.

I kept chasing things. In my last semester, I thought to myself: "If you are poisoned from the beginning because the air you breathe is toxic, and the water you drink is poisoned, how are you ever going to get anywhere? The land you are walking on is poisoned. You cannot go anywhere. You are being set up to fail."

I ended up going into community organizing. And then I kind of came to a moment of truth: I really did not want to go to law school.

I had been trying to fight going to law school. Everyone tells me to go to law school for the kinds of things I am interested in. I was really interested in race justice and environmental issues. Environmental racism—that was my thing.

I think it takes a very special person to be an effective community organizer. And I was not that person. I loved it, but I found it very draining.

One thing I was really good at was finding rules, figuring out how to find loopholes, and then using those loopholes against the people who wrote the rules. Most people find that very boring. So, I asked myself what kind of skillset could that be used for. And I decided I would become a lawyer.

I came to law school specifically to do environmental justice lawyering, and specifically to be the kind of lawyer who is a tool for the community organizers. The analogy I use is that, as a lawyer you can be the lock that keeps people from getting where they need to go, or you can be the key. I wanted to be the key. I wanted to be a tool that grassroots folks could wield to be able to get what they needed.

And so I dedicated all my time to that. I came back to Berkeley—repeat offender—and dedicated all my time to an environmental justice curriculum. I thought that if the law school was not going to offer it, then I was going to create it. I was going to find people like me, and we were going to do what we need to do.

So, I became a founding member of Students for Environmental and Economic Justice (SEEJ) in the summer of 2009. We are coming up on the tenyear anniversary.

Now I direct the Water Justice Clinic at University of California, Davis. It is the first of its kind. It looks explicitly at race and geography and how those affect the over two million Californians who do not receive safe drinking water, and the over 33 percent of Americans nationwide who do not have access to safe water. I am happy to talk about all of that. But the important thing is that we are going to talk about how to ruckus. Thank you for having me.

ROGER LIN: We are really lucky to have these fantastic panelists with us tonight. And I want to give the audience an opportunity to ask them whatever questions they want. So, we are only going to have one question today for the panelists. It is a two-part question.

First, please describe a campaign where community or tribe members played an essential role. And then the second part is: What can students do to help to become part of that movement?

IRENE VASQUEZ: Well, I think a lot of people have played central roles in contacting their representatives, being a witness, and allowing people from communities affected by environmental injustices a voice.

I think it is just important to stay involved. I know a lot of these issues are big. My personal issue, federal recognition, is something that is really specific and personal. But we all need assistance.

My tribe does not have very many financial resources. I am working on a website right now, a free website. If anyone knows how to develop websites, we need fundraising to pay our lawyers. So send them our way. But, yeah, being a witness and staying involved.

REY LEÓN: As you are organizing and engaging communities, remember that it cannot be environmental justice if you are not building leadership or if you are not building capacity in those communities. I think part of the organizer religion is that you go in there to build capacity and organize your way out of there, so that the community can take over, and is able to sustain the movement. I think the best way to make that happen is by developing *comités* [committees] like community action committees or whatever.

To this day, I still have a committee in Huron. Even though I am the Mayor of Huron, I have got my committee. When I have things going on, they come up.

And those leaders from the committees have been our *promotores verdes* [green promoters]. They have gone through those trainings as well. Some of those folks from that *comité*, and the other *comités* from some of the neighboring towns, I call the *Comités Alma* [Soul Committees].

Alma also means soul. And the acronym of my organization is LEAP. Leap with your *alma*, leap with your soul, right?

It is funny because they are always around. With the electric vehicle rural ride-sharing program we have initiated, folks from those *comités* are also some of the drivers. They are the *raiteros*. And they were *raiteros* even beforehand but now they are becoming green *raiteros*.

You have got to start from the base. You have really got to start from where the community is at. For example, one experience I had in one community in the northeast part of Fresno, I saw that the people there really were not excited about going to the river.

But I learned from them that what they wanted was to get rid of their septic tanks. So, I worked with them on that. We were able to get the city over \$250,000 from Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), to make that happen. The important part of it was for them to understand that they have power, and for us to understand that we have power at the community and at the grassroots levels. To recognize that we could kickstart the project with that.

One of the first committees with regard to environmental justice was Comité ASTHMA. And they put together a little coffin. At the time, their district was going to allow a certain amount of tonnage of pollutants into the district—a "black box" of pollutants. Black box, to us, meant a little casket where a child would fit. We went to that forum with the whole community and the committee, holding that casket going in. That was very powerful. It was great for the press, too.

PANEL III

It really provided the understanding to the community, even though they would catch a piece of it. They would know that the causes of death and the causes of air pollution in their district should be held accountable.

Do you know the phrase "organic intellectual?" You engage your community from that aspect and work hand-in-hand to build capacity and exposure to other resources, to other allies, and so forth.

It starts from the *comités*. Then goes into the coalition. And then the next thing you know, you are in Sacramento doing policy advocacy. And you are hanging out with all these folks and all their people that they are bringing up. And then the folks feel that much more empowered, right?

In terms of ways you can help, our sister mentioned websites. Students are the ones that are more tech savvy and are really helpful in that arena. But there are also some other programs on the ground going on right now. We are pursuing a zero-net-energy commercial district. There are seventeen small businesses that are interested. And we are starting that initiative by going to the Chamber of Commerce. They are always on the opposite side of the aisle when I am fighting for air quality in Sacramento. I want to do a small independent business alliance. I wish I had more time. I wish there were three of me, but there are not. What I need in the communities like Huron is for students to come back home.

One summer I was able to hire a student from Huron. He was an undergrad here at Berkeley who came back home. He said, "Hey, Rey, you got a job?" And I said, "Hey, as a matter of fact" So, he actually helped me initiate the Small Independent Business Alliance project for clean energy!

I think that is where it is at. In the summer or for spring break, go back home. And if "back home" does not mean environmental justice, then talk to some of us that have things going on, and maybe we can find a paid internship, or maybe something pro bono.

Every spring for the past four years, I have been hosting alternative spring break trips in Huron. The students like it so much at my mom's house that they try to stay two to three nights.

They have done some wonderful things. They have helped out on the mural. We did a community garden. We have changed out a phone booth and made it into a little library. Literacy is important—it is huge. If a child does not read at their grade level by the third grade, then the prison industrial complex is already setting up their bed. The struggle is deep.

Environmental justice is part of the struggle because we need to make sure that opportunities are available for our people. So that we can have more brown and black kids and everybody else as a part of the movement so that it reflects what the State of California really looks like. And then we need these kids to come back home. Come back home and take responsibility.

CAMILLE PANNU: I was going to talk separately about what students can do. But I think because we have so little time, I will try to keep it contained. First, I want to say, if you think you are working on an environmental justice issue and there are no community members working with you, then you are not practicing environmental justice. Who is familiar with the term greenwashing? Justice-washing is also a thing now.

There are a lot of mainstream organizations with no access to communities who are talking about how they are working on environmental justice. And they are not. They are not working on environmental justice. If you are flying in and you are asking, "Where are the residents working on this?" and you cannot find anyone, then you are part of the problem.

I think it is really important to be mindful and thoughtful about those things. Just because you think there is an inequality or an equity issue there, unless you are shifting power, you are not practicing environmental justice as a lawyer. Environmental justice has to be about shifting power relationships—shifting them away from the current structures and towards the folks who are on the ground experiencing what they are living with every day. I just want to throw that out there.

In every single successful campaign I know, community residents played a huge role.

Now I am going to turn to the navel-gazing because I think it is helpful, because being in law school is a privileged position. But it is also kind of lonely and miserable in some ways. Or if you were like me, and you feel like no one understands you or wants to do what you want to do, and you are screaming into a void, it can be a very isolating experience. Especially if you are a woman of color or another identity.

Who here has ever worked with or as a community organizer? If you have not, become friends with one of those people, because here is what you are going to learn from them.

In order to leverage your power as a student, you need to think about your role the same way you think about a campaign for justice. Community organizers do not just show up one day and say, "All right, today we are going to have a meeting. We are going to win it all." They do a long-term assessment of whom their targets are, what their resources are, who the people that are going to move it are, and whose minds they need to change. You need to do the same thing as a student.

The resources you are moving are the resources of the university. This is a public university. It is on stolen land. It is a land grant university. The people of California paid to create it. Although you are going to take on a lot of debt, taxpayers have invested in your education, too—hard to believe.

What you are going to do is you are going to give resources back. You are going to take everything everyone has invested in this university, and you are going to leverage it for people on the ground. You are going to leverage it in a way that is very supportive and that is not paternalistic, that is not parachuting, that is not culturally unaware. But it is very risky. You can end up looking very precious when you show up. It is a special kind of precious naivete to show up and be like, "All right, I am here for justice."

I think you have all probably seen it, because you probably led lives where you were engaged in work around social justice before you came to law school. So try to remember who you were before you came to law school, because that is the person you want to keep in your core as you go through law school.

First, you have to take a note from Kendrick Lamar: Be humble. You have to practice humility in a very deferential and respectful way. It comes across in how you act. Do not come to Ms. Gordon and ask her to give you a toxic tour, with all her free time, without acknowledging all the work she has done, being willing to compensate her and her organization for their time, and being willing to have a long-term relationship.

The environmental justice movement, just like environmental law cases, unfortunately, can go on for decades. You cannot just do it for three years in law school. In order for you to be able to have a positive experience as a law student with this very brief amount of time, you have to build an institutional relationship.

Part of why we founded SEEJ was because we knew our time as students was short. But we had hoped that if we invested in SEEJ, SEEJ would become the institutional partner with community organizers on the ground that would create a pipeline of communication between Berkeley Law as this elite, blackhole space, where you come in the law school and you never see anyone again, and the world all around Berkeley Law, which is Richmond, West Oakland, even South Berkeley and West Berkeley . . . there is environmental justice literally all around. You could go two blocks, and you will find an environmental justice issue out there.

First, treat what you are doing like a campaign. Because we knew it was a campaign, it took us multiple years. I was one of four students to found the organization. The next year, we had ten students. The next year, we had thirty.

The year after that, we started the environmental justice workshop, which was a Student Initiated Legal Project, or a "clinic-lite." This was before the Environmental Law Clinic existed.

We had over a hundred people in that environmental justice workshop. And it ran for five years before it was dismantled. I know that it is not around right now, but it is good to know.

Find a member of the faculty who can be your champion. You have to look beyond the clinical faculty. They are wonderful, but you need someone on the academic faculty who is going to champion environmental justice, who is going to make it a priority. Our person was Michelle Anderson. She has now gone to Stanford.

But it is important because that is the person who is going to be able to get you classes. When I was here, Berkeley Law did not have a class on

environmental justice. The one black, tenured, female professor who taught it left for UC Davis, and the administration did not have any plans to replace it.

We leaned on Michelle Anderson for two years until she taught it, so we could take it.

You could also do research credit. I said, "I want to go work in the Central Valley with California Rural Legal Assistance working on a project because East Bay Community Law Center is not working on it." They had shut down the Community Economic Justice Division when I was in school. And Berkeley Law said, "All right."

I got tons of credits and basically did a clinic in the San Joaquin Valley for two years just by finding a champion who was willing to let me take control over my education. You can do that, too. If you are not getting what you need, you need to keep harassing them.

I harassed Berkeley for three years before they made environmental justice a regular class. And it sounds like it has fallen apart again. But that is okay. Movements go up and down, right? You guys have time to rally.

And we also did a symposium every year. That was important, because a big part of the symposium was that we brought only community organizers and very rarely lawyers to that symposium—much to the chagrin of the administration, because the problem is that lawyers only like to talk to lawyers. And to understand the issues, you have to listen to folks like Irene, Rey, and Ms. Gordon.

So, show up, partner, hustle, be humble. You can do it. Find your folks. Find your posse.

I only had four. Two of them dropped out after a year. Then I only had one. And we still did it.

And it was not because I was exceptional or my partners were exceptional. It was because we were all committed to building a community of environmental justice people. And we were going to do it in a way that did not exploit the student-of-color organizations at Berkeley, which was also really important.

ROGER LIN: I will reiterate again, anyone who wants to help out with any of the asks that you have heard about, please come here afterwards. But I wanted to thank our panelists. They are incredible EJ warriors. Thank you.

We welcome responses to this Transcript. If you are interested in submitting a response for our online journal, Ecology Law Currents, please contact cse.elq@law.berkeley.edu. Responses to articles may be viewed at our website, http://www.ecologylawquarterly.org.