

Racial Capitalism and the Anthropocene

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the framework of racial capitalism as a means of exploring the under-theorized relationship among environmental degradation, racial subordination, and the capitalist world economy. Using climate change as an example, the chapter illuminates the links between seemingly disparate forms of oppression in order to foster collaboration among scholars, policymakers, and social justice movements seeking systemic change.

Climate change is one of the cruelest manifestations of injustice confronting humanity. Caused primarily by the greenhouse gas emissions of the world's most affluent populations, its consequences are being borne disproportionately by the planet's most vulnerable states and peoples, including the small island developing states (SIDS), Indigenous peoples, and the poor.¹ Philip Alston, the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, has used the term "climate apartheid" to describe the divide between the affluent (who possess the resources to protect themselves from climate-related heat waves, food shortages, and conflict) and the rest of humankind (who will be left to suffer).²

The climate crisis is unfolding at a time of growing economic inequality and rising racial tensions. Since 1980, income inequality has soared in all regions of the world, squeezing the global middle class and enriching the top 1 percent of earners.³ According to Oxfam, twenty-six billionaires currently control as much wealth as the 3.8 billion people who constitute the poorest half of the world's population.⁴ As the gap between the rich and the poor increases, authoritarian leaders and right-wing social movements are increasingly directing public anger at racial and ethnic minorities, not only in the United States and across much of Europe, but also in India,

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¹ See generally S. N. Islam and J. Winkel, "Climate Change and Social Inequality," United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, DESA Working Paper No. 152, UN Doc. ST/ESA/2017/DWP/152, Oc. 2017; R. Gordon, "Climate Change and the Poorest Nations: Further Reflections on Global Inequality" (2007) 78 *University of Colorado Law Review* 1559.

² UN Human Rights Council, Climate Change and Poverty, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights*, June 25, 2019, UN Doc. A/HRC/41/39, p. 14, para. 50.

³ F. Alvaredo, L. Chancel, T. Piketty, E. Saez, and G. Zucman, "World Inequality Report 2018," World Inequality Lab, p. 11.

⁴ Oxfam, "Public Good or Private Wealth?" Jan. 2019, p. 12.

Brazil, and China.⁵ The scapegoating of minority populations for the ills of capitalism has resulted in mass incarceration, rising state violence against darker-skinned and poorer populations, ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples, and detention and deportation of immigrants.⁶

While recognizing the valuable contributions of critical race theory to our understanding of racial subordination, this chapter adopts a structural approach to race and racism grounded in political economy. The remainder of this chapter is divided into three sections. Section 5.2 defines key terms and concepts, including racism, racial capitalism, the coloniality of power, and the abyssal line. Section 5.3 applies these concepts to climate change and the Anthropocene. It explains the violence that carbon capitalism inflicts on marginalized communities in both affluent and poor countries throughout the life cycle of fossil fuels – from cradle (extraction) to grave (climate change). Section 5.4 examines the complicity of law in racial capitalism as well as its emancipatory potential.

5.2 FOUR CRITICAL CONCEPTS: RACISM, CAPITALISM, COLONIALITY, AND THE ABYSSAL LINE

The term racism is used in this chapter to refer to the dehumanization and objectification of human beings based for the most part on physical characteristics (such as skin color), but also on ethnicity, indigeneity, culture, language, religion, geographic location, and geographic origin.⁷ Racialization is the process through which specific bodies are classified as superior or inferior on the basis of the distinct set of markers adopted in a particular region or nation at a particular time.⁸ Which groups are racialized and the narrative that accompanies that racialization varies substantially across place and time in relation to changing economic and political conditions.⁹ For example, some groups that are currently recognized as White (such as Jews and the Irish) have a long history of being classified as non-White.¹⁰

Racial hierarchies serve distinct economic objectives and maintain population-specific modes of control. In the US, for example, the founding logic of anti-Black racism was labor exploitation.¹¹ When slavery was abolished, other mechanisms of exploitation and control became dominant, including share-cropping, debt peonage, convict-leasing, lynching, and segregation.¹² By contrast, the logic of anti-Native racism was the elimination of the Native in order to appropriate Indigenous lands.¹³ Consequently, settler-colonial states like the USA, Australia,

⁵ H. Winant, “Preface: New Racial Studies and Global Raciality,” in P. Bacchetta, S. Maira, and H. Winant (eds.), *Global Raciality: Empire, Postcoloniality, and Decoloniality* (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. viii–ix; see generally M. Bergmann, C. Kenney, and T. Sutton, “The Rise of Far-Right Populism Threatens Global Democracy and Security,” Nov. 2, 2018, www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2018/11/02/460498/rise-far-right-populism-threatens-global-democracy-security.

⁶ P. Bacchetta, S. Maira, and H. Winant (eds.), *Global Raciality: Empire, Postcoloniality, and Decoloniality* (New York: Routledge, 2019), p. 2.

⁷ R. Grosfoguel, “What Is Racism?” (2016) 22 *Journal of World-Systems Research* 9 at 10; R. Grosfoguel, L. Oso, and A. Christou, “‘Racism’, Intersectionality and Migration Studies: Framing Some Theoretical Reflections” (2014) 22 *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 1 at 2–3.

⁸ Grosfoguel et al., note 7, pp. 2–3.

⁹ A. Reed, Jr., “Marx, Race, and Neoliberalism” (2013) 22 *New Labor Forum* 49 at 50.

¹⁰ See generally N. Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995); K. Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What that Says about Race in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

¹¹ P. Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (New York: Verso, 2016), pp. 2–5.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 75–93; S. Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 68; see generally D. A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Knopf/Doubleday, 2009).

¹³ Wolfe, note 11, p. 33

and Canada sought to dissolve Native societies and extirpate Native land claims through genocide and various forms of ethnocide, including “the breaking-down of Native title into alienable individual freeholds, Native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, re-socialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools, and a whole range of bio-cultural assimilations.”¹⁴

Drawing upon the work of political theorist Cedric Robinson¹⁵ and sociologist Aníbal Quijano,¹⁶ this chapter recognizes that racism and capitalism are inextricably intertwined. The extraction of wealth from nature was operationalized through slavery, the conquest and dispossession of Indigenous peoples, and the colonial and postcolonial domination by White Euro-American elites of large segments of the world’s population.¹⁷ Robinson uses the term racial capitalism to denote this symbiotic relationship between racism and capitalism.¹⁸ He argues that capitalism emerged from a feudal order thoroughly infused with racial hierarchies, and then evolved into a world system that transforms regional and cultural differences into racial forms of domination.¹⁹

Quijano introduces the term “coloniality of power” to refer to the Eurocentric racial and cultural hierarchies and institutional forms of domination (such as the nation-state) imposed through colonialism that constitute the contemporary capitalist world system – including the North–South divide.²⁰ These hierarchies persist long after the departure of the colonial administration, and continue to structure economic and social relations.²¹ Scholars in a variety of disciplines have extended Quijano’s definition of the coloniality of power to encompass interlocking systems of oppression, including those that privilege core (North) over periphery (South), humans over nonhuman nature, men over women, Christians over non-Christians, Europeans over non-Europeans, heterosexuals over homosexuals, and Western knowledge over non-Western knowledge.²² What distinguishes this decolonial perspective from Robinson’s approach is that it emphasizes race and racism as a cross-cutting principle of the capitalist world system while also recognizing other intersecting forms of subordination.²³ For example, racial hierarchies shape the national and international division of labor, consigning those constructed as non-White to the most precarious, dirty, dangerous, and least desirable forms of employment.²⁴ Similarly, gender hierarchies relegate women to the unpaid domestic labor that reproduces the workforce, including cooking, cleaning, and raising children.²⁵ However, racialized poor women face additional forms of subordination,

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See generally C. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

¹⁶ See generally A. Quijano, “Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America” (2000) 1 *Nepantla: Views from the South* 533; A. Quijano, “Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality” (2007) 21 *Cultural Studies* 168; A. Quijano, *Cuestiones y horizontes: de la dependencia histórico-estructural a la colonialidad/descolonialidad del poder* (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2014).

¹⁷ G. Battacharyya, *Rethinking Racial Capitalism* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), pp. 71–79.

¹⁸ Robinson, note 15, p. 2.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 26–27, 66–68.

²⁰ Quijano (2000), note 16, pp. 536–540; Quijano (2007) note 16, pp. 168–171.

²¹ Quijano (2014), note 16, pp. 757–775.

²² R. Grosfoguel, “World-Systems Analysis in the Context of Transmodernity, Border Thinking, and Global Coloniality” (2006) 29 *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 167 at 171; L. E. Figueroa Helland and T. Lindgren, “What Goes around Comes around: From the Coloniality of Power to the Crisis of Civilization” (2016) 22 *Journal of World-Systems Research* 430 at 439.

²³ Grosfoguel, note 22, p. 172; Quijano (2000), note 16, pp. 533–580; Quijano (2007), note 16, pp. 168–178.

²⁴ Battacharyya, note 17, pp. 107–108; D. Faber, “Global Capitalism, Reactionary Neoliberalism, and the Deepening of Environmental Injustices” (2018) 29 *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 8 at 14; N. Fraser, “Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism: A Reply to Michael Dawson” (2016) 3 *Critical History Studies* 163 at 175.

²⁵ Battacharyya, note 17, p. 40.

including trafficking, coerced sex work, and the hyper-exploitative domestic and care work that enables more privileged women to enter elite labor markets.²⁶ In other words, racial and gender hierarchies intersect, conferring greater status on some White women than many non-White men and generally placing non-White women in a subordinate position in relation to both groups.²⁷

Eurocentric racial and cultural hierarchies correspond, at least in part, to Boaventura de Sousa Santos's notion of the "abyssal line" demarcating those deemed fully human from those deemed less than human.²⁸ Conflicts involving those above the abyssal line are managed through discourses of liberty, equality, and autonomy.²⁹ Those below the abyssal line are treated as nonhumans/subhumans and occupy zones of violence and dispossession.³⁰

The racialized abyssal line is mapped onto space in the form of stigmatized geographic locations – including ghettos, reservations, export-processing zones, extractive zones, and the Third World – where the land and the people have been rendered expendable, disposable, and, in the words of Fanon, "wretched."³¹ Indeed, the current stage of racial capitalism is marked by growing expendability as people are expelled from gainful employment by contracting global labor markets,³² expelled from society through mass incarceration,³³ and displaced from their homes in record numbers not only by poverty and conflict but also by extreme weather events triggered by climate change (such as hurricanes, drought, and floods) as well as the degradation of air, land, and water.³⁴ Racialization renders abyssal exclusions "socially and legally acceptable,"³⁵ and "allows both capital and the state to pursue policies and practices that are catastrophic to the planet and its many life forms because much of the cost is borne by 'surplus' people and places."³⁶ Thus, "[t]o be rendered surplus is not to be paid less, it is to be left dying or for dead."³⁷

This chapter focuses on the dehumanization of those below the abyssal line while recognizing that abyssal and non-abyssal exclusions exist on a continuum and that some groups cross between these two forms of exclusion in their daily lives. Santos provides examples that illustrate the distinction between abyssal and non-abyssal exclusion.

First example: In a predominantly white society, a young Black man in secondary school . . . may well consider himself excluded, whether because he is often avoided by his schoolmates or because the syllabus deals with materials that are insulting to the culture or history of peoples of African descent. Nonetheless, such exclusions are not abyssal; he is part of the same student community and, at least in theory, has access to mechanisms that will enable him to argue

²⁶ Ibid., p. 47; Bacchetta et al., note 6, pp. 2–3.

²⁷ Grosfoguel, note 22, p. 172; K. Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersections of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics" (1989) *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 139–167.

²⁸ B. S. Santos, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against Epistemicide* (New York: Paradigm, 2014), pp. 118–135.

²⁹ Grosfoguel, note 7, p. 13.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ L. Gahman and E. Hjalmarson, "Border Imperialism, Racial Capitalism, and Geographies of Deracination" (2019) 18 *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 107 at 115; L. Pulido, "Flint, Environmental Racism, and Racial Capitalism" (2016) 27 *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 1 at 8, citing F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, Grove, 1963).

³² Battacharya, note 17, pp. 63, 122–123.

³³ Sassen, note 12, pp. 63–75.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 149–210.

³⁵ J. Sundberg, "Placing Race in Environmental Justice Research in Latin America" (2008) 21 *Society and Natural Resources* 569 at 570.

³⁶ Pulido, note 31, p. 8.

³⁷ Battacharya, note 17, p. 20.

against discrimination. On the other hand, when the same young man on his way back home is stopped by the police, evidently due to ethnic profiling and is violently beaten, at such a moment, the young man crosses the abyssal line . . . Second example: In an overwhelmingly Christian society bearing strong Islamophobic prejudices, a migrant worker holding a work permit . . . may feel discriminated against because the worker next to him earns a higher salary, even though they both perform the same tasks. As in the previous case, and for similar reasons, such discrimination prefigures a non-abyssal exclusion. However, when he is assaulted on the street just because he is Muslim and therefore immediately deemed to be a friend of terrorists, at that moment the worker crosses the abyssal line.³⁸

The abyssal line operates on a global scale between centers and peripheries – racializing and impoverishing the Global South and rendering much of its population surplus and disposable.³⁹ In the Global North, Indigenous peoples, racial and ethnic minorities, and immigrants from the Global South are disproportionately classified as subhuman/nonhuman.⁴⁰ In the Global South, westernized elites frequently engage in internal colonialism – exploiting, dispossessing, and abusing racialized social groups.⁴¹ The abyssal line is perhaps most evident in the zones of extreme violence and dehumanization – such as Guantánamo, Darfur, Iraq, Palestine, and Yemen. It is also evident in the prisons, migrant detention camps, and over-policed ghettos of the Global North as well as in the communities in both the North and the South whose homes have been rendered uninhabitable as a consequence of environmental degradation. The distinction between abyssal and non-abyssal exclusions is not grounded in the intensity of the pain and deprivation experienced by individual or collective bodies, but “refers to the indifference with which suffering is inflicted, indifference meaning both cold-bloodedness and impunity.”⁴² The following section examines climate change and the Anthropocene through a race-conscious decolonial lens.

5.3 CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE ANTHROPOCENE

Climate change is perhaps the most familiar example of anthropogenic interference with earth system processes in an era that has become known as the Anthropocene. The Anthropocene is a term introduced by scientists Paul Crutzen and Eugene Stoermer to refer to a new geological epoch of unprecedented human breach of planetary boundaries essential to the flourishing of human and nonhuman life.⁴³ The authors attribute the emergence of the Anthropocene to the destructive technologies developed by humanity and seek “to guide [hu]mankind towards, global, sustainable, environmental management”⁴⁴

At heart of the Anthropocene is the anthropos, the human whose economic activity is exceeding ecosystem limits. Portraying the Anthropocene as a crisis to which all humans have contributed obscures the fact that only a small minority of humankind caused the problem –

³⁸ B. S. Santos, *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), pp. 22–23.

³⁹ Battacharya, note 17, pp. 79, 122; see also N. Fraser and R. Jaeggi, *Capitalism: A Conversation in Critical Theory* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2018), pp. 42–43.

⁴⁰ Santos, note 38, p. 95.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3; C. G. Gonzalez, “Environmental Justice, Human Rights, and the Global South” (2015) 13 *Santa Clara Journal of International Law* 151 at 160.

⁴² Santos, note 38, p. 95.

⁴³ P. J. Crutzen and E. F. Stoermer “The ‘Anthropocene’” (2000) *Global Change Newsletter* 41 at 17–18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

primarily persons who are White, affluent, and located predominantly in the Global North.⁴⁵ Scholars in a variety of disciplines have criticized this undifferentiated view of humanity, and have emphasized the underlying social and economic drivers of anthropogenic earth system disruption, including colonial conquest, imperial dispossession, and the imposition of a global capitalist order that systematically abuses nature and exploits large segments of the world's population.⁴⁶ Some scholars proposed the notion of the Capitalocene to better address the role of capitalism as the underlying cause of contemporary social and ecological crises.⁴⁷ Others have emphasized the role of racism and colonial violence as the means through which humans and nature are objectified and exploited.⁴⁸

An analysis of climate change through a race-conscious decolonial lens reveals the ways that race is inscribed in the history of capitalism and in the sacrifice zones of both the fossil fuel economy and the emerging green energy economy. The domination of nature and the dispossession and exploitation of racialized human beings are deeply interconnected.

First, the colonization of the Americas and the transatlantic slave trade established the material and ideological foundations of capitalism – a system based on extraction, accumulation through dispossession, and White supremacy.⁴⁹

The Anthropocene is the epoch under which ‘humanity’ – but more accurately, petrochemical companies and those invested in and profiting from petrocapi-talism and colonialism – have had such a large impact on the planet that radionuclides, coal, plutonium, plastic, concrete, *genocide* and other markers are now visible in the geologic strata.⁵⁰

Indeed, the genocide of the Indigenous populations of the Americas in the 1500s was so massive (nearly fifty million deaths) that farming collapsed and forests rebounded.⁵¹ The removal by forests of enormous amounts of carbon from the atmosphere caused a significant dip in atmospheric carbon dioxide levels in the 1600s, measurable in Antarctic ice cores.⁵² Due to the magnitude of this early human modification of the environment, some scholars have proposed 1610 as the beginning of the Anthropocene.⁵³

This early marker of the Anthropocene coincided with the importation of enslaved Africans to extract gold, silver, and copper in the Americas and to produce the sugar and cotton that fueled the Industrial Revolution.⁵⁴ “Plantation agriculture and cotton in particular were key to the emergence of the industrial power of England first and quickly much of the rest of Europe.”⁵⁵

⁴⁵ L. Pulido, “Racism and the Anthropocene,” in G. Mitman, M. Amiero, and R. Emmett (eds.), *Future Remains: A Cabinet of Curiosities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), pp. 116–117.

⁴⁶ See generally J. Baskin, “Global Justice and the Anthropocene: Reproducing a Development Story,” in F. Biermann and E. Löwbrand (eds.), *Anthropocene Encounters: New Directions in Green Political Thinking* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 150–168; D. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); J. W. Moore (ed.), *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2016).

⁴⁷ See generally Moore, note 46.

⁴⁸ See generally K. Yusoff, *A Billion Black Anthropocenes or None* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

⁴⁹ Fraser and Jaeggi, note 39, pp. 40–47, 91–96; Yusof, note 48, pp. 23–64; H. Davis and Z. Todd, “On the Importance of a Date, or Decolonizing the Anthropocene” (2017) 16 *ACME: An International Journal of Critical Geographies* 761–780.

⁵⁰ Davis and Todd, note 49, p. 765 (emphasis added).

⁵¹ S. Lewis and M. Maslin, “Defining the Anthropocene” (2015) 519 *Nature* 171 at 176.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁵³ S. Lewis and M. Maslin, *The Human Planet* (London: Penguin, 2018), pp. 318–321.

⁵⁴ Yusof, note 48, pp. 14–16.

⁵⁵ S. Dalby, “Environmental Geopolitics in the Twenty-First Century” (2014) 39 *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 3 at 6.

The slave plantation colonies of the Americas supplied not only food and industrial inputs but also markets for British manufactured goods.⁵⁶ Between 1600 and 1800, slaves in the Americas comprised less than 1 percent of the world's population, but produced the commodities that dominated world trade.⁵⁷ Slavery, genocide, and colonialism were thus central rather than peripheral to the Industrial Revolution, the birth of carbon capitalism, and the beginning of the Anthropocene.⁵⁸ These systems of domination relied on lethal force as well as the ideology of White supremacy.⁵⁹

Second, the “slow violence” inflicted by the fossil fuel industry on racialized and poor communities throughout the world remains a central feature of contemporary capitalism.⁶⁰ The extraction, processing, transportation, refining, and combustion of fossil fuels has placed disproportionate environmental burdens on racialized communities in both the Global North and the Global South. From the Niger Delta to the Canadian tar sands to the countless communities living in the shadow of polluting petrochemical facilities and power plants, the life cycle impacts of fossil fuels include eviction from ancestral lands; desecration of sacred sites; poisoning of air, land, and water; fires, explosions, and industrial accidents; loss of subsistence fishing and hunting rights; and exposure to significant health hazards.⁶¹ Thus, local and transnational environmental justice struggles against coal mining, petroleum drilling, fracking, oil and gas pipelines, and polluting refineries and power plants are an integral part of the struggle for climate justice.

Third, fossil fuels are concentrated in particular countries and regions, such as the Middle East, that have been targeted over and over for invasion, occupation, and exploitation. The North's bloody resource wars, its collusion with despotic petrostates, and the resulting death, destruction, and displacement of racialized Muslim and Arab populations are among the most violent ongoing manifestations of climate injustice.⁶² When persons displaced by these conflicts seek refuge in the Global North, they are branded as potential terrorists and subjected to restrictive border controls, including the notorious “Muslim ban” on travel to the USA from certain predominantly Muslim countries.⁶³

Fourth, those most susceptible to climate-related disasters and slow-onset events are overwhelmingly persons classified as non-White.⁶⁴ They reside in geographic locations (such as low-lying coastal zones, small island states, and agriculture-dependent nations) disproportionately

⁵⁶ Lewis and Maslin, note 53, pp. 193–194; R. Blackburn, *The Making of the New World Slavery* (London: Verso, 1997), p. 375; E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 51–85.

⁵⁷ S. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage, 2015), p. 21.

⁵⁸ Lewis and Maslin, note 53, pp. 318–320; Yusof, note 48, pp. 40–41; Davis and Todd, note 49, 770–772.

⁵⁹ Pulido, note 45, p. 125.

⁶⁰ R. Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 68–102.

⁶¹ N. Klein, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs the Climate* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), pp. 302–334.

⁶² See generally N. Klein, “Let Them Drown: The Violence of Othering in a Warming World” (2016) 11 *London Review of Books* 1; M. T. Klare, *Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Dependence on Imported Petroleum* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004).

⁶³ A. Liptak and M. D. Shear, “Trump's Travel Ban Is Upheld by Supreme Court,” June 26, 2018, www.nytimes.com/2018/06/26/us/politics/supreme-court-trump-travel-ban.html; A. Telford, “A Threat to Climate-Secure European Futures? Exploring Racial Logics and Climate-Induced Migration in US and EU Climate Security Discourses” (2018) 96 *Geoforum* 268 at 268–277.

⁶⁴ Pulido, note 45, pp. 117–118; N. Barhoum, E. Elsheikh, R. Galloway-Popotas, and S. Menendian (eds.), “Moving Targets: An Analysis of Global Forced Migration,” Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, University of California, Berkeley, Research Report, Sept. 2017, pp. 28–31.

exposed to hurricanes, floods, drought, desertification, and rising sea levels.⁶⁵ In addition, they have been *rendered* socially and economically vulnerable to climate change by the North's economic and military interventions.⁶⁶ The North's "under-development" of the Global South during the colonial and postcolonial era, so eloquently described by Walter Rodney⁶⁷ and Eduardo Galeano⁶⁸ has been exacerbated by decades of neoliberal economic reforms imposed initially by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and subsequently through regional and multilateral trade agreements and bilateral investment treaties.⁶⁹ These reforms increased poverty; reduced access to healthcare, education, and other social services; undermined the development of climate-resilient urban and rural infrastructure; created mass displacement; and deprived states and communities of the resources necessary for climate adaptation and disaster response and recovery.⁷⁰

Fifth, racialized communities in the Global South are being displaced not only by climate change, military interventions, and neoliberal economic policies, but also by the measures deployed to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions. For example, wind farms are being developed in Oaxaca, Mexico on Indigenous lands to provide energy to Walmart, Coca-Cola, Heineken, and Cemex (a Mexican cement manufacturer) without public debate; adequate compensation; free, prior, and informed consent; equitable sharing of benefits with local communities; and mechanisms to provide compensation for damage and loss of land.⁷¹ In Canada, a controversial proposal to build an enormous hydroelectric dam on the Peace River threatens to displace

⁶⁵ R. Anand, *International Environmental Justice: A North–South Dimension* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 35–39.

⁶⁶ Barhoum et al., note 64, pp. 28–31.

⁶⁷ W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Press, 1972).

⁶⁸ E. Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997).

⁶⁹ Gonzalez, note 41, pp. 167–172; see generally J. Linarelli, M. E. Salomon, and M. Sornarajah, *The Misery of International Law: Confrontations with Injustice in the Global Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁷⁰ Linarelli et al., note 69, pp. 11–17; Barhoum et al., note 64, pp. 29–30; M. Thomson, A. Kentikelenis, and T. Stubbs, "Structural Adjustment Programmes Adversely Affect Vulnerable Populations: A Systematic-Narrative Review of Their Effect on Child and Maternal Health" (2017) 13 *Public Health Reviews* 1–18; M. Lahsen, R. Sanchez-Rodriguez, P. Romero Lankao, P. Dube, R. Leemans, O. Gaffney, M. Mirza, P. Pinho, B. Osman-Elasha, and M. Stafford Smith, "Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability to Global Environmental Change: Challenges and Pathways for an Action-Oriented Research Agenda for Middle-Income and Low-Income Countries" (2010) 2 *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* 364–374.

⁷¹ See generally S. H. Baker, "Project Finance and Sustainable Development in the Global South," in S. Alam, S. Atapattu, C. G. Gonzalez, and J. Razzaque (eds.), *International Environmental Law and the Global South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 338–355; E. Zárate-Toledo, R. Patiño, and J. Fraga, "Justice, Social Exclusion and Indigenous Opposition: A Case Study of Wind Energy Development on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico" (2019) 54 *Energy Research & Social Science* 1–11. The International Labor Organization Convention 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO Convention No. 169) recognizes the rights of Indigenous peoples to consultation with respect to legislative or administrative measures that may affect them directly and to participation and benefit-sharing concerning the use, management, and conservation of natural resources on Indigenous lands (ILO, Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO No. 169), June 27, 1989, 28 ILM 1382, arts. 6 and 15). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) emphasizes the duty of states to obtain the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous peoples prior to approving or undertaking projects affecting Indigenous peoples, lands, territories, or resources (UN General Assembly, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, September 13, 2007, UN Doc. A/RES/61/295, arts. 19, 23, 28, 30, and 32). Mexico is a party to ILO Convention No. 169 and endorsed UNDRIP. C. G. Gonzalez, "An Environmental Justice Critique of Comparative Advantage: Indigenous Peoples, Trade Policy, and the Mexican Neoliberal Economic Reforms" (2011) 32 *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Law* 723 at 781, nn. 276 and 277.

Indigenous peoples and replicate the sacrifice zones of carbon capitalism – but this time in the name of “green energy.”⁷² In Brazil and throughout the Global South, forest conservation schemes developed through the climate regime’s Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) program are interfering with the rights of local and Indigenous communities to harvest plants, timber, or fish in their ancestral territories.⁷³ Lastly, the legislation in the United States⁷⁴ and the European Union⁷⁵ requiring the blending of biofuels into transportation fuels has diverted land from food to fuel production, increased food prices, and incentivized large-scale land transactions in the Global South that destroy forests and displace rural dwellers in order to make way for large plantations to cultivate biofuel feedstocks (such as oil palm).⁷⁶ These mandates remain in place even though the life-cycle greenhouse gas emissions of many biofuels exceed those of the fossil fuels they replace.⁷⁷

Finally, racialized persons displaced by poverty, conflict, and environmental degradation face death, detention, and deportation when they attempt to migrate to the Global North.⁷⁸ The Trump administration has portrayed the Central American families seeking refuge in the United States as “an unstoppable invasion of social parasites and criminals,”⁷⁹ and has threatened to close the US–Mexican border.⁸⁰ The US government has criminally prosecuted migrants, separated migrant children from their families, and confined thousands of migrant children in kennel-like, ice-cold cells.⁸¹ European states are adopting increasingly aggressive measures to deter the entry of African and Middle Eastern migrants, who are depicted as violent, patriarchal, and likely to commit act of terrorism.⁸² These policies have resulted in the death of thousands of

⁷² D. N. Scott and A. A. Smith, “The Abstract Subject of the Climate Migrant Displaced by the Rising Tides of the Green Energy Economy” (2017) 8 *Journal of Human Rights and the Environment* 30–50.

⁷³ E. A. Kronk Warner, “South of South: Examining the International Climate Regime from an Indigenous Perspective,” in S. Alam, S. Atapattu, C. G. Gonzalez, and J. Razzaque (eds.), *International Environmental Law and the Global South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 451–468; Klein, note 62, pp. 221–223.

⁷⁴ See Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007, Public Law 110–140, 42 USC, s. 7545(o) (2009) (requiring the blending of 36 billion gallons of biofuels into US transportation fuels by 2022).

⁷⁵ Directive 2009/28/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources and amending and subsequently repealing Directives 2001/77/EC and 2003/30/EC (2009) *Official Journal of the European Union* L 140/16 (requiring each EU member state to derive at least ten percent of its transportation fuels from biofuels by 2020).

⁷⁶ C. G. Gonzalez, “The Environmental Justice Implications of Biofuels” (2016) 20 *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs* 229, 251–262.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 238–240.

⁷⁸ C. G. Gonzalez, “Climate Justice and Climate Displacement: Evaluating the Emerging Legal and Policy Responses” (2019) 36 *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 366 at 367–369, 381.

⁷⁹ M. Chen, “Trump’s Caravan Problem Isn’t Which People Are Coming, But What Kind of Country America Will Choose to Be,” Dec. 2018, www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/trump-s-caravan-problem-isn-t-which-people-are-coming-ncna945816.

⁸⁰ S. Collinson, “Trump Seems Inclined to Close Border Despite Potential Chaos,” Apr. 2, 2019, www.cnn.com/2019/04/02/politics/donald-trump-immigration-border-closure-crisis/index.html.

⁸¹ M. Chalabi, “How Many Migrant Children Are Detained in US Custody?” Dec. 22, 2018, www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2018/dec/22/migrant-children-us-custody; N. Cummings-Bruce, “Taking Migrant Children from Parents Is Illegal, U.N. Tells U.S.,” June 5, 2018, www.nytimes.com/2018/06/05/world/america/us-un-migrant-children-families.html; E. Delgado, “Trump Administration Still Separating Families at Border, Advocates Say” Feb. 12, 2019, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/feb/12/trump-el-paso-family-separations-migrants-immigration; S. J. Nawyn, “Refugees in the United States and the Politics of Crisis,” in C. Menjivar, M. Ruiz, and I. Ness (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 163–180.

⁸² See generally Telford, “Threat to Climate-Secure European Futures?” note 63; E. Gutierrez Rodríguez, “The Coloniality of Migration and the ‘Refugee Crisis’: On the Asylum–Migration Nexus, the Transatlantic White European Settler Colonialism–Migration and Racial Capitalism” (2018) 34 *Refuge* 16 at 19; P. Boghani, “The

migrants at sea as smugglers select more dangerous routes and less seaworthy vessels to avoid detection.⁸³ Finally, Australia continues to indefinitely detain migrants and refugees in offshore processing centers located in Nauru and on Manus Island in Papua New Guinea under conditions that Amnesty International has denounced as “a human rights catastrophe.”⁸⁴

In Europe, the United States, and other settler-colonial nations, the population is generally divided “between those whose movement is a manifestation of liberty, and should therefore be maximized, and those whose freedom is a problem, and should therefore be tightly regulated.”⁸⁵ While corporations freely roam the world, racialized bodies are policed, detained, incarcerated, and deported. Ironically, even though the mobility of the affluent (including air travel) contributes disproportionately to climate change,⁸⁶ it is the mobility of the non-White poor that states restrict.⁸⁷ Climate change is anticipated to displace between twenty-five million and one billion people by 2050.⁸⁸ The North’s exclusionary immigration policies do not bode well for climate-displaced racialized communities.

An analysis of climate change grounded in the coloniality of power reveals a key thread that unites these abuses – the abyssal line dividing those deemed human from those deemed nonhuman/subhuman. While everyone is vulnerable to climate change, those who occupy the sacrifice zones of racial capitalism are particularly susceptible to harm due to their classification as subhuman and disposable. Racialization justifies and naturalizes violence and dispossession – in war zones, in resource extraction zones, in the green energy economy, and in the refugee camps and migrant detention centers of the Global North. As Naomi Klein observes:

A culture that places so little value on black and brown lives that it is willing to let human beings disappear beneath the waves, or set themselves on fire in detention centres, will also be willing to let the countries where black and brown people live disappear beneath the waves, or desiccate in the arid heat. When that happens, theories of human hierarchy – that we must take care of our own first – will be marshalled to rationalize these monstrous decisions.⁸⁹

Even though they have uprooted “the darker races”⁹⁰ throughout the world through the ecological and economic crises of colonialism, militarism, and predatory capitalism, Northern governments use a variety of border controls to exclude “those whose very recourse to migration results from the ravages of capital and military occupations.”⁹¹ For those below the abyssal line,

‘Human Cost’ of the EU’s Response to the Refugee Crisis,” Jan. 23, 2018, www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/the-human-cost-of-the-eus-response-to-the-refugee-crisis.

⁸³ M. Birnbaum, “Could the Flow of Migrants to Europe Be Stopped?” Oct. 3, 2017, www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/could-the-flow-of-migrants-to-europe-be-stopped/2017/10/02/e76ac66e-a2ce-11e7-b573-8ec86cdfe1ed_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.8b9b2aff2822.

⁸⁴ H. Davidson, “Offshore Detention: Australia’s Recent Immigration History a ‘Human Rights Catastrophe,’” Nov. 13, 2016, www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/13/offshore-detention-nauru-immigration-history-human-rights.

⁸⁵ H. Kotef, *Movement and the Ordering of Freedom: On Liberal Governance of Mobility* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 100.

⁸⁶ J. Gabbatiss, “Tourism Is Responsible for Nearly One Tenth of the World’s Carbon Emissions,” May 7, 2018, www.independent.co.uk/environment/tourism-climate-change-carbon-emissions-global-warming-flying-cars-transport-a8338946.html; M. Le Page, “It Turns Out Planes Are Even Worse for the Climate than We Thought,” *New Scientist*, June 27, 2019.

⁸⁷ M. Sheller, *Mobility Justice: The Politics of Movement in an Age of Extremes* (London: Verso, 2018), p. 135.

⁸⁸ B. Kamal, “Climate Migrants Might Reach One Billion by 2050,” Aug. 21, 2017, <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/climate-migrants-might-reach-one-billion-2050>.

⁸⁹ Klein, note 62, p. 9.

⁹⁰ W. E. B. Du Bois, “To the Nations of the World,” Jan. 29, 2017, www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1900-w-e-b-du-bois-nations-world.

⁹¹ H. Walia, *Undoing Border Imperialism* (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2013), p. 5.

racism is not simply prejudice or discrimination, but “state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death.”⁹² The following section examines international law in creating and maintaining the abyssal exclusions of racial capitalism and its utility as a tool of resistance.

5.4 THE WAY FORWARD

International law has been deeply complicit in the project of racial capitalism. As Antony Anghie explains, international law originates in the colonial encounter and has justified successive Northern interventions in the Global South through a variety of doctrines – including *terra nullius*, the doctrine of discovery, the mandate system, trusteeship, modernization, development, humanitarian intervention, and preemptive self-defense.⁹³ International law has depicted Southern peoples as so primitive, savage, uncivilized, backward, and underdeveloped that their lives, livelihoods, and cultures are unworthy of protection.⁹⁴

From the colonial era to the present, international law has also created the rules and institutions of the capitalist world system through which Northern states and transnational corporations maintain an iron grip on the states and people of the South,⁹⁵ including trade law,⁹⁶ foreign investment law,⁹⁷ and finance law.⁹⁸ As discussed in the introductory chapter to this volume, the concept of sustainable development, which aims to integrate economic development, environmental protection, and social development, has been hijacked by elites to promote economic growth at the expense of the poor and of the planet’s fragile ecosystems.⁹⁹ The social pillar of sustainable development has failed to deliver minimum socioeconomic rights to those below the abyssal line because it does not challenge the structural inequities of the international economic order that perpetuate poverty, inequality, and social exclusion.¹⁰⁰ Even human rights law, which has been used by grassroots activists in environmental justice struggles, mitigates specific abuses but leaves intact the larger system.¹⁰¹

Scholars have long recognized that international law is constrained as a tool of resistance due to its epistemological complicity with structural violence against humans and nonhuman nature.¹⁰² Influenced by Enlightenment philosophers, international law universalized the idea that humans are obligated to dominate nature, and created racial hierarchies that justify the

⁹² R. Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 28.

⁹³ See generally A. Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; Gonzalez, note 41, pp. 161–175.

⁹⁵ See generally Linarelli et al., note 69, pp. 159–163.

⁹⁶ Linarelli et al., note 69, pp. 110–144.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 145–174.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 175–225.

⁹⁹ R. Gordon, “Unsustainable Development,” in S. Alam, S. Atapattu, C. G. Gonzalez, and J. Razzaque (eds.), *International Environmental Law and the Global South* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 60–73; S. Adelman, “The Sustainable Development Goals, Anthropocentrism and Neoliberalism,” in D. French and L. J. Kotzé (eds.), *Sustainable Development Goals: Law, Theory and Implementation* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2018), pp. 21–27.

¹⁰⁰ Linarelli et al., note 69, pp. 250–255.

¹⁰¹ See S. Marks, “Four Human Rights Myths,” in D. Kinley, W. Sadurski, and K. Walton (eds.), *Human Rights: Old Problems, New Possibilities* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2013), pp. 217–235; Gonzalez, note 41, pp. 188–190.

¹⁰² T. Lindgren, “Ecocide, Genocide and the Disregard of Alternative Life-Systems” (2018) 22 *The International Journal of Human Rights* 525–549; Gonzalez, note 41, pp. 185–186.

objectification, dehumanization, dispossession, and exploitation of societies whose world views and practices differ from Euro-American norms.¹⁰³ In addition, the Western legal model's individualistic focus is ill-equipped to recognize and remedy systemic injustice, such as slavery, genocide, colonial exploitation, and decades of austerity imposed under the auspices of the IMF and the World Bank.¹⁰⁴

Despite these limitations, international law has also been used in counterhegemonic ways by social movements in the Global South.¹⁰⁵ Plaintiffs in environmental cases have harnessed the power of national and international human rights law to achieve important victories.¹⁰⁶ The case studies in this volume provide context-specific examples of the variety of legal and extralegal tools used by subordinated communities to resist abyssal exclusion. This chapter concludes with four insights that can guide critical legal scholars who seek to approach environmental injustice through the lens of racial capitalism in the service of emancipatory struggles.

First, it is important to provide concrete, context-specific analyses of the ways that law produces abyssal exclusion in order to articulate the best ways that social movements can intervene. Scholars often err by depicting systems of extreme violence and dehumanization as so totalizing and overwhelming that resistance is futile. For example, Guantánamo, a paradigmatic case of abyssal exclusion, has been portrayed as a legal black hole, a zone of lawlessness and unfettered sovereign discretion.¹⁰⁷ On closer inspection, the cruelty inflicted on the detainees is governed by an elaborate set of legal classifications, substantive and procedural regulations, and legal institutions.¹⁰⁸ By analyzing the ways in which domestic and international law facilitates injustice, it is possible to identify the cracks in the armor and the strategies that can be deployed to resist systems of oppression and dehumanization.

Second, while environmental justice case studies often focus on racialized and poor communities, a racial capitalism analysis suggests that we should also identify the beneficiaries of this injustice and the mechanisms that sustain their wealth and privilege.¹⁰⁹ Confining our analysis to the poor and marginalized obscures the role of domestic and international law in maintaining racialized systems of exclusion. A socially just and environmentally sustainable world order cannot be achieved unless we dismantle and reconfigure the systems that allow the rich and powerful to continue to accumulate capital at the expense of nature and of the planet's most vulnerable communities. "Under globalised conditions, the principal problem of the poor is not their poverty, but rather the wealth of others, and the mechanics through which their dispossession is made possible."¹¹⁰

Third, racial capitalism objectifies, exploits, and degrades not only human beings but also nonhuman nature – breaching planetary boundaries and threatening ecological collapse. A race-conscious decolonial critique of the global economic order must interrogate and reimagine foundational legal concepts that portray humans as separate from nature and justify human domination and abuse of nature. These legal concepts include Western regimes of land tenure,

¹⁰³ Gonzalez, note 41, pp. 168–169.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 188–190.

¹⁰⁵ See generally B. Rajagopal, *International Law from Below: Development, Social Movements and Third World Resistance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ Gonzalez, note 41, pp. 191.

¹⁰⁷ F. Johns, "Guantanamo Bay and the Annihilation of the Exception (2005) 16(4) *European Journal of International Law* 613 at 614, 619–621.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

¹⁰⁹ See S. Marks, "Human Rights and the Bottom Billion" (2009) 1 *European Human Rights Law Review* 37 at 48–49.

¹¹⁰ M. E. Salomon, "Why Should It Matter that Others Have More? – Poverty, Inequality and the Potential of International Human Rights Law" (2011) 37 *Review of International Studies* 2137 at 2146.

state sovereignty over “natural resources,” and human rights premised on the bounded, autonomous individual.¹¹¹ Ironically, one source of alternatives to the dominant legal order is critical engagement with the philosophies, legal traditions, and technologies of racialized peoples, including Indigenous peoples and precolonial societies in Asia, Africa, the Americas, Australia, and the Pacific that thrived in harmony with the environment.¹¹²

Finally, in an insightful and provocative article titled “Human Rights and Root Causes,”¹¹³ Susan Marks analyzes the perils of treating human rights abuses as random misfortunes that can be remedied if only the perpetrators adopted better practices, laws, and policies. Marks calls for an examination of the systemic causes of injustice and proposes that scholars and activists spend less time pursuing state-oriented reforms that demobilize oppositional activity and more time channeling grievances into organized and coherent action.

A race-conscious decolonial narrative of climate change that examines the cradle-to-grave impacts of carbon capitalism has the potential to unite diverse and powerful social movements that reject militarism, extractivism, economic inequality, and racism. As Naomi Klein observes, social justice struggles are often compartmentalized. “The anti-austerity people rarely talk about climate change, the climate change people rarely talk about war or occupations. We rarely make the connection between the guns that take Black lives on the streets of US cities and in police custody and the much larger forces that annihilate so many Black lives on arid land and in precarious boats around the world.”¹¹⁴ Racial capitalism, including the notion of the racialized abyssal line, can serve as the glue that holds these diverse social movements together and provides a framework for transnational mobilization.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Racialized communities have borne the brunt of carbon capitalism from its origins in genocide and slavery to the contemporary climate crisis and are increasingly being displaced by the emerging green energy economy. Their location below the abyssal line subjects these communities to the “slow violence” of the extractive and polluting fossil fuel industry; resource wars; predatory economic policies; climate-induced disasters; and criminalization, detention, and state-sanctioned death when they attempt to cross the militarized borders of the Global North. Racialization undermines solidarity by portraying large segments of humanity as inferior, unworthy, expendable, and a threat to national security. As one observer astutely notes:

A divided population is more easily controlled. It turns its venom on itself. The march of corporate totalitarianism . . . skilfully manufactures scapegoats – immigrants, Muslims, black people and others of color, dissidents, the poor – so the rising fury of a betrayed population will vent against a demonized target.¹¹⁵

A race-conscious decolonial analysis of environmental injustice based on the recognition of a common vulnerability to the depredations of carbon capitalism can bring together diverse social

¹¹¹ See for example S. Seck, “Relational Law and the Reimagining of Tools for Environmental and Climate Justice” (2019) 31 *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 151 at 156 (critiquing approaches to human rights law that construct the individual as “an autonomous political subject that is separate from its environment”).

¹¹² See C. G. Gonzalez, “Bridging the North–South Divide: International Environmental Law in the Anthropocene,” (2015) 32 *Pace Environmental Law Review* 407 at 423–425 (citing Judge Christopher Weeramantry’s separate opinion in the *Gabčíkovo–Nagymaros* case).

¹¹³ S. Marks, “Human Rights and Root Causes” (2011) 74 *Modern Law Review* 57.

¹¹⁴ Klein, note 62, p. 10.

¹¹⁵ C. Hedges, “Burning Down the Future,” June 24, 2019, www.truthdig.com/articles/burning-down-the-future.

movements by articulating the links among extractivism, poverty, economic inequality, displacement, mass incarceration, police brutality, immigrant detention/deportation, militarism, racism, Indigenous dispossession, and a global economic order that systematically subordinates the Global South, undermines the livelihoods of many in the Global North, and sparks ecological crises of epic proportions. As Martin Luther King, Jr. noted decades ago, “[i]njustice anywhere is injustice everywhere . . . In a real sense all life is inter-related.”¹¹⁶ Only through collective struggle can genuinely emancipatory solutions be achieved.

¹¹⁶ M. L. King Jr., “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” in M. L. King Jr., *Why We Can’t Wait* (New York: Signet, 1963), pp. 77–100.