



The Cost of Globalization

DANGERS TO THE
EARTH AND ITS
PEOPLE



Julian E. Kunnie

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GLOBALIZATION

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To Mother Earth and All
of Her Struggling Children
and to
Magdalin and Matthew Kunnie,
beloved Parents, and Grandmother Ayah
and to
Hataali Jones Benally,
my ever-wise Teacher and Mentor

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Acknowledgments

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Asante Sana to all!

Abbreviations

- ACP**—African Caribbean Pacific initiative
ADX—Administrative Maximum Facility
AEI—American Heritage-Enterprise
AFP—Americans for Prosperity Foundation
AFRICOM—Africa High Command
AIDS—Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIO—Americans for Indian Opportunity
ALEC—American Legislative Exchange Council
APEC—Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARI—Ayn Rand Institute
BJS—Bureau of Justice Statistics
BRICS—Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CARE—Citizens Against Ruining our Environment
CBD—Center for Biological Diversity
CCA—Corrections Corporation of America
CCAP—Climate Change Adaptation Project
CCCSN—Canadian Climate Change Scenarios Network
CDC—Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CFCs—Chlorofluorocarbons
CIA—Central Intelligence Agency
CNY—Chinese Yuan
CONAIE—Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador
DARE—Drug Abuse Resistance Through Education
DBCP—Dibromochloropropane
DEA—Drug Enforcement Agency

- DIA**—Defense Intelligence Agency
ECCB—East Caribbean Central Bank
ECLAC—Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECOWAS—Economic Community of West African States
EPA—Environmental Protection Agency
EPI—Economic Policy Institute
EPZs—Economic Processing Zones
EU—European Union
FBI—Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDI—Foreign Direct Investment
FMLN—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front
FSLN—The Sandinista National Liberation Front
GDP—Gross Domestic Product
GEO—Group on Earth Observations
GM—Genetically Modified
GWP—Global Warming Potential
HANDS—Humans Against Nuclear Dumping
HIPC—Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HUGO—Human Genome Organization
ICA—International Coffee Agreement
ICE—Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IDP—Internally Displaced Person
IMF—International Monetary Fund
IPCC—Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPR—International Property Right
ISCST—International Support Center for Sustainable Tourism
IUCN—International Union for the Conservation of Nature
LGBT—Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
LWOP—Life Without the Possibility of Parole
MAI—Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MTV—Music Television
NAACP—National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAFTA—North American Free Trade Agreement
NASA—National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO—North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSW—New South Wales (Province of Australia)

-
- NYCLU**—New York Civil Liberties Union
OECD—Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC—Oil Producing and Exporting Countries
PLO—Palestine Liberation Organization
PRD—Party of the Democratic Revolution (political party in Mexico)
SACTWU—South African Clothing and Textiles Workers Union
SARDC—Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre
SHU—Special Housing Unit
TASSC—The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition
TBI—Traumatic Brain Injury
TEK—Traditional Environmental Knowledge
TEPCO—Tokyo Electric Power Company
TGNP—Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
TNC—Transnational Corporation
TRIPS—Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UNCTAD—United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNFCCC—UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
URNG—Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca
WCC—Wackenhut Corrections Corporation
WIC—Women, Infants, and Children
WIEGO—Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
WIMSA—Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
WTO—World Trade Organization

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Preface

The Earth on which we live is beautiful. The sky, with its endless celestial bodies with constellations, galaxies, suns, stars, planets, satellites, comets, and other distant forms that can only be measured in terms of the speed of light bespeak a universe of mystery and wonder that human language is unable to adequately capture. On the Earth and in the seas, the mountains, landscapes, four-leggeds, birds, insects, plants, bugs, sea-creatures, and organisms too tiny to see with the human eye remind us that we are surrounded by beauty and incredible diversity. The universe is so immense that we cannot begin to imagine the incredible power that she is and wields. During extensive research and study travels over the past 37 years, I have been moved by the divine beauty of the universe, from the beauty of Crater Lake in Oregon, to the sacred *Dook'oo's'liid* (the San Francisco Peaks) in Northern Arizona, to observing the beautiful red liquid erupting from the Kilauea volcano in the Big Island of Hawaii, to trekking in view of Annapurna and the Machhapuchhre mountain ranges in Nepal, to the majestic spray from *Mosi-Oa-Tunya* (Victoria Falls) in Zimbabwe, to boating on the world's longest river, the Nile, to beholding the spiritual site of *Uluru*, the sacred rock in Central Australia that has a perimeter of 9.4 kilometers, and to climbing to the glacier almost 4,600 meters high in Yulong Snow Mountain in Yulongxueshan in Yunnan, in southern China, the Earth is One and awesome.

Yet the irreplaceable beauty of Earth and the Universe is being shattered by a human system that refuses to understand, accept, and respect the divine beauty for all life to enjoy: a destructive economic and social system that has accelerated and is unable to change course to “come down to Earth.” Human beings, along with most of the rest of the natural world, are faced with the dilemma that human civilizations have not had to face for tens of millennia: the possible *extinction* of the human race and the continued extinction of

other forms of life on the Earth. Human beings are compelled to come to grips with an unassailable fact of existence: we do not wield *real power* in determining the present nor the future of the world even though some elements of human cultures may have falsely assumed so, with now portentous lethal consequences. We have *some* capacity to undo the damage, but never the power to *control* how the Earth and her children live. How do we attempt to address, redress, and undo the irreparable ecological, environmental, social, and economic damage on Earth now boiling in all quarters so that life is hardly sustainable in the ever hotter and drier Sonoran desert of Arizona and the southwest of the U.S., known as Turtle Island to many of the nation's Indigenous people according to the Iroquois creation story? This book is an attempt to illuminate the pain of a globalized world and provide vistas for action to address the crisis and deadly effects of globalization.

The introduction explains in detail why globalization is lethal for the Earth, the ecology, Indigenous peoples, women, the poor, and other vulnerable communities and sectors of the world. It lays out the rationale for the plan of the book that focuses on globalization's devastating impact on global ecological systems, global warming and climate change, Indigenous people, impoverished women, and those members of the poor and working classes in the United States who find themselves trapped within the growing prison industrial complex.

Globalization has evoked untold poverty and suffering of the world's working classes with billions marginalized by globalized capitalism's obsession with profits, a subject discussed in Chapter 1. The rhetoric of economic prosperity for all within the globalized "free market" is hardly free for the overwhelming majority, the virtual "99 percent" in the U.S. and the world. Chapter 1 highlights some of the diverse viewpoints of scholars on the globalization phenomenon, discusses global trade unevenness and commodity price instability and situations of globalization's "achievements" and pitfalls in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), culminating with the entrenchment of global financial and social instability as witnessed especially in the U.S. in 2008 and whose lingering effects can never be undone.

Chapter 2 focuses on the impact of globalization on Indigenous peoples in the first decade and recent years of the new millennium and the lethal threats facing the world's Indigenous peoples as they struggle for reclamation of ancestral lands, protection of sacred sites, cultural rights, and language rights, and resist the hegemonic power of nation states that refuse to implement policies according human rights to Indigenous peoples in the lands of

their ancestors. The chapter documents Indigenous peoples' resistance to globalized colonization and illuminates issues of globalization and ecocide, as species extinction has accelerated more so in the era of globalization than in the past 65 million years of the Earth. The very traditional practitioners among the world's Indigenous peoples like the San peoples of Southern Africa, the Maasai, Ogiek, and Samburu of East Africa, the Indigenous peoples of Australia, the Indigenous Ramu peoples of Papua New Guinea, and the Indigenous Yanomami and Guarani peoples of the South American Amazon, who have been warning the world's powerbrokers about the lethal effects of disrespecting the Earth by pursuing rapacious industrialism, are the ones whose voices need to be amplified today, and this chapter gives voice to such traditional peoples.

Chapter 3 engages in a discussion of globalization processes that have intensified the social and economic subjugation of women around the world, especially working class and poor women who are grossly underpaid as they work for large transnational (TNC) corporations in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Though women constitute over half of the world's human population, they still reap only a tiny percentage of the world's wealth. This chapter details the roles played by global financial and commercial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in furthering globalized exploitation of women. The question of AIDS and the manner that women are especially susceptible through globalized capitalism is raised in this chapter. The chapter illuminates the socio-economic experiences and struggles of women in the U.S., particularly working class women, and demonstrates that the connections between war and globalization are interwoven where women and children are generally the most adversely affected. It concludes with elucidating women's resistance to globalization in various contexts and highlights the need for the expansion of alternative and collective women's cultures that provide constructive redress to the deep problems of gender and economic injustice as the consequence of globalization.

Chapter 4 is the longest and most substantial chapter of the book because of the confluence of race, class, capitalism, and criminal justice as endemic to the globalization regime in the 21st century. The startling fact that the U.S. today has one-quarter of all prison inmates in the world even though we are only 5 percent of the world's human population warrants a discursive analysis of prisons and globalization. This chapter provides a concise history of the roots of the incarceration system in chattel slavery and the manner that Black people and other persons of color and the poor are specifically targeted for imprisonment in a globalized world in the early 21st century. It delineates a

range of issues pertaining to the criminal justice system and globalization, including race theory, drugs, crime, punishment and the national security state, the “war on drugs,” political prisoners and violence against women and those considered sexually deviant, police brutality, racism and harsh prison sentences, solitary confinement and prison torture, capital punishment, expansion of prison construction, and the private prisons industry in the U.S. and other Western nations that requires the massive incarceration of men and women for profit, including through political legislation like SB 1070 in the state of Arizona.

The final chapter of the book discusses the most pressing issue of our time, *global warming and climate change*, and the role that globalization plays in the perpetuation of the warming of the Earth at levels unparalleled in the history of the Earth. The emission of carbon dioxide and other green house gases principally by automobile and automation at levels of 30–32 gigatons into the atmosphere when Earth can only recycle half this amount is graphically and painstakingly illustrated in the chapter. The lethal impact of global warming and climate change all over the world, including the U.S., where over 60 percent of the country continues to experience some form of adverse drought and now threatens viable food production, is detailed in this chapter. The catastrophic effects of climate change where prolonged dry summers and shortened intensive cold winter spells interspersed by unprecedented tornadoes, lightning storms, hurricanes, tsunamis, typhoons, and freezing weather are experienced constitute key sections of the chapter. The submerging of island countries in the Pacific, the forced migration of peoples due to unprecedented climate changes, the crisis of food shortages in Asia and Africa, the shortened growth seasons for all kinds of species of plants and animals, the melting of polar ice caps and glaciers in the Arctic and the Himalayas that threatens to raise sea levels, and the reconfiguration of geographical contexts around the globe, raise the subject of globalization and global warming and climate change to a new level and warrant extensive action by educators, governments, farmers, scientists, Indigenous people, civil sector organizations, corporations, and the world. In the final analysis, the chapter calls for a radical shift away from global capitalism and dependence on fossil fuels, mining, and material extraction from the Earth as the basis of a viable global economy and challenges the reader to decide between abandoning capitalism or accelerating the extinction of species of life, including human beings, perhaps in the next century.

The somber outlook from Chapter 5 makes a transition into an epilogue of optimism and transformation by reclaiming our essential humanity, in the

words of Tadadaho elder Leon Shenandoah, “Becoming a Human Being.” The epilogue points out ironically that for humans to move forward, we will need to delve deeply into the wellspring of human ancestral wisdom to be the best human beings we can be and to struggle to find sustainable and Earth-friendly ways of living as Indigenous peoples have always lived and to return to the *circle of life* of which we are all an integral part. *We are part of nature and can never improve on nature*, a lesson communicated in the film *Sugar Cane Alley*. Practicing Indigenous knowledge in tandem with those who understand the environmental destruction of the Earth and all life is thus indispensable. We will all need to return to our ancestral roots to reclaim those ways of mutual respect and reciprocity of living with one another and the rest of the natural world in the 21st century and to preserve precious resources so that the next seven generations can live in dignity and replace exploitation of women with mutual respect, imprisonment with genuine programs of intervention and rehabilitation, and ecocide with new forms of economic life that accord respect to all life. Human beings are not indispensable and if humans disregard the Earth, their Original Mother, they do so with dire consequences and great peril to the future of the human race. Mother Earth will defend her children who are fast becoming extinct by all means at her disposal ... and she has power to do that, *real power*, unlike us as human beings...

The Cost of Globalization invites you, dear reader, to a dialogue about our future as human beings and as essentially *spiritual* beings, about how we need to chart a way forward to preserve the future for our great-grandchildren’s great-grandchildren. The Epilogue provides concrete data on issues discussed in each chapter. Wishing you a thoughtful reading!

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Introduction

The glaring effects of globalization particularly over the past two decades have been visible for all to see: growing chasms between the few superwealthy and the majority poor who have become further impoverished and experience consistent turbulence and instability in the global capitalist economies of the world; intensified ecological destruction to the point that anywhere between 50 and 200 species become extinct or permanently disappear every day according to the Center for Biological Diversity, reflecting the reality that humans have caused more species of life to disappear in recent history than over the previous 65 million years of the Earth, with rates of extinction between 1,000 and 10,000 times previous rates¹; continued violation of Indigenous peoples' lands and sacred sites and erosion of their languages and cultures in most parts of the world; increased hardships for women especially in working class communities and underdeveloped countries; and a rapid and explosive expansion of the prison industrial complex especially in the U.S. where close to 3 million people are incarcerated and over 5 million people are involved in some capacity with the criminal justice system either on parole or probation, the inevitable result of poverty and marginalization from the disappearance of millions of manufacturing jobs in the 1990s, during the recession in the early 2000s, and most recently following the great recession of December 2007 through 2009 when 8.4 million jobs were lost in the overall U.S. labor market, the bulk of which has never recovered even after October 2010 sixteen months after the recession had officially ended when the job market had 5.4 percent less jobs than before 2008.² Even though 4.5 million jobs were created since Barack Obama was first elected in 2008, the rate and the quality of job creation has hardly been commensurate with the growth within the U.S. working-age population of 213,000 each month since most of these new jobs have generally been entry-level, service sector, and low-paying. Two hundred thousand new

jobs over 29 months is neither real job growth nor robust in line with an economic recovery as the White House claimed in 2012 since it only represents a net gain of 47,000 once population increase over that time period is considered.³ The loss of manufacturing jobs escalated from the 1990s and peaked in the 2000s when 5.7 million jobs were lost and when transnational corporations and manufacturing and textile industries relocated to places in Asia, Latin America, and Africa where labor costs are a fraction of those in the U.S.⁴

The U.S. has the largest prison population in the world. Though the U.S. is 5 percent of the world's human population, it has 25 percent of the world's prisoners. The U.S. has 500,000 more prison inmates than China, which has a population five times that of the U.S.⁵ It also has the largest private prison industrial system in the world, generating hundreds of millions of dollars in profits for corporations like Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the GEO Group, and Federal Prison Industries (FPI). Private prisons that have particularly expanded under globalization due to greed for unbridled profits and the teetering U.S. economy generate about \$3 billion each year, using prison inmates as cheap labor for corporations like Starbucks, Boeing, Victoria's Secret, and McDonalds. Private prisons now house 10 percent of all prison inmates in the country and grew exponentially 1,600 percent from 1990 through 2010.⁶ In 1998, there were five private prisons housing 2,000 people. By 2008, there were 100 private prisons incarcerating some 62,000 inmates.⁷ Incarceration at all levels cost the U.S. government some \$55 billion annually.⁸

The military industrial complex in the United States has been yet another demarcating trait of globalization, with trillions of dollars spent on wars in Asia and Africa that have left millions dead and homeless and hundreds of thousands of U.S. military personnel suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome and severe body injuries. The United States spends about \$1.2 trillion on the military each year, more than the defense budgets of the rest of the 189 countries of the world combined, and has spent over \$13 trillion on wars abroad since 2001. Some 253,330 military personnel suffered from Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) from 2002 through 2013 and almost 400,000 U.S. military personnel have suffered from post-traumatic stress syndrome and other physical and mental injuries since 1991.⁹

The ecological destruction and natural devastation witnessed in the first years of the new millennium attest to the vicissitudes of the ongoing crisis—global warming has become the norm and floods, drought, earthquakes, hurricanes, and tornadoes have become daily global events. The shocking reach of Hurricane Sandy in the northeastern part of the United States that erased

hundreds of houses, flooded major coastlines and disrupted shipping and commerce in New Jersey and parts of New York for a week in 2012, while leaving millions without power and thousands homeless, is a sobering reminder of the impact of global warming and climate change on one of the most important financial centers of the world. The Philippines, a nation of 96 million people, experienced one of the worst typhoons ever recorded in November 2013 with the central part of the island country totally devastated, thousands dead and missing, and millions left homeless. Globalization with its obsession with optimal profit and maximization of mass production with the minimum injection of financial capital has much to do with this situation of unprecedented heating of the Earth and the turbulence of weather patterns that has never been witnessed over the past century. The pulverization of the Earth, a living Being and Mother to us all, through mining, oil-drilling, fracking, and other violent industrial processes, has had lethal side effects on all human societies and ecologies around the globe, and as opposed to globalizing civilization, has globalized the accelerating destruction of natural life.

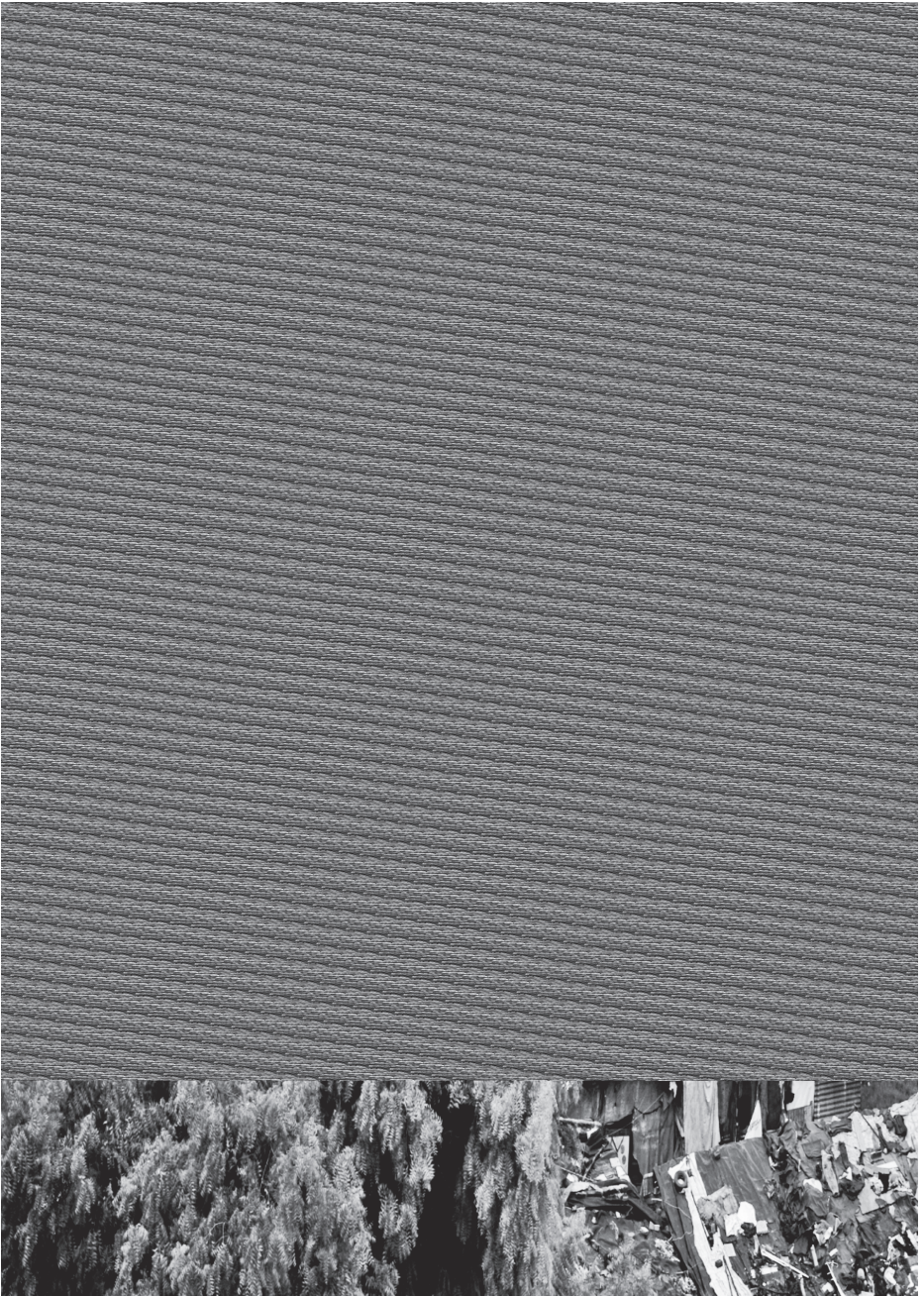
That rubber plantations in Thailand and Indonesia were besieged by droughts in 2011 and floods later resulted in wide-spread rubber plantations being destroyed, triggering the most serious shortages since 2007 and sending the price of rubber in September 2010 higher, is just one example of climate change side effects.¹⁰ Yet another is the crisis of drought in Kwazulu-Natal in South Africa (Azania) that has seen the devastation of sugar cane plantations and the radical reduction of sugar cane production, long the mainstay of the agricultural industry in the country, with a drop of 2.2 million tons of cane for mill delivery in 2010 and over 300,000 sugar cane worker jobs under threat of loss.¹¹ In March 2011, the world was stunned to witness the catastrophic effects of the 9.0 earthquake and accompanying tsunami that pulverized Japan, followed by progressive leaking and excessive levels of radiation emitted from some of the nuclear reactors in northeast Tokyo, whose lingering effects on people's lives, animal and plant life, and the environment will be around for some time. In October 2013, Typhoon Wipha struck the area around Fukushima and resulted in 17 people losing their lives, 50 people missing, and floodwaters overflowing 12 radioactive water tanks at the Daiichi nuclear plant and leaking radiation into the groundwater supply. Workers at the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) had to pump rainwater from 1,000 radioactive water tanks, and officials noted that "400,000 becquerels per liter of beta-emitting radioactive substances—including strontium" were found at a nearby well. Radioactive levels were 6,500 times higher than that a week before Wipha hit.¹²

Nuclear power, after all, is a military technology that involves splitting atoms and is lethal in effect: The Manhattan project that led to the atomic bomb and bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki when 200,000 people were incinerated, is being played out ironically today with the Japanese government determined to shield the public from the lethal effects of the leaking Fukushima Nuclear Plant that have resulted in dangerously high radiation levels which have effected all surrounding earth and marine life and will take their toll on the health of millions of Japanese people, especially young people, over the next two decades.¹³

What about advancing the principles of democracy, fairness, and justice that the Western capitalist world extols in its daily calls for “progress” on “human rights” and “economic opportunity for all” and “openness” to governments and peoples around the world? These are all obscured under the regime of globalization, particularly in that a tiny minority of nations of the world benefit. Considering that there are 189 countries in the world, the benefits of globalization patently accrue to a few with just twelve countries—China, India, Singapore, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico—accounting for 70 percent of exports and 75 percent of manufactured exports from Africa, Asia, and Latin America while receiving 90 percent of capital inflows to this sector of the world.¹⁴

We have begun to see the deprived peoples in West Asia in places like India, Pakistan, and in nations around the Caspian Sea rejecting their victimization by globalization and state domination and thus agitating for secession in regions like Kashmir in India and Chechnya in Russia.¹⁵ Globalization quintessentially benefits a few countries at the cost of the majority, and ironically reinforces minority rule and privilege, a *global apartheid system*, where the vast marginalized majority remains confined to conditions of economic and material poverty in many instances, most of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean being cases in point. Globalization’s benefits can only accrue to those countries in the underdeveloped world (formerly colonized countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America) that have an entrenched infrastructure of industrial and technological success, namely the twelve identified in the preceding paragraph. The good news is that globalization is *not* the final world, and neither is capitalism, as the rapidly declining and collapsing economies of the capitalist world evince.¹⁶

To add to this analysis of the gravity of human suffering wrought from globalization, we need to highlight the pain of the creatures of the natural world that are an integral part of the global ecological system within which we as human beings participate. For the poor and the four-leggeds, birds,



Globalization has generated dilapidated slum housing in many urban metropolises, like the one depicted in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India, where rural migrants travel long distances to reside in cities with hopes of higher income and a decent living (Emmanuel Dyan).

In the Maghreb region of Africa, which includes Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, where ongoing anti-government unrest simmered in 2011, the illiteracy rate for women in 1990 was 64 percent, 43 percent, and 54 percent respectively.³⁸ In 1995, the rates of illiteracy for women were 51 percent in Algeria, 45.4 percent in Tunisia, and 69 percent, worsening in the case of Morocco.³⁹ In Algeria, a major oil producer, while the literacy of men was 81 percent for adults aged 15 years and over, for women the literacy rate was 64 percent in 2006. In Egypt, the literacy rate for the same group of adults was 75 percent for men and 58 percent for women in the same year. Though literacy rates for adults aged 15 years and over are relatively high in Iran, the literacy rate in 2009 was 81 percent for women and 89 percent for men. In Iraq, the differences were even more substantial in 2009, with literacy rates for the same group at 86 percent for men and 70 percent for women. In Jordan, male adult literacy rates for men at 95 percent were higher than those for women in 2007, which stood at 89 percent. In Lebanon in 2007, women's adult literacy rates stood at 86 percent, while those for adult men was 93 percent. Even in Libya, a country with the highest literacy on the African continent, women's literacy rates lagged behind that of men at 82 percent and 95 percent respectively in 2009.⁴⁰ In Syria, beset by a rebel movement funded and supported by the U.S. and other Western powers, the literacy rate for adult women was significantly lower than for men in 2009, 78 percent and 90 percent respectively. In Tunisia, the literacy rates for adults aged 15 years and over were 86 percent for men and 71 percent for women in 2008, while in Turkey, which prides itself on being a secular state with a predominant Muslim population, the lot for women is still generally below that of men, with literacy rates for women standing at 85 percent and 96 percent for men in 2009.⁴¹

In the Arab world "with the exception of the urban poor, rural women have historically been the most disadvantaged group of women in socio-economic terms."⁴² The regimes of the Maghreb have generally reflected little concern for the rights of workers, let alone those of women workers, since the ruling establishments in each of these countries governs each country with an iron fist, with no attention to either participatory democracy or justice. Gender disparities in a key area of life quality like literacy run rampant throughout the Arab world and in most parts of Africa and Asia, and globalization has not undermined that patriarchal cultural trend either.

In the Egyptian context, Noha El Mikawy, like Mohau Pheko in South Africa, criticizes those stalwarts of globalization who claim that it will "connect an economy to the international market, bring in capital and increase employment" and repudiates those economists who sanguinely reify the expe-

riences of women in the informal sector as “signs of economic vitality and capital formation/accumulation.”⁴³ She argues that research has demonstrated that this sense of economic empowerment is mythic because such informal sectors are publicly unregulated and can actually exacerbate the fragmentation of women’s work and value and compound their political marginalization.⁴⁴

Egypt was forced to accept the bitter pill of structural adjustment, where it was required to radically scale down the public sector from the 1980s and early 1990s, so that in 1995, just 43.2 percent of women were employed. Today, that figure has now fallen drastically, forcing women to seek employment in the private sector where educational qualifications are not always the determining factor in employment, unlike in the state sector. Female unemployment has thus skyrocketed in Egypt, creating significant hardships for families. In the area of agriculture, one-quarter are unpaid workers, rendering them even more vulnerable to socio-economic changes.⁴⁵ The massive uprisings against the Mubarak regime that unfolded early in 2011 were sparked by growing impoverishment of rural people and the economic vacuum precipitated by increased urban unemployment and skyrocketing prices of food and essential goods.⁴⁶ It is indeed ironic within the Islamic world that “civilized” Europe from the presence of the Moors in Spain from the 8th century CE, where “‘Europe’ (itself a problematic category) absorbed all manner of ideas from ‘other’ cultural complexes, notably from predominantly Islamic societies,” is now recasting these “European” traditions into its contemporary social and political institutions.⁴⁷ Globalization may end in self-destruction anyway, because there is no cultural core to it and it depends on an extractionist economics and snippets of world cultures. Western Europe, after all, has produced nothing of lasting historical significance save its 500-year imperialist colonization of the world that is now fast drawing to a close.

In much of Africa, women bear the brunt of poverty, illiteracy, and war. Forty-four percent of Africa is poor, mostly women, living below the poverty datum line of \$39 per month.⁴⁸ The majority of those who are illiterate in Africa are women, in a continent where the overall literacy rate is an astoundingly low 50 percent.⁴⁹ The impact of globalization, especially forced privatization of vital public sector services and particularly on African women, is astounding:

The economic and social costs of liquidation, rehabilitation and privatization of the public sector in Africa are immeasurable. They are all associated with a contraction of output; massive job losses and falling incomes. This is particularly true for women and other low-skilled workers who are mostly government and public

sector employees. This explains, among other things, why women in the labor force have decreased from 57 percent in 1970 to 53 percent in 1990.⁵⁰

While the Scandinavian countries continue to maintain state-run industries, the same Western powers, in a paternalistic stroke, insist that African industries and institutions are unproductive and problematic because they are administered by the state and must therefore be privatized. The net result has been the essential opening up of all protected national industries in Africa to powerful transnational corporations with roots mostly in Western Europe, North America or East Asia, further disempowering working class women.⁵¹ Most women lack access to basic facilities in health care, credit opportunities, clean drinking water, adequate sanitation provisions, food, land, and transportation, since they are most often located in rural areas. Most of Africa, like most of Asia and significant portions of rural Latin America, lacks adequate sanitation, part of the 2.5 billion people suffering such deprivation in the world. African women, like their counterparts in other parts of the world, are often subject to sexual harassment and assault as the result of seeking toilet facilities away from the security of their homes, where they are often non-existent. The rape of two young women in India in May 2014, highlighted this excruciating reality for impoverished women in particular, part of the 1 billion people who have no toilet facilities in a world of globalized “civilization.”⁵² Neo-liberalist regimes in the underdeveloped world generally ignore the rural sector in their overall programs of “development,” exacerbating conditions of violence against rural women.

Mohau Pheko, a South African/Azania activist and analyst, laments the cooperative stance that African regimes have adopted vis-à-vis globalization, describing the heavy toll that liberalization has taken on all poor people, especially women, as “a site of Terrorism and Violence Against Women”:

Our country’s response has been to apply export-led economies, cut budget deficits, so that the bulk of national budgets is spent in paying debt, an increase in monetary policies, lifting of exchange controls, lifting of trade tariffs, and a creation of free-trade zones.

This era of trade liberalization promotes gender-blind policies that undermine the socio-economic rights of women. In South Africa, there appears to be a township romance, where women’s lives have been used to show how resilient they are to poverty, and because of this, policies are made that glorify women selling meat in boxes on the sidewalks of our streets, calling this empowerment.⁵³

During my field work interviewing workers from the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, South Africa, in July 2006, especially women, the message was unequivocal: globalization

has been the principal factor that has impoverished workers in general and women in particular.

With the flooding of the South African textile markets with cheaper imports from countries like China and Korea, over 120,000 textile workers in Cape Town, mostly women, lost their jobs from 1998 through 2006, producing a steady social disintegration that took its deadliest toll on working class Black families in the Western Cape. Interviews with trade unionists revealed a virtual collapse of vital public services such as health care and education, so that ill persons who did not possess private health insurance were forced to assemble at 4:00 a.m. outside public hospitals in Cape Town to be seen the same day.⁵⁴ Public schools were routinely underfunded, undersupplied and overcrowded, with dropout rates in the thousands around South Africa. Workers who could not afford to send their children to “Model C schools” (formerly white-only schools) were forced to have their children attend dilapidated and fast deteriorating public schools. Academic success in impoverished public schools was generally remote and part of an economic downward spiral for young Black people.

Mauritius, an island nation off the southeastern coast of Africa, has long been seen as a stable country influenced heavily by Western metropolitan culture and characterized by Export-oriented Free Trade Zones since the late 1970s. While women see work outside the home as a liberating experience, considering the strong patriarchal traditions of the country, they nevertheless find themselves at the bottom-most rung of the socio-economic ladder, holding mostly unskilled and the lowest paid jobs in the large textile and garment workers sector.⁵⁵ During the Asian economic crisis in 1997–1998, women workers in the textile industry were the first to be laid off. The unemployment of women in Mauritius grew from 9.2 percent in 2000 to 14.4 percent in 2007 as a result of factories and assembly plants in Mauritius hiring cheaper workers from China and Bangladesh and laborsaving technologies institutionalized during the globalization era.⁵⁶

Globalization is thus viewed by Africans as the “supreme stage of Western imperialism,” argues Yassine Fall, the Executive Secretary of the African Association of Women for Research and Development, and “another state of the process of capital accumulation and expansion and concentration in the hands of a few.”⁵⁷ Notwithstanding the cornucopia of works on globalization’s benefits, the core function for impoverished people is unassailable: the accumulation of capital through coerced and exploitative labor, using neo-liberal ideology and deceptive corporate terminologies like “prosperity,” “economic boom,” and “industrial expansion.” It comes as no surprise, then, when African womanist activists view the spread of the HIV virus and the AIDS pandemic

in Africa, and now increasingly in Asia, as part of the designs of global capitalism in its designs and effects that decimate impoverished communities while preserving the extraction of vital resources needed for the engines of Western industrialism. *Why do all African regimes earmark little funding for health care and AIDS treatment when AIDS is a continent-wide pandemic along with malaria, tuberculosis, and, now increasingly, cancer?* Sisonke Msimang, a South African activist involved in gender justice issues and in HIV/AIDS prevention, caustically elaborates on the scheme that perpetuates the AIDS pandemic, warranting the detailed citation:

If there was a recipe for creating an AIDS epidemic in Southern Africa, it would read as follows: Steal some land and subjugate its people. Take some men from rural areas and put them in hostels far away from home, in different countries, if need be. Build excellent roads. Ensure that the communities surrounding the men are impoverished so that a ring of sex workers develops around each mining town. Add HIV. Now take some miners and send them for holidays to their rural, uninfected wives. Add a few girlfriends in communities along the road home.

Add liberal amounts of patriarchy, both home-grown and of the colonial variety. Ensure that women have no right to determine the conditions under which sex will take place. Make sure that they have no access to credit, education, or any of the measures that would give them options to leave unhappy unions, or dream of lives in which men are not the centre of their activities. Shake well and watch an epidemic explode.

There's an optional part of the recipe, which adds an extra spice to the pot: African countries on average spend four times more on debt servicing than they do on health. Throw in a bit of World Bank propaganda, some loans from the IMF and beat well. Voila. We have icing on the cake.⁵⁸

There is no question that the explosion of the sex worker industry, attributable largely to exacerbated conditions of impoverishment of women due to globalization's impact on rural economies, is another major factor in the spread of the AIDS virus in Africa and other parts of the underdeveloped world. Marjorie Mbilinyi, a Tanzanian educator, observes in her study on the effects of globalization and structural adjustment policies, and on so-called debt cancellation of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), that

increased poverty and rural-urban migration have also led to increased sex work among women and men and children, which is partly associated with the rise of sex tourism and expatriate workers in most countries.... Many others turn to sex work as an escape from low pay, harsh working conditions and sexual harassment experienced in domestic service, the other main job "opportunity" available for young rural girls in town.⁵⁹

It is not a conundrum when it comes to understanding the AIDS pandemic, especially in Africa. In South Africa, Africa's wealthiest country, the Women's

Health Project reported that in 1998, “20 percent of African households live[d] in a single room and 46 percent live[d] in three or fewer rooms, while half of these households lacked proper sanitation facilities, adequate water and indoor toilets.”⁶⁰ The propagation of the AIDS virus is clearly facilitated under such poverty-stricken conditions, ironic in a land where gold, copper, diamond, platinum, and coal mining is the mainstay of the capitalist economy. Fifty-eight percent of all AIDS cases in Africa are women and half of those infected in other parts of the world are female.⁶¹ Black people who are rooted in collective Africana cultures globally are particularly susceptible to HIV/AIDS in a globalized world where unhealthy side or ty-four developing world’s (effects of industrialism, stress from unemployment and economic depression, pervasively poor diets from processed genetically-modified food, sedentary lifestyles, and overcrowded urban conditions facilitate the radical weakening of human immune systems. Half of those suffering from HIV/AIDS in the U.S., for example, are Black women. According to the Phoenix Birthing Project, Black women in Maricopa County in the state of Arizona experience 16.1 times the rate of HIV infection compared to white women.⁶²

Western financial institutions, corporations, and governments are fully aware of the dynamic transpiring around globalization, intensified poverty, and the spread of AIDS as the result of the expanding sex worker industry and the crippling effect particularly on women. Many still insist that African women and men are promiscuous by culture, as part of a racist rationalization, and demand that African governments reduce public health care services in order to pay for “debts” incurred to the West, knowing quite well that African women and children are the most vulnerable to illness and death in this scenario. Western governments and corporations are fully aware of the decimating nature of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on the African continent, particularly in the manner that it has affected millions of women, so that children are now being orphaned routinely with deaths of parents from AIDS in places like South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, and Kenya. This is precisely why AIDS is sometimes viewed as a form of *socio-biological* warfare waged by the forces of globalization against African people, a legacy of the system of colonialism that willfully gave smallpox infected blankets to Indigenous people in North America in the 19th century knowing that it would annihilate a people who lacked immunity against viruses stemming and transmitted from the unhygienic conditions in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁶³ In the U.S. in 1801, Thomas Jefferson exposed hundreds of enslaved Africans to an unused smallpox vaccine before it was administered to whites, medical researchers deliberately infected Black male sharecroppers with syphilis in the southern

U.S. in the 1930s through the Tuskegee experiments, involuntarily sterilized Indigenous Indian, Black, and Puerto Rican women in the 1960s and 1970s, experimented on Black prisoners and military personnel, used African American and Black Dominican boys for drug experiments that investigated disruptive behavior, and infected over 700 Guatemalan prisoners with gonorrhea and syphilis in the late 1940s.⁶⁴ If Western corporations and governments are so concerned about the humanitarian catastrophe resulting from the AIDS crisis, why is it that anti-retroviral drugs that have successfully slowed the disease in many Western nations have not been provided free or at low-cost to a continent that is economically ravaged and deeply impoverished? Why did Western pharmaceutical corporations and the U.S. government under former president Bill Clinton threaten the South African government with legal sanctions for potentially violating pharmaceutical patent law if South Africa proceeded to purchase anti-retroviral drugs at much cheaper rates from India and Brazil in the late 1990s? Would the same treatment and level of insouciant engagement be accorded to nations or peoples in Europe where people are literally humiliated and forced into begging for antidotes and medicines to save them from premature death? These occurrences make one wonder too about the reasons that individuals within the U.S. medical research sector resurrected the flu virus in June 2014 after receiving approval from the federal government following a year-long moratorium on such research because of fears that the virus could spread uncontrollably.⁶⁵ The flu virus killed 50 million people in 1918 and contains strains similar to that of the H5N1 virus or Avian flu that has killed 386 people since 2003 and seriously threatened people's lives in Asia and Africa in recent years.⁶⁶ The eruption of the Ebola virus at the Kekema Hospital first in Sierra Leone in August 2014, where researchers from Tulane University and the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases (USAMRIID) were conducting tests on patients and then immediately asked by the Sierra Leonian government to stop after patients started dying, raises many questions about bio-weapons research in densely populated areas of the world like West Africa.⁶⁷

What is palpable in the dynamic of capitalist coercion in the eon of globalization is the corporations whose homes reside in the U.S., Europe, or Japan, but outsource their production in countries that are ruled by regimes controlled by and subservient to global capitalist forces, particularly found in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.⁶⁸ Female labor assures the maximization of profits on the basis of gender, race, and class. Valentine Moghadam observes that due to economic restructuring of the global economy, unemployment rates for women soared in Malaysia in the mid 1980s, "Vietnam in the late

1980s, Poland, Bulgaria, and Russia in the early 1990s, and Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey in the latter part of the 1990s.”⁶⁹ In the late 1990s, women workers in South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia experienced job erosion more severely than men, and in the case of Korea, twice that of men.⁷⁰

Moghadam concludes that the “feminization of unemployment, therefore, is as much a characteristic of the global economy as is the feminization of labor.”⁷¹ What Moghadam implies, but does not accentuate, is the fact that women are the preferred labor force by capital because they are the most exploitable on the grounds of gender, an exploitation that is compounded many times when they are Black or Brown women. Under globalization, women’s levels of employment have dropped, as unemployment of workers has grown round the world, owing to the hegemonic role of industrial, commercial, and financial automation in late capitalism. Capitalism’s sole purpose is agglomeration of profits, and cutting labor costs often becomes the easiest route in the age of globalized automation. The same principle applied to the rationale for Ford Motor Company, for instance, eliminating 32,800 employees at its North American plants as a “cost-cutting” measure from 2006 through 2012 principally to make “operations profitable,” even though other reasons may be cited by corporate executives.⁷² Capitalism views humans essentially as workers and profit-makers for the ruling classes of the world.

Capital financiers claim that micro-finance has been effective in addressing under-financing of impoverished farmers, businesses, and organizations in the underdeveloped world, where small loans are given to certain women entrepreneurs from the working classes to begin small businesses that could grow eventually into economically viable larger ones based on the assistance of start-up capital. However, there are lingering questions about the actual effectiveness of these micro-finance schemes. Finance liberalization that entails deregulation of interest rates, removal of subsidies, privatization of government-owned banks, and use of market-based instruments to determine monetary policy, empowers the market to decide who receives credit and how much. Yet such liberalization has hardly resulted in the working classes and poor becoming more prosperous and economically independent. Instead, poverty conditions have become aggravated as globalized financial forces have favored the powerful and disregarded the poor, making life much more difficult for the latter through accruing of debt. Microfinancing involves extending loans to millions of poor people. In Bangladesh, 6 million received loans through the Grameen Bank in 2006, and most are now drowning in debt as a result of the sputtering national and global economy with little financial ability to repay such debit without incurring exorbitant rates of interest.⁷³ This level

of strangulating debt exists in the U.S., with a crippling \$1.1 trillion of student loan debt and U.S. credit card holders finding themselves mired in \$854.2 billion as of April 2014.⁷⁴

Kavaljit Singh, a researcher who is the Founder and Director of the Public Interest Research Centre in New Delhi, India, argues, “the paradox of globalization is that it unifies and integrates the rich and affluent classes while marginalizing the poor masses who lack requisite skills and resources to profit from world markets.”⁷⁵ For women who are supposedly beneficiaries of microfinancing since the onset of globalization, the results have been anything but successful. Singh’s research on microfinance’s programs in Bangladesh is palpable, underscoring the contradictory financial and political assumptions of the programs with the objective of economically empowering poor women. He explains that the programs run by the Grameen Bank (world renowned for its supposed success in microfinancing small business enterprise) not only do not reach the poorest of the poor, but place undue stress on borrowers by increasing debt liability several-fold. Most of the loan monies are often used to pay for essential items of food and education as opposed to investment in business since cash availability for borrowers is extremely low.⁷⁶

So much for the World Bank’s and the IMF’s ostensible philanthropic concern for poor women! The contradiction lies in these financial institutions’ insistence that the state remove itself from economic and financial decisions and leave such matters to the directives of the market. Concomitantly, these institutions demand that states reduce allocations for vital public service sectors such as food subsidies, health, education, and housing. The irony is that poor women are forced to spend the loans received under microfinance schemes to pay for these vital services that are non-existent or severely impaired in many instances due to underfunding as a result of globalization’s liberalization requirements for such loans.

In Latin America in the mid-1990s, the World Bank was compelled to acknowledge that globalization’s tendencies, endemic to the capitalist system, have induced high rates of poverty, particularly for women, where women are 34 percent more likely to find themselves trapped in the lower 20 percent of income levels, compared to a 15 percent probability for men.⁷⁷ In Honduras and Venezuela in 1990 for example, urban poverty rates for female-headed households were 79.7 percent and 42.6 percent respectively, compared to rural poverty rates for female-headed households of 42.6 percent and 51.2 percent respectively.⁷⁸ By 2009, few radical changes in terms of female poverty were evidenced. Poverty for women was 1.15 times greater than for men and 1.7 times higher for children under 15 than adults. In its November 2009 report,

the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean noted that

exposure to poverty among women is higher than for men in the entire region and is significantly greater in Panama (1.37 times higher), Costa Rica (1.30 times), the Dominican Republic (1.25 times), Chile (1.24 times) and Uruguay (1.21 times greater). In 13 out of 18 countries this pattern worsened between 2002 and 2008.⁷⁹

The ECLAC report observed that unpaid women's labor at home and on child-care, along with a stratified paid workforce that generally favors men over women, were the biggest factors responsible for women's higher level of poverty. In Uruguay, for example, women spent an average of 5 hours per day on unpaid domestic work, while in Guatemala, women worked an average of 7 hours daily and received no compensation.⁸⁰

In Latin American rural areas, with the exception of socialist Cuba,

Illiteracy rates in rural areas, an indirect indicator of vulnerability to poverty, are generally higher for women than for men, and are considerably higher for rural women than for their urban counterparts. The hours worked and number of women working seems to have intensified in rural areas and within domestic units themselves, without a commensurate increase in access to education.⁸¹

In revolutionary and socialist Cuba, "women workers are guaranteed equal pay for equal work, paid vacations and maternity benefits, and a much wider array of support is found than in capitalist societies."⁸²

The U.S.-based Dole corporation, which makes its profits off the sweat and labor of workers of color all over Latin America and in Hawaii, continues to force mostly women workers among the 100,000 Colombian flower plantation workers to work overtime to produce thousands of flowers for Valentine's Day for grocery stores and flower vendors across the U.S., even while requiring those same workers to spray pesticides on the flowers. Women workers in these plantations resultantly suffer disproportionately high miscarriages, headaches, nausea, congenital abnormality and neurological complications.⁸³ It is no coincidence that Dole has been cited for using the hormone-harming pesticide dibromochloropropane (DBCP) on its Nicaraguan banana plantations and exposing workers to poisonous effects including sterility in males, refusing to provide safety equipment for workers or medical treatment for those effected.⁸⁴ In September 2012, the author and members of the Global Alliance for Justice heard moving testimonies from female banana workers who worked for the Dole Food Company (the largest fresh fruit and vegetables producer in the world with \$6.9 billion in revenues in 2010), Chiquita, Dow Chemical, and the Standard Fruit Company. Anecdotes recounted gruesome

experiences of families of workers suffering from abnormal growths and documented cases of children of workers born deaf, blind, sterile, or deformed as a result of working in the fields sprayed by toxic chemicals like Roundup and Nemagon, the latter which has been banned in the U.S.⁸⁵ Other corporations like Chevron and Shell also used such lethal chemicals and along with the fruit companies attempted to force workers to sign liability waivers by bribing worker leaders. Also, 2,520 workers have died from toxic chemical effects, according to Cecilia Leonardo from the Nicaraguan Union of Banana Workers.⁸⁶ This is corporate globalization at work in Latin America! Anti-exploitation activists have advocated a boycott of Dole Flowers and all products made by the Dole Food Company, morally appropriate action that U.S. consumers can take to undermine globalization's violence against women workers as perpetrated by the Dole Food Company and in solidarity with Nicaraguan banana workers.

In the Caribbean, the most important development in globalization's drive has been the activation of the Economic Processing Zones, originally put in place in 1970 in the policy called the Caribbean Basin Initiative in 1983 and subsequently in 1990 under the Caribbean Basin Initiative II, instituted under Ronald Reagan and George H. Bush respectively. It was not for philanthropic reasons, to "diversify and expand the economic base, increase employment, and increase the foreign exchange earnings," but simply because the U.S. received a favorable trade surplus of \$2.6 billion over the period 1985–1995, compared to massive U.S. trade deficits with other nations during that time, specifically China.⁸⁷

Research conducted by the Centre for Gender and Development at the University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica, reveals that micro-business undertaken by women generally tend to be smaller in Jamaica, for instance, both with regard to start-up capital and employment size. Women consequently generally operate in the least-profitable micro-business enterprises and receive meager incomes, exacerbating economic dependence and vulnerability.⁸⁸ The 1985 Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica noted that women were particularly affected by structural adjustment and privatization policies (SAPs). From 1972 through 1989, almost one-third of all employed women in the country were self-employed.⁸⁹ This was largely the result of SAP's, since the state sector was required to scale down employment, the manufacturing sector was hit, prices of export commodities dropped, and private capital investments did not create wide scale employment opportunities for women and men. The reality of the suffering of women has worsened since the late 1990s and into the new millennium:

In late 1998, Jamaica's booming financial sector, which represented the major engine of growth during the decade, almost totally collapsed.... Although women now achieve higher educational levels than men, they remain relatively underpaid and underemployed ... the crisis in the financial sector and the widespread downsizing of companies have resulted in massive layoffs, leaving many women unemployed, including those in supervisory and middle management positions.⁹⁰

The view that Economic Processing Zones (EPZs) have been good for countries like the Dominican Republic where they employed 170,000 in 2000, mostly in textiles for the U.S. market, with Dominican workers, including many women, still earning one sixth of what U.S. workers make in the textiles sector because the zones contributed toward "job creation, export increase, and foreign currency generation" as some "experts" have argued, is not persuasive nor ethically viable.⁹¹ In actuality, the real hourly minimum wage in the Dominican Republic dropped by 62.3 percent between 1984 and 1990, and unemployment continues to be higher for women than for men, hovering around 26 percent.⁹²

Caribbean nations were particularly affected by the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) since it "undermined the Caribbean Basin initiative of trade preferences for Caribbean countries" as agreed to by the U.S.⁹³ Caribbean textile workers were unable to compete with competition from Mexico for instance. Textile and garment workers in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic were the hardest hit, and 9,000 textile jobs were lost in Jamaica in 1994 as a result. Female banana plantation workers in the Windward Islands of the Caribbean experienced hardship during the dismantling of preferential trade agreements on bananas for Caribbean growers since they faced stiff competition from U.S.-based banana exporting companies like Chiquita and Dole in Latin America in the early part of the millennium. The net result was that Caribbean agricultural women workers in particular were unable to challenge the supremacy of the large agribusiness companies from the U.S. and many lost their jobs, saw significantly reduced incomes, and struggled even harder to support their families when they were the sole breadwinners.⁹⁴

The 2001 film documentary, *Life and Debt*, powerfully demonstrated in its depiction of globalized Jamaica that the EPZs are directed toward one objective alone: maximizing profits at the cost of the exploitation of workers, mostly female, with little benefit to the indigenous Jamaican producers and the Jamaican economy.⁹⁵ The beneficiaries of foreign currency revenues in such situations, be they in the Dominican Republic or Jamaica or any other country in the Caribbean for that matter, are mainly U.S. corporations and local bureaucrats who function to maintain these countries' dependence on

export services and tourism that provide little basis to develop the resources of Caribbean countries for national economic benefit and sustainability. These EPZs confine Caribbean workers to service roles; essentially slaves who produce goods for the powerful North, with no power and dignity to produce goods that meet their local need and build their home nations. The conditions of long working hours, few breaks, and overcrowding of workers in assembly line settings who are subject to searches at the end of each day, are particularly humiliating for workers, especially women. EPZs reflect essentially racist and sexist policies by U.S. policy makers working for profit-greedy transnationals who view the Caribbean as a backyard where slave labor and paltry wages for Black people are acceptable and where surplus U.S. goods can be dumped, graphically illustrated in *Life and Debt*.

It is important to highlight too that women are generally disadvantaged and victimized by breakthroughs in biotechnology and other computer-aided technology in manufacturing and information technology in the service sector, principally because these technologies are male-biased and oriented. Cyberculture is generally male-biased and oriented because far fewer women have access to computers and the Internet due to having to work in household settings (cooking, addressing children's needs, etc.) and thus comparatively have less exposure to benefits from these technological mediums.⁹⁶

Women in the underdeveloped world, particularly rural and tradition-practicing women, face increased marginalization as the result of the WTO agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Women's knowledge on biodiversity, Indigenous health and medical knowledge are subjugated by piracy practices by the large pharmaceutical corporations. Women are unable to pay royalties to large corporations like Monsanto, Dow, Du Pont and other biotech corporations for improved biogenetic seeds since they have lost rights over their traditional medicinal knowledge to large corporations, although they are the original seed keepers on earth. These biotech corporations now claim that such seeds are their exclusive property after they had pirated this traditional knowledge.⁹⁷ Similarly, the depletion of forests and other natural resources intensifies the suffering of women, including in areas of fishing and aquaculture in places like India. Vandana Shiva, an environmental feminist activist from India, declares that "GNP and growth in international trade is becoming increasingly a measure of how real wealth—the wealth of nature and the life-sustaining wealth produced by women—is rapidly decreasing" since "when trade in commodities is treated as the only economic activity, it destroys the potential of nature and women to produce life, goods, and services for basic needs."⁹⁸

Globalization's Impact on Women in the U.S.

Within the U.S., working class women generally and women of color in particular experience comparable levels of disempowerment and exploitation to their sisters in the underdeveloped world. The statistics are disturbing and serve as a reminder of the pathological effects of globalization in areas of race, class, and gender. In the 1990s

almost 30 percent of all African Americans and Latinos and Latinas live in poverty, whereas only 10 percent of whites do. This number includes almost half of all African American children and more than one-third of Latino and Latina children. The poverty rates calculated for children living in households headed by women are even more dramatic. Two-thirds of African American and Latino and Latina children in families headed by single mothers live in poverty (compared with 20 percent of white children in such families).⁹⁹

The expansion of the services sector of the U.S. economy that began in the 1980s and stagnated in the 1990s with the onset of globalization had dire implications for Black women, where “by the 1990s, some predicted changes with negative impacts for Black women had already occurred,” and job losses in manufacturing, bankruptcy in real estate, insurance, and transportation intensified job layoffs in the thousands.¹⁰⁰ The 2008 recession has made it particularly difficult for all sectors of workers, including blue-collar workers across the spectrum, with job losses of 8.4 million between 2007 and 2010. Black female mortgage holders were the most susceptible to the sub-prime mortgage lending crisis of 2008.¹⁰¹

For Indigenous women in the U.S. who face increased marginalization on scattered “reservations” around the country, economic hardship is akin to that of women in the underdeveloped world. Unemployment in communities like Rosebud and Pine Ridge in South Dakota is a staggering 70 percent. The average family income in these communities is under \$3,000 per year, with women bearing the brunt of poverty-stricken conditions, lack of access to health care, and unemployment.¹⁰² Women shockingly have a life expectancy of 52 years and men 48 years. Elderly women are subject to the vagaries of climate change, especially in frigid winters in South Dakota where temperatures drop to 30 below zero and many women suffer or die from hypothermia. In the Indigenous community of 24,000 families at Pine Ridge, poverty runs rampant. Ninety-seven percent of the families fall below the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services definition of poverty, where tuberculosis rates for the Lakota are 533 percent higher than non-Indian people for tuberculosis, 249 percent for diabetes, and 71 percent for influenza.¹⁰³ These Indigenous

people, the Original Caretakers of this land, live at levels similar to the impoverished people of Haiti, the poorest country in the Western hemisphere.

Today, the equation of womanhood with poverty in the world, including the U.S., is not hyperbolic. While the ruling class euphorically claims that *the land of the free and home of the brave is the land of opportunity for all*, women, especially poor women of color, experience the brunt of the absence of opportunity, economic deprivation, and social degradation. Of the 36 million U.S. citizens, 13 percent of the population, living below the poverty line in 2004, 80 percent of the adult poor were women.¹⁰⁴

Poverty is not equally distributed across the U.S. population: 9 percent of white Americans, 23 percent of African Americans, 21 percent of Latino/as, 10 percent of Asian Americans and 30 percent of Native Americans live in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). Poverty is particularly concentrated among single-women heads-of-household, that is among women who are raising their children alone: 22 percent white, 35 percent Black, 37 percent Latina, and 15 percent Asian American women heads-of-household live on incomes below the poverty line, which the federal government set at U.S.\$8,890 for a single individual and U.S.\$18,400 for a family of four in 2004. The kind of poverty experienced by women household heads is acute: more than half are living with income less than 50 percent of the official poverty level.¹⁰⁵

Poverty exists not merely because of the absence of employment or insufficient wages. According to the minimum wage in the U.S. for 2004, \$5.15 per hour, a person working full-time would earn an annual salary of U.S.\$10,700. The minimum wage workforce in the U.S. is made up of 61 percent women and more than 50 percent of these women have children. A person who works 40 hours per week for one year with two weeks unpaid vacation and is paid the minimum wage of U.S.\$5.15 per hour will earn U.S.\$1,400 less than the governmental established poverty line if she has one child to support. If the same woman had three children instead of one, her salary would be U.S.\$7,700 less than the poverty line.¹⁰⁶ Though the minimum wage was raised to \$7.25 from July 2009, the minuscule increase in no way accounts for the steady increase in inflation, particularly the growth of the price of food. Food prices rose 0.1 percent in February 2014 and again by a whopping 1.1 percent in March, marking the largest increase in the first half of the year, particularly because of the entrenched drought in Western food-producing states like California.¹⁰⁷ Boxed meat prices experienced their greatest jump since August 1980.

What is most deceptive about official U.S. Census figures in this regard, of course, is the manner that official poverty levels are determined. It is indeed absurd to expect a family of four to survive on \$18,400 per year. How many U.S. congresspersons or senators would be prepared to live on such meager

annual salaries? Yet the same political ruling class slashed social welfare programs that benefit the working poor and all impoverished people, particularly women and children, by over \$36 billion in early 2006.

Half of all the poor population in the U.S. are children. The Economic Policy Institute (EPI) that studies the effects of U.S. government policy on economy and society indicated in 2004 that it would require an annual income of \$27,000 per year to afford a two-bedroom apartment and meet basic living needs in a rural community, and \$52,000 per year to receive the same minimal standard of living in an urban area in that year.¹⁰⁸ For 2013, the EPI budget calculator estimated that a basic family budget for a modest standard of living for a two-parent family with two children varies from \$48,166 in Marshall County, Mississippi to \$94,676 for New York City.¹⁰⁹ For a median income area like Topeka, Kansas, a similar family needs about \$63,364 to live at a decent social level, well above the \$23,283 determined as the 2012 poverty level for a two-parent, two-children family in that area.¹¹⁰ The governmental poverty level for families in 2013 was well below the actual income needed to maintain a stable family household, considering fundamental costs of housing, food, transportation, children's education, health care, utilities, and other basic services. Working class women particularly are most adversely affected since they generally fall at the bottom end of socio-economic ladders and income levels given strictures of class and gender.

Almost one-quarter of U.S. workers earn less than \$8.23 per hour, or \$16,640 per year, many of them women with children. Globalization's underlying philosophy and its discourse of neo-liberalism claims that the poor "sponge off" the system and need to work hard to realize the American dream, and are thus undeserving of any safety net that may prevent them from falling deeper into or remaining within the ranks of poverty. The poor are punished because they are mostly female and children, many being persons of color. When then liberal Democratic president Bill Clinton promised to reform "welfare as we know it," he did exactly that, reforming it so that it penalized poor, working women in its "reform." According to Pamela Loprest, a researcher with the Urban Institute, welfare leavers are often

concentrated in low-wage entry level work; work night hours; often have multiple jobs; and struggle with child care.... Most lack health insurance and the median hourly wage of welfare leavers is \$6.61. Although this was substantially higher than the minimum wage at that time (1997–mine) (\$4.75) ... it is in the twentieth percentile of hourly wages for all workers ... on an annualized basis, the median earnings of leavers, in 1997, was \$13,778, which was roughly the line for a family of three. This does not take into account other sources of income, such as child support or the Earned Income Tax Credit. Substantial numbers of leavers report serious

problems providing food and rent. The poorest 20 percent of these families lost more in welfare benefits—almost \$1,400 per family—than they gained in earnings.¹¹¹

What is also disconcerting is the manner in which globalization and the changing nature of capital in the U.S. have caused tremendous shifts in families, particularly families with children. In 1970, while married families with children were 40.3 percent of all families, the percentage of families with children today has halved to 24.1 percent. For couples without children, the rate of working wives rose from 42 percent in 1970 to 60 percent in 2000. From 1969 through 2000, single parent households increased from 6 percent to 31 percent of families, and single-parent households increased from 17 percent to 25 percent.¹¹² These are average statistics for the national U.S. population of families; statistics for Indigenous, African American, Latino/a, and Asian American families slightly differ, with Indigenous, Black and Latino/a families having higher rates of single-parent households overall.

When illuminating the subject of poverty, one would be remiss to overlook the question of the intensification of women's incarceration in the U.S. With the onset of globalization and the U.S. "War on Drugs," essentially a smokescreen for the "War on the Poor" from the 1980s through the present, many people of color, disproportionately female, were targeted by law enforcement for arrest for petty non-violent crimes. From 1982 to 1991, the number of women arrested for drug offenses increased by 89 percent and those who were incarcerated grew 43 percent, from 24,180 to 130,430 between 1980 and 1996.¹¹³ In 1991, most women who were imprisoned were poor and of color, with 5 percent unemployed and 32 percent separated or divorced. Most women in prison have suffered a history of physical or sexual abuse, mental illness, or substance abuse, with the average age around thirty-one years.¹¹⁴

It is germane to note that violence against and objectification of women is heavily promoted by dominant globalized media corporations through television programs on MTV and Black Entertainment Television (BET). The distorted image of women reduced to beings for male sexual gratification is intrinsic to the culture of profit maximization under globalization and perpetuates the subjugation of women on grounds of gender, race, and class. Pancho McFarland, a teacher of Chicano/a culture, expresses the scandalous character of the contemporary music and entertainment industry that is determined to prostitute Black, Latina/o culture for monetary accumulation:

Rap lyrics and videos often present women as mere sex objects. For evidence of this problem in rap, one need only tune into Black Entertainment Television (BET) on any weekday afternoon to see images of scantily clad black women dancing as

“video’hos.” Rarely are women depicted as protagonists in rap videos. Rather they exist in the videos as titillation and to further aggrandize the male rappers who demonstrate their prowess through their association with these unrealistically sexualized women. As rap has become more corporatized (transitions from ghetto streets to Wall Street) and an increasingly important part of the global entertainment industry, these images of women become increasingly devoid of substance and unidimensional. Once again, globalization has taken deeply entrenched notions of race and sex and turned them into a profit.¹¹⁵

Such is the desperation on the part of globalization for profit by any means necessary: using variables of culture, gender, race or class to promote an amorphous and vacuous notion of “diversity” that will be embraced by the uninformed people of the world.

Women and War: An Intrinsic Element in Globalization

In the early 1990s, as the capitalist world marveled at the collapse of the Soviet Union, many people overlooked the horrors of ethnic and nationalistic wars that emerged in the former Soviet-bloc countries of Eastern Europe, all to the joy of the lascivious transnational corporations that saw yet another consumer market for their commodities. In Serbia, there were “559,000 registered and 150,000 unregistered refugees in the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,” mostly women and children.¹¹⁶ Eastern Ukraine in 2014 was yet another political opportunity for Western globalization forces to foment instability and ethnic conflict to justify intervention in the affairs of the peoples of the Eastern Bloc, all to maintain the countries of this sector within the orbit of capitalism even if it was not in their best social and economic interest.¹¹⁷ During this era of globalization, it’s interesting to see how “balkanization” has become part of normative language, used to describe peoples and cultures outside that of Western Europe as the “other, and as in the case of the Balkans, as places rooted in ‘ancient hatreds,’” that warrant Western military intervention to bring sense out of ethnic madness and social order out of chaotic barbarism. This was exemplified when NATO began bombing Kosovo in 1999, led by the U.S. air force. Listen to British TV journalist, Michael Nicholson’s account of the Balkans conflict shortly after he adopted a girl from Sarajevo in his book, *Natasha’s Story*:

The ferocity of the Balkans people has at times been so primitive that anthropologists have likened them to the Amazon’s Yanamamo, one of the world’s most savage and primitive tribes. Up until the turn of the present century, when the rest of Europe was concerned as much with social etiquette as with social reform, there

were still reports from the Balkans of decapitated enemy heads presented as trophies on silver plates at victory dinners. Nor was it unknown for the winners to eat the loser's heart and liver ... the history books show it as a land of murder and revenge before the Turks arrived and long after they departed.¹¹⁸

Vesna Goldsworthy, a literature academic, warns about the obsession with conquest violence in this era of globalization, not unlike that of the early colonial period, but preponderantly pathological in its embrace of sadistic forms of violence to the point that killing is perceived as pleasure, using the case of the Balkans as a real-life illustration:

The defamiliarizing of accounts of Balkan conflicts in the Western media—describing ethnic wars as unthinkable elsewhere in Europe while supplying gory details of singularly “Balkan” butcher to an eager audience—contribute to the perception of the peninsula’s ambiguous, “not-yet” or “never-quite” Europeanness. They also, however, reveal an ambiguous attitude toward war itself. Editorials profess horror at bloodspilling and yet an enormous, and frequently voyeuristic, media output (newspapers, TV, publishing, and film industries have all developed their own “Balkan” production-lines during the 1990s) offers daily testimony to a fascination with war and killing about which we have as many taboos as the Victorians did pornography.¹¹⁹

This perverse excitability in things violent and in blood-letting in the U.S. has been heightened in contemporary globalization, as fictional movies and comedies alike glorify war, and children and youth are urged to participate in the orgiastic and graphic depictions of war and violence in the comfort of their own living rooms, through X-box games that evoke the killing of “savage Apaches” to other caricatures of violence that assault and “neutralize” people in “exotic” lands. The promotion of movies like *King Kong* and *Tarzan*, which grossed tens of millions of dollars at the box office, serve as a stark reminder that Hollywood is a firm adherent of globalization as constructed by U.S. imperialism, heavily invested in colonial racism that justifies conquest and pre-emptive military strikes against colored nations. What most U.S. audiences don't realize is that the dramatic depictions of violence on television and in the movies, is the real-life experience for peoples around the world, from Colombia to Iraq, Kosovo to the Philippines.

The U.S. pulverization of the nation of Iraq in 1991, shamefully under the auspices of the United Nations, a supposed humanitarian peace-fostering agency, resulted in close to 200,000 deaths. Over 500,000 children died in Iraq since the imposition of United Nations sanctions, spearheaded by the U.S.¹²⁰ Since the U.S. invasion and beginning of the occupation of Iraq in 2003, almost a million people have been killed and seriously wounded. Close



Globalization's economic and social impoverishment of peoples in the underdeveloped world exacerbates community and ethnic tensions that degenerate often into military conflict and civil war particularly in Africa and Asia, affecting women and children most adversely who are often forced to leave their ancestral homes because of ongoing violence and become refugees, as in this camp in refugee camp in Ethiopia (Cate Tuton, UK Department for International Development).

to 2 million people were made homeless. The U.S. government has spent \$330 billion on its wars against the peoples of Afghanistan and Iraq since October 2001, and is projected to have spent a total of \$3 trillion on the invasion and occupation of Iraq by 2015!¹²¹ War especially victimizes women and children, who are always the most vulnerable to conditions of violence. Sadly, the U.S. is adamant on pursuing a scorched-earth policy in the underdeveloped world, particularly around regions holding vast oil resources like the Arab countries, the Caspian Sea, and other areas that have vital natural resources for insatiable energy transnational corporations. Ralph Peters, a former intelligence officer who specialized in war planning, provides a candid, cold-hearted, and sadistic view of the future, as envisioned by the stalwarts of U.S. imperialist intervention:

We are entering a new American century, in which we will become still wealthier, culturally more lethal, and increasingly powerful. We will excite hatreds without

precedent.... The de facto rule of the U.S. armed forces will be to keep the world safe for our economy and open to our cultural assault. To those ends, we will do a fair amount of killing.¹²²

The killing urged by Peters is essentially of poor people of color, including mostly women and children in the underdeveloped world.

In Guatemala, in Central America, over 200,000 people died in the 1980s and one million people were forced to flee from their homes or to Mexico as refugees. Most were Indigenous Mayan and suffered such persecution as a result of U.S. support of the military regime of Efraín Ríos Montt, a so-called “born-again Christian.” The U.S. complicity in these genocidal crimes was documented by the UN Commission on Human Rights.¹²³ Women who resisted Guatemalan military repression were often brutalized, sexually assaulted, and murdered by death squads.¹²⁴ The results of Indigenous peoples’ struggle against policies of military genocidal violence forced the Guatemalan government in 1995 to institutionalize constitutional protection for Indigenous culture and identity.¹²⁵ While the U.S. claimed that the era of the 1990s was one of ushering in post-military democracies, places like Guatemala actually experienced further impoverishment of her already poor people through free-trade policies under the leadership of ideologues like Alvaro Arzu, who intensified privatization policies that made Guatemala a haven for cheap labor for transnational corporations and the joy of wealthy white landowners.¹²⁶ Globalization’s tentacles in Guatemala were portrayed as the “victory of democracy over militarism,” both supported and maintained by U.S. imperialism. Women have successfully formed, albeit under conditions of severe social repression and the gaze of capitalist hegemony, a variety of women’s organizations like the Council of Mayan Women and the Coordination of Mayan Women’s Organizations that have become powerful advocates of the rights of poor women against discrimination in the workplace and society and against domestic violence.¹²⁷ Women guerrillas from the URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca) are still struggling to become a formidable force for poor women’s rights in Guatemala, as a political party formation.

In El Salvador, over one million people, especially many women and children, were displaced as refugees as the result of the cumulative military violence by the juntas led by Napoleon Duarte and Robert D’Aubuisson, all fiercely supported and propped by the U.S. government through infusion of billions of dollars of military aid in the 1980s and early 1990s. Today, thanks to globalization, military repression has retreated, only to be replaced by large U.S. transnational corporations who make lucrative profits from slave labor of the Salvadoran people, including many women textile and garment workers. El

Salvador was forced to embrace the ideology of liberalization imposed from the North. The women's movement in El Salvador through the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) has been actively organizing for women's rights after this guerrilla organization first participated in elections in 1997, albeit beset by internal conflicts.¹²⁸

In Nicaragua, the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) did not pay adequate attention to the advocacy of women's rights and the need to organize the revolutionary women's sector in successfully toppling the repressive Somoza dictatorship in 1979. Yet the women freedom fighters' organizations have worked industriously to organize themselves as a formidable radical force since the Sandinistas lost the elections of 1990. At that time Violeta Barrios de Chamorro became president with 54.7 percent of the vote, campaigning as the "mother of the country" and a "traditional good wife," ironically on an anti-feminist and anti-revolutionary platform.¹²⁹ The context of the U.S. war on the Sandinistas played a major role in the population spurning the Sandinistas in favor of Chamorro. The ascendance of the Sandinistas to political leadership of Nicaragua under current president Daniel Ortega in 2006 and again in 2011 has opened avenues for the restoration of social justice for the impoverished people of Nicaragua. In August and September 2012, the author was able to witness first-hand successful anti-poverty programs that focused on women in rural communities outside Esteli, Nicaragua, particularly female-headed households, through the *Zero-Ambré* (Zero Hunger) and *Zero-Usuria* (Zero Usury) programs that provided individual cows and water pumps to destitute households repayable at very low rates of interest. Such governmental assistance was vital in developing small-scale rural milk and agricultural production to earn sustainable incomes.¹³⁰ The successful resistance to globalization by the Sandinista leadership and the Nicaraguan masses in this decade will depend on the organization and mobilization of working class women and respect for Indigenous peoples' rights, who jointly constitute the majority of the rural and agricultural communities in Nicaragua.

In Mexico, the world was awakened to the true revolutionaries of history, during the height of the globalization period, when the Indigenous women and the Indigenous people of Chiapas, southern Mexico, rose up in a fierce guerrilla insurrection, symbolized by the events in the town of San Cristobal in 1994. Sylvia Marcos, a well-known Latina scholar from Mexico noted that everyone at the Mexican parliament was amazed when they discovered that the real leader of the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, was not Subcommandante Marcos, as was widely propagated by the ruling class media and its global affiliates, but Commandanta Esther, from the *Comite Central Rev-*

olucionario Indigena, who spoke to the Mexican Chamber of Deputies on March 28, 2001. Commandanta Esther declared to the assembly that she, along with the *Comite Central Revolucionario Indigena*, gave orders to Subcomandante Marcos, the head of the armed militia.¹³¹ Commandante Esther's words rang sharp and clear that morning of March 28: "Here I am. I am a woman and an Indian and through my voice speaks the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*."¹³² The revolutionary fervor of the Indigenous uprising in southern Mexico lies in the women of the region, who staved off the Mexican military which attempted to impose martial law in Chiapas. The resistors to globalization and colonization in Mexico had spoken and acted through the culture of Indigenous women. The resistance of Indigenous women provides inspiration to the struggles of Mexican woman workers in U.S.-owned *maquiladoras*, export-processing factories, that make everything from underwear to electronic components and automobile parts for consumption by Mexico's northern neighbor, where exploitation, prostitution, and violence against women is rife. In Ciudad Juarez, the fifth largest city in Mexico, almost 250,000 workers were employed in these factories in 2000, mostly female. The horror of over 300 women and girls having been murdered in Juarez since the beginning of the 1990s and their unresolved murders, is another sinister indicator of the violence and brutality of globalization and cheap labor among the poor, facilitated by profit-hungry corporations who view women as yet another appendage of the assembly plant.¹³³

On the African continent, wars have raged in many regions, particularly with the onslaught of globalization as transnational corporations incessantly pursue profits from mining and oil extraction particularly. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in Central Africa, four million people, mostly women and children, have been killed between 1997 and 2006, as Western transnational corporations like De Beers from South Africa and diamond and gold-extracting companies loot the DRC, along with Sierra Leone in West Africa and Angola in Southern Africa.¹³⁴ In many of these places where war and poverty plague the population, globalization's hand in war is evident. Marjorie Mbilinyi succinctly states:

Deepening war and military conflict are actively promoted by "northern" states by means of massive arms exports, on the one hand, and continued donor support for defensive activities on another.¹³⁵

Soldiers who have been responsible for rape of women and other atrocities against civilians in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have been trained by the U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), which is now involved in

training “Elite Antiterror Troops” in Mali, Niger, Mauritania, and Libya, intensifying levels of violence in these impoverished countries.¹³⁶ In Rwanda and Burundi in 1994, over a million persons were killed from the political conflict that was rooted both in the Belgian colonial legacy of dividing Hutu and Tutsi people though they are from the same community and from a deteriorating economic situation with depressed global prices of coffee, the country’s main export crop.¹³⁷

War inevitably creates millions of refugees, particularly now in West Asia and Africa, where a country like Tanzania, though peaceful and safe from war, has been the recipient of a million refugees from wars in Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Mozambique, and Somalia. The victims are often women:

Refugee women arrived in Tanzania with memories of hardship and atrocities—hunger, rape, sexual harassment, and other maltreatment done to them by soldiers. Some have walked barefoot for long distances, pregnant, hungry and with little children on their backs.¹³⁸

The lot for women and internally displaced persons (IDPs) is excruciating. In 2000, 300,000 Angolans were uprooted by ongoing civil war, 150,000 Burundians fled from atrocities and civil war in their country, and 1 million fled from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where military conflict has intensified. In the same year, 60,000 Guineans fled cross-border attacks by rebels from Sierra Leone, 50,000 Liberians fled insurgent attacks and retaliation from Liberian troops, 210,000 Sierra Leonians fled renewed war and rebel violence, 100,000 Sudanese were forced from their homes due to serial bombings by the Sudanese military and conflict between northern and southern armed groups, and 120,000 Ugandans were uprooted by insurgents waging war against the government.¹³⁹ The tragedy is that

it is estimated that 75 percent to 80 percent of refugees and IDP’s are women and their children. Women usually become titular head-of-household because the men either have been killed, conscripted into the army, or stay behind to care for their herds of animals. And because women are occupied with providing food, shelter, and water for their children, reproductive health of women is often neglected. In a recent study of pregnancy outcomes in the Mtendeli refugee camp in Tanzania, it was found that reproductive-health-related deaths were the most common cause of death among women in the camp; maternal and neonatal deaths accounted for 16 percent of all death among these refugees.¹⁴⁰

Rape of young girls around 12 is commonplace in such war-torn situations, like in the Congo and in refugee camps throughout Africa.

In Lebanon, a beautiful country often called the “Switzerland of the Middle East,” war has been the lot for the Lebanese people in this modern



Globalization's economic scope is far-reaching in its destructive social effects, and military conflict and war become inevitable as the result of such pressures, particularly in places in the arid Sahel region of Africa. Women and children are the predominant victims of displacement and forced to leave their homes and families. This is the Farchana Refugee Camp in Chad (SuSanA Secretariat/Flickr).

period from 1975 through 1991, heightened by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 to rout the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), when 20,000 people were killed by Israeli bombing and soldiers, followed by the war between different Christian and Muslim factional elements. Lamia Rustum Shehadeh, a professor of cultural studies at American University in Beirut, recalls this tragic phase of Lebanese history when women once more were particularly afflicted by the effects of the war in which over 700,000 people were either made homeless or forced to flee the country: "Women suffered greatly in their traditional roles as homemakers, mothers and caregivers during the Lebanese conflict ... they lost the support of their husbands and sons who had joined the fighting or were taken hostage or kidnapped or migrated for greener pastures or, worst yet, killed."¹⁴¹

War is big business for globalization's profit-making machine. Pre-emptive strikes by the U.S. government as part of official foreign policy, accompanied by NATO military intervention in Afghanistan, Ukraine, the Caspian region,

and most recently in places like Libya, Yemen, Pakistan, Syria, and Somalia, assure the military industrial complex and its mammoth corporations of mega-profits. Lockheed-Martin, Boeing, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon, and General Dynamics receive one-third of all Pentagon contracts, followed by the Carlyle Group (on whose board the former president George H. Bush sits), Honeywell, General Electric, and Halliburton.¹⁴² These corporations have received \$400 billion in contracts as the result of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, part of the over \$1 trillion earmarked for U.S. defense and security in recent years in the aftermath of the bombing of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001.¹⁴³ It is mind-boggling to realize that the U.S. spends more on armaments and security than the rest of the world combined, some \$2.2 million per minute! The American Friends Service Committee has now for a few years documented the abnormal structure of discretionary spending proposed by the White House in an emboldened multi-colored broad sticker for all to see. In 2012, president Barack Obama presented his discretionary budget, which read as follows:

President Obama's Discretionary Budget Item	Percentage of Budget (rounded)
Military: (Department of Defense, War, Veterans Affairs, and Nuclear Weapons Programs):	60 percent
Health and Human Services	6 percent
Education	6 percent
State:	5 percent
Other programs	4.5 percent
Department of Homeland Security	4 percent
Housing and Urban Development:	3 percent
Agriculture:	2 percent
Justice	1.5 percent
NASA	1.5 percent
Energy	1.5 percent (excludes nuclear weapons programs)
Labor:	1 percent
Treasury	1 percent
Interior	1 percent
Environmental Protection Agency	1 percent
Transportation	1 percent

Hardly a liberal budget, to say the least, when 60 cents of every tax dollar is earmarked for military expenditures and war!¹⁴⁴

The manufacture of weapons of mass destruction by military industrial corporations most pointedly affects women and children in U.S. military invasion and occupation campaigns as evident in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia and other parts of the world where the U.S. military has a formidable occupying presence.¹⁴⁵

Today, globalization's penetration of the world by large transnational corporations protected by powerful imperialist powers like NATO under the leadership of the U.S., represents the most lethal threat to all existence, especially women, as it prepares for ongoing invasion of Indigenous peoples' lands and territories around the world. The use of the U.S. military to both police and administer relief operations in hurricane-ravaged New Orleans in 2005, has raised the specter of the military being authorized by the U.S. government to administer law and order in cases of disruption of basic services following a natural catastrophe or some human-caused disaster.¹⁴⁶ Globalization's war architects were preparing for such aggression already in the late 1970s following the oil-embargo imposed by OPEC in the early 1970s. If the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, was a carefully planned Al Qaeda operation, which many skeptics legitimately question, then those CIA operatives who trained the Muhajadeen guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Afghanistan government in 1979 that became Al Qaeda, later leading to the emergence of the Taliban government, bear full responsibility for such heinous actions.¹⁴⁷ The Taliban was subsequently overthrown by the full-blown U.S. military invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001. The invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq was orchestrated well before September 2001.¹⁴⁸ The globalized onslaught as dictated by U.S. intervention in the underdeveloped world behooves perennial wars and fabrication of ethnic and social conflicts with deployment of military force in the guise of peacekeeping and civilian administration. Gerhard Kummel, a German researcher, describes the scenario of the globalized soldier in no uncertain terms:

The nontraditional soldier is an armed street worker and constable or policeman. This non-traditional element of the military, however, does not replace its traditional tasks of deterrence and self-defense as can be notably inferred from September 11, 2001, but is complementary to them. In military operations, other than war, in particular, traditional and nontraditional roles cannot be neatly separated. Soldiers, then, will be required to know how to fight, how to establish local security, how to deal with the local adversaries, and how to cooperate with local partners and civilian international relief organizations.¹⁴⁹

It is horrifying to read about researchers in the 21st century writing in such callous and nonchalant terms of the role of soldiers in this era of globalization, in specializing in "non-traditional" ways that augment soldiers' primary specialty of *killing*. Yet, as Samir Amin reminds us, in the era of globalization, Washington is ruled by imperial-thinkers whose designs are akin to those of World War II Europe, and therefore, one ought not be soundly astonished!¹⁵⁰ Note that Kummel designates the role of soldier in strictly male terms, pre-

supposing that these soldiers will be predominantly male. The torturous atrocities at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq that involved U.S. female soldiers and the role of Israeli female soldiers in interrogation of Palestinians remind us that women too will be used in the execution of imperialist violence against other peoples, including defenseless women. The fires of war ignited in the previous century know no gender bounds, hence our attention to women and war in 21st century globalization.

Conclusion

Globalization's victimization of migrant women around the world, female workers in sweat shops around the world, in the sex industry around the globe, and now in imperialist wars of invasion, occupation, and aggression, recalls all peace-loving people, especially women, to reclaim their rightful roles in history, not as 21st century economic slaves of the transnational corporation, but as agents of fundamental socio-cultural, economic, and political transformation that evoke justice, mutuality, reciprocity, and collectivity in sharing resources responsibly. Indigenous women's cultures need to be reclaimed everywhere so that we can all live respectfully and harmoniously on and with Mother Earth, in balance with her spirit and gyration, as opposed to resisting Earth's culture. Globalization, as the transmogrification of human relationships with each other and the rest of the natural world experienced in late and dying capitalism, will be dissipated by Indigenous women's culture and radical praxis, an arduous process in which all men must participate so that their spirits and cultures can be radically renewed and reshaped. Indigenous Sto:Loh author and activist from Turtle Island, Lee Maracle, describes this power of womanhood aptly:

Grasses know stillness. Women know the grasses. Grasses feel this knowing. They exchange pleasantries with these women every day. In their modest desire to know these women the grasses listen, learn songs as the women create melodies that urge them along pathways that would help them to ally themselves with the natural world. The sounds are familiar; they engage each other, attending to the need for comfort as the earth transforms. This knowing between them is mature, comfortable. Plant people know something about the living. Any alteration of human breath causes them to stir. Today, the cadence of voice, the rhythm, seemed out of the ordinary. Breath caught unwittingly in the throats of the women. Plants begin to whisper to one another: "Something is up. The humans don't feel the same today. There is a pall in the air. Do you feel it?"¹⁵¹

Beyond the experiences of women and war, globalization has wrought destructive effects on the poor peoples of the U.S. through another industrial complex: *prisons*. The U.S., which has 5 percent of the world's human beings and claims to be the "land of the free and home of the brave," can hardly be free when the nation houses the largest prison population in the world. Globalization and the insatiable lust for profit and power has much to do with the development and expansion of the prison industrial complex, including the phenomenon of private prisons. Globalization and incarceration in all of its manifestations and ramifications is the subject of the next chapter.

4

Unjust Globalization and Unfair Justice Against the Poor: Lethal Racism, Expanded Incarceration, Law Enforcement Violence and Punishment Over Education

This political, economic and social system of America was produced from the enslavement of the Black man and that particular system is capable only of reproducing that out of which itself was produced. The only way a chicken can produce a duck egg [is] you have to revolutionize the system.—*Malcolm X*¹

In the last 20 years the United States has built more prisons than any country during any period in history. The cost of the U.S. criminal justice system now runs \$147 billion per year. But the financial costs are only part of the story. There are other costs not so easily seen, costs passed on to those least able to pay them—the poor rural towns in which most prisons are built and the poor urban communities from which most prisoners are sent. Because the costs of the current prison expansion are being passed to people of color, we say that prisons are examples of economic injustice and environmental racism.—*The 2005 Report of the Critical Resistance and California Moratorium Project*²

On any given day, about one in every ten young male high school dropouts is in jail or juvenile detention, compared with one in thirty five young male high school graduates, according to a new study of the dropping out of school in an America where demand for low-skill workers is plunging. The picture is even bleaker for African-Americans, with nearly one in four young black male dropouts incarcerated or otherwise institutionalized on an average day, the study said. That compares with about one in 14 young, male, White, Asian or Hispanic.

The report puts the collective cost to the nation over the working life of each high school dropout at \$292,000.—*Center for Labor Market Studies Report Northeastern University, October 2009*³

Introduction

The astounding fact that the United States has 25 percent of the world's prison population even though it only has 5 percent of the world's people, with some 743 people incarcerated per 100,000 people, followed by Israel (325 prisoners per 100,000 people), and Chile (317 prisoners per 100,000 people) in 2011, reminds all of the role of incarceration in a globalized U.S. society and world.⁴ These shocking statistics are in stark contrast to Japan (75 prisoners per 100,000 people), Greece (101 prisoners per 100,000 people), and China (120 prisoners per 100,000), for example, and underscores the serious human toll globalization has taken in areas of crime and punishment especially in the U.S.⁵ The U.S. has the highest incarceration rate among 34 of the wealthy Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries.⁶ Its prison rate is five times that of OECD countries.⁷ *New York Times* columnist Eduardo Porter captures the gravity of this crisis of punishment and economics in the era of globalization:

Few things are better at conveying what a nation really cares than how it spends its money. On that measure, Americans like to punish.

The United States spent about \$80 billion on its system of jails and prisons in 2010—about \$260 for every resident of the nation. By contrast, its budget for food stamps was \$227 a person.⁸

According to the Hamilton Project, which did a two-year study on “The Economic Facts about Crime and Incarceration in the United States,” the total cost of police protection and judicial and legal services reaches an astronomical \$261 billion each year.⁹ Equally startling is the statistic that all Black men without high school diplomas have a 70 percent chance that they will spend some time incarcerated by their mid-thirties.¹⁰ One of every nine persons incarcerated, some 159,000 people, are serving life sentences, with one-third having no possibility of parole.¹¹ While the crime rates have dropped since the 1960s, the prison incarceration rates have multiplied four-fold and though criminal offences have actually decreased by about half since 1990, the rates of punishment and imprisonment have grown significantly.¹² The politics and economics of race, class, globalized restructuring of the U.S. economy where millions of manufacturing jobs disappeared over the past two decades, and the injection of drugs into impoverished Black and Brown communities by drug syndicates under the watchful eyes of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), the CIA, and other law enforcement agencies are interwoven into the expansion of the prison industrial complex (PIC) in recent years. Anti-racism and anti-globalization activists are correct when they note:

There is a very direct link between corporate globalization and the prison industrial complex. The same corporations that benefit from mass incarceration domestically benefit from economic domination in the “Third World” (*quotation marks mine*). Some prison companies benefit even more directly from globalization, like Wackenhut (headquartered in South Florida), which opened a super maximum prison in South Africa in 2002. Both the PIC and corporate globalization predominantly impact and target the same classes of people: poor or working class people of color. This is as true in Argentina as it is in Alabama, in Kenya and in Kansas. MCI, Haliburton, the Carlyle Group, IBM, General Electric, and many other corporations are leading the way in this corporate domination of the world.¹³

Prisons function as the domestic arm of the U.S. military that polices and controls colonized and impoverished people in the underdeveloped world like Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Yemen, and Pakistan, with racism and classism as operating principles and practices:

Prison, along with an increase in militarized policing, are the way the United States controls its domestic poor/working class people and people of color. (Abroad, globalization is enforced through military might, often backed with training and weapons supplied by the United States.) In this way, the prison industrial complex constitutes a form of “internal globalization.”¹⁴

The CIA for example has a history of dealing with drug cartels from as far back as 1949 when it supported the Nationalist Chinese Army fighting against Communist China. It countenanced and funded anti-communist groups deeply involved in the smuggling of opium in the Golden Triangle (Burma, Laos, and Thailand) and transported drugs on the CIA airline, Air America.¹⁵ These actions escalated during the U.S. wars in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s and into the 1980s through the U.S.-funded Nicaraguan Contra wars, which involved selling drugs and using profits to fund the Contras fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.¹⁶ One of the lingering effects of both militarization and a de-industrialized U.S. manufacturing economy is the booming prison industrial complex where almost half of all persons incarcerated in the nations’ jails and prisons today are Black, over 1 million people, and the rest overwhelmingly poor and disproportionately other persons of color.¹⁷ Jails are even being constructed at high cost for the first time in large Indigenous Dineh (Navajo) communities in Northern Arizona, ensuring that Indigenous people will continue to become grist for the prison industrial mill.¹⁸

According to a Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report from 2003, “Prevalence of Imprisonment in the U.S. Population, 1974–2001,” if trends continue at the present rate, 32.2 percent of 13-year-old Black male and 5.6

percent of Black female children today can expect to spend part of their lives in jail.¹⁹ Of all U.S. residents born in 2001, 6.6 percent will spend some time in prison if incarceration rates remain virtually the same as those from 1974 to 2001.²⁰ **Tables 1–4** substantiate the growing levels of incarceration of people in local jails from 2000 to 2013, for instance, with White inmates increasing from 260,500 in 2000 to 344,900 in 2013 (**Table 2**) and persons of color like African Americans and Mexican Americans being imprisoned at unprecedented high rates exceeding their proportions in the U.S. population, with African Americans constituting 41.3 percent of the local prison population in 2000 (**Table 3**).

Most Black and Latino people in prisons are jailed for non-violent crimes related to illegal drugs. It's troubling that in the aftermath of basketball star Len Bias' tragic death from a cocaine overdose in 1986, the U.S. Congress rushed to pass the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, including the Narcotics Penalties and Enforcement Act, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of drug offenders subsequently receiving mandatory minimums of nine years in prison without parole for possessing 52 grams of cocaine.²¹ Why has this tragedy been used as the basis to incarcerate almost one million women and men for non-violent drug-related crimes since 1986 and as political football by racist politicians whose careers catapulted after supporting harsh anti-drug laws and generally criminalizing Black people? Does the economics of globalization have something to do with the interlocking dynamics of race, class, and incarceration?

TABLE 1
Inmates confined in local jails at midyear, average daily population, and incarceration rates, 2000–2013

Year	Inmates confined at midyear ^a			Average daily population ^b			Jail incarceration rate ^c
	Total	Year-to-year change		Total	Year-to-year change		
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
2000	621,149	15,206	2.5%	618,319	10,341	1.7%	220
2001	631,240	10,091	1.6	625,966	7,647	1.2	222
2002	665,475	34,235	5.4	652,082	26,116	4.2	231
2003	691,301	25,826	3.9	680,760	28,678	4.4	238
2004	713,990	22,689	3.3	706,242	25,482	3.7	243
2005	747,529	33,539	4.7	733,442	27,200	3.9	252
2006	765,819	18,290	2.4	755,320	21,878	3.0	256
2007	780,174	14,355	1.9	773,138	17,818	2.4	259
2008	785,533	5,359	0.7	776,573	3,435	0.4	258
2009	767,434	-18,099	-2.3	768,135	-8,438	-1.1	250
2010	748,728	-18,706	-2.4	748,553	-19,582	-2.5	242
2011	735,601	-13,127	-1.8	735,565	-12,988	-1.7	236
2012	744,524	8,923	1.2	737,369	1,804	0.2	237
2013	731,208	-13,316	-1.8	731,352	-6,017	-0.8	231
Average annual change							
2000–2012							
			1.5%				1.5%
2012–2013							
			-1.8				-0.8

^aNumber of inmates held on the last weekday in June.

^bSum of all inmates in jail each day for a year, divided by the number of days in the year. Based on revised data for 2012.

^cNumber of inmates confined at midyear per 100,000 U.S. residents.

Sources: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Annual Survey of Jails, midyear 2000–2004 and midyear 2006–2013, and the 2005 Census of Jail Inmates.

TABLE 2
Number of inmates in local jails, by characteristics, midyear 2000 and 2005–2013

Characteristic	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011 ^a	2012 ^a	2013 ^a
Total ^b	621,149	747,529	765,819	780,174	785,533	767,434	748,728	735,601	744,524	731,208
Sex										
Male	550,162	652,958	666,819	679,654	685,862	673,728	656,360	642,300	645,900	628,900
Female	70,987	94,571	99,000	100,520	99,670	93,706	92,368	93,300	98,600	102,400
Adult	613,534	740,770	759,717	773,341	777,829	760,216	741,168	729,700	739,100	726,600
Male	543,120	646,807	661,164	673,346	678,657	667,039	649,284	636,900	640,900	624,700
Female	70,414	93,963	98,552	99,995	99,172	93,176	91,884	92,800	98,100	101,900
Juvenile^c	7,615	6,759	6,102	6,833	7,703	7,218	7,560	5,900	5,400	4,600
Held as adult ^d	6,126	5,750	4,835	5,649	6,410	5,846	5,647	4,600	4,600	3,500
Held as juvenile	1,489	1,009	1,268	1,184	1,294	1,373	1,912	1,400	900	1,100
Race/Hispanic origin^e										
White ^f	260,500	331,000	336,500	338,200	333,300	326,400	331,600	329,400	341,100	344,900
Black/African American ^f	256,300	290,500	295,900	301,700	308,000	300,500	283,200	276,400	274,600	261,500
Hispanic/Latino	94,100	111,900	119,200	125,500	128,500	124,000	118,100	113,900	112,700	107,900
American Indian/Alaska Native ^g	5,500	7,600	8,400	8,600	9,000	9,400	9,900	9,400	9,300	10,200
Asian/Native Hawaiian/ Other Pacific Islander ^g	4,700	5,400	5,100	5,300	5,500	5,400	5,100	5,300	5,400	5,100
Two or more races ^f	...	1,000	700	800	1,300	1,800	800	1,200	1,500	1,600

Note: Detail may not sum to total due to rounding.

...Not collected.

^aData for 2011–2013 are adjusted for nonresponse and rounded to the nearest 100.

^bMidyear count is the number of inmates held on the last weekday in June.

^cPersons age 17 or younger at midyear.

^dIncludes juveniles who were tried or awaiting trial as adults.

^eData adjusted for nonresponse and rounded to the nearest 100. See *Methodology*.

^fExcludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin.

^gPrevious reports combined American Indians and Alaska Natives and Asians, Native Hawaiians, and other Pacific Islanders into an Other race category.

Sources: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Annual Survey of Jails, 2000 and midyear 2006–2013, and the 2005 Census of Jail Inmates.

TABLE 3
Percent of inmates in local jails, by characteristics, midyear 2000 and 2005–2013

Characteristic	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Sex										
Male	88.6%	87.3%	87.1%	87.1%	87.3%	87.8%	87.7%	87.3%	86.8%	86.0%
Female	11.4	12.7	12.9	12.9	12.7	12.2	12.3	12.7	13.2	14.0
Adult	98.8%	99.1%	99.2%	99.1%	99.0%	99.1%	99.0%	99.2%	99.3%	99.4%
Male	87.4	86.5	86.3	86.3	86.4	86.9	86.7	86.6	86.1	85.4
Female	11.3	12.6	12.9	12.8	12.6	12.1	12.3	12.6	13.2	13.9
Juvenile^a	1.2%	0.9%	0.8%	0.9%	1.0%	0.9%	1.0%	0.8%	0.7%	0.6%
Held as adult ^b	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5
Held as juvenile	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Race/Hispanic origin^c										
White ^d	41.9%	44.3%	43.9%	43.3%	42.5%	42.5%	44.3%	44.8%	45.8%	47.2%
Black/African American ^d	41.3	38.9	38.6	38.7	39.2	39.2	37.8	37.6	36.9	35.8
Hispanic/Latino	15.2	15.0	15.6	16.1	16.4	16.2	15.8	15.5	15.1	14.8
American Indian/ Alaska Native ^{d,e}	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.4
Asian/Native Hawaiian/ Other Pacific Islander ^{d,e}	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Two or more races ^d	...	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Conviction status^{b,c}										
Convicted	44.0%	38.0%	37.9%	38.0%	37.1%	37.8%	38.9%	39.4%	39.4%	38.0%
Male	39.0	33.2	32.8	32.9	32.3	33.0	...	...	...	...
Female	5.0	4.9	5.0	5.2	4.8	4.8	...	...	...	...
Unconvicted	56.0%	62.0%	62.1%	62.0%	62.9%	62.2%	61.1%	60.6%	60.6%	62.0%
Male	50.0	54.2	54.3	54.3	55.2	54.8	...	...	...	...
Female	6.0	7.7	7.8	7.7	7.8	7.4	...	...	...	...

Note: Percentages are based on the total number of inmates held on the last weekday in June. Detail may not sum to total due to rounding.

...Not collected. Starting in 2010, the Annual Survey of Jails did not collect data on conviction status by sex.

^aPersons age 17 or younger at midyear.

^bIncludes juveniles who were tried or awaiting trial as adults.

^cData adjusted for nonresponse. See *Methodology*.

^dExcludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin.

^ePrevious reports combined American Indians and Alaska Natives and Asians, Native Hawaiians, and other Pacific Islanders into an Other race category.

Sources: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Annual Survey of Jails, 2000 and midyear 2006–2013, and the 2005 Census of Jail Inmates.

TABLE 4
Inmates confined in local jails at midyear, by size of jurisdiction, 2012–2013

Jurisdiction size ^b	Inmates confined at midyear ^a				Percent of all inmates	
	2012	2013	Difference	Percent change	2012	2013
Total	744,524	731,208	-13,316	-1.8%	100%	100%
Fewer than 50 inmates	25,091	23,545	-1,546	-6.2%	3.4%	3.2%
50 to 99	41,630	38,970	-2,660	-6.4	5.6	5.3
100 to 249	93,085	95,031	1,946	2.1	12.5	13.0
250 to 499	102,640	102,362	-278	-0.3	13.8	14.0
500 to 999	123,512	123,155	-357	-0.3	16.6	16.8
1,000 or more	358,567	348,145	-10,422	-2.9	48.2	47.6

Note: Detail may not sum to total due to rounding.

^aNumber of inmates held on the last weekday in June.

^bBased on the average daily population (ADP) during the 12-month period ending June 30, 2006, the first year in the current Annual Survey of Jails series. ADP is the sum of all inmates in jail each day for a year, divided by the number of days in the year.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Annual Survey of Jails, 2012–2013.

In 2007, there were 3.5 million Black people under some form of criminal justice administrative supervision or incarcerated, compared to 1850 when 3.2 million Black people were still “legally” enslaved.²² Why is it that after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1868, which expanded citizenship rights to Black people and nullified the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* ruling of 1857, which declared that the rights of Black people were not protected by the Constitution; the Due Process Clause of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments that all persons are entitled to procedural due process in civil and criminal proceedings, substantive due process; the Equal Protection Clause, part of the Fourteenth Amendment that prohibits the deprivation of life, liberty, and property without due process of law and ensures equal protection by the law; the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and even after the video-taped brutal beating of Rodney King by police in 1992 that was screened around the world, racial profiling by police and law enforcement persists and the grossly unfair application of the law in sentencing mostly people of color and poor people to prison continues unabated? Why does the persistence of pervasive incarceration of Black and Brown people in the U.S. continue at such high levels in the 21st century so that almost 3,074 Black people per 100,000 residents are confined behind bars and Black men in their 20s and 30s experience incarceration at six times the national average, while Latinos are one-third of all inmates in federal prisons and are seven times more likely to be imprisoned than Whites in states like Connecticut and Pennsylvania and six times more likely to be imprisoned than Whites in Massachusetts and North Dakota?²³ Further, why do images of Black and Brown people as criminals or potential criminals to be feared continue to pervade the minds of the average person living in the U.S., so that in a 1995 conducted survey, when asked about their image of a typical drug user, 95 percent of respondents described somebody Black?²⁴ Do globalization discourses on “race” and Black-

ness/Brownness feature within this continued criminalization of Black and Brown people?

This chapter will discuss the manner in which the prison industrial complex in the U.S, with its roots in the slave system of the South, has continued to function as an instrument of oppression in the contemporary capitalist system, particularly of young Black and Brown women and men, other poor people, poor White women, and those who are considered sexual minorities in society, and is particularly exacerbated during the era of economic globalization where issues of race, class, and economics all intersect to intensify levels of incarceration.²⁵ It's important to note too that there has been a consistent growth in the incarceration of Asian Americans, especially those of Southeast Asian descent, a phenomenon that is often obscured in the mainstream U.S. media.²⁶ The fact of 10 million people being processed through the criminal justice system each year serves as a stark reminder of the severely punitive character of the state.²⁷ This chapter will illuminate the role that penal punishment plays in U.S. society with emphasis on race and class, particularly on people of color who are incarcerated at rates disproportionate to their numerical composition within the nation. It will highlight the intensification of the privatization of incarceration under globalization so that prisons have become havens for profit accumulation by corporations specializing in "Corrections." The stress on Blackness within the system of incarceration and globalization in the U.S. does not imply an exclusivist posture and analysis in this chapter; Blackness is simply the most salient factor in terms of race, imprisonment, and globalization. However, the dynamics of anti-Black racism are directly and clearly connected to and interwoven with the incarceration of Native Americans, Latinos, women, and all poor people. Racism, classism, and incarceration all conjunctively function within the contemporary globalized economy. The war on drugs and crime, the national security state, police brutality, capital punishment, private prisons and starved public service budgets, and the "war on terror," are all auxiliary policies and practices that function to bolster the globalized profit-making prison industrial complex, recalling the history of enslavement and emancipation in the U.S.²⁸

19th Century Slavery, Racist Codes, and Early U.S. Prisons

In his 1903 classic, *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. Du Bois notes that "(1) ... the inevitable result of Emancipation was to increase crime and crim-

inals, and (2) that the police system of the South was primarily designed to control slaves.²⁹ He avers that the courts functioned as an instrument of re-enslaving freed Black people when free labor became impossible following emancipation. In the North, the penitentiary system of the early 18th century was a carry-over from the old English system that punished people through death for a host of crimes and was designed to control the lower classes and emerging urban poor who were perceived as threats to the property of the ruling elites—the gentry.³⁰ Class stratification and isolation of the marginalized were foundational dynamics in the European prison system imported into the American colonies. This legacy is visible in 21st century globalization and is perpetuated by the prison industrial complex. The purpose of incarceration from almost three centuries ago continues into the present, and anybody who has been incarcerated will testify to the truth of this intention. Elam Lynds, a “deputy keeper” of Auburn penitentiary in New York in the early 1800s summarized it aptly: “Break the spirit and you will have a better maintained prison. Make him kneel, make him fear you and break his spirit. Dominate him.”³¹

John Hope Franklin notes that “various methods were used to keep blacks on Southern plantations—the enforcement of vagrancy and labor contract laws, the enactment of legislation imposing penalties for enticing laborers away, and the establishment of systems of peonage by which blacks were hired out by the county in order to pay the fine for a crime or to pay a debt” and in some instances, former slavemasters “sought to persuade blacks to remain by promising them good treatment and high wages.”³²

Following Emancipation, Southern states like Louisiana and Mississippi instituted the Black Codes, which placed restrictions on the mobility of freed Black people and on Black workers employed by Whites. For instance, in the Black Codes passed by Louisiana in 1865, it was declared that, under section 9, “Failing to obey reasonable orders, neglect of duty, and leaving home without permission will be deemed disobedience; impudence, swearing, or indecent language to or in the presence of the employer, his family, or agent, or quarreling and fighting with one another, shall be deemed disobedience.”³³ Section 5 of the Mississippi Penal Law decreed that should freed persons be unable or refuse to pay a fine and associated costs, they would be leased as convict labor to the sheriff or a similar office to any White person who was willing to pay the fine.³⁴

Clearly, the intention of these racist Black Codes was to make things maximally difficult for the people freed from slavery and to institutionalize a system of law that meted out the harshest punishment to those who were

found guilty of petty offenses that were officially classified as misdemeanor crimes. This harsh punitive legal apparatus targeted Black people whether they were “freedman, free negro or mulatto.” Katheryn Russell confirms this essential criminalization of Blackness when she explains that “Blackness itself was a crime” and that “the codes permitted Blacks to be punished for a wide range of social actions” so that Black people could even be punished for walking down the street if they did not move out of the way quickly enough to accommodate White people who passed by and even for speaking to Whites.³⁵ These laws were the precursors to the emergence of the Black chain gangs throughout the Jim Crow South, yet another convoluted manner in which freed Black people became re-enslaved as leased and free labor.

Lest anyone operates with the illusion that the obscenely disproportionate number of Black people in U.S. prisons is a relatively recent phenomenon, the statistics from 1918 are revealing about the historical criminalization and incarceration of Black people way beyond their composition in the national population. Jerome Miller, who has conducted extensive studies in his work, *Search and Destroy: African American Males in the Criminal Justice System*, explains that “in its 1918 report *Negro Population: 1790–1915*, the Bureau of the Census noted that while Blacks made up about 11 percent of the general population they constituted about one-fifth (21.9 percent) of the inmates in the prisons, penitentiaries, jails, reform schools, and workhouses of the states” and “they represented 56 percent of those held for ‘grade homicide,’ and about half of those held for ‘lesser homicide,’ and contributed slightly less than one-third of the commitments for robbery, burglary, and larceny.”³⁶ Of course, there was a general tendency among legal experts then, and even now, to contend that Black people perpetrated criminal offenses in proportions far in excess of their composition within the population, and thus were rightly deserving of the punishment for their criminality.³⁷

What is evident from the Bureau of Justice data on the ethnic breakdown of inmates incarcerated is that the rate of African Americans had steadily increased with a more than doubling between 1926 and 1993, so that the chart is as follows.

	White(percent)	Black(percent)	Other(percent)
1926	79	21	1
1930	77	22	1
1935	74	25	1
1940	71	28	1
1945	68	31	1
1950	69	30	1
1960	66	32	2
1964	65	33	2

	White(percent)	Black(percent)	Other(percent)
1974	59	38	3
1978	58	41	1
1981	57	42	2
1986	40	45	15
1993	27	55	18

Miller observes that from 1986, the percentage of White inmates dropped sharply as the number of inmates of color correspondingly increased in significant numbers. The number of people in U.S. prisons doubled from 1980 to 1989, with half of all inmates being people of color.³⁹ Public expenditures for corrections and law enforcement efforts and private security outlays totaled \$165 billion in 1995, almost as much as the U.S. military budget in that period.⁴⁰ Corrections alone received over \$31 billion in 1994, a sharp 359 percent increase since 1980.

Globalization is concerned with reinforcing structures of race while using the ironic language of “diversity” and ostensibly proclaiming freedom for all while disproportionately confining poor people of color. While the federal government has been prominent in its rhetoric on racial and social equality, it constantly appears totally powerless to enforce its own laws that accord protection of the civil rights of all people. Globalization’s designs of profit using race and class and the political economy of the anti-drug war from the early 1980s features centrally in the expansion of 21st century globalized capitalism.

Critical Race Theory and Incarceration

Scholars like Cornel West have reiterated from the early 1990s that still *Race Matters*, and in 2015, poverty matters.⁴¹ Manning Marable, the late political historian, described the painful experiences of people incarcerated at Sing Sing Correctional Center in New York as nothing but “evil” because of the “whole oppressive environment—the pungent smells of sweat and human waste, the absence of fresh air, the lack of privacy, the close quarters of men who have been condemned to live much of their natural lives in tiny steel cages” and pointedly asks, “How can Americans who still believe in racial equality and social justice stand silently while millions of our fellow citizens are being destroyed all around us?”⁴² Marable concurs with the view that we are living in a nation that is steeped in a prison industrial complex where federal and state budgets are heavily invested in prisons and punishment for crimes, particularly of the poor and marginalized, illiterate and vulnerable,

while state educational budgets suffer from radical cuts at all levels.⁴³ Other activist scholars like Joy James and Angela Davis who have conducted substantive research on prisons in the U.S. describe the system of incarceration quite accurately as “neo-slavery” and an extension of the plantation system from the days of chattel slavery.⁴⁴ Their views were confirmed by an incarcerated person who was interviewed in 2012 who described the history of slavery as being the fundamental cause of his familial dysfunction and disintegration that resulted in him landing on the streets, joining a gang, and being sentenced to 35 years for killing someone.⁴⁵ A recent book by Khalid Gibran Muhammed contends that the tenacity of incarceration of Black people in the U.S. stems from the northern practice of widespread imprisonment of Black people in the 19th century and is rooted in a racist ideological view of Black people as inherently dangerous and innately criminal in nature.⁴⁶

Derrick Bell, a former Harvard University legal scholar considered a pioneer of critical race theory, suggests that race is at the foundation of the makings of U.S. society, defines the social existence of all persons. He argues that the goals of desegregation and racial equality are illusory and will never be attained because racism is so entrenched.⁴⁷ Instead, Bell maintains, Black people should relentlessly struggle to free themselves through Black solidarity without dependence on the nation’s courts and civil rights since these emanations from the dominant White ruling propertied class will never recognize the legitimacy of Black humanity.⁴⁸ Angela Davis, a longtime advocate of the rights of those confined behind bars, integrates issues of race, class, gender, sexuality, and, unlike some other critical scholars, *empire*, in her critique of the prison industrial complex, which is reflective of the deeply rooted slave system from the 17th century. She contends that prisons have become an integral and “natural” part of U.S. society and global capitalist societies due to historical domestic factors and the reconfiguration of globalized capital in the world.⁴⁹

Patricia Collins, another renowned legal scholar, reminds us that the racist violence meted out to Black men via the instruments of law enforcement and the prison industrial complex cannot be viewed in isolation from the U.S. history of violence from chattel slavery. The pervasive practices of the rape of Black women during slavery by White men produced a “new racism” that is interwoven with the politics of gender and sexuality. She asserts that the levels of violence induced through the prison industrial complex have reached such astronomical proportions that on a regular day one quarter of all Black men aged 20–40 are in jail, on parole, or involved on some level with the criminal justice system and that the national state itself could be viewed as performing the function of lynching hitherto practiced in Southern formerly

slave states. She explains that capital punishment is an inevitable controlling mechanism over a rising urban poor Black population and that institutional practices for controlling women are transferred to bureaucratic incarceration of Black men.⁵⁰ This segment of the society is viewed as redundant labor by a high-tech capitalist economy under globalization, particularly since “the problem that poor black people face is that they live in an economic world that has little use for their labor and in a country whose commitment to free markets includes a high tolerance for economic inequality.”⁵¹

Critical race theory, while important for comprehending the tenacious character of racism at the heart of U.S. society and the world, as A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., Aderson Bellegarde François, and Linda Y. Yueh very persuasively argue in their analysis of the O.J. Simpson trial in their article, “The O.J. Simpson Trial: Who Was Improperly ‘Playing the Race Card?’”⁵² is still inadequate when it comes to analyzing the organic nature of oppression where elements of race, class, gender, culture, sexuality, and capitalized imperialism all collectively constitute the machination of oppression. In the case of Black people and other oppressed and marginalized peoples, the theoretical framework analyzing both the tenacity of social incarceration in the U.S. requires a deep understanding of the historical foundations of the country, particularly with regard to the intentional genocide of Indigenous peoples and the enslavement of Black peoples and the manner that interlocking dimensions of race, class, gender, culture, and sexuality feature centrally in the configuration of capitalist accumulation and oppression of all marginalized people in the nation. Straight-White male middle class culture is viewed as the general norm and all other social categories of experience are viewed as potential aberrations.⁵³ Critical race theory, expounded even by historical icons like Frantz Fanon on White supremacy, and colonized Black identity needs to recognize, as Howard Winant points out, that though White supremacy is foundational in the systemic functioning of U.S. society (and the world), “the politics of White identity is undergoing a profound political crisis” where “undoubtedly while still a minority among Whites” there are “millions who have resisted the siren song of neo-conservatism, recognizing that the claim of ‘color blindness’ masks a continuing current of White supremacy and racism.”⁵⁴ Winant argues that this “‘color-blind’ White supremacy ... embodies the racial duality of contemporary White identity.”⁵⁵ The *Campaign to End the Death Penalty* is a positive example of this inter-racial agitation demanding justice for those being subject to capital punishment due to victimization by structures of race and class. In Fanon’s critique of race, the acknowledgment that he was ignorant about Black women blunted his incisive critique of race.⁵⁶

Drugs, Crime, Punishment, Prisons, and the National Security State in the Globalized U.S.

The normative criminalization of Black and Latino social groupings such as gangs and moieties warrants probing issues of economic deprivation, poorly equipped and funded schools, high rates of unemployment, saturation of urban communities by drug lords as part of national and international crime syndicates integral to the U.S. political economy, and familial disintegration as the result of segregation and impoverishment. These ills feed directly into state law mechanisms that emphasize punishment rather than treatment and ensure incarceration of poor youth, especially Black and Brown people. Prisons are an exaggerated reflection of the persistence by the capitalist ruling class to both insist on conformity to dominant White Anglo-Saxon views of law and morality and to utilize the conviction of persons considered offenders as grist for the profit mill from the expansion of the prison industrial complex. The punishment meted to persons incarcerated even for non-violent crimes such as illegal drug use, for instance, is rooted in a contradictory morality that criminalizes sectors of the population like Indigenous people, impoverished people of all groups, particularly Black and Latino, segments of the unemployed, the homeless, those considered politically subversive, gays, lesbians, bi-sexual, and trans-gendered people, and others considered “deviant” by Western Judeo-Christian “moral standards.”⁵⁷

The word “contradictory” is used because various members of the U.S. ruling class have resorted to occasional drug use at one time or another, not just some presidents like Bill Clinton and Barack Obama who have acknowledged such; use among Wall Street executives is pervasively documented from the early 1990s through the present.⁵⁸ How is it that this class of wealthy people isn’t harassed by law enforcement and aren’t convicted and condemned to long prison terms for illicit and habitual drug use? Worse still, why aren’t drug-laundering banks and wealthy executives whose financial operations benefit from drug monies charged and imprisoned? As globalization research writer Dylan Murphy writes:

If any member of the public is caught in possession of a few grammes of coke or heroin you can bet your bottom dollar they will be going down to serve some hard time. However, if you are a banker caught laundering billions of dollars for some of the most murderous people on the planet you get off with a slap on the wrist in the form of some puny fine and a deferred prosecution deal.⁵⁹

The high-profile role of presidential figures and national security agency executive staff in drug smuggling is directly interwoven with issues of racism,

poverty, drug-sales and profits, drug-infested neighborhoods, corporate takeovers of such neighborhoods, prisons, and prison bonds.

During the 1980s, while the U.S. government was involved in funding the Contras fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua which overthrew the U.S.-sponsored Somoza dictatorship, Barry Seal, a government agent was delivering billions of dollars worth of narcotics from Latin America to an airport in Mena, Arkansas, home state of subsequent Democratic president, Bill Clinton.⁶⁰ Seal was subsequently assassinated in February 1986, yet the smuggling in drugs and contraband continued. Later that year, a plane carrying arms for the Contras was shot down in Nicaragua and the only survivor, Eugene Hassenfuss, confessed to funding the Contras from the operations at Mena airport. The revelations led to an independent counsel investigation and a congressional committee examination chaired by then Senator John Kerry that found that executive members of the National Security Council headed by George H.W. Bush and at least 14 members of the Council and others including the Secretary of Defense were culpable in covering up serious government activity in drug smuggling and narco-trafficking. These members were indicted (including Harvard-trained lawyer and former Bechtel General Counsel, Caspar Weinberger, who served as Secretary of Defense under president George H.W. Bush) and subsequently pardoned by president George H.W. Bush who initially served as Director of the CIA, then as Vice President, and finally as President. Investigative journalists have uncovered relationships to narco-trafficking of agencies at the highest levels of the government, including the National Security Agency, the Department of Justice, and the CIA.

Bill Clinton, Governor of Arkansas from 1978 to 1991, and the Arkansas Development Finance Agency (ADFA), a local distributor of U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development programs responsible for issuing municipal housing bonds, were also involved in the cover-up of these illegal drug-trafficking activities and drug money laundering involving billions, operated by Barry Seal, a former pilot of the U.S. Army Special Forces Division and a leading CIA operative.⁶¹ The ADFA, a Bill Clinton creation, had Hillary Clinton at one of its law firms and partnered with other members of Bill Clinton's administration. An advanced software program, PROMIS, originally developed to track comprehensive legal data on individuals was stolen from Inslaw Incorporated, the computer firm that had developed the software, and became the possession of Jackson Stephens, an Arkansas company. Jackson Stephens Investment bank, Stephens Incorporated, subsequently became the largest issuer of prison municipal bonds in Arkansas, underscoring the intricate and complex, but nevertheless real, relationship of government drug smug-

gling, law enforcement, and prison construction, particularly targeting poor Black people in drug-infested neighborhoods.⁶² The first company ADFA funded was Park on Meter Incorporated (POM), a parking meter company, that was eventually “enlisted in a project with the Stormont Labs of Woodland, California, and Wackenhut Corporation to develop chemical and biological weapons that could be deployed in guerrilla warfare,” particularly to attack the Nicaraguan government, underscoring how important Clinton’s state of Arkansas was in the Contra war against Nicaragua during a time when support of the Contras was prohibited under U.S. law.⁶³ Of relevance to our prisons discourse is the fact that the Wackenhut Corrections Corporation, a division of the Wackenhut Corporation, which was formed in 1984 and partnered with POM, developed into a leading private prisons corporation known as G4S Secure Solutions today. The Wackenhut Corporation was founded by three former FBI agents.

One of the most disturbing elements about this intriguing story of drugs, politics, and prisons is the revelation of a legal document, a *Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) Between the CIA and the Department of Justice*, of February 11, 1982, and enforced till August 1995 that essentially provided the Justice Department legal cover to the CIA to engage in illegal narcotics and arms smuggling so that the CIA would be “relieved ... of any legal obligation to report information of drug trafficking and drug law violations whether with respect to CIA agents, assets, non-staff employees, or contractors.”⁶⁴ When California Congresswoman Maxine Waters held hearings in November 1996 about the CIA being involved in trafficking drugs into South Central Los Angeles, many in the middle class were shocked. In 1996, Gary Webb, a journalist with the *San José Mercury News*, wrote a powerful article following a year-long investigation that revealed that the CIA was involved in drug-trafficking in Los Angeles and diverting the profits to fund the CIA-backed Contras in Nicaragua.⁶⁵ He was asked to retract the article, demoted, forced to quit the newspaper, and was subsequently found dead in 2004, apparently of a suicide, even though questions about his death linger given that he constantly received death threats and was followed. The *New York Times* finally conceded in October 2014 that Webb’s investigative journalism that exposed the role of the CIA in funneling drugs into south-central Los Angeles in the 1980s was legitimate and “real,” following the release of the movie *Kill the Messenger*.⁶⁶

If the CIA was involved with opium-smuggling gangs and the drug trade for fifteen years in Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand in the late 1960s that expanded the marketing and distribution of heroin, including to U.S. troops in the region, and if the CIA was funding the Contras battling the

Nicaraguan Sandinista government in the 1980s while the Contras were established drug smugglers, these drugs had to find their way to the largest drug-consumer market in the world: the United States.⁶⁷ The targeted areas would primarily be impoverished communities of the inner cities of the nation where the particularly desperate socio-economic plight of people in these overcrowded “ghettoes” is well known. Many Black and Brown people residing in the sprawling urban metropolises of the country knew clearly from their experiences, including those who fought in south-east Asia, that the drug influx into the impoverished urban communities was deliberate and systemic. As Catherine Austin Pitts who unearthed much of the information from the Department of Justice–CIA Memorandum of Understanding on protection of the CIA-cover-up of illegal drug activity in effect from February 1982 to August 1995, noted:

A crack cocaine epidemic ravaged the poorer communities of America and disenfranchised hundreds of thousands of poor people into prison who, now classified as felons, were safely off of the voting roles. Meantime, the U.S. financial system gorged on what had grown to an estimated \$500 billion–\$1 trillion a year of money laundering by the end of the 1990s. Not surprisingly, the rich got richer as corporate power and the concentration of investment capital skyrocketed on the rich margins of state sanctioned criminal enterprise.⁶⁸

The concatenation of the governmental-corporate role in drug trafficking and the drug trade, inner city impoverishment, law enforcement, and incarceration, are all integral to globalization’s designs of unbridled profit from both poverty and punishment.

It is no coincidence too that following the U.S. invasion and occupation of Afghanistan in 2001 to rout out the Taliban, Afghanistan has become the world’s largest opium producer and exporter with 90 percent of world production, according to the UN’s 56th Session of the Commission on Narcotic drugs held in Vienna in March 2013.⁶⁹ Poppy production and heroin export consumption is now the cornerstone of the Afghan economy. Prices of low-quality heroin in the U.S. are around \$172 per gram and of pure heroin much higher.⁷⁰ It is a most lucrative cash crop, a “cash cow” of sorts, facilitated by the U.S.–sponsored Karzai regime in Afghanistan (Karzai was a former employee of the U.S. oil corporation, UNOCAL) under which production jumped from 181 tons in 2001 to 3,400 tons in 2002 and prices skyrocketed ten times the level from 2000. The British-funded opium eradication program working with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency under “Operation Containment” in Afghanistan following the U.S. invasion in 2001, ironically stimulated the further explosion of poppy production and a resurgence of international

opium consumption. The efforts of these “drug eradication” programs were thus highly suspect, particularly in the wake of the opium trade and sales as an international commodity worth billions, estimated at \$70 billion in 2012.⁷¹ In 2013, Afghanistan produced a massive 5,500 metric tons of opium, 49 percent higher than 2012 and more than the opium production in the rest of the world put together. It is indeed mind-boggling that with thousands of U.S. troops stationed in Afghanistan and with the most sophisticated surveillance and monitoring equipment in the world, the U.S. military and auxiliary anti-drug agencies like the CIA and the DEA, the poppy farms that these troops are guarding are invincible from security detection.⁷² The only explanation is the cover-up of such poppy cultivation for the facilitation of the multi-billion opium trade that funds the U.S. military operations in the country and that makes billions for opium merchants and international drug cartels and syndicates, conveyed in 2009 by a former Russian commander who served during the Russian occupation of Afghanistan in the 1980s.⁷³ The CIA wouldn’t be suspect if it had a clean record in the international political and economic arena; the history of its activities in southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s and its working with drug cartels in Central America to fund the Nicaraguan Contras in the 1980s, along with a disclosure from a Mexican government official that the CIA and other anti-drug agencies simply “manage” the drug trade as opposed to fighting it since it is so lucrative job-wise, places the agency in a very culpable role when it comes to the drug trade.⁷⁴ An Indigenous elder from the Tohono O’odham nation recounted how he took pictures of U.S. Border Patrol agents escorting drug dealers across the Mexico-Arizona border and showed them to his supervisor, only to have his employment as a ranger terminated.⁷⁵

Author and former Los Angeles Police Department narcotics investigator Michael Ruppert explains in the chapter “The CIA Is Wall Street and Drug Money Is King” in his book *Crossing the Rubicon: The Decline of the American Empire at the End of the Age of Oil* that the CIA has always been involved with Wall Street.⁷⁶ Wall Street lawyer and banker Clark Clifford, a former Secretary of Defense, who wrote the National Security Act of 1947, for example, was successful in having the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) operate in the U.S. BCCI was a corrupt CIA-bank founded by Pakistani financier Agha Hassan Abedi, and it laundered drug money and financed the Afghan rebels under the leadership of the CIA fighting the Soviets in the late 1970s. John Foster Dulles was an executive with Standard Oil in the 1950s and eventually became Secretary of State under Dwight Eisenhower. His brother, Allen, a business lawyer with the powerful corporate law firm Sullivan

and Cromwell, was Director of the CIA under Eisenhower and was fired by John F. Kennedy following the 1962 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Both brothers jointly were key in the CIA-led overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz, the democratically elected president of Guatemala in 1954, since Arbenz legislated land reform where unused land of large banana plantations like the United Fruit Company (Chiquita today), where the Dulles brothers were major shareholders, was to be redistributed among landless Guatemalan peasants. Arbenz had offered to compensate the United Fruit Company that owned 42 percent of Guatemala's land area and yet paid no taxes.⁷⁷

Enron, the energy company that went bankrupt and destroyed the retirement funds of thousands of employees worth billions, was a leading client of Sullivan and Cromwell and had several CIA officers in its employment prior to its collapse. Other prominent clients of the law firm were American International Group (AIG), Global Crossing, ImCline, Martha Stewart, and the Harvard Endowment, with AIG having been linked to the heroin trade and Martha Stewart having been charged and imprisoned for insider trading and financial conspiracy.⁷⁸ Bill Casey, the director of the CIA under Ronald Reagan, was a Wall Street lawyer and stock trader. Stanley Sporkin, Casey's general counsel, was close to Oliver North, a member of the National Security Council and a central figure in the Iran-Contra scandal who was convicted on several felony charges for lying to Congress in the 1980s. Sporkin worked for 20 years at the Securities and Exchange Commission. Following his tenure at the CIA, he joined the Wall Street law firm Weill, Gottschall, and Manges, which worked as Enron's counsel. David Doherty, who followed as CIA general counsel in 1987, returned to Wall Street as the executive vice president of the New York Stock Exchange on Enforcement. A.B. "Buzzy" Krongard, who joined the CIA in 1998, was the CEO of the investment bank Alex Brown. John Deutch, director of the CIA who met with congressional representatives in south central Los Angeles in 1996 to discuss the CIA role in injecting drugs into the Black community, retired shortly thereafter and became a board member of Citigroup, notorious for laundering drug money, particularly through its Mexican subsidiary, Banamex. Maurice "Hank" Greenberg, the CEO of AIG, oversaw the breaking of federal laws by an Arkansas subsidiary of AIG in collaboration with the Arkansas Development Financial Authority (ADFA), which was cited for money-laundering operations for drug funds from CIA-smuggled cocaine from Latin America into Mena, Arkansas, in the 1980s.⁷⁹ Quite a revolving door between the CIA, government officials, and Wall Street, with the globalized economy of illegal drug trafficking featuring pivotally at various levels.

It's relevant too to look at the manner in which the CIA, Capricorn Holdings, Dyncorp, Enron, and the Harvard Endowment Fund were all interlocked in the impoverishment of Black and Brown communities in major metropolitan areas like south-central Los Angeles, the District of Columbia, and New Orleans' predominantly Black communities. Herbert "Pug" Winokur, a Wall Street "insider," was one of the seven Fellows on Harvard's governing board, while serving on Enron's board and the board of Capricorn Holdings. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Winokur was the CEO of Capricorn Holdings, which was the leading investor in Dyncorp, a military company that has received \$600 million in U.S. government monies for the defoliation of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia as part of the U.S.-drug war program, Plan-Colombia, underscoring the interwovenness of corporate executives, political powerbrokers, the CIA, and the drug economy and drug war particularly in a globalized world. Winokur was a "facilitator" at Enron that laundered billions in drug money. Harvard Endowment Fund and Enron often invested alongside each other and Harvard sold Enron stock for high profits prior to the Enron debacle.

A more careful examination of the manner in which the CIA pumped Central American drugs into Black and Brown neighborhoods in south-central Los Angeles from 1982 through 1995 and subsequent developments reveal an insidious picture of globalization and racist oppression. Austin Fitts, a former Under-Secretary at the Department of Housing and Urban Renewal (HUD) and a former partner with the Wall Street firm Dillon & Read, started her own company, Hamilton Securities, that developed a software program called Community Wizard that provided information on governmental expenditures for local community programs. Community Wizard discovered that a large sector of the HUD properties in south central Los Angeles, where the cocaine epidemic and narcotics trafficking were rampant, were moving into foreclosure due to falling real estate values in the area during the 1980s and 1990s. Thousands of middle-class Black families were walking away from their properties due to the crack cocaine epidemic and pervasive violence from drive-by shootings and drug-related violence. These houses were then loaded for sale on the property market at a fraction of their real value, at ten to twenty cents of the dollar in many instances. Wealthy investors then came in and purchased thousands of these properties, one of the investors being the Harvard Endowment Fund. It is no exaggeration then to conclude that such investors were "beefing up a very large tax-free investment portfolio for short-term capital gains from the destruction of African American communities and asset forfeiture brought on by the drug trade."⁸⁰ The drug war and the impoverishment of Black and

Brown urban communities tie directly into the globalized profit system and subsequently into the politics of race and class that feed into the prison industrial complex.

The \$400 billion global illegal drug economy (estimated at \$600 billion by Michael Ruppert), in which banks benefit lucratively from laundering drug-money, certainly features prominently in the persistence of the production and consumption of illicit drugs, much of which finds its way inevitably to cash-strapped and employment-deprived urban communities in Russia, Europe, and the U.S.⁸¹ The connections of the global drug trade to the U.S. economy and banking system are stark: mammoth banks like HSBC, Western Union, Bank of America, JP Morgan Chase & Company, Citigroup, and formerly Wachovia (taken over by Wells Fargo in 2010 after being exposed for illegal drug money-laundering) that are among the world's largest banks and possess trillions in assets have all violated U.S. federal anti-money laundering laws, yet not a single bank has been prosecuted and not a single bank official has been jailed to date. Wachovia paid a fine of \$160 million for its involvement in money laundering in Mexico worth \$374 billion and was taken over by Wells Fargo, the largest bank in terms of capitalization worth in the world.⁸² In December 2012, the U.S. Department of Justice negotiated a deal with HSBC, levying a fine of \$1.9 billion fine for its active role in assisting the Mexican drug cartels through laundering drug money through HMEEX, the subsidiary of HSBC in Mexico. A *small price* to pay for a bank that made profits of \$22 billion in 2011! The horrific reality of this global drug war and trade, where banks make hundreds of billions of dollars from drug money laundering, is the *lethal and harsh price* paid by the poor: over 150,000 people have been killed in Mexico since 2006 and half a million poor people, mostly Black and Latino, have been sentenced to long terms in prison for selling illegal drugs.⁸³ Meanwhile the *real* beneficiaries, managers of these heinous drug crimes, remain unpunished and ensconced in corporate boardrooms and skyscraper banking and investment offices in 2015.

Given the stark reality of abysmally low family incomes, run-down schools due to low tax revenues, widespread unemployment particularly for youth, and very few decent social recreational amenities and outlets for youth, the essential ingredients for an impoverished economic and social ethos were created in U.S. urban metropolises. These anomalous social conditions provided fertile ground for many in these communities becoming susceptible to the drug dealer and drug pusher who signified extensions of the drug syndicates that really controlled the drug economy, which were in some instances, facilitated by law enforcement and security agencies like the CIA and even

police departments in inner cities like Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles, where the aforescribed conditions are rife. So long as “crime” is inevitable due to lack of resources engineered by a heartless capitalist system and its selective monitoring application makes mega-profits for the ruling class and provides a plethora of vocations connected to prisons—politicians running for office on “tough on crime” platforms; Department of Justice and subsidiary offices; judges and court personnel; security agencies like the National Security Agency, CIA, FBI, Defense Intelligence Agency, Drug Enforcement Agency, and Customs and Border Patrol; police and sheriff’s departments at city, county, and state levels; and various direct and indirect sectors of incarceration employees like construction company personnel, bond investors and brokers, psychologists and counselors, guards, lawyers, food companies supplying prisons with food supplies, medical doctors working in prisons, pharmaceutical companies selling medication to prisons, social workers, and telephone companies that charge higher rates for incarcerated persons’ calls—the prison industrial complex is assured of booming, especially under globalization, where the interlocking dimensions of crime, punishment, national security, and the economy assume decisive proportions.

The published 1996 Report of the National Criminal Justice Commission, *The Real War on Crime*, systematically documents the manner in which the U.S. Justice Department deliberately distorted factual information so as to mislead the public into believing that the solution to violent crime is tougher prison sentences and enhanced prison construction. For instance, to convey the view that all persons trapped within the criminal justice system are dangerous, a 1991 analysis report by the department noted that “94 percent of inmates had been convicted of a violent crime *or* had a previous sentence to probation or incarceration,” permitting the government to “consolidate two different classifications into a single claim,” and exaggerate the levels of violence by people incarcerated.⁸⁴ In 1992, the Department of Justice published *The Case for More Incarceration*, part of a systematic effort by then Attorney General William Barr to urge states and cities to construct more prisons. The publication claimed that every inmate behind bars saved the country \$430,000 per year, assuming that each person incarcerated would commit 187 street crimes per year that cost victims \$2,300 per crime as the result of property damage or medical bills. The researchers who originally compiled the data retracted their conclusions. Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins systematically examined the claim of \$430,000 in savings and found that even if it were assumed that each released prisoner committed 187 crimes per year, law enforcement would need to imprison 230,000 additional criminals to erase

some 42.5 million national crimes. Persons incarcerated increased significantly more than that number since the collection of the data and the published report of the Department of Justice. By 1996, there were 1.5 million people held in prisons even while the national crime rate still remained high—between 30 and 40 million crimes per year.

Similarly, the Justice Department inaccurately stated that the incarceration rate of state prisoners “doubled for both black and White inmates” from 1984 to 1994 to 1 million people, deliberately obscuring racial discrepancies between African Americans and European Americans whose incarceration rates increased at the rate of 98 percent and 78 percent respectively. The Justice Department cooked figures to include Latinos (or Hispanics) within the White prison population so that the racial divide in imprisonment (African Americans were incarcerated at six times the rates for Whites) would appear benign.⁸⁵

Even more revealing is the DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) program that started in the Los Angeles Police Department (itself tainted by a history of illicit drug involvement, violence, and corruption during the Ramparts scandal of the late 1990s) and has spread to almost half of all school districts in the country. Even though this Department of Justice program cost taxpayers some \$700 million in the 1990s, research by the department found that it did not deter drug use among children. The department withheld the report showing failure of the program.⁸⁶ Some scholars criticized the program for creating family dissension because it casts children in the role of “informant,” and they question the long-term effectiveness of the currently \$1 billion drug education program.⁸⁷ Studies have consistently demonstrated that DARE is ineffective and, in some instances, causes children to engage in activity of profiling persons and family members in ways that are destructive.⁸⁸ Yet through aggressive political lobbying and as a result of law enforcement’s influence in attracting hundreds of millions of federal and state tax dollars, globalization’s policy of profit from punishment continues to keep this wasteful program in place.

Crime and punishment are political code-words within the dominant national discourse used for economic and political self-serving purposes especially in the age of globalization. The issue of the safety of the public is loaded with propagandistic ideas about the “dangerous” condition of living in the U.S. given the pervasiveness of “criminal” behavior. It is thus no coincidence that the notion of “Homeland Security” was invoked in 2001 and a multi-billion dollar department instituted following the events of September 11, 2001. “Homeland Security” is a reflection of globalization’s ideology of con-

taining the growing socio-economic conflicts generated in many parts of Latin America, Asia, and Africa as a result of globalization processes like deregulation, privatization, and dismantling of public services provided by state governments, which saw hundreds of millions become unemployed and quickly enter the ranks of poverty. The National Security state went into full gear with an open declaration by then president George W. Bush of a “War on Terror” and, once again, wars against the people of Asia, this time Afghanistan and, subsequently, Iraq, were declared, with intolerable human, environmental, and financial cost—millions were killed, wounded, and made homeless (5 million orphans and 600,000 homeless children live in Iraq today!), hundreds of thousands of U.S. soldiers suffer from Gulf-War syndrome, broken or destroyed limbs, and mental illness, and a \$1.3 trillion war bill has been foisted on the U.S. public taxpayer, with interest.⁸⁹

The promulgation of the U.S.A. Patriot Act of 2001, which was extended and ratified by President Barack Obama in 2010, implies the stripping of fundamental liberties and abolition of rights to privacy enshrined in the U.S. Constitution. Philip Giraldi, a former CIA-official, likened the Patriot Act to laws of Nazi Germany because it implies the nullification of citizenship rights under the pretext of waging a ceaseless “War on Terror.”⁹⁰ All of these dehumanizing laws are part and parcel of the globalized restructuring of the world into “good” and “evil” by powerful governments, which has resulted in the deaths and incarceration of millions in overcrowded prisons in many parts of the world. The poor and defenseless are increasingly criminalized by the forces controlling globalization so that they can be discarded by wars or confined behind bars for long periods of time. The “Three Strikes” law that has been legislated in a few states within the U.S. and which was promoted by Bill Clinton during his State of the Union address on January 25, 1994, confines even non-violent offenders to life imprisonment and is essential to globalization’s practice of punishing the poor while making money off their imprisonment for decades. Ironically, Clinton’s state of Arkansas was a key location for the illegal smuggling of drugs from Latin America in the 1980s, germane to the three-strikes law that has seen persons receiving life sentences for committing three consecutive non-violent crimes, including crimes like illegal drug possession or drug sales.

Following George W. Bush’s pronouncements in 2001, the War on Terror continues its work of harassing and terrorizing people of all backgrounds, especially people of color who continue to be profiled racially by national security agencies like the U.S. Border Patrol and the Department of Homeland Security. Many people are denied access to proper legal aid and defense and

kept in detention centers that are unclean and subject to humiliating conditions, as with many in U.S. prisons. The detention of more than 255 people considered “enemy combatants” since 2008, some of whom have been held for six years without a trial or being formally charged, continues till today.

George W. Bush claimed in his recent memoirs, *Decision Points*, that water-boarding was not torture and that it thwarted two attacks on London, even though these torturous acts did not prevent the bombings on London on July 7, 2005.⁹¹ When Bush was asked if waterboarding was ever used on the captured Al Qaeda leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, his response to *The Times* was “Damn right!”⁹² When human rights activists within the U.S. and around the world charged that the U.S. government and the CIA engaged in torture of detainees apprehended as terrorism suspects when waterboarding was deployed, actions that constituted a violation of the Geneva Convention and the UN Convention on Human Rights, George W. Bush strenuously defended the governmental position by declaring that the U.S. does not engage in torture.⁹³ What he did not acknowledge was that torture has always been a part of the internal prison system in the U.S. President Barack Obama insisted that he would end such torture, ban inhuman interrogation techniques and even close Guantanamo Bay in early 2009. What he did not explain was that there were many loopholes and contradictions within his “new” policies that ostensibly distanced him from his predecessor. Gregory B. Craig, the White House Chief Counsel during Obama’s first term in office, assured John A. Rizzo, the CIA’s top lawyer then, that Obama had no intention of doing away with torture altogether, but simply “ending its abuse.”⁹⁴

Rendition policies and other short-term torture practices continue to this day and Guantanamo remains open for imprisonment and punishment business under Obama’s administration. In a speech, he only conceded that the U.S. “tortured some folks” in August 2014, obscuring the fact that U.S. torture of terrorism suspects was pervasive and systemic, as at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.⁹⁵ To date, nobody has been prosecuted at the highest levels of the CIA and other military agencies for torture, rendition policies, and killing of innocent civilians by national security agencies as part of the U.S. “war on terror.” In September 2014, it was revealed that some Al Qaeda suspects held at Guantanamo in Cuba were excessively tortured to the point that a medical doctor’s presence was necessary to ensure that the detainees did not die, far more dangerous and excruciating than what the CIA had acknowledged previously regarding its interrogation techniques.⁹⁶ Hundreds of suspected terrorists from around the world have been subject to gruesome forms of torture, have never been formally charged in an international court of law, are still being

held indefinitely and, in some cases, transferred to repressive regimes in other parts of the world for interrogation and torture under the U.S. government's rendition program. Since the Obama administration came to office in 2009, 390 covert drone strikes have killed almost 2,400 people, including innocent civilians in Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia.⁹⁷ Drone strikes under Obama were used eight times more than when George H. Bush was president. This is the ugly character of U.S. globalized security policies and practices that have caused suffering and death to millions, while imprisoning and torturing hundreds of thousands of people in Iraq, like at Abu Ghraib prison, and other detention facilities in countries with which the U.S. has a strategic military relationship, especially in West Asia and North Africa.⁹⁸ The War on Terror, like the prison industrial complex in the U.S., is big business under globalization.

In 1994, the average daily detention population of legal and undocumented immigrants was 5,532. By 2001, this number increased to 19,533 and, in 2007, it was 30,000. Almost 2 million legal and undocumented people were deported, mostly for non-violent violations. Ironically, president Barack Obama, the first president of color who promised Latinos whose vote helped him win the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, and Florida in 2012 that he would support immigrant rights, deported 400,000 people in his first year in office, more than George W. Bush did in his last year in office. Obama authorized the deportation of some 150,000 mothers and fathers of children who were U.S. citizens each year in office.⁹⁹ At the end of 2002, according to the U.S. Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), there were "21,065 detainees specifically being held under ICE jurisdiction by the Office of Detention and Removal."¹⁰⁰ Almost 25 percent of those detained or held in federal prisons are not U.S. citizens, some 33,873 people. Under the auspices and protection of Section 215 of the USA Patriot Act, the FBI and other national security agencies can monitor both citizens and non-citizens regardless of whether they are criminals or not, nullifying basic protection of peoples' rights guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution and raising the ire of rights groups like the American Civil Liberties Union, which views such laws as a foundational assault on human liberties in the U.S.¹⁰¹ This injustice is compounded with the fact of 5,500 immigrant detainees working each day for as low as a dollar a day, 13 cents an hour, or for nothing in the country's immigration detention centers. Government and private prisons save about \$40 million each year through this exploitative practice since the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 per hour does not apply to federal detainees.¹⁰² In 2013, some 60,000 immigrants worked in federal government and private detention cen-

ters in Washington, California, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, Virginia, Missouri, and Nebraska.¹⁰³

Immigration bill SB 1070 signed by Arizona governor Jan Brewer in April 2010 was motivated and engineered by a group of state legislators and corporate executives called the American Legislative Exchange Council that included the billion dollar Corrections Company of America along with Exxon Mobil, Reynolds American Inc., and the National Rifle Association. The bill, initially drafted by State Senator Russell Pearce with the explicit intention of detaining and imprisoning thousands of Mexicans and other “illegal aliens” to be housed in for-profit private prisons in Arizona, is a stark reminder of globalization and incarceration at work together.¹⁰⁴

Globalization’s ideological design, which upholds the doctrine of national security as a core patriotic principle within late capitalism, ensures that torture and capital punishment continue in line with the Bush-initiated War on Terrorism and the Project for the New American Century. The result is violence and terror of poor people within the U.S. and those from other parts of the globe where resource-fought wars are waged so that all are forcefully brought into conformity and allegiance to the national security state—the homeland as described in the Department of Homeland Security.¹⁰⁵ The 1997 document, *United States Space Command: Vision for 2020*, is now in full swing as wars in the Arab world in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and around the Caspian like Afghanistan, rage. This blueprint of the U.S. national security state in the 21st century explicitly states that, “although unlikely to be challenged by a global peer competitor, the United States will continue to be challenged regionally.... The globalization of the world economy will continue, with a widening between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots.’”¹⁰⁶ In this manner, the infusion of hundreds of billions of dollars into the coffers of military industrial contractors and correctional apparatuses to hold the “have-nots” in check can be justified to a gullible and economically depressed U.S. public.

Incarceration of Political Prisoners, Women, and Violence Against People Considered Sexually Deviant

The continued incarceration during this globalized era of almost 150 Black, Indigenous, Chicano-Mexicano, and Puerto Rican *political* prisoners in the U.S., for over three decades in many instances, is an affront to any sense

of justice because it confines some of the leading spokespersons and human rights activists from these communities to a life of irrevocable punishment and isolation. The names and figures are internationally renowned. Journalist and author Mumia Abu Jamal, on death row for 29 years and sentenced in 2011 to life in prison without parole; Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin (formerly Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee chair and Black freedom fighter H. Rap Brown), in a supermax Special Management Unit (SMU) for life at ADX-Florence Correctional Facility, Colorado; Black Panther activists Jalil Abdul Muntaqim, Herman Bell, and Marshall Eddie Conway (released in early March 2014 after being imprisoned for almost 44 years after being framed by COINTELPRO infiltrators within the Black Panther Party), who have each spent over 35 years in jail after being falsely charged by the FBI¹⁰⁷; Sundiata Acoli, Albert Woodfox (incarcerated 40 years at Angola Prison and now at Homer, Louisiana); American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier for 30 years, framed for the killing of members of the FBI and other persons at the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in 1975; Hugo Pinell, who is the world's longest incarcerated person and has been held in jail for over 49 years, 44 of which have been in solitary confinement, and was denied parole nine times; Cinque McGee, a radical activist of the "August 7th Rebellion" that called for the release of Black political prisoners George Jackson, John Cluchette, and Fleeta Drumgo in 1970, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in that year; and Puerto Rican independence advocates like Oscar López Rivera who has been jailed for almost 33 years, are persons whose continued confinement indeed constitute "cruel and unusual punishment" in violation of the United Nations Convention on Human Rights.¹⁰⁸ Globalization's long-term and irrevocable prison cruelty is part of the ideological framework that punishes any resisters to oppression with the harshest penalties, especially radical civil rights activists from the 1960s and 1970s or anti-colonial justice activists from the early 1980s and 1990s.

Two-thirds of women in prison are persons of color.¹⁰⁹ Though the composition of women in prison is diverse, most are "dark-skinned, poor, unskilled mothers who are incarcerated for low-level drug involvement."¹¹⁰ Black women represent the largest increase of all women being incarcerated in the U.S. with rates of 185 per 100,000 women, twice that of Latino women, and five times that of White women, so that Black women are now three-quarters of the number of females in state and local prisons, according to a 2005 released criminal justice report.¹¹¹ Black women have experienced a 78 percent increase in incarceration since 1989.¹¹² They are also most likely to suffer ill-health afflicted by conditions of hypertension, asthma, sickle cell anemia, and breast

and cervical cancer. More than three-quarters of women in prison who have HIV/AIDS are women of color and half of all new HIV infections among women prisoners are Black.¹¹³ The female prison population increased dramatically from 12,300 in 1980 to 96,000 in 2002 even though crime rates dropped during that period.¹¹⁴ Black women in gangs is another rapidly growing phenomenon during this phase of globalization considering that in some instances, between 10 and 30 percent of gangs are female, resulting in sequential imprisonment of female gang members since they inevitably become targets of law enforcement like their male counterparts.¹¹⁵

The system of patriarchal and capitalist violence of the broader society that continues in male prisons is reproduced in female prisons. As Faith Lutze, a criminal justice researcher, notes, while the effect of incarceration on men is often the stripping away of their masculinity and sense of personhood through abuse and punishment policies like solitary isolation, for example, for women's prisons, the ideological "ultramasculine environment" and accompanying policies are "extrapolated to women's prisons, so that women yet again are subject to abusive policies and treatment that make them submissive, weak, and dependent."¹¹⁶ The incidence of rape of women in prisons, often by male corrections officers and sometimes by female officers with threats against victims of retaliation if disclosed to authorities or family members, is an integral part of the prison industrial complex.¹¹⁷

Equally disconcerting is the violence against persons who are lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, or trans-gendered (LGBT) within the prison industrial complex, who are often targeted by anti-LGBT societal prejudices. Violence against trans-gendered people constituted "17 percent of the violence enacted against LGBT persons nationally."¹¹⁸ It was only in 2009 with the passage of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Hate Crimes Prevention Act that federal hate crimes were expanded to include a victim's perceived gender, sexual orientation, sexual identity, or disability. Yet the problem of violence against LGBT communities that results in conviction of individuals perpetrating such violence feeds into the prison industrial complex, which signifies another form of institutionalized violence in its system of punishment, deprivation, and confinement: individuals are simply imprisoned and uneducated about the nature and causes of such violence and the need for reparations to victims of this violence.¹¹⁹ In a globalized society, LGBT Rights groups thus need to adopt a system-wide analysis that interrogates interlocking dimensions of race and class in their defense of victims of violence against LGBT persons since the prison system generally ignores the distinctive experiences of LGBT persons and their being subject to violence even within prisons themselves.

People of Color, Poor People and the Prison System in the Globalized Late 20th and Early 21st Centuries

Ruling class political code words, especially from the 1970s, following the struggles for social justice, the civil rights movement, the Black Power Movement, the Indigenous Peoples Movement, the Women's Movement, and the Peace Movement, were widely disseminated by corporate media and the political establishment to justify enhanced incarceration policies. Then president Richard Nixon initiated a "law-and-order campaign" and "getting tough" policy that translated into an ostensible "war on crime" for subsequent decades to the present, in line with his assertion that drug use was "public enemy No. 1."¹²⁰ Vijay Prashad writes that, "in 1968, as the world despaired over the U.S. bombardment of Vietnam and Cambodia, President Richard Nixon declared war on drugs." "Within the last decade," he told Congress, "the abuse of drugs has grown from essentially a local police problem into a serious national threat to the personal health and safety of millions of Americans."¹²¹ This war on drugs has persisted for over four decades into the contemporary globalized era.

Incarceration rates skyrocketed from approximately 100 state and federal prisoners per 100,000 people during the mid-seventies to 509 per 100,000 in 2008.¹²² In 2010, in state, federal, and local jails, for instance, these numbers multiplied three to four-fold. Black men aged 35–39 years old were imprisoned at the rate of 2,813 per 100,000 residents, and Whites from the same age group were imprisoned at the rate of 1,581 per 100,000 residents, among the highest confinement rates in the world (**Table 5**).

With the election of Ronald Reagan as U.S. president in 1980, the War on Drugs that Reagan promised assumed an ugly intensification with arrests of hundreds of thousands of Black and Brown youth for drug possession so that, in some instances, Black people constituted 80 to 90 percent of those sent to prison for drug offenses even though White youth used illegal drugs in proportion to their composition within the population: about 60 percent.¹²³ The War on Drugs of the early 1980s was a particularly hideous assault on poor people of color who clearly had few economic options given the recession of that decade and the high levels of unemployment that plagued Black youth, as high as 35 percent during that period. The militarization of the campaign to stamp out drug use was particularly foreboding, underscoring the dynamics of race and class in the criminalization of Black and Brown people. Michelle Alexander asserts that "the drug war has been brutal—complete SWAT teams, tanks, bazookas, grenade launchers, and sweeps of entire neighborhoods—

Table 5

Bureau of Justice Statistics

Filename: cpus10at03.csv

Report title: Correctional Populations in the United States, 2010 NCJ236319

Data source(s): Annual Probation Survey, Annual Parole Survey, National Prisoner Statistics Program, Annual Survey of Jails, and Census of Jails

Author(s): Lauren E. Glaze

Refer questions to: askbjjs@usdoj.gov or 202-307-0765

Date of version: 12/13/2011

Estimated number of inmates held in custody in state or federal prisons or in local jails per 100,000 U.S. residents, by sex, race and Hispanic/Latino origin, and age, June 30, 2010

Year	White/a	Black/b
Total/c	732	1,352
18-19	829	1,508
20-24	1,538	2,728
25-29	1,696	3,018
30-34	1,798	3,215
35-39	1,581	2,813
40-44	1,355	2,435
45-49	1,000	1,848
50-54	642	1,213
55-59	386	750
60-64	212	420
65 or older	70	155

Note: Based on the total incarcerated population on June 30, 2010, and the U.S. resident population estimates for July 1, 2010, by sex, race and Hispanic/Latino origin, and age. Rates may be different than those reported in appendix table 2 due to different reference dates. Detailed categories exclude persons who reported two or more races.

a/Includes American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asians, Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, and persons identifying two or more races.

b/Excludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin.

c/Includes persons under age 18.

but those who live in middle-class White communities have little clue to the devastation wrought.”¹²⁴ The militarization of anti-drug campaigns by law enforcement that often leads to arrest, conviction, and incarceration of mostly poor Black and Latino people substantiates the interwovenness of militarization, incarceration, and globalization, the “get tough” and “show them who’s boss” rhetoric that is conveyed to a generally pliable and gullible U.S. public. Alexander explains that though Whites and people of color use illicit drugs in general proportion to their composition within the U.S. population and in some instances, White youth are three times more likely to be serious drug users, African American youth are criminalized the most and often comprise

80–90 percent of those imprisoned for drug offenses.¹²⁵ A Human Rights Watch report of 2001 disclosed that most people in the U.S. continue to envision a “Black man slouching in an alleyway, not a White man in his home” when it comes to conceiving of a typical drug user, even though significantly higher numbers of Whites use powder and crack cocaine than Blacks.¹²⁶

The manner in which racist incarceration policies feature in political leadership and especially presidential campaigns underscores the politics of race and punishment in the globalization era of the early 21st century. When 18-year-old high school student, Keith Jackson, was arrested for selling cocaine a block from the White House in 1989, then president George H.W. Bush immediately seized the opportunity to proclaim a national policy of harsh punishment for illicit drug use. Jackson was a young Black man with no prior arrest record for drug use, yet his arrest case became a *cause célèbre* in Bush’s convoluted administering of justice that singled out poor Black youth as the primary culprits for such offenses. Though Jackson was a responsible student who rarely sold drugs for pocket money and had to be lured by Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agents to the area around the White House to make the sale because he had little idea where the White House was, he received the maximum ten-year sentence without parole for the offense in accordance with mandatory drug time for crack cocaine-related crimes. Bush did not commute the sentence and the media once again projected the picture of a young Black man in handcuffs for drug use, goading Washington politicians to demand tougher penalties for crack cocaine use and sales. Little mention was made of the fact that while most crack users and sellers are White, Jackson was a law-abiding Black citizen working to complete high school, yet economically disempowered by the loss of jobs due to “deindustrialization and globalization” of the late 1980s.¹²⁷

Globalization’s right-wing political harshness against the poor of color is reflected in the promulgation of federal crack cocaine laws from 2003 that saw Black defendants constituting 80 percent of those sentenced under such laws, compared to White defendants who were 7.8 percent of those sentenced for cocaine convictions.¹²⁸ A federal Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration 2004 survey revealed that in fact 66 percent of the nation’s crack cocaine users were White or Latino, underscoring again the insidious anti-Black racism of the criminal justice system.¹²⁹ Federal mandatory sentencing laws have affected poor Black women in particular since Black women’s incarceration rates rose 800 percent since 1986 compared to 400 percent for women from other ethnic groups.¹³⁰ Federal law is heavily stacked against crack cocaine users, often Black, and relatively lenient on powder cocaine users,

mostly White, since 5 grams of crack triggers the mandatory five-year sentence while it takes 500 grams of powdered cocaine to invoke the same mandatory sentence.¹³¹

In 1991, Black youth were twice as likely to end up being detained for drug use as Whites were, and Black youth were four times as likely as White youth to be tried in adult court.¹³² The effects of mandatory sentencing have taken a devastating toll on Black people, as Barbara Meierhoefer's study of 267,278 offenders sentenced in federal courts between January 1984 and June 1990 demonstrated, with Whites being "consistently more likely than blacks to be sentenced to less than the minimum sentence."¹³³ Black defendants in court were twice as likely to be incarcerated for larceny and weapons offenses as Whites.¹³⁴ In 1998, Black people were 35 percent of the close to 3.5 million people on probation, and while White men were "incarcerated at a rate of 491 per 100,000," Black men were "incarcerated at a rate more than six times that figure—3,235 per 100,000."¹³⁵ According to the Center for Disease Control in 2000, even though White high school students were four times more likely to use cocaine than their Black classmates, the Black students were one and a half times more likely to end up in prison.¹³⁶

Incarceration for drug convictions rose by two thirds in federal prisons and by 50 percent in state prisons over the past three decades.¹³⁷ The growth in the "punishment industrial complex" is phenomenal to the point that no other country in the world has seen such an intensification of confinement of its people from 1980, when 1,842,100 people fell under some form of correctional system adjudication, to 6,592,800 in 2001 and those in prison grew from 503,586 to 1,962,220 during that period, much of it resulting from drug convictions and giving the U.S. the dubious distinction of having the most persons per capita imprisoned in the world.¹³⁸

The patent racist and unjust character of the criminal justice system is observed in the manner that drug use and race are deployed in the execution of apprehensions, arrests, and convictions of suspects sought for illegal drug possession. Manning Marable notes that in New York, while "African Americans and Latinos make up 25 percent of the total population" by "1999 they represented 83 percent of all state prisoners and 94 percent of all individuals convicted on drug offenses" and that "while African Americans ... constitute only 14 percent of all drug users nationally, they account for 35 percent of all drug arrests, 55 percent of all drug convictions, and 75 percent of all prison admissions for drug offenses ... the racial proportions of those under some type of correctional supervision, including parole and probation, are one in fifteen for young White males, one in ten for young Latino males, and one in

three for young African American males.”¹³⁹ It comes as no surprise then to learn that “more than eight out of every ten African American males will be arrested at some point in their lifetime.”¹⁴⁰

For young people charged with drug offenses, Black youth are forty eight times more likely than Whites to be sent to juvenile prisons.¹⁴¹ This kind of inordinately cruel punishment underscores the gravity of a deeply racist society and signifies an economic extension of slavery from the 17th through the 19th centuries. For instance, 90 percent of those arrested for drug possession also have their assets confiscated by police and most are people of color.¹⁴² Reports out of Chicago have described corrupt police officers that were expropriating the property of drug dealers for their own financial enrichment.¹⁴³

The War on Drugs from the 1980s translated into a War on Black and Brown people, just as the War on Terrorism today translates into a War on Muslims here and abroad (even though there is now compelling evidence to suggest that the government explanation of events of September 11, 2001, and its attempt to blame Muslims is not trustworthy).¹⁴⁴ The fundamental question of why the “United States has 5 percent of the world’s population but consumes 60 percent of its illicit drugs” has never been radically addressed by the ruling class establishment because this class’s interest lies in benefitting from a drug-economy that exceeds over half a trillion dollars, a significant portion of the U.S. gross domestic product.¹⁴⁵ As Dirk Chase Eldredge, a conservative White Republican businessman, thoughtfully lamented “in the name of ‘winning the war on drugs’ ... the United States has allowed expediency to trump constitutional principle.... Rather than trying to heal the unwell, we have caused the reordering of many of the precious priorities we call ‘civil liberties.’”¹⁴⁶ He cautions that while the drug abuser has made foolish life choices, it’s just as myopic that the nation resorts to the option of punishment instead of treatment of those abusing drugs. Simply confining people away from society in prisons to make them invisible rather than preventing such abuse does not resolve the drug problem, Eldredge contends.¹⁴⁷ What sensible analysis and sensitivity coming from a conservative Republican businessman that many liberal thinkers would dismiss in a heartbeat! The political divide in the U.S. is apparently not between Democrats and Republicans and liberals and conservatives, but between people who understand and care about the trampled ones of society who are the most vulnerable, and those who do not. As Mumia Abu-Jamal and I discussed during our historic meeting in Waynesburg Correctional Center in May 2009, we must judiciously shy away from viewing the world with Manichean lenses where the lines between right and wrong are rigidly and inaccurately drawn. Eldredge’s point about

the wrong choice of a drug abuser recalls the poignant scene of a man who I interviewed in a prison in October 2012 who broke down and wept while telling me that there was nothing more painful in his life than realizing that his best friend whom he had shot died from the inflicted wound, all because of a feud in which rival gang members poisoned information about him and his friend so that both would kill each other. Here was a human being who had made the wrong choice and killed his best friend and later regretted his deadly deed, but was offered little opportunity to rehabilitate himself, being sentenced to 25 years to life for a crime that he viscerally regrets.

David Cole, a legal scholar, stresses the racial and class-tiered nature of criminal activity and the punishment meted out for crimes by the “justice” system. He writes that “the vast majority of those behind bars are poor; 40 percent of state prisoners can’t even read; and 67 percent of prison inmates did not have full-time employment when they were arrested” and “the per capita incarceration rate among Blacks is seven times that among Whites.... Nationally, for every one Black man who graduates from college, 100 are arrested.”¹⁴⁸ Cole reminds us that it’s the impoverished who suffer more than middle-class folks from the effects from violent crimes because they live in poor neighborhoods and do not receive adequate protection from law enforcement and that Black people are victims of robbery at a rate 150 percent higher than Whites, are subject to rape and aggravated assault 25 percent more times than Whites, and that intraracial crime is most pervasive in impoverished communities, making homicide the leading cause of the deaths of young Black men.¹⁴⁹ For crimes in general, while middle-class and upper-class White society generally call for laws made more stringent for non-violent crimes, the fact of the matter is that families earning less than \$7,000 per year are 1.6 times more likely to suffer property theft than families earning more than \$75,000 per year and three times more prone to burglaries than families earning the latter figure annually.¹⁵⁰

Coramae Richey Mann observes with regard to issues of race and crime that “the race/ethnicity of the stereotyped offender usually varies depending upon the specific concentration of African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, or Native Americans in an area, but the notion persists that members of these American sub-populations are more criminal or dangerous than the Euro-American majority group.... White Americans typically stereotype (and often caricature) other Americans who happen to be of a different skin color by, for example, viewing the classic rapist as a ‘black man,’ the representative opium user as a ‘yellow man,’ the archetypal knife wielder as a ‘brown man,’ the ‘red man’ as a drunken Indian, and each of these peoples of color,

individually and collectively, as constituting the ‘crime problem.’”¹⁵¹ These racist images have been compounded under globalization and are reproduced widely within media and social circles with the objective of gaining popular endorsement from the dominant White culture, all in the interest of currency for the prison industrial complex and pursuit of profits from punishment. Though judges like U.S. District Judge, Reggie B. Walton, the leading drug policy advisor to George H.W. Bush in the 1980s, and U.S. District Judge Mark W. Bennett (featured in the 2012 documentary *The House I Live In*), lawmakers, and civil rights leaders have all called for swift corrective changes to federal mandatory drug sentencing laws that they assert disproportionately victimizes Black drug defendants, no policy shift towards racial justice has been made to date.¹⁵²

A common practice now has become the relocation of incarcerated persons to states and towns far from their places of residence, so that familial visits are made difficult, and these places of residence are weakened economically since they represent one more potential wage-earner who no longer functions within his or her original place of residence. A young Indigenous Tohono O’odham woman in Tucson painfully described to me how her family had to come up with the \$25 visiting fee plus transportation costs from Tucson to visit her two incarcerated brothers in Yuma and Florence, both towns some three hours and thirty minutes away respectively.¹⁵³ Hundreds of Hawaiians serving prison time have been transferred to private prisons in Arizona, making it impossible for family visits considering the exorbitant cost of family members traveling from Hawaii to Arizona.

Further, the economic impoverishment and political disenfranchisement that prison inmates suffer is an essential by-product of the globalized prison system. Few employers are willing to hire former prisoners, particularly in inner-city environs, and former inmates are often hired at low-wage levels and are generally confined to conditions of poverty or just above. According to the Sentencing Project, a non-governmental research center based in Washington, D.C., about 3.9 million U.S. citizens, or one of every fifty adults, have either permanently or recently lost their voting rights; 1.4 million Black men or the equivalent of 13 percent of all Black men are disenfranchised, seven times the national average; over half a million women have become voteless; and in seven states where felons have lost their voting rights, one-quarter of Black men are permanently disenfranchised. In 2002 there were more Black people in prison (close to 1 million women and men) than there were in college, and in New York State, there were more Black people (34,809) and more Latinos (22,421) in prison in the late 1990s than there were Black and Latino students

enrolled at the State University of New York.¹⁵⁴ The U.S. political economy of globalization, in which incarceration of poor people is intrinsic, and the continued and rapidly expanding long-term incarceration of people of color ensures that millions of the poor will become permanently disenfranchised and thus constitute a dispensable segment of the U.S. human population.

From 1980 through 2005, the prison population grew more than four-fold, so that by the end of December 2004, there were nearly 7 million people involved with the corrections system, including 2,135,901 persons in state and federal prisons and jails (state- and privately-owned) and almost five million on probation or parole.¹⁵⁵ In mid-2004, city, state, federal, and community prisons in the U.S. held over 2.1 million people, with 123 female inmates per 100,000 women, compared to 1,348 per 100,000 men.¹⁵⁶ Forty percent of 182,101 inmates held in federal prisons in March 2005 were Black.¹⁵⁷ What is disturbing is that former “liberal” president Bill Clinton passed legislation in 1995 that makes it virtually impossible for incarcerated inmates to qualify for Pell grant funding to complete their college education, even though it has been substantively documented that college-educated inmates have much lower recidivism rates, of 5–10 percent, compared to non-college federal parolees whose recidivism rates are around 40 percent.¹⁵⁸ Clinton’s legislation punished drug felons, even for petty offenses, by prohibiting them from living in public housing and denying them food stamps and other basic benefits. Under Clinton’s presidency, the prison population in state and federal facilities saw the largest increase under any sitting U.S. president.¹⁵⁹ It is ironic that Democratically-elected “liberal” Bill Clinton, hailed as the first “Black” president in the White House by Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison, assumed narrow Republican platform positions on crime, supporting capital punishment, expanding private prisons, advancing the “three-strikes law” and mandatory unusually harsh sentencing, and funding the expansion of 100,000 more law enforcement officers in the late 1990s as part of his “tough on crime” policy even as crime rates were dropping. Clinton was also the president who interrupted his campaign for president in 1992 to return to Arkansas to oversee the execution of a mentally retarded inmate, anticipating the supportive votes of pro-death penalty voters.¹⁶⁰

In 2013, the situation for all poor youth, particularly Black and Latino, revealed that issues of class and social stratification particularly compounded under globalization were pivotal in the escalation of imprisonment and the expansion of the prison industrial complex. For most of middle class society in the U.S., the invisibility of this underclass segment of society may be comforting, yet inevitably destabilizes any sense of a stable society since priorities

become skewed as the result of globalization's obsessions with punishment and prisons. The massive investment in corrections, as in the military, exerted direct negative impact on the starved education and higher education budgets in states across the nation. Globalization's neo-liberal promotion of the national security state has left higher education in particular and education in general in the U.S. in tatters as states scrounge for public tax dollars to fund higher education, now seen as largely the responsibility of the private corporate sector and not worthy of public funding.¹⁶¹ In the state of Arizona, for example, while the University of Arizona budget was cut by close to \$100 million from 2008 to 2010 and while tuition rates increased 96 percent from 2006 through 2012, the budget allocation for Corrections was not radically dented. The budget allocation for corrections in Arizona for fiscal year 2011 was \$1 billion, about one and a half times what the state spends on higher education. Arizona has the highest prison per capita population among Western states in the U.S., some 40,000 people behind bars.¹⁶² Poor and under-resourced schools in impoverished neighborhoods ineluctably produce high levels of school dropouts, especially among communities of color. Researchers Bruce Western and Becky Pitt note that

the influence of the penal system on social and economic disadvantage can be seen in the economic and family lives of the formerly incarcerated. The social inequality produced by mass incarceration is sizable and enduring for three main reasons: it is invisible, it is cumulative, and it is intergenerational.¹⁶³

About 70 percent of state inmates have not completed high school and even among those with school diplomas, one in ten is incarcerated. Globalization's effects of punishment on the poor is reflected in the phenomenal growth of African American high school drop-outs who wound up in jail, from 10 percent in 1980 to 37 percent in 2008. For White dropouts, imprisonment rates also skyrocketed so that one in eight was behind bars in 2008. Intensification of class inequality during the rapidly moving economic downturn has produced opportunities for further oppression of young people based on race and class through the expansion of the prison system to unprecedented new levels in the U.S.

Social, racial, and economic stratification via the prison industrial complex under the globalization regime continues at the end of the first millennium of the 21st century, taking a painful toll on the lives of all poor people in prison, especially families. Some 200,000 children (1.75 percent of White children, 3.5 percent of Latino children, and 11 percent of Black children) had one parent in prison in 2008.¹⁶⁴ These figures quadrupled for Black and White children from 1980 to 2008 and doubled for Latino children over the

same period. As prisoner rights advocate Angela Davis notes, “Mass incarceration is not a solution to unemployment, nor is it a solution to the vast array of social problems that are hidden away in a rapidly growing network of prisons and jails.... Racism has undermined our ability to create a popular critical discourse to contest the ideological trickery that posits imprisonment as key to public safety.... The focus of state policy is rapidly shifting from social welfare to social control.”¹⁶⁵ Under globalization, such social control is both draconian and broadly institutionalized within the perimeters of a national security state, the globalized empire that imposes a deceptive ideology of “leader of the free world” and claims U.S. exceptionalism in the credo of “one nation under God.”

Police Brutality, Harsh Sentencing, and Communities of Color in a Globalized U.S.

In his informative book, *Race, Crime, and the Law*, Harvard legal expert Randall Kennedy has provided excellent documentation of the historical injustices meted out to Black people.¹⁶⁶ He recounts for example how in 1934 three innocent Black farmhands, Ed Brown, Henry Shields, and Arthur Ellinger, were sentenced to death for the killing of White farmer Raymond Stewart. The three men were forced to accept a compromise “no contest” plea in lieu of a death sentence being re-imposed or the possibility of being lynched, after the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Mississippi* declared that the Mississippi court trial was unconstitutional and reversed the court decision.¹⁶⁷ Brown, Shield, and Ellinger were thus jailed for 10 years, 5 years, and 3 years respectively. Between 1976 and 1982, 16 people were killed by chokeholds by police in Los Angeles, 12 of them Black even though Black people were just 9 percent of the city’s human population then.¹⁶⁸

Under the system of globalization, police brutality and violence by SWAT teams and other para-military law enforcement and security agencies against poor Black and Latino people in particular has become widespread. Numerous police departments have acquired sophisticated military equipment as part of this enveloping militarization of law enforcement. The brutal 1992 beating of Rodney King by White police officers in Los Angeles, which was videotaped and broadcast around the world, basically captured the violent nature of law enforcement particularly when it comes to relating to people of color. The savage beating of King was certainly not the first of its kind in the last five decades. In August 1970, well-known *Los Angeles Times* journalist

Rubén Salazar, who documented police brutality against people of color, was killed by police during the National Chicano Moratorium Against the Vietnam War, along with 15-year-old Brown Beret Lynn Ward and Angel Diaz. In 1973, Luis “Junior” Martinez, a Chicano rights activist, was slain by police in Denver, Colorado.¹⁶⁹

The deaths and brutalization of men and women of color at the hands of law enforcement is one of the most urgent socio-political problems facing the U.S. in this globalized era. In fall 1998, Tiyasha Miller was fatally shot in California after police pumped fifteen bullets into her body as she sat traumatized from a diabetic disorder in her car. In October of that year, Donta Davison, a teenager sitting in his car, was shot to death by police in Philadelphia. In January 1999, a municipal court judge dropped the manslaughter charge against DiPasquale, the officer who killed Davison, based on the judge’s view that the shooting was not unwarranted since five other police officers testified that they would have responded with equal force under the circumstances. Mumia Abu-Jamal, himself on death row for a crime that he did not commit, wrote of Davison’s assassination by police:

Donta’s life was cheap to the police.... Donta’s life was cheap to the judiciary ... for both cheated him, and by extension, his family and community ... when one looks at the roots of the state’s police, we can see clearly the historical traces of what we see today: police as agents of state corporate power, organized to protect their interests, and to oppose the interests of the poor and the Black.¹⁷⁰

One of the most notorious and horrifying incidents was the death of Amadou Diallo, who was shot 46 times while he stood in a stairway of an apartment complex in New York City on the night of February 4, 1999. In April 2001, nineteen-year-old Timothy Thomas was shot dead by police officers in Cincinnati, sparking major demonstrations against police violence in the Black community in that city.¹⁷¹ In early summer 2003, the town of Benton Arbor in Michigan erupted into waves of Black fury with cars overturned and police reinforcements called in to quell a potential uprising, following the shooting of a young Black male by police. In February 2005, a fourteen-year-old high school student was shot dead by LA police for stealing a car. On November 29, 2011, the world was horrified to read about the firing of 137 rounds into a car being pursued by Cleveland, Ohio, police in a high-speed chase resulting in Timothy Russell, 42, and Malissa Williams, 30, dying from 24 and 23 gun shot wounds, respectively.¹⁷²

John Burrell, an Oakland civil rights attorney, documents the systematic atrocities of law enforcement when it comes to policing the Black community in his informative work, *Blue vs Black: Let’s End the Conflict Between Cops and*

Minorities. He notes that police officers were neither disciplined nor prosecuted for unjustified police shootings of civilians and the City of San Francisco paid out exorbitant awards in civil lawsuits for officer-involved shootings and that between 1990 and 1995, “police involvement in shooting deaths averaged 4.1 people per every 100 murders committed” and “75 percent of the people shot at or killed by the police between 1993 and 1996 were minorities or people of color, or people living in low-income neighborhoods.”¹⁷³

What is abundantly clear from the systematic nature of police violence against Black and Brown people during the globalization era is the ideology of racial criminalization of people of color sown into the minds of law enforcement nationally, so that the first suspect in criminal activity is often a Black person or a person of color, and upon the identification of a potential suspect who happens to be Black, the over-reactive response of violence, harassment, and terror, is quickly triggered. The shooting death of Michael Brown by Ferguson, Missouri, police in August 2014 led to serious riots and a national focus on Ferguson and on the injustice of lethal police force against unarmed youth of color.¹⁷⁴ The fact of Brown’s body being left on the street uncovered for four hours after being shot several times raised the ire of the local Black community.¹⁷⁵ The instant unprovoked shooting of a Black motorist attempting to show his driver’s license to a white policeman at a gas station in South Carolina in September 2014 is another indication of racist violence by law enforcement widely accepted in a globalized society.¹⁷⁶ Such is the politics of race and law enforcement in this globalized era. Police departments in most cities and towns do very poor jobs of providing cultural and racial sensitivity training to their officers, notwithstanding the historical legacy of continued alienation between law enforcement and communities of color that led to the Kerner Commission Report in 1968 recommending such corrective actions following the urban riots of the 1960s.¹⁷⁷ Madison Mobley, arrested and tortured by four Chicago police officers, who later testified that Mobley had started a fire that killed his wife, son and five others, resulting in him being convicted and sentenced to death for the fire, explains:

It is sad that we put our trust in police who would sacrifice a person like me for the color of my skin and execute me for a crime I did not commit. If you had experienced what I did, I don’t think that you would be pro-death penalty. There is no doubt that we need prison, because many inmates were guilty of crimes, but I also learned that they are human beings.¹⁷⁸

Mobley spent three years on death row until former Illinois governor Jim Ryan granted him a pardon in 2003.

Human Rights Watch, a division of Amnesty International, issued a

detailed report *Shielded from Justice* on police brutality in fourteen U.S. cities—Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Portland (Oregon), Providence, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.—in June 1998, and determined that “excessive use of force was primarily directed against Blacks and Latinos,” including engaging in “unjustified shootings, severe beatings, fatal chokings, and unnecessarily rough physical treatment.”

How does one explain the continued existence of Angola prison in Louisiana, so named after the slave plantation in the 18th century, when Africans from Angola in Africa were forcibly brought to work for White slave-masters in the same location? Seventy-seven percent of the 5,000 inmates in this slave prison are Black and 85 percent of all inmates never leave the prison alive, kindling pictures of chattel slavery on this 18,000-acre plantation. Inmates earn an average of 4 cents a day and a maximum of 20 cents per day, and are often moved in shackles so that they have little chance of escape.¹⁷⁹ For example, Vincent Simmons, 45, has spent 37 years in Angola Prison as part of a 100-year sentence for two rapes of White women that he claims he did not commit based on exculpatory evidence that he compiled in the prison’s law library, including the fact that one of the victim’s statements that she could not confidently identify the rapist because all Black men looked alike to her. In a photo line-up, Simmons was the only person in handcuffs. Simmons produced further evidence of a medical practitioner’s statement that verified that the two girls supposedly raped were in fact virgins after the rape. All of this evidence was dismissed by a three-man parole board in 1997, and Simmons is still in jail at the time of this publication.

A second egregious case is that of 65-year-old Eugene “Bishop” Tannehill, who was sentenced to life for murder and who became ordained as a minister while in prison. He has now spent forty-two years in Angola prison. He has hoped and prayed for a governor’s pardon even though no sitting governor in the state of Louisiana has ever granted such a pardon. Ashanti Weatherspoon, who served 27 and a half years of a 75 year sentence for armed robbery, was finally paroled in 1999 after several prior appeals for parole were denied. Angola Prison in Louisiana, along with the Arizona prison system that continues to legally retain racist anti-Latino Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpallo, who was investigated for human rights violations by the U.S. Department of Justice, highlights the tenacity of cruelty under the globalization prison system.¹⁸⁰

Following the detailed explication of the pattern of racist abuse and violence at the hands of police, in a normal democratic society one would expect that the perpetrators be brought to justice. The acquittal of the officers who

brutalized Rodney King that led to the Los Angeles uprising in 1992, the dismissal of a lawsuit by lawyers for a homeless man who had been beaten by police in the early 1990s in New York City even after the man was awarded \$200,000 in damages,¹⁸¹ and the jury award of \$1.6 million to Officer Jeremy Morse where the jury declared that the officer had been unfairly disciplined after being fired from the Inglewood Police force following a 2002 incident in which he slammed a 16-year-old into a squad car and punched him on the jaw during a routine car stop (all caught on videotape), are just some of the cases that substantiate the fact of racial injustice within the U.S. criminal justice system.¹⁸² So much of U.S. society refuses to acknowledge that brutalization of people of color is normatively acceptable and that law enforcement and other security public and private agencies that perpetrate acts of violence and abuse of such people are generally shielded by the law.¹⁸³

The killing of 22-year-old Oscar Grant in Oakland, California, on New Years Day 2009, by Bay Area Rapid Transit police officer Johannes Mehserle and the subsequent conviction and sentencing of Mehserle to two years imprisonment on involuntary manslaughter charges, outraged many residents of California and people of color around the U.S. precisely because of the unjust double standards used in the administration of justice, particularly when the victims are Black and the perpetrators are White law enforcement officers. Hundreds of people marched and protested in Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area after the court decision on Mehserle was announced on November 5, 2010.¹⁸⁴ While Mehserle appeared remorseful at his trial, was given a light two-year sentence, and was released after 11 months in prison, most Black offenders don't get off so lightly. They are generally punished to the fullest extent of the law and given harsh sentences in prison, like 10 years in jail for non-violent drug offenses, and often receive 35 years to life or death sentences for capital crimes.¹⁸⁵ Globalization's rhetoric of "tough on crime" penalties is part of the ruling class's tactics in selling prisons as a stimulus for economic growth. Unusually long and stiff prison sentences for poor Black, Indigenous, and Latino women and men, which garner scarce state dollars are the means by which the prison industrial complex assumes decisive significance in social discourses around crime, punishment, and community security in the face of an increasingly volatile financial and economic national ethos.

In 2014, it is troubling to note that under the Obama administration, the flagrant militarization of police departments around the country has grown to become a national phenomenon. Police departments have stepped up purchases of outright military gear, acquiring 432 Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected Armored Vehicles (MWRAPs), 435 other armored vehicles including

cars and trucks, 533 planes and helicopters, 44,900 binoculars, goggles, lights and night gear accessories, 93,763 machine guns that include 5.56 mm and 7.62 mm rifles, and 180,718 magazines.¹⁸⁶ During public demonstrations by protesters in Ferguson, Missouri, in August 2014, in Oakland, California, in October 2011, and in Anaheim, California, in July 2012, police used “tear gas grenades, ‘triple chaser’ gas canisters and stun guns” made by Combined Systems Inc., and Defense Technology Corporation, weapons used by Israeli security forces against Palestinian protestors.¹⁸⁷ Of deep concern is the acquisition of surplus military equipment from the Iraq and Afghanistan wars at low-cost by police departments in over 30 states and at over a dozen schools, 30 colleges, and 40 universities from the Department of Defense through the 1033 program, such as 900 M-14 and M-16 rifles, 191 pistols, 41 shot-guns, grenade launchers, and MWRAPS.¹⁸⁸ Overall, more than 100 colleges and universities have received Department of Defense equipment since 1998.¹⁸⁹ The Los Angeles School Police Department received 61 M-16 rifles, 3 grenade launchers, and 1 MWRAP, and the San Diego Unified Police Department received one MWRAP. Central Florida University acquired 8 M-16 rifles in 2011 and Arizona State University has purchased 70 M-16 rifles thus far, followed by Florida International University and the University of Maryland which each received 50 M-16s. This militarization of civilian educational institutions under globalization has generated controversy and opposition from groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), where education policy counsel Janel A. George noted that “inserting these weapons into school climates that are already fraught with tension and hostility between students of color and school police” will only exacerbate racial and social tensions. Such is the racial insensitivity and growing militarization of law enforcement in this age of globalization, with students of color being potentially targeted unnecessarily by law enforcement, which often leads to incarceration and in lethal incidents like in the case of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, death.

Police departments that often describe themselves as “community protectors” in many places are now being turned into “military defenders,” all funded by taxpayer monies. Is there great potential that *excessive military force may be deployed and abused* particularly when either innocent bystanders are caught in the cross-fire of police-armed suspect(s) shootouts or the wrong people are apprehended as has occurred in many instances especially among poorer communities of color? Again, one is struck by the concatenation of militarism, racism, criminalization of poor Blacks and Latinos, and the globalized economic system of incarceration that benefits from such aggression.

The militarization of domestic law enforcement in the U.S. reaches across U.S. boundaries, underscoring the globalized concatenation of law enforcement. For instance, over “300 high-ranking sheriffs and police from agencies large and small—from New York and Maine to Orange County and Oakland, California—have traveled to Israel for privately funded seminars in what is described as counterterrorism techniques,” and the former St. Louis Chief of Police received a sponsored trip to Israel as part of law enforcement’s globalized integration.¹⁹⁰ Against who are these proliferations of militarized police departments declaring *war*? Israeli military personnel have trained Mexican police and military officers in Chiapas, Mexico, since the 1994 Indigenous Zapatista uprising.

Poor Black People and “Human Sacrifice”: Capital Punishment and Criminal Justice

The U.S. prides itself on being an enlightened and civilized society, especially as the leader of the “free” and “globalized” world. It is not uncommon to hear anthropologists often excoriate Indigenous peoples of the ancient world, like the Mayan, Inca, and Aztecs for their barbarism in practicing human sacrifice. Yet, in 2013, the U.S. shamelessly continued to sacrifice human beings and call for their deaths, 3,700 in total, 50 percent of whom are Black. Even though it has been historically documented that the death penalty is innately racist since a Black person is more likely to receive the death penalty than a White person for the same crime, and particularly when the victim is White, the injustice of capital punishment persists. Capital punishment is directly interwoven with the politics of racism and the economics of globalization, hence its extensive discussion here.

It is a sense of vindictiveness and racial animosity that fuels the movement calling for the death penalty of individuals, half of whom are Black, and in most instances where the victims are White. The April 29, 2014, botched execution of Clayton D. Lockett, a Black man charged with kidnapping, rape, and murder, sent chills down the spines of many in the U.S. who view capital punishment as unjust and inhuman, similar to the member countries of the European Union that all outlawed capital punishment. Lockett experienced torture for 43 minutes as he writhed in agony, moaned, and attempted to sit up on the execution gurney because the lethal injection drugs did not instantaneously kill him, whimpering, “Man....”¹⁹¹ Lockett attempted to cut his wrists and was later Tasered by prison authorities before the execu-

tion, compounding the horrific scenario of his botched execution.¹⁹² In the aftermath of the torturous execution, Oklahoma governor Mary Fallin said that she hoped that the family of the victim of the Lockett's murder crime, Stephanie Neiman, had found "some measure of closure and peace."¹⁹³ Can there be real familial peace following such gruesome *torture* of murderers by state justice officials? Even the White House found that the botched execution "fell short" of humane standards, although Barack Obama qualified the White House statement by indicating that he still supported the death penalty in Clayton Lockett's case.¹⁹⁴

The shocking fact is that this was not the first botched execution in the U.S. Austin Salat, a jurisprudence academic, who, along with his students, studied executions of 9,000 people in the U.S. from 1890 to 2010, noted that the botched execution of Clayton Lockett was not an exception but rather a pattern that revealed that 3 percent of all executions went awry, resulting in burned flesh, failed strangulation, and electric shocks that did not execute condemned persons.¹⁹⁵ This pattern of torture preceding executions resulting from the obsession with the criminal justice system to administer "retributive justice" raises pointed questions about morality within the justice system and within the U.S. as a whole. If kidnapping, rape, and murder are viewed as morally repugnant by the U.S. justice and legal system, how does the U.S. justify its killing and torture of people in other countries like Iraq (where the Abu Ghraib torture scandal was exposed in 2003–2004), assassinating civilians with drones in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia, or allowing the wide-scale brutality and torture of incarcerated persons within the U.S., at Guantanamo Bay, for instance? How is it that these killings by the U.S. of civilians on a regular basis do not provoke moral outrage among most residents in the U.S., yet the killing of a woman by Clayton D. Lockett does, warranting execution of the murderer? Why are there double standards in the adjudication of justice when it comes to capital offenses, one defending the action of the state when it claims to seek retributive justice for victims of murder, but no moral arbiter to determine the morality of state-sanctioned murder and human sacrifice when it comes to killing innocent people in wars of occupation like in Iraq, Afghanistan, or Vietnam? Oklahoma delayed the execution of Charles Warner, another Black man who was scheduled to be executed immediately after Clayton D. Lockett, pending an investigative review. Yet the foundational review of race and class in capital punishment cases in the U.S. and the unfairly high systematic execution of mostly Black men has not been promulgated at the highest levels of the criminal justice system. Many within the anti-capital punishment segment of the nation have reason to believe that

poor Black life is expendable and that Black men are “open season,” especially in a globalized political economy where a rapid high-tech electronic and automated economy has made low-skilled Black labor value redundant.¹⁹⁶

Though capital punishment has become obsolete in many parts of the industrialized world, like in the European Union (EU), it continues to be practiced by most states in the U.S., as part of the enforcement of justice even in the 21st century when such practices are considered “uncivilized” and anachronistic by “advanced” societies. Again, globalized economic considerations play a role since anyone on death row normally entails the investment of hundreds of millions of dollars in prison maintenance, legal appeals, defense costs, and judicial administration, often over a 10–20-year period during which legal battles are waged between defendants and the prosecution. Kevin Cooper at San Quentin prison in California was spared execution at the last minute in February 2004, after lawyers successfully claimed that the material evidence supporting his guilt had been tampered with, and he continues to fight for his freedom. Vernon Evans, a Black man who was convicted in 1984 of the contract murder of a federal witness and a bystander, was sentenced to die by lethal injection in the week before April 18, 2005.¹⁹⁷ His victims were two Whites.

Stanley “Tookie” Williams was executed on December 13, 2005, for the killing of a 7-Eleven clerk in 1979, in a trial where none of those on the jury that convicted him was Black. Williams was a founder of the Cripps gang in California and was denied a pardon from Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger (known for his film role as the *Terminator*) in his appeal for a re-trial at the U.S. Supreme Court in April 2005 and a last-minute reprieve from the same court. He was subsequently executed even though he was a model prisoner who rehabilitated himself, a nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize, an author, and a peacemaker who inspired other prison inmates to direct themselves toward constructive roles in society.¹⁹⁸ Williams’ execution demonstrated that the endemic racism entrenched in capital punishment has no provision for rehabilitation, repentance, and transformation as so foundationally articulated in Judeo-Christian principles that are extolled often by Christian evangelicals who champion the right to life of unborn fetuses but are aggressive defenders of the death penalty.¹⁹⁹ Schwarzenegger also campaigned vigorously against Proposition 66 in California in November 2005, defeating the measure that would have weakened the three-strikes law.²⁰⁰ Of the 42,000 persons imprisoned under the three-strikes law, “45 percent are Black, 26 percent are Latino, and 25 percent are White,” underscoring the deep racism in the application of this law. Capital punishment does not just affect Black inmates, however. Donald Beardslee, a 61-year-old White man, was executed in California

in 2005 even though warders described him as a model prisoner who suffered from a brain defect since birth.

In October 2012, I had the opportunity to speak with an incarcerated person who was convicted under the three-strikes law even though he had committed one of the crimes in another state. This person was sentenced to life imprisonment; his crimes did not involve murder or death. He shared the gravity of his pain at receiving such a harsh sentence and expressed deep remorse for his deeds of selling drugs and robbing people for money. The system, however, had little compassion and capacity to rehabilitate and reform him since it was so steeped in stiff and inhumane punishment of life sentencing for non-capital crimes. Fortunately, he was released on parole in the spring of 2013.²⁰¹

Globalization's economic designs ensure that in the event capital punishment sentences are abandoned, life without parole is a substitute, where funds for housing life prisoners continue until the death of the incarcerated inmate. The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, on death row until December 9, 2011, when his death sentence was changed to life without parole following a U.S. Supreme Court decision that required a re-sentencing hearing in light of egregious flaws in his original sentencing process, deserves special attention in this regard. Nobel Peace Laureate Desmond Tutu, Nobel Literature Laureate Wole Soyinka, and the French Parliament have all called for Mumia's unconditional and immediate release.²⁰² Mumia is the United States' most famous political prisoner, who languished on death row for 29 years, framed for the shooting that led to the death of White police officer Larry Faulkner. In his case, he was denied *habeas corpus*, prosecutorial witnesses were coerced, confessions were fabricated, and African American jurors were excluded solely on the basis of race. Daniel Williams, though a problematic writer when it comes to the unequivocal defense of Mumia's innocence, contends that "racism, while most visible in the jury selection process, is a virus that permeates the entire machinery of death ... and feeds on discretion." He notes that "racism has always existed in the nineteenth and twentieth century death penalty jurisprudence in the United States ... the death penalty ... is a relic of slavery and racial violence in the United States" and as "Justice Thurgood Marshall expressed ... in one of his capital punishment opinions: 'The criminal law expressly differentiated crimes committed by and against Blacks and Whites, distinctions whose lineage traced back to the time of slavery.'"²⁰³

In the mid 1980s, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund took on the case of Warren McCleskey, a Black man who was sentenced to die in Fulton County Superior Court in Georgia for killing a White policeman. Lawyers for McCleskey compiled statistical evidence to substantiate the pattern of racial discrim-

ination in the over 2,000 murder cases examined in Georgia, what had come to be known as the Cornell Law Review study, an investigation of the process of legal sentencing between 1983 and 1993 by David Baldus and Gary Woodworth. This study established that “race and racism played a powerful role in how juries meted out the ultimate sanction.”²⁰⁴ The study verified that between 1976 and 1980, persons convicted of killing Whites were 4.3 times more likely to receive the death penalty than those charged with killing Black people. It also concluded that Blacks accused of killing Whites were more likely to receive the death penalty than any other racial combination. When the victim was White and the person charged was Black, the death penalty was most often sought. McCleskey’s review and appeal went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, where many legal experts anticipated that their positive ruling would finally end the death penalty that was approved in 1976 after being abolished by the Supreme Court in 1972. Astonishingly, the Supreme Court ruled by 5–4 against McCleskey, arguing that McCleskey had failed to demonstrate that those who had sentenced him to death did so with racial malice. Discriminatory impact was inadequate in the minds of the majority of the Court justices, and the majority justices insisted that clear demonstration of discriminatory intent must be established, and therefore there was insufficient evidence to establish a constitutional violation. The Court majority also ruled that the death penalty did not violate the Eighth Amendment because of unusually harsh and painful punishment. The same majority wrote that though there was racism in the death penalty process, it was acceptable under the constitution! Justice Brennan, one of the four dissenters, wrote that the court ignored the permeation of racism in death penalty decisions at its own peril and stated that the majority of the court justices did not want to rule in McCleskey’s favor because such decision could throw “into serious question the principles that underlie our criminal justice system.” Brennan then unabashedly declared that the majority court decision in the McCleskey case reflected a fear of “too much justice.”

In the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the ruling judge that heard Mumia’s legal appeal in the mid–1990s, William Yohn, refused to accord Mumia the right of *habeas corpus*, by insisting that the Supreme Court had ruled against McCleskey even though it had scrutinized the elements of the Cornell Review study on the death penalty. Yohn argued that Mumia’s trial in 1982 fell outside the parameters of the study that spanned the 1983–1993 period. He failed to acknowledge that Mumia was sentenced to death in 1983, the year in which the study began. He also ruled that since Mumia’s defense had failed to put then prosecutor Joe McGill on the stand in 1982, it could not raise the issue

of *habeas corpus* since it had already missed the opportunity. What is striking here is that the judge was not at all concerned with the question of justice and the fact that Mumia had received an unfair trial that landed him on death row, but rather with the technicalities of the legal system. On November 9, 2010, as crowds of people from all over the world gathered in protest to demand justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Philadelphia, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals there heard arguments as to whether Judge Yohn's ruling on life without parole would be sustained or whether the case should move forward toward execution of Mumia.

The historic case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is emblematic of the racism against Black men within capital punishment in the globalized U.S. Mumia is a prolific author of six books and numerous newspaper columns and has been a tireless voice from death row against globalization, war, and oppression, formerly from death row and now from prison where he was sentenced to life without parole in 2011.

Life without parole is horrible and torturous punishment and the U.S. continues to insist that this is more "humane" than the death penalty. But is it? Darrell Lomax, an innocent person on California's death row, responds to the question as to whether life without parole can be considered a more lenient and humane sentence:

NOT LONG ago, I was invited to answer a question posed by someone out in the free world. The question was: "Is life without the possibility of parole (LWOP) a legitimate replacement for the death penalty, even if the only justification offered is to stop pending executions?"

My answer is a resounding "no." A sentence of LWOP is, in essence, the very same sentence as the death penalty. The purpose of both of these sentences is to ensure that the fate of the prisoner is to be murdered—by lethal injection or by incarceration.²⁰⁵

Once one is sentenced to life without parole, one loses all appeals to the courts and is destined to die in prison. For many who are innocent, living is a slow and torturous process. Again, life without parole maintains a prison industrial complex that is intrinsic to a globalized punishment industry with extension and enlargement of profits so long as more people are incarcerated and for longer terms than actually necessary in overwhelming cases, particularly in situations of Black and Brown convictions.

Mumia Abu-Jamal greeted me warmly in his deep staccato voice when we first met in Greene State Prison in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, in May 2009, "Welcome to hell!" As I visited with Mumia for over four hours, thanks to Pittsburgh attorney and Free Mumia activist Martha Conley, I wondered how

it was possible that so much energy, time, and money could be invested by the state of Pennsylvania in the death of a brilliant person such as Abu-Jamal. How could a person who is innocent of the crime of murder, who has written six books that are very well researched and could easily be used by all college students in the U.S., even after 27 years on death row languish in a tiny prison smaller than a regular bathroom?²⁰⁶ Mumia Abu-Jamal and I discussed how death row is symptomatic of the obsession with a selective and perverted morality on the part of the U.S. status quo that insists on upholding a convoluted Manichean morality that divides the “just” from the “unjust,” the “redeemed” from the “damned,” and the “good” from the “evil.” Of course, capital punishment provides grist for the U.S. political machinery where politicians are elected on the basis of being tough on crime and supportive of the death penalty and it ingests billions of dollars in prison construction and administration staff, court and legal costs, lawyer fees, and through retirement funds for all those employed within and associated with corrections and the meting out of “justice.” The U.S. Supreme Court refused to issue a ruling in favor of Mumia’s death sentence as requested by Philadelphia prosecutors in November 2011. Instead, the Supreme Court referred the sentencing issue back to the federal appeals court that had ordered a new sentencing hearing for Mumia following the fact that the death-penalty instructions given to jurors in 1982 were “potentially misleading.” Prosecutors were then given a choice to either agree to a life sentence for Mumia or attempt to re-sentence him to death.²⁰⁷ They opted for the former due to the deep inconsistencies and fabrication of evidence in the case. Yet, Mumia is now a victim of the notoriously inhumane criminal justice policy that disregards the fact that he has spent 29 years behind bars on death row (and in shackles when visitors like me visited with him behind a thick plexi-glass window) with the conviction of life without parole and desires that he die in prison. Justice can only be served with a new trial and his immediate release. The continued incarceration of an innocent man who fell prey to a racist justice system is unacceptable under the International Convention of Human Rights that decreed that the solitary confinement of individuals beyond 15 years is inhumane punishment.

Racism has been accepted as part of the normative functioning of the death penalty sentencing process by the nation’s highest court, and Black people are its primary victims. In early 2004, 3,374 persons were on death row in 37 states, of whom 42 percent were Black, and 47 women were under sentence of death in 2003, marking an increase from 38 women in 1993.²⁰⁸ In 2011, of the 3,300 people on death row, more than half of them were people of color, with Black people constituting 42 percent of this number.²⁰⁹ Incredibly, in the state

of Alabama, where even though 65 percent of all murder victims are Black, 80 percent of the people awaiting execution today were convicted for murder crimes in which the victims were White. Though 6 percent of murders in Alabama were committed by Black defendants and White victims, over 60 percent of Black people on death row were sentenced to death for killing someone White.²¹⁰

Justice delayed is indeed justice denied. After Bill Clinton's signing of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act in 1996 following the Oklahoma City bombing, his action "imposed the most rigorous constraints on the constitutional right to seek Federal review of convictions since Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus in the Civil War." *Habeas corpus*, which technically refers to the empowerment accorded a judge to "inquire into the legitimacy of any form of loss of personal liberty," was responsible for overturning 40 to 60 percent of all capital cases presented for habeas review by federal courts.²¹¹ Today, the system of "human sacrifice," via what is called the *criminal justice system*, persists. In California alone, seven people who have been convicted of murder were sentenced to death in 2011, skyrocketing those on death row to 640, half of them Black.²¹² Though the courts acknowledge the racist application of the death penalty, they have ruled that it is acceptable—racism is thus an acceptable part of justice in the U.S., especially in an era of globalized economics!

The result has been protection of those within law enforcement who perpetrate racist and criminal acts, as recounted earlier in this book. In Chicago, it was learned that 40 Black men were tortured by police commander Jon Burge in Chicago Area II Violent Crimes Detective Unit over the past 20 years, receiving praises and promotions from Mayor Richard Daley, even though 10 of the men were unjustly convicted and sentenced to death. Burge has since retired in Florida at tax-payer cost and has not faced criminal charges for torture and falsely sending 10 Black men to death row. Former governor Jim Ryan, who made history and commuted the sentences of 167 men on death row to life without parole, pardoned four of the 10 who were tortured, while the remaining 6 sought new trials. Since 1976, 13 innocent people were released from death row in Illinois, and 12 were executed, the sixth highest rate of executions in the nation. Yet, as Mumia Abu Jamal asked in his article, *Gov. Ryan's Song*, what about the innocent people on *life-row*? Many agree that the system is broken and fundamentally racist and unjust as documented in the 2012 film documentary, *Broken on All Sides*, but who or what will correct it, and release the potentially thousands of innocent men and women, many people of color, who have either been wrongly criminalized or received long-term sentences solely for non-violent drug-use, is the begging question.

Did former president George W. Bush have anything to do with death row and with torture? Absolutely. Under his watch as governor of Texas, 153 men were executed, half of them Black. He has since claimed that he is positive that all of the executions he authorized under his governorship were correct. Is this his *weapon of mass destruction*? What does overseeing so many executions, including of possibly innocent people, and then winning the presidency illegally as a result of the injustice of the U.S. Supreme Court tell us about justice? In 2011, it was a case of unbelievable déjà vu. Texas governor Rick Perry who sought the Republican Party presidential nomination cited the fact of his presiding over 234 executions as governor to appeal to pro-capital punishment voters during candidate debates. The “tough on crime” rhetoric and, in many instances, record of executions of people on death row, serve as significant political capital for persons running for the highest office in the land, as reflected in the campaigns of Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and current U.S. president Barack Obama. Under globalization, political expediency that appeals to racist sentiment, especially among politicians clamoring for higher positions in government, is at an all-time high.

The death penalty signifies a pathological continuation of the lynching of Black men in the South, where between 1882 to 1927, some 3,513 Black people were lynched by racist White mobs. Somehow, the death penalty serves as a reminder of the ferocious injustice of the U.S. when it comes to race, and the insistence on the part of the White power-structure to demonstrate to Black men and women that this system still despises them from slavery to the present to the point of wishing them away, execution style. This elimination of Black men through capital punishment is integral to the design of the globalized economy since poor Black men are considered a burden to an unbridled capitalist system in which Black physical labor has become redundant. Like poverty and war that decimates poor Black life for people living in many parts of west and north Africa, where incessant wars over resources continue to be waged, capital punishment fragments Black social life by permanently removing yet another potential bread-winner from family and community life, eviscerating already marginalized Black communities.

Globalization, “Supermax” Solitary Confinement, and Sexual Violence in U.S. Prisons

Under globalization, the U.S. has been at the forefront of promoting tough law and order and punishment, propagating a “culture of fear, the growing

awareness of risk management, and the control of surplus populations originating in neoliberal governance,” the “efficiency” principle of the globalization status quo.²¹³ Of deep concern under the security apparatus of globalization culture is the proliferation of super-maximum security prisons or Security Housing Units (SHUs) where the supposedly “most dangerous of American criminals” are housed, confined for 24 hours a day, seven days a week with a brief exercise time in a “dog-run” wire cage. Britain, New Zealand (Aotearoa), and Australia have followed in step with the supermax model of imprisonment, albeit in modified versions. The roots of supermax lie in excruciating prison punishment of 19th century Europe and the U.S. when prisoners were flogged, shackled to walls, held in swat boxes, and the like, part of the Puritan ethic of eviscerating the “evil” ones from the “good” ones of society. The Federal Bureau of Prisons administers a supermax prison in ADX-Florence, Colorado, and most prisons in the U.S. have a supermax section.²¹⁴ There are six of these dehumanizing facilities across the country, the first of which was simulated in Marion, Illinois, in 1983 when two correctional officers were killed by a member of the Aryan Brotherhood and Marion became a “control unit.”²¹⁵

California has more people in solitary confinement than any other state. The Pelican Bay Special Housing Unit (SHU) in California with over 1,200 inmates saw a massive hunger strike in October 2011 to protest inhumane conditions such as inedible food and the denial of religious materials such as Bibles.²¹⁶ In the *60 Minutes* segment that ran on June 21, 2009, entitled, “Supermax: A Clean Version of Hell,” reporters filmed scenes from the ADX-Florence Supermax where Imam Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin (formerly Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leader H. Rap Brown) and other Black liberation leaders are confined. It is in such facilities that the highest rates of suicides have been recorded—two of every three in U.S. prisons are in these supermax facilities. In 2005, 70 percent of the 44 suicides in California prisons occurred in such hellish prisons.²¹⁷ At least 25,000 persons are held in SHU’s with another estimated 50,000–80,000 in segregation units.²¹⁸ In Florida, the number of persons held in such supermax prisons grew three-fold from the 1,009 in the mid 1990s to 3,176 in 1999, nothing “short of hell” according to inmates who were subject to the experience of isolation and cruel punishment.²¹⁹ While such repressive punishment of crime policies have intensified, the rates of violent crime and gang violence has actually decreased.

In December 2012, the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) filed a suit in federal court challenging the widespread practice of solitary confinement on the basis of the 8th and 14th amendments on behalf of Leroy Peoples, a Black man, who was sentenced to 36 months of isolation for inten-

tionally filing false documents in 2009, a non-violent crime, and to six-months of isolation for possessing multi-vitamins and amino acids in his prison cell while such vitamins were available at the prison commissary. The lawsuit filed against New York state charges that “the system-wide policies and practices governing solitary confinement ... are responsible for the arbitrary and unjustified use of extreme isolation on thousands of individuals incarcerated in New York’s prisons every year.”²²⁰ Between 2007 and 2011, more than 68,000 cases of solitary isolation sentences were issued in the justice system, followed by 4,500 in 2012 or 8 percent of all prison inmates’ sentencing. The NYCLU further alleges that Black people are heavily disproportionately over-represented in the solitary isolation units of New York’s prisons and subject to isolation sentencing far more than the rest of the prison population.

The notion of a “prison industrial complex” looms at the center of the supermax prison paradigm. For instance, it costs on average \$75,000 to house a person in a supermax prison facility and \$25,000 in a regular state prison. Construction of complex maze-like supermax prisons attract large investments from architectural firms, large construction companies, banks, and other financial investment organizations, functioning as an economic boon to either stagnant or depressed community economies, particularly in the wake of successive recessions over the past twenty to twenty-five years. State supermax prisons far exceed those of federal governmental facilities and are expanding in 36 states, with plans to house well over one hundred thousand inmates, approaching 8 to 10 percent of all persons held in state prisons.²²¹ Some of the facilities opened over the past decade include Minnesota Correctional Facility-Oak Park Heights (MCF-OPH), Stillwater, Minnesota, from 1983, Maryland Correctional Adjustment center in Baltimore from 1988, Tamms Correctional Center in Tamms, Illinois, from March 1998, Wallens Ridge State Prison, Big Stone Gap, Virginia, which opened in April 1999, and Varner Supermax in Grady, Arkansas, built in 2000.²²² Texas has 16 supermax prison facilities in line with the state’s tough crime and punishment policies. Supermax is part of globalization’s push by powerful class and interest groups that consider prison construction and expansion to be an essential cog in the profit-making machine. Citing Eric Schlosser’s coining of the term, “prison industrial complex,”²²³ Jeffrey Ian Ross observes that “if Schlosser is correct, a whole panoply of non-profit and for-profit businesses capitalizes on a seemingly insatiable need to incarcerate individuals and build prisons, ultimately making money from the pain and suffering of others behind bars.”²²⁴ This is precisely what the hyper-profit motive nature of globalization is all about, and with careers of local prison administrators at stake and advanced through emulating

expanded and comparable well-resourced prison facilities at state and federal levels, the rush for more supermax facilities grows. These steps signify extensions of the demise of rehabilitation approaches urged by the Reagan-Bush era of the 1980s and fulfill globalization's desire for those deemed "incorrigible" and "depraved" by the ruling classes to be punished to the maximum, hence the term "supermax."

Tellingly and in line with globalization's trajectories, post-apartheid South Africa has constructed two supermax facilities, C-Max in Tshwane (Pretoria) and Ebongweni in Kokstad, Kwazulu-Natal, the latter modeled on the supermax prison in Marion, Illinois, following the visits of South African prison officials to the U.S.²²⁵ Supermax facilities have arisen in Mexico, Brazil, the Netherlands, New Zealand (Aotearoa), Australia, Britain, Canada, and Iraq, all differing from the U.S. model in some manner, yet reflecting a similar globalized ideology of profits from the prison industry and harsh and irreversible penalties and punishment for severe or repeated criminal offenses in allegedly "incorrigible" cases. In most of these countries, supermax prisons are under filled. The U.S. is the only country to operate two supermax facilities outside its borders: the notorious Abu Ghraib facility in Iraq and equally torturous Guantanamo facility in Cuba. The future of supermax facilities remains to be seen considering the growing international opposition to these unusual penal institutions and the fact of it violating global statutes on human rights that prohibit unusual and cruel punishment and torture of people, including prisoners.²²⁶

Another element of violence obscured by mainstream media is the pervasiveness of sexual assault and rape within the prison system. The culture of wide-scale rape of men and women in prisons that is consistently denied by prison administrators is an institutional means of demasculinizing incarcerated men, especially men of color and subjugating women for further humiliation. Evidence of the degradation of men of color is demonstrated when they are stopped by police and asked to "assume the position" and "spread-eagle over a car hood" akin to a female rape victim. The strip searches of Black men in prisons and experience of humiliation of having their private parts searched by guards and corrections officials constitutes an extension of the form of sadistic violence of rape and gender degradation experienced under slavery and is indicative of the systemic globalized violence of racism.

Prison rape of men and women is not an aberration of the U.S. penal system; it is endemic to the culture of control and punishment of offenders of any stripe. In a telling report entitled *Prison Rape and the Government*, authors David Kaiser and Lovisa Stannow recount how the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), a unit of the U.S. Department of Justice, initially declared that of 7,444

reported allegations of sexual abuse in prisons, only 931 were substantiated, but later retracted these figures and stated that 90,000 people had been abused in 2007.²²⁷ Finally in January 2011, the Justice Department owned up and acknowledged that more than 216,000 people were sexually abused in prisons and jails across the country in 2008, including 17,100 in juvenile detention facilities, and in cases of women, often by prison guards and officials. The inference here is that about 600 people were sexually abused in a day, about 25 per hour on average, making the U.S. perhaps the only country in the world where more men are raped than women considering that most prison inmates are male.²²⁸

It is deeply ironic too that in 2003, the Congress and Senate passed the Prison Rape Elimination Act, a law that produced a commission to devise standards and codes of conduct for corrections institutions to detect and prevent prison rape. Six years later, the commission's recommendations were submitted to Attorney General Eric Holder who had twelve months to review them and approve of standards that would be nationally binding. Holder missed the deadline, resulting in 100,000 sexual abuse cases in prisons in 2009. Such is the concern by the Justice Department for victims of sexual abuse within its own institutions of justice! In an interview with a person incarcerated in a Corrections facility in October 2012, he informed me how he was threatened with sexual assault after borrowing a can of rice from an inmate who expected to be paid "in kind" and described the excruciating reality of pervasive prison rape in New York prisons and the violence of such experience being either ignored or downplayed by prison authorities since such victims of sexual assault were often viewed as "deserving" of such violence because of their perceived "incorrigible misbehavior."

The violent contours of U.S. society reflected in institutions like law enforcement and the military are played out in pathological practices of rape of women and men with race, class, gender, and sexuality being foundational points of reference for such traumatic and destructive experiences. To add complexity to the pathology of rape in prisons is the interwovenness of race and power where incidents involving rape of vulnerable White male inmates by Black men are often justified by the latter as "revenge" for the pain of Black man under White slavery.²²⁹ The prison industrial complex that fosters such a violent sexual culture is harmful for all races of women and men incarcerated and poisons race and personal relations in an already toxic social disciplinary environment. Further, prison rape distorts and perverts the practices of sexuality and culture of gay inmates in particular since homosexuality is generally viewed by most prison authorities as deviant and in some cases even

as causes of rioting and intra-personal violence.²³⁰ The engendering of such dehumanization by the prison industrial complex is neither accidental nor inadvertent; rather it signifies an exaggeration of the flagrant disregard of individual's fundamental human rights particularly on the grounds of race, class, social background and sexuality.

Prison Construction and Starved Education and Public Services Budgets Under Globalization

The marked increase from an already inflated federal and state outlay for Corrections was launched in 1994 as ideologies of globalization and security assumed monumental proportions when public expenditures for law enforcement efforts and private expenditures for security totaled \$165 billion, almost as much as the U.S. spent on the military that year. It's mind-boggling to realize that in that year, \$31 billion was spent on corrections, an increase of 359 percent on punishment since 1980.²³¹ In 1995, the total cost of state-issued bonds to finance prison construction exceeded that to finance colleges, underscoring the obsessive state push to invest in punishment of people in the U.S. rather than in education.²³² California constructed prisons in the 1980s and 1990s but not one college or university over those decades. In 2002, the then-governor of that state, Gray Davis, insisted that he was a tough leader on crime and awarded salary increases of 39 percent to prison warders while inflicting budget cuts on education and health care, since he was beholden to the large financial contributions and powerful lobbying role of the California Corrections and Peace Officers Association.²³³

According to the Pew Center on the States, in fiscal year 2005, "U.S. states allocated an average of 7.2 percent of their general fund expenditures on corrections" and Federal, state and local governments spent approximately \$62 billion per year on corrections and were projected to spend another \$27 billion on corrections over the five years following, including \$15 billion for operations and \$12 billion for capital projects.²³⁴ In 2008, corrections in the U.S. was a \$70 billion enterprise.²³⁵ In 2011, \$50 billion of the annual \$70 billion spent on prisons came out of starved state budgets. Nine of every \$10 in state prison funding comes out of the same budget that finances higher education. Inevitably, state spending on prisons has grown six times the rate of spending on higher education. In 2009, the year after the global financial crisis of 2008, 33 states spent more on prisons than in the previous year.²³⁶ On the other hand, tuition at state colleges and universities grew by an average of 6 percent and

in many states to double-digit levels.²³⁷ Small wonder then that 71 percent of college students graduated with an average debt of \$30,000 per student and over three-quarters have been in arrears in student debt payment since 2012.²³⁸

The state of Arizona raised tuition levels by 98 percent from 2006 through 2012. Fred Duval, a former Arizona Board of Regents member who ran for the office of governor in 2014, was on the board in 2007 just before the 2008 recession and, though Duval was a Democrat and outvoted by a Republican-dominated legislature, he nevertheless voted for tuition increases for each year from 2006 and proposed a freeze on tuition increases only in 2011.²³⁹ From 2007 through 2012, tuition and fees at Arizona State University rose a shocking 97 percent to \$9,700. Student graduation debt climbed 6 percent each year from 2008 through 2012. Though Article 11, Section 6, of Arizona's constitution declares that "the university and all other state educational institutions shall be open to students of both sexes, and the instruction shall be as nearly free as possible," the Arizona Board of Regents administering the state's three universities insist that this means that the each of the state's universities' costs should be at the lower third of public universities, a very subjective interpretation indeed. The courts have claimed that the issue is political and not judicial, maintaining the status quo at the cost of financially strapped college students, the majority of students in the state.²⁴⁰

The disturbingly punitive and militaristic trend of the role of the state during the past two decades of globalization is patently reflected in the startling fact that the cost of incarcerating one prisoner for a year in California is equivalent to the cost of educating ten community college students and one University of California student.²⁴¹ The lacerating budget cuts suffered by education in California (some \$3.5 billion in 2010–2011) begs the question of the human priorities of that state (and most other states) as millions of poor people in particular are hurried through the criminal justice system for mostly non-violent (drug-related) offenses.²⁴² California, the "Golden State," now has the dubious distinction of having the largest and costliest prison industrial complex in the world. In 1982, California spent 10 percent of its budget on education and 3 percent on corrections.²⁴³ In 2012, the state allocated 11 percent of its budget for prisons and 7.5 percent for higher education.

Similarly, in Michigan, which used to pride itself on being a leading state promoting and supporting higher education, state budgetary priorities have shifted radically over the past decade. The state spends 51 percent more on prisons than neighboring states and has progressively cut its public funding of higher education so that in 2012 only 40 percent of workers in the state possessed a degree or diploma, whereas 62 percent of jobs in this decade

require an undergraduate college qualification.²⁴⁴ Michigan has tough prison laws in line with globalization's law and order ideology that keeps people in prisons for longer terms for comparable crimes in 35 other states. While the state spent \$34,000 for every person it imprisoned, it spent only \$11,000 on every college student, forcing college tuition levels to rise phenomenally and making it increasingly difficult for most students to afford attending college.²⁴⁵ The state of Georgia like most other states spends three or more times per capita on prisons than on education, so that the state allocation for prisons was \$18,000 per inmate while that allocated for a child in the public education system was about \$6,000. Decreased funding for public education inevitably produced a poorer educational system, resulting in Georgia's high school dropout rate growing to 30 percent, making this youth sector potentially prone to crime and incarceration given limited employment options particularly for low-income students.²⁴⁶ In New York state too, the state earmarks a substantial \$56,000 per incarcerated inmate and \$11,000 per college student. The message is clear: Universities and prisons are fiercely competing for sparse state revenues in this globalized age, and prisons are winning hands-down!

How do the dynamics of globalization relate to the prisons boom and shrinking budgets for education, higher education in particular? The dimensions of race, class, and capital accumulation feature centrally within the globalized paradigm. Higher education is increasingly considered a privilege and no longer a right and hence is being made unaffordable at all levels, particularly decimating impoverished and lower-classed families who struggle to send their children to college hoping that future economic success will be the result. These working class and lower-middle class families are now saddled with debt to the tune of \$1.2 trillion in 2014, even surpassing consumer credit card debt levels. The federal government has refused to forgive any levels of student debt, although president Barack Obama signed a freeze on debt payment *interest* to 3.4 percent in 2013. These palliatives still keep students and their families generally mired in student debt. In the wake of a "jobless recovery" following the deep recession of 2008, high-paying jobs and long-term employment, particularly for college graduates, is but a dream.

The ruling class in the U.S. has determined in an era of insatiable lust for profits in a globalized world economy that people in the U.S. no longer warrant employment with higher levels of compensation since such privileges are reserved for the tiny elite and their upper-middle class associates. The message is patently clear: the general U.S. workforce should expect to remain at socio-economic levels just barely above poverty, while maintaining lifelong debt in areas of housing, education, and health care, for example. Essentially,

then, the U.S. labor force becomes an expanded underclass of cheap labor. For persons of color, particularly the majority who live in overcrowded and under-resourced urban communities where job creation is at a virtual standstill, the conditions for crime are riper than ever before. A recessionary economic ethos ensures poverty levels and compels particularly young people with little education and often high school or college dropouts to resort to extra-legal modes of subsisting, especially siphoning them into the entrenched mega-billion illegal drug economy where they eventually become grist for the globalized prison industrial mill.

Law enforcement and corrections budgets thus assume swollen budget status, to the detriment of public education, particularly higher education. Well-informed graduates who are capable of understanding the dynamics of economic globalization are remote because most are forced to work long hours to pay for the cost of attending college and then to eke out a low-paying job to service debts, leaving little time for substantive study and reading. The coerced financial and economic environment that conditions working class women and men into lives of illegal drug selling and petty crime, particularly people of color, inevitably produces a bloated criminal class who are confined to the nations' prisons for unusually long terms. Prison construction expands through corporate investment in prison bonds, as with Lehman Brothers, Goldman Sachs, Merrill Lynch, and Fidelity Management and Research, for example. In line with expanded prisons, politicians use the code words of "law and order" to criminalize principally persons of color and all poor working class people so that such persons fill the beds being constructed rapidly around the nation. Billions of dollars invested in retirement portfolios of prison staff around the country serves as a financial insurance for those who have worked within the prisons system for decades and motivates harsh and long prison sentences with little opportunity for parole. The longer a person remains incarcerated, the more lucrative the retirement package of prison administrators and staff. In a globalized economy where financial insecurity and instability is the norm for most service sector businesses, law enforcement and corrections becomes the *one* place where one's economic future is guaranteed through the confinement of the incarcerated, whose incarceration is funded by public tax monies that are allocated by greedy politicians working in cahoots with prison corporations and investors in prison bonds. Globalization's success resides in its manipulative ability to deceive a gullible and economically vulnerable public that is steeped in debt to become pliable and accept the rhetoric of crime and punishment and colonialist-capitalist ideology of race, class, and culture of White supremacy discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The ideologues

of globalization who are now bureaucratic administrators at colleges and universities, hospitals and clinics, schools and social agencies, halls of congress and state legislatures, investment banks and law firms, aid agencies, philanthropy organizations, non-profit corporations, and the like, all converge on implementing the globalized ideology of the wealthy elite fringe remaining in economic and political power, and the vast working and underclasses serving the elite powerstructure—the 1 percent as the Occupy Wall Street Movement described it. It can be described as a form of *slow genocide* when one includes dimensions of race, class, gender, and culture because marginalized and vulnerable communities become depopulated of vital women and men, children become parentless, and familial disintegration becomes normative when imprisonment is pervasive, since families cannot visit imprisoned loved ones who may be behind bars hundreds or thousands of miles away. Again, permanent underclass status of both the incarcerated and the families of the incarcerated is assured through the prison system.

Very importantly, the national security state, which is now fully computerized and has the entire citizenry under surveillance so that privacy rights and constitutional protections no longer apply, is able to monitor the activities of the poor and vulnerable at all levels. The poor committing crimes generates a criminal record that cannot be removed in the federal system of law enforcement; instead, once one is arrested, convicted, sentenced, and imprisoned, even for non-violent offenses, one has an unerasable stain on one's record that ensures that one is permanently relegated to the margins of society: the right of voting in elections, the right of receiving public housing, the right of receiving student aid, the right of receiving loans or bank credit, and the right to gainful employment are all denied for the rest of one's life in most instances. Essentially, incarceration under globalization disables the incarcerated from being able to reclaim their humanity and return to the life of "normal" citizenry as others. Racism, classism, anti-Black, anti-Latino, anti-immigrant, and anti-poor ideologies and cultures are bred, nourished, nurtured, and institutionalized by the tiny 1 percent ruling class, so that the interests of the ruling class are foisted upon and become championed by the rest of the society. This behavior is akin to the manner in which we are made to believe that U.S. firms trading on Wall Street like Goldman Sachs or General Electric or Walmart are engaged in business practices that protect *our* national economic interest, whereas in actuality they are gluttonous, self-serving, profit-hungry corporations making billions in profits at the cost of the lives of U.S. workers by outsourcing most of their investments and viable jobs to those parts of the underdeveloped world where labor is cheapest and profit margins are highest.

The Private Prisons Industry and Poor People

Private prisons have their origins in the “convict lease” system at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, principally located in the South. Due to high rates of fatalities, they were abolished by governmental corrections agencies. It is not coincidental that most private prisons are found in the South and in many Western states of the country like California, Arizona, and Texas. The role of deep-seated racism from the slavery epoch combined with right-wing ruling class economic and social ideology resurfaced with the onset of globalization in the 1980s. The privatization of prisons has become the leading growth industry in the U.S., generating \$5 billion in 2011.²⁴⁷ The prison industrial complex as a whole is booming today and worth over \$50 billion.²⁴⁸

In 2005, 7 percent of 1.5 million people incarcerated in U.S. prisons were confined in a privately owned prison.²⁴⁹ Seven thousand six hundred eighty-eight federal inmates were housed in privately managed facilities in the same year.²⁵⁰ In 2006, there were 64,867 state prisoners and 27,108 inmates in private prisons, a 10 percent increase from the previous year. Private prisons have grown from 350 prison beds in the early 1980s to 80,000 beds in 1997. The number of private-for-profit prisons grew three-fold between 1987 and 2007. Companies like Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the GEO Group, and Community Education Centers benefit lucratively from private prison operations. CCA’s stock skyrocketed from a dollar to \$23.13 in 2000, all accruing from the company successfully securing contracts for immigrant detention and attracting investors like William Ackman’s Pershing Square Capital Management.²⁵¹ In Houston, for example, the Immigration and Customs Enforcement department (ICE) pays CCA to house 1,000 alleged illegal immigrants prior to processing for possible deportation.²⁵² If states need growing private prison labor, inmates are shipped out of state to work in such states so that profit maximization is assured. As with slavery, the sole motive of prisons is the agglomeration of profit at the cost of decimating especially Black and poor humanity.

The state of New Mexico has overpaid millions of dollars to private corrections companies that were responsible for housing 40 percent of the state’s prison inmates.²⁵³ Arizona’s political agenda on “immigration reform” is driven by the greed for profits through private prison construction and expansion and the governor, Jan Brewer, who signed SB 1070 in April 2010 that authorizes arrest of “illegal aliens” and has been legally and politically challenged, has been influenced in her governorship by two of her top advisors, Paul Senseman

and Chuck Coughlin, former lobbyists with private prison companies.²⁵⁴ Thanks to George W. Bush's policy of major national security clampdowns on "illegal aliens," immigrant detention has become a lucrative business in the U.S. By the end of 2007, it was estimated that about 27,500 "illegal immigrants" were locked in detention facilities at the cost of about \$95 per night, costing almost \$1 billion per year.²⁵⁵

In 2008, 8 percent of state and federal prisoners were held in privately owned facilities with over 126,000 people.²⁵⁶ Staffing costs consumed 80 percent of private prison budgets and staff turnover rates were as high as 53 percent in 2000 compared with a 16 percent staff turnover rate at public corrections facilities. Numerous studies, including one published in the *Federal Probation Journal* in 2004, have shown that assaults among inmates in private prisons were twice those in public facilities and there were almost 50 percent more inmate-on-staff assaults in private prisons than in public prisons.²⁵⁷ Private prisons are also problematic because they are not covered by the Freedom of Information Act and corporations like CCA do not provide audit reports to government agencies since they are accountable principally to their shareholders. Cost-savings of private prisons compared to public prisons are negligible. Ironically, while the states of Kentucky, Texas, Idaho, and Mississippi terminated contracts with CCA because of conditions of violence, brutality, premature inmate death, financial cost, and understaffing at the corporation's facilities in these states, California's governor Jerry Brown is still planning on moving thousands of incarcerated persons into private prison facilities owned by CCA to address overcrowding problems at the cost of \$1 billion for the next three years.²⁵⁸

The intensification of the privatization of prisons is part of *the shifts of globalization* that have occurred within capitalist and imperialist circles in the past decade and have resulted in industrial operations being subcontracted, the incarceration of people being one of these sectors. Donna Selman and Paul Leighton explain that as the 2008 financial crisis bit deeply into urban and rural communities where unemployment peaked, as in the Midwest, for example, private prisons boomed, so that "many other communities had similar dreams of replacing lost jobs with prisons," and while "processes of globalization threaten manufacturing and some service jobs ... prison construction and guard jobs cannot be easily moved overseas." Resultantly, "areas with high unemployment and unstable job bases offered tax breaks and other subsidies to have a prison built, be it public or private."²⁵⁹ Economic depression in the rural U.S. is ironically being redressed with injection of private prison construction and promises of employment from guarding and housing prison inmates.²⁶⁰

Victor Hassine, a law graduate who has been in prison in Pennsylvania for a capital crime for thirty years without parole, explains that present-day prisons have become combinations of correction and disabling programs within single detention facilities and thus the supposed original goal of producing law-abiding citizens and “corrected” individuals has largely been abandoned and supplanted with a prison program that produces “a compliant convict who remains stable enough to adapt to indefinite incarceration without causing a disturbance—in other words, a ‘warehouse stable inmate,’ or more cynically, a ‘warehouse friendly inmate.’”²⁶¹ The reduced dependence on forced prison labor has been replaced with business incentives from the process of incarceration, Hassine contends, so that “prisons are now operated to provide government-funded job opportunities to unemployed blue-collar workers who have been displaced by our nation’s shift from an industrial to a service-based economy.”²⁶² He explains that states benefit economically from deploying the unemployed in prison jobs because tax-coffers are replenished and, consequently, “prisons are now built in high unemployment areas where they are greatly desired, appreciated, and encouraged to expand.”²⁶³

Hassine observes that communities and private companies generate further income through providing services to prisons and persons incarcerated. Prisons themselves receive additional revenues from taxing such services. It is now commonplace for many services provided in prisons such as catering, counseling, health care, transportation, telephone communication, and even security to be outsourced, creating a boon for private corporations. Labor contacts between public and private prisons with large corporations like IBM, MCI, Motorola, TWA (merged with American Airlines in 2001), Victoria’s Secret, Compaq Computers and numerous other companies are an integral part of the U.S. globalized economy.²⁶⁴ Mammoth Wall Street corporations like Merrill Lynch, Allstate, Lehman Brothers (which collapsed after going bankrupt in 2008), Smith Barney, and Goldman Sachs function as underwriters of prison construction by selling “tax-exempt, high-interest, non-voter approved, lease-revenue, a.k.a. lease-payment, bonds to institutional and individual investors” as part of a booming \$2.3 billion prison “bond” industry.²⁶⁵ The indirect effect of this booming prison industrial complex is that growing segments of the U.S. population become dependent and inevitably advocates of tougher crime laws and punishment so that communities can benefit from expanded prison construction that leads to more job opportunities and increased revenues. Hassine notes that between 2003 and 2004, there were 13 million people in state or federal prison, with 760,000 prison guards employed and projects that “by 2014, the incarceration revolution promises to disen-

franchise, through incarceration, at least an additional 6 million Americans while employing 325,000 more prison guards to keep these people removed from the benefits of the Constitution and full citizenship.”²⁶⁶

Angela Davis, whose ongoing work around resistance to the prison industrial complex is well-known, describes the extractive character of the privatized prison industry eloquently when she writes that, in 2002, “the Corrections Company of America (CCA), the largest private U.S. prison company, claimed 54,955 beds in 68 facilities under contract or development in the U.S., Puerto Rico, the United Kingdom, and Australia,” and “CCA opened a women’s prison outside Melbourne, Australia,” given the lucrative nature of imprisonment of women.²⁶⁷ G4S Government Solutions Incorporated (formerly Wackenhut Corrections Corporation—WCC) was started by four former FBI agents and is the second largest U.S. prison company. CCA and WCC saw revenues rise 58 percent from \$293 to \$462 million and from \$138 million to \$210 million, respectively, from 1996 to 1997. Net profits of CCA almost doubled during that period, from \$30.9 million to \$53.9 million.²⁶⁸

Pricor was the third largest private prison company of the 1980s that operated out of Texas and, though it received \$30 million in revenues in 1991, it was unable to sustain its operations in that state by late 1992.²⁶⁹ In 2003, CCA generated over \$268.9 million in revenue, and in 2004, the company’s political action committee *generously* donated \$59,000 to candidates running for federal office.²⁷⁰ In addition to CCA stock being traded on Wall Street under the symbols CXW, in 1994 CCA acquired TransCor America Unit, responsible for transporting inmates across the 2,000 correctional facilities around the country.²⁷¹ TransCor America Unit offers career opportunities in transportation of the incarcerated, claiming to have transported 1.2 million detainees over the past 23 years and be the largest detainee-prisoner transportation company in the country.²⁷² CCA faces stiff competition from another private prison company whose stock is traded on Wall Street, Cornell Companies, trading on the New York Stock Exchange under CRN. Cornell Companies earned \$291 million in 2004, and enjoyed profit of \$7.4 million. It administers more than 80 adult and juvenile facilities in 15 states and has 18,500 beds. The G4S Government Solutions Corporation is even larger, earning \$614.5 million in 2004 and receiving \$16.4 million in net returns.²⁷³ Both CCA and G4S Government Solutions Incorporated, two of the nation’s largest private prison corporations, house less than 20 percent of immigrants in detention, but are expecting to see this number rise phenomenally. They administer 8 of the 16 federal detention centers.²⁷⁴ G4S Government Solutions has prison beds in Canada, Australia, New Zealand (Aoteroa), and South Africa, all Euro-

pean settler-colonial republics. In 2006, these countries with the exception of Canada had 21 private prisons with 17,000 inmates.²⁷⁵ South Africa's Department of Correctional Services was involved in putting out tenders for four large private prisons, with an estimated cost of 9 billion South African rands (almost \$1.25 billion) in 2010.²⁷⁶ California, Texas, and Florida, in addition to the U.S. government, are G4S Government Solutions' largest clients.

Angela Davis underscores the point that the entire national security industrial complex is intimately interwoven with the private prisons industry, with architectural design finding a new niche in advanced prison design, so that companies like Westinghouse that have military contracts with the U.S. government have branched out into developing new prison technologies that can be used by law enforcement and prisons.²⁷⁷ U.S.-based corporations like IBM, Honeywell, Motorola, Compaq, Texas Instruments, Microsoft and Boeing regularly use prison labor. Inmates in Maryland regularly inspect jars and bottles made by Revlon and Pierre Cardin, and "prisoners do data entry for Chevron, make telephone reservations for TWA (now out of business—mine), raise hogs, shovel manure, make circuit boards, limousines, waterbeds, and lingerie for Victoria's Secret—all at a fraction of the cost of 'free labor.'"²⁷⁸ Computer circuit boards are made by Texas prison inmates for IBM, Texas Instruments, and Dell. JCPenney and Kmart benefit from jeans sown by Tennessee inmates. McDonalds employs tens of thousands of lowly paid employees who wear uniforms made by prisoners earning a pittance as part of coerced prison labor.²⁷⁹ The number of people in prison who have worked as exploited labor increased phenomenally from 169,000 in 1972 to 523,000 in 1992, a whopping 300 percent, giving prisons the dubious distinction of hiring more people than any Fortune 500 company except for General Motors.²⁸⁰

Private prisons ultimately have nothing to do with social rehabilitation or reform of "criminals"; a CCA prospectus describes its mission not as addressing a social ill, but rather as a business opportunity, underlining the fact that private prisons exist to maximize profits in line with the convergence of goals of globalization of the privatization of industry like punishment and expansion of the national security state in its pursuit of justice against "injustice."²⁸¹ CCA has 90,000 prison beds in 20 states. It has promised to alleviate overcrowding of state-run and federal prisons and generate income for debt-ridden state governments by buying state prisons. State contracts require that CCA prisons are 90 percent occupied for the next 20 years; hence the rush to introduce legislation like SB 1070 in Arizona promoted by organizations like the American Legislative Executive Council (ALEC) that funds state politicians who urge tough crime and sentencing laws.

Private prisons were found to be an excessive waste of taxpayer monies and much more costly than public prison facilities in a 2010 Arizona State audit.²⁸² Even health care companies are cashing in on the prison bonanza. Corizon Prison Health Management makes \$1.4 billion each year from supposedly providing health care to sick inmates with contracts to provide such care to 29 states.²⁸³ In late October 2013, Corizon signed a lucrative five-year contract with the state of Florida worth \$1.2 billion. The company was sued 660 times over a five-year period from 2008 to 2013 for its woefully inadequate and insouciant health care practices when it came to treating the sick behind bars. In the words of Corizon nurse Diane Jackson, “We save money by skipping the ambulance and taking prisoners directly to the morgue.”²⁸⁴

Jalil Abdul Muntaqim, a political prisoner in the U.S. since 1971, reflects on the incredible escalation of the construction of prisons to the point that marginalized communities lobby their congressional representatives for support of prison construction in their communities so as to reap the economic benefits of punishment. Muntaqim describes it as a “slice of the bounty,” where giant corporations are making huge profits.²⁸⁵ He asserts that “Goldman Sachs & Co., Prudential Insurance Co. of America, Smith Barney & Shearson Inc., and Merrill Lynch & Co., are among those competing to underwrite prison construction with private, tax-exempt bonds—where no voter approval is required” and “in essence, big business is investing in the prison system.”²⁸⁶

Private imprisonment is big business. As Phil Smith asserts, punishment is a huge money-making enterprise and while private prisons house a small portion of inmates, they are becoming increasingly powerful in shaping punishment policies and progressively securing more substantial contracts from state and federal justice agencies with the corrections budgets for state, local, and federal governments rising to more than \$20 billion a year in the early 1990s.²⁸⁷ Prison construction is rapidly expanding to be congruous with the high influx of persons incarcerated and jailed and is fast approaching \$6 billion a year. Such construction provides employment for over 50,000 guards and tens of thousands of administrators, health care providers, educational personnel, food producing, and vending companies.²⁸⁸

In 2014, the state of California alone is expected to spend up to \$5 billion in construction of new prisons in the next ten years at the rate of \$500 million per year.²⁸⁹ For 2014-2015, California’s allocation for prisons was \$10 billion, even as the state struggles to pay off past fiscal debt and come to grips with a shortage of \$217 billion in public-employee pension and health care costs that includes an \$80 billion shortfall in the California State Teachers Retirement System which is projected to be bankrupt within 30 years. As California Con-



Under globalization, prison overcrowding in the United States and around the world, including in the underdeveloped world where societal violence is widespread, has become a chronic problem. Political repression, expanded wars, and severity of economic hardship have resulted in millions breaking national crime laws and being imprisoned. This overcrowded prison in Bunia in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has 1,000 inmates even though the prison was constructed to house 200 people. Inmates have suffered cholera and typhoid outbreaks in Bunia prisons (powless/Flickr).

gresswoman Barbara Lee pointed out in 2002, California was constructing prisons then for those who are today's kindergartners, particularly the poor.²⁹⁰

As the U.S. recession (during which globalization's off-shore capital and plant relocation to places where cheap labor is abundant intensified) continues its caustic after-effects into 2014, 13 of 15 cash-strapped states in the U.S. that have high prison populations, including California, Arizona, Alabama, and Michigan, have resorted to reviving "debtors prisons" where "a growing number of impoverished people are jailed for being unable to pay their legal fees—including charges for use of public defenders, a guaranteed right in the United States."²⁹¹ These practices violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, but are being used in places like New Orleans, Louisiana, where up to two-thirds of such fines defray court costs in the wake of rising budget

deficits and reduced state allocations for court operation costs. In its report, "In for a Penny: The Rise of America's New Debtors Prisons," the American Civil Liberties Union noted that this was ultimately a waste of vital state budgets since the states were responsible for financing the incarceration of people confined in prisons while they struggled to pay legal fees.²⁹²

Another area where globalized economic dynamics of profit from the prison industrial complex is in bond companies that make lucrative profits from posting bail for unsentenced inmates who are awaiting trial and can't afford to post bond, often due to living within the ranks of poverty. Some 500,000 persons are confined in U.S. jails even though they haven't been formally sentenced, costing taxpayers some \$9 billion in jail housing costs. Most are awaiting trial for petty theft or non-violent offenses like being involved in a scuffle. Due to the onset of globalization where small rural towns across the U.S. lost vital industrial jobs over the past three decades, no longer are petty crime offenders released "on their own recognizance." Instead county jails emerged in recent years with a minimum of 10 counties around the country each year building jails to provide relief to an overcrowded prison system in places like Baltimore County in Maryland, Philadelphia City in Pennsylvania, and Davidson County in Tennessee all experiencing overcrowding of 116 percent, 102 percent, and 107 percent of capacity.²⁹³ The pre-trial phase of prison sentencing has earned millions of dollars for hundreds of counties in the U.S. through the bail bond business. Lubbock, a city of 250,000 people in Texas has 12 bond companies, accompanied by plans to build a massive \$110 million county jail. One company alone, Trammel's Lubbock Bail Bond, has between 2,500 and 3,000 active accounts, seeing at least six cases daily.²⁹⁴

Unsurprisingly, capitalist economics permeates the judicial system with bond companies benefitting heavily from high bail bonds set by judges particularly for people who can't pay. Someone who can afford to pay his or her bail bond \$1,000 in cash is given a \$10,000 bail bond, for example, ensuring that the person posting bond has to go to a bail bond company that charges a non-refundable 10 percent fee to post the \$10,000 bond. Should those posting bail not show up for trial, the bond companies are generally required to pay 5 percent of the non-refundable fee they received to the county so that they make a 5 percent profit. Bond companies never lose even when trial defendants are absent at their hearings. In places like Erie, Pennsylvania, bond companies are no longer pursued by county officials for outstanding bail monies because of the tedious efforts required to get bond companies to pay on their debts. As part of the brokering of bonds, persons awaiting trial are generally discouraged from paying cash since it takes many more hours to post cash bail and few defen-

dants have knowledge of this option anyway. The bond bail business sector is intrinsic to the prison industrial complex and reflects the contours of globalized economics where poor people awaiting trial are coerced into further debt for being unable to post bail and are grist for the bond bail companies that receive non-refundable fees from these already desperate indigent persons.

It should thus come as no serious surprise too that the Black bourgeois class is also cashing in on profits from private prisons. Some Black companies have entered into commercial ventures involving private prisons, including one that is now a multi-billion dollar enterprise.²⁹⁵ In the late 1990s, Adelaide Tambo, the widow of the African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, of Azania/South Africa, embarked on a private enterprise opportunity with the Lindela Accommodation Center, part of the Dyambu Trust that entailed imprisoning people convicted of crimes of “illegal migration” in that country.²⁹⁶ Globalization’s stretch is evidenced too in national legislation targeting international residents in places like South Africa, where millions of neighboring Zimbabweans resident in the country legally and illegally were required, as of January 1, 2011, to produce valid immigration documentation or face deportation to Zimbabwe or imprisonment. Similar kinds of xenophobic political legislation are being considered in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Thanks to globalization, the U.S. “global prison economy” has extended beyond our shores to places like Turkey and South Africa.²⁹⁷

Though some academics may be skeptical about the exponential growth of private prisons in the near future since they have been uneven in many southern states, with North Carolina deciding against them after a brief spell from the late 1990s through 2000 and South Carolina and Alabama only turning toward private prisons in 2002, the fact of the matter is that the politics of tenacious racism as championed by the right-wing political brokers of the last two decades combined with the economic volatility of globalization compels countries like the U.S., where the prison population is unusually large, toward private prisons for optimal profit.²⁹⁸ Private prisons, which are especially prominent in former slave-holding states of the South and in some western states, will continue to be an integral feature of globalized economies in varying degrees along with the globalization of harsh penalties for non-violent crimes, justified by strong “law and order” regimes.²⁹⁹

Prison as Punishment or for Punishment?

The confusion between prison *as* punishment and prison *for* punishment persists in the obduracy of prisons like Special Housing Units (SHUs), Max-

imum Security, and Supermax. Most prison systems are places of cruelty, including torture and rape, witnessed with the policies of *extraordinary rendition* of those accused of crimes of terrorism by the U.S. government and within prisons in the U.S. and around the world. Prisons or “Corrections” are supposedly about administration of justice and rehabilitation of those whose lives have been convicted for criminal and illegal offenses against others. The conditions in prisons in many parts of the world where dictatorial, even military, regimes rule are too horrific to recount. Accounts of torture by police and prison authorities have been extensively documented by organizations like Amnesty International over the years. *What are prisons really for?* Lukas Muntingh from the University of the Western Cape in South Africa, explains that “people are sent to prison *as* punishment, not *for* punishment” (italics mine) and “the state is therefore obliged to develop and put in place such measures that (sentenced) prisoners are able to receive the necessary assistance to fulfill their human potential.”³⁰⁰ What Muntingh emphasizes is that prisons were never meant to *cause* suffering in the first place and were originally conceived to *rehabilitate* persons who commit societal crimes, but have now essentially become places of perpetual physical, emotional, and sexual violence.

The recurring question for all persons interested in justice and desiring rehabilitation of those behind bars is: why is it that the overwhelming majority of people imprisoned are poor, illiterate, and often people of color? Why have not wealthy criminals like Martha Stewart, Kenneth Lay, Ivan Boesky, Leona Helmsley, Paris Hilton, and Lindsay Lohan, all of whom have either been arrested and convicted for stealing or defrauding the government of millions of dollars or repeated illegal drug offenses, been sent to jail for long terms? Martha Stewart, for instance, spent five months in prison from October 8, 2004, to March 4, 2005, and was then given a “gorgeous home prison” for a five-month sentence even though she was found guilty of conspiracy, obstruction of an agency proceeding, and making false statements to federal investigators after being indicted on nine counts, including charges of securities fraud.³⁰¹ She is now a national “media mogul” back on the business circuit, reaping millions from sales of brand-labeled bed, bath, and cookware products at leading department stores in the country. Why is it that many of those convicted of petty theft and non-violent drug crimes are not granted “equal opportunity” to both rehabilitate themselves and engage in productive economic activity? Most of those who are incarcerated for such crimes have their names permanently stained so that they are generally denied access to public housing, student and bank loans, voting rights, and the like. Most people arrested and convicted for felonies in 13 states in the U.S. are prohibited from exercising the right to vote in elections.

Neill Franklin, a former undercover narcotics agent who turned against the war on drugs, stated it clearly:

You want safer communities? Sending people to prison won't do it. Think about it—if you put a man in prison, you put his whole family in prison too. You've just put that family into financial dire straits. Prisons are not institutions of higher learning. They are institutions of corruption, institutions of violence. People come back to their communities worse off than when they went in. They've got a record, so they're unemployable for the most part except for the drug trade. The drug trade will hire you no matter what. It's a vicious cycle.³⁰²

What is clear is that the real color of crime in the U.S. is not "Black, Brown, Red, or Asian or poor White" ... but green. Those who wield real money like the bank fraudsters at Wachovia are part of the corporate elite and are generally not subject to the harsh strictures of justice and law enforcement as the poor are. This is the reason that nobody did prison time for flagrant violation of the country's banking laws during Wachovia's indictment, and the Justice Department was willing to "go easy" on persons responsible for laundering drug money from Mexico in the hundreds of billions of dollars. The real enemies of justice and society are not the impoverished drug dealing youth of the inner cities of the United States; they are merely the puny little pawns coerced into living lives of perpetual crime (most non-violent) because structures of race, class, and culture entrap them in ways in which they cannot envisage a world free from coercion, manipulation, hustling for survival, and constantly preying on others equally vulnerable as themselves (the poor are still the largest segment of crime victims in the country).

Globalization's role in siphoning millions of jobs out of the U.S. and in inducing economic vacuums in desperate urban communities for the unbridled generation of hundreds of billions in profits for the wealthy ruling elites both in the U.S. and abroad, including through the prison industrial complex, needs to be exposed for the crimes of dispossession and impoverishment of people who already live at the precipice of economic vulnerability and fragility. The 2008 economic downturn saw hundreds of thousands of Black and Latino households lose their homes, and in vast disproportion to white householders losing their homes, because of racist banking practices that viewed mortgage holders of color as less likely to pay off their mortgages and thus subject to higher interest rates than Whites.³⁰³

Conclusion

Globalization has institutionalized the cruelty and punishment of poor peoples in its insatiable appetite for profits, causing unprecedented suffering

and death through the prison industrial and military industrial complexes, mediated through prisons and wars of aggression and occupation of poor peoples' lands. For true democracy to emerge, wars against the poor domestically and globally must cease and the pervasive incarceration of poverty-stricken women and men especially in the U.S. must end through tireless resistance to globalization and its ugly tentacles manifest in violent prisons. Making profits from criminal activity, prisons, punishment, and torture is no way for any society to live in peace and thrive in prosperity since such profit-making is in itself criminal and inhuman. No person is really free until the wrongfully imprisoned, overwhelming poor, are free.

This chapter has demonstrated that the intrinsic nature of violence and torture within the prison industrial complex during this phase of late globalized capitalism persists in confining the underclasses of society to lives behind bars for extended periods, regardless of the kind of crimes committed. The majority of people incarcerated today are jailed for non-violent drug offenses. Classism and racism continue to rear their ugly heads within the political economy of the prison industrial complex. With the vanishing of millions of semi-skilled jobs during the periodic economic downturns over the past two and a half decades, like that of the early 1990s, the early 2000s, and the most recent financial crisis of 2008, many policy makers around the country have turned to toughening sentencing laws for non-violent and repeated offenders, including legislating three-strikes laws that mandate life imprisonment for offenders, to stimulate economic growth for financially depressed states. Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin all have three-strikes laws.³⁰⁴

The dire financial situation that has unfolded over the past decade with the accompanying element of lower labor force participation of less-skilled people has resulted in an overall desperate situation for economically and financially vulnerable people. Many of these impoverished people are inevitably sucked into cycles of crime since employment opportunities for semi-skilled and unskilled workers have devolved to a trickle over the past two decades. The fact of 55 percent of Black college graduates being *underemployed* in 2014 underscores the gravity of the globalized employment crisis.³⁰⁵ Such conditions in turn provoke a propensity toward unconventional and illegal methods for securing livable earnings and supplementing meager incomes since gainful employment is so hard to come by. Contrary to popular opinion,

young people are not instinctively inclined to lives of crime. Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll confirm this assertion when they explain that “there is now considerable evidence that economically motivated crime increases with unemployment and decreases with average wages, especially the average wages of lower-skilled workers.”³⁰⁶ Lower levels of education compound unemployment in formal employment sectors, compelling especially young people to seek incomes outside legal avenues. Interwoven with the dynamics of race and class, globalization’s impact of diminished employment in the U.S. for all sectors, including manufacturing and erstwhile factory employment, has evoked a condition of long-term structural unemployment, driving those with “low earnings ... toward criminal activity.”³⁰⁷

The top 1 percent of the ruling capitalist class in the U.S. ensures that the bottom 20 percent is trapped in an ongoing spiral of economic and material deprivation and reduced self-worth as the ruling class engages in the unbridled pursuit of profits and material accumulation, elaborated in the introduction and in Chapter 1 of this book. Incarceration is an integral component of this entrapment. So long as structural poverty compels people into lives of desperate crime and prisons make lucrative profits from crime and punishment policies that favor the wealthy elites and further marginalize the already impoverished, the prison industrial complex will remain an important cornerstone in the U.S. capitalist system. Globalized corporations’ shift from employment within the U.S. to much more profitable enterprises in the underdeveloped cash-strapped countries of the world where labor costs are at a bare minimum ensures that the starved employment and ensuing crime culture in the U.S. will continue for some time since prisons are a growing multi-billion dollar public and private enterprise. For persons of color, especially Black people, the prison underclass is part of a racial caste, as Michelle Alexander explains in her instructive work, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in an Age of Color Blindness*, where the criminal justice system feeds into a “much larger system of racial stigmatization and permanent marginalization.”³⁰⁸ This same system, under the pretext of globalized color blindness, has propelled the U.S. into having the dubious distinction of imprisoning three times as many Black people as South Africa did during the height of apartheid, shocking both Republican and Democrat lawmakers.³⁰⁹ As Harvard Law expert Randall Kennedy argues, the endemic anti-Black racism of U.S. society is indicated in the probability that if poor Whites were incarcerated at such high levels as Blacks, there would be a national outrage that demanded sweeping policy changes against such unjust incarceration.³¹⁰

In a broader sense, the ruling classes of globalization, especially in the

U.S., have enslaved all others so that everyone functions in a subservient manner and is compelled to obey the dictates of globalization ideology, which demand allegiance to the national security corporate capitalist state that rules through the politics of instilling *fear* in the general populace. Everybody is expected to know her or his particular place within the economic and social hierarchy generated by the rulers of globalization and be content with their lot in fear of the situation changing for the worse in the widespread corporatization of all work places. Prisons are just one manifestation of such corporatization under the globalization regime, along with hospitals, school districts, universities, and other work places, especially with most public universities in the U.S. coming to depend heavily on private corporate funding.

In the final chapter, we will discuss the most critical issue facing us as life on the Earth, which recalls us to the grim truth that globalized capitalism is the *enemy* of the Earth because it is imprisoned within the culture of profit accumulation and materialistic acquisition with little consideration of the lethal consequences of its actions of perpetual plunder: *global warming and climate change*.

5

Globalization's Intensification of Global Warming and Climate Change

Much of the controversy that now surrounds global warming is not whether global warming will occur but just how sensitive the climate is to increases in carbon dioxide levels.¹

Mountain glaciers are melting, along with ice at the poles. The oceans are getting warmer and expanding ... sea levels are rising ... sea levels will rise so fast in the next 50 years that some low-lying island nations may disappear altogether. In the unprotected river deltas of Bangladesh, Egypt, and Vietnam there are a total of 30 million people living within 1m (3.3 feet) of the high-tide mark. They have no safeguard.²

Global Warming is already upon us.... The impacts of global warming are such that I have no hesitation in describing it as a weapon of mass destruction.³

Introduction

During my travel and research in various countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America over the past 37 years into the present, one glaring fact has been consistently visible throughout: the world's most precious resource and now in critical short supply is not oil but water! Even in the 1970s, water taps with running water were accessible only twice a day in India, Nepal, and many countries in East Africa. During my visit to Haiti in 1992 shortly after the illegal ousting of democratically-elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a personal friend, it was water that was in scarce supply in the communities around Port Au Prince, the capital, and surrounding towns like Citi Soleil and Gonaives. Clean drinking water was impossible to acquire from taps and one was forced to purchase drinking water. In Ibadan, Nigeria, water for bathing

trickled from taps and one had to use it sparingly for washing and bathing. During a visit to Dakar, Senegal, in the summer of 2008, water from taps in the apartment where I stayed came on at 3:00 a.m. each day and we all scrambled to fill many buckets for washing and bathing. The same story applies to places like Lijiang, China, which I visited in 2013, where fresh water was clearly the most valuable resource, yet found in short supply. In 2012, I recall our hosts in Nicaragua urging us to avoid flushing toilets after urination and only after defecation.

Though we live in a world that is surrounded by water, only 2.53 percent of the Earth's water is fresh, with two-thirds of this fresh water confined to glaciers and permanent snow cover.⁴ Water is indeed the "bread of life." Even within the European Union, where many may incorrectly assume that Western capitalist countries are immune from global warming's effects because of possession of monetary and industrial resources, the facts bespeak a different reality. Droughts have increased markedly over the past three decades and destructive effects have increased 20 percent. The combined cost of damages has been over \$100 billion. Eleven percent of the human population of Europe and 17 percent of the landmass is now suffering from water shortages, with Malta and Cyprus, followed by Spain and Italy experiencing the most adverse effects of water scarcity.⁵ Northern China which has about 43 percent of China's human population has just 14 percent of the country's water resources and China's per capita water. Asia has over 60 percent of the world's human population while possessing only 36 percent of the world's water resources.⁶ Given that China and India together have almost one-third of the human beings in the world, the shortage of water in these countries is certainly the most pressing issue of the 21st century, particularly given the continued heating of the planet. According to the UN Water Development Report of 2012, groundwater abstraction has tripled over the past 50 years and more than 1.5 billion rural and economically vulnerable people in Africa and Asia and other parts of the world depend on groundwater for their water needs.⁷ Much of the water is lost through waste and pollution. Results of findings from the Comprehensive Assessment of Water Management in Agriculture at World Water Week in Stockholm, Sweden, revealed that in 2005, over one-third of all human beings in the world experienced water scarcity, close to 2.5 billion people.⁸ Africa is more fortunate than other regions of the world in that she has 13 percent of the world's human beings and possesses 11 percent of the world's water.⁹ The El Niño effect from 1997 to 1998 is already back with the intense warming of the Pacific Ocean. In June 2014, the regular monsoon rains in India were delayed and the first rains were 40 percent below averages for the

monsoon season.¹⁰ In Malaysia, the country is preparing for an 18-month dry spell and residents in Cebu in the Central Philippines have been asked to engage in radical water conservation measures. Australians are bracing for an even drier and hotter spell in 2014 with low rainfalls expected, all in the aftermath of 2013 being the hottest year on record.¹¹

The very future of life on Earth depends on a planet that is balanced in temperature around its circumference on all sides and within. While the Earth has experienced heating spells over hundreds of millions of years, what is evident is the escalation of heating of the Earth's surface since the European industrial revolution of the 1700s that saw fossil fuels combustion grow astronomically and that unleashed massive emissions of carbon dioxide.¹² The effects from the irruption of human industrial and technological activity with the invention of diesel and fossil-fuel engines three centuries ago, along with subsequent intensification of agriculture and land-use change and the use of aerosols that contain microscopic airborne particles that cool the atmosphere, were transmitted into the 20th and now 21st centuries according to the reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) from 1995 and 2001, with temperatures increasing by an average of 0.6 degrees centigrade in the 20th century.¹³ The combustion of fossil fuels has destabilized the balance of heat-retaining gases in the atmosphere, raising the levels of carbon dioxide levels from about 280 parts per million (ppm) to 380 ppm.¹⁴ The glaring reality is that in 2004 temperatures related to fossil fuel combustion are similar to those of 1960 when fossil fuel consumption was much lower than the 2000s.¹⁵ The reason is that feedback loops are tremendous: carbon emissions from the 1960s lingers in the atmosphere for 50 years. Human industrial activity in 2014 will have effects for the next 50 years as part of the feedback loop cycle, threatening the very potential for life of future generations. Even if emission levels of 2000 were to remain by the year 2100, the Earth will still warm by at least 0.6 degrees centigrade, making life everywhere practically unbearable.¹⁶

The globalization regime over the past few decades must be held culpable for the global warming and climate change crisis because its obsession with unbridled profit and relentless pursuit of vital energy and material resources for intensified and unregulated industrial production have conjointly functioned to deplete the Earth of precious forest cover, stripped away the tops of mountains and hills for mining gold, platinum, copper, coal, uranium, diamonds, columbite-tantalite (coltan), and other minerals, and depleted non-renewable water supplies from rivers, wells, streams, ponds, and underground aquifers so that extremely low-level water-tables are pervasive in many parts of the world.

This chapter will describe the very lethal situation the world finds itself in with the dynamics of global warming and climate change in various capacities and demonstrate how globalization, which was ostensibly designed to enhance human well-being, now ironically constitutes the most severe threat to life as we know it and how the initiatives of the ruling classes and governments of the major industrial nations are more fluff than substance and are ultimately feckless in the need to redress global warming's annihilation effects on the world. Global warming is "primarily a problem ... of global capitalism" that is obsessed with incessant agglomeration of profits through "increasing production and consumption."¹⁷ The urgency of addressing and redressing global warming compels new ways of human living in which industrial production expansion and profit maximization as institutionalized by the hegemony of globalization are no longer held sacred; rather, the idolatry of global capitalism is replaced by lifestyles of living in harmony with the Earth and not being at war with Earth, a leadoff from this final chapter into the epilogue.

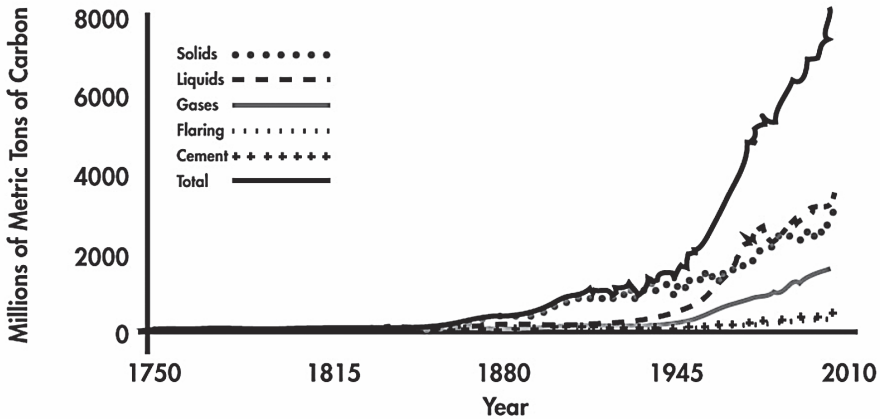
Climate Warming, Greenhouse Gases, Pollution, and Contamination

The unprecedented levels of temperature increases over the past two decades, with the past ten years being the hottest on record (since records have been kept from the early 19th century), and the fact that global temperatures have risen and the decades of the 1990s and 2000s being warmest before the past ten years clearly are reason for deep concern. Present carbon dioxide levels have been the highest in the past 420,000 years and most likely over the past 20 million years.¹⁸ The steady and intensified emissions of carbon from 1750 through 2010 is evident from Figure 1, indicating a growth of zero in 1715 prior to the 19th century's industrial revolution to a high of almost 8 billion tons in 2010.¹⁹

Three-quarters of carbon dioxide over the past few decades are attributable to human activities of fossil fuel burning like coal, oil, and "natural" gas, with processes like deforestation being responsible for the remaining quarter.²⁰ The combined effects of carbon dioxide and methane gas are generating a new greenhouse gas, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which were banned in the 1970s because of damage to the ozone layer by aerosols, air conditioners, refrigerators, paints, perfumes and the like, and the net result is that 200,000 gigawatts of power is trapped by carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, causing serious heating of the Earth.²¹

Fig. 1

Emissions of Carbon Dioxide from 1750-2010

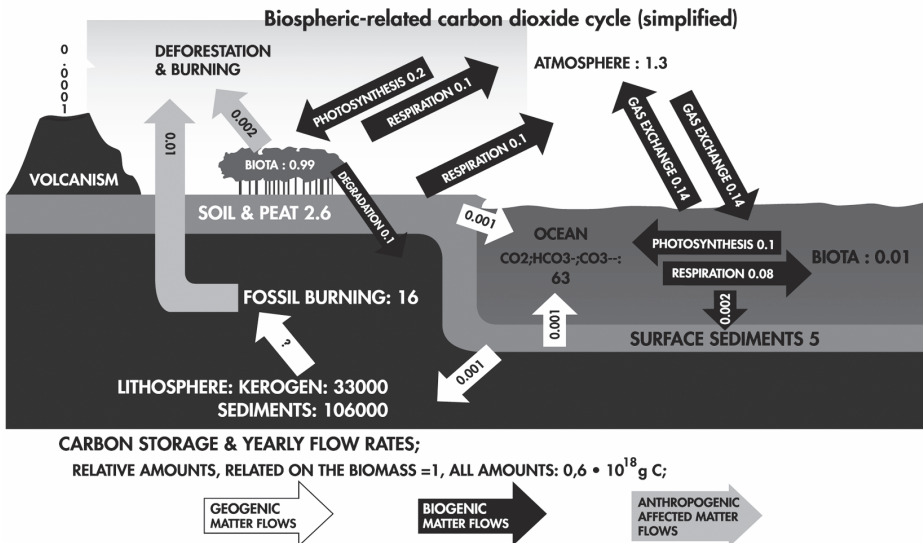


Carbon dioxide by itself is not a negative product since it is part of the natural cycle of respiratory life processes. The Earth has her own natural manner of both storing carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and of eliminating it when it becomes excessive called *carbon cycles*. Cycles storing and removing water are called *hydrological cycles* and cycles that balance storing and removal of nitrogen are called *nitrogen cycles*. The Earth balances carbon dioxide and other gases in the atmosphere constantly so that life itself can survive as demonstrated in Figure 2.²² However, the excessive emissions of greenhouse gases from deforestation and burning, fossil fuel burning, and other industrial activity in combination with volcanic and other Earth and Ocean natural processes is now out of balance: Earth can absorb only 14–16 gigatons of carbon dioxide annually while our human activity generates 36–38 gigatons per year in this globalized industrialized era.

The low concentrations of the Freons in the CFCs like CFC-11 and CFC-12 compound their radiative capacity so that they are 20,000 times more potent per molecule than carbon dioxide and have the fastest release into the atmosphere.²³ Carbon dioxide is increasing at the rate of 1 percent annually. In May 2013, scientists reporting from a research facility at the top of Mauna Loa volcano on the Big Island of Hawaii declared that the threshold of daily carbon dioxide levels in the atmosphere had been reached with 400 parts per million, higher than any level for the past three million years, a reminder of the gravity of the global warming crisis.²⁴

Fig. 2

Biospheric-related Carbon Dioxide Cycle Illustrating the manner that the Earth stores and recycles carbon and maintains atmospheric gases balance.



In the U.S., transportation, particularly automobiles and light trucks, produce 30 percent of all the country's global warming emissions.²⁵ Sadly, China, which has the second largest economy of the world, has now displaced the U.S. as the leading emitter of carbon dioxide in the world, depending on coal production for three-quarter of its power needs even while coal burning produces twice the emissions of carbon dioxide as "natural" gas and oil.²⁶ The fact that South Africa, the wealthiest country on the African continent, for instance, is expanding coal production even while it is the world's sixth-largest coal exporter, the seventh-largest coal producer, and the 13th largest carbon dioxide emitter, is planning on expanding coal production by constructing two of the four largest 4,800 megawatt coal-fired power plants in the world at Medupi and Kusile, is troubling.²⁷ The reason cited by Pravin Gordhan, South Africa's mining minister, that "to sustain the growth rates we need to create jobs, we have no choice but to build new generating capacity—relying on what, for now, remains our most abundant and affordable energy source: coal" is unconvincing considering that the bulk of power utilized in South Africa is utilized by powerful mining and industrial corporations and in far heavier proportions by the elite minority than by the vast impoverished

majority.²⁸ Further, it is the black working class poor who work in the most dangerous of conditions in South Africa's deep coal mines to extract this black stone, suffering from serious respiratory diseases and other ailments in the process. The long-term effects of coal mining are reflected in the very people who extract this power-source since their life spans are shortened so that the engine of economic growth can be advanced, accompanied by the devastating ecological and environmental impact on the Earth and the intensified and unsustainable warming of the globe. Tycoon families from India connected to the president, Jacob Zuma, and his son, Duduzane, the Guptas, have stakes in two large coal companies, Idwala Coal and Tegeta Resources, that are mining coal in hitherto unexploited coal resource areas in South Africa. These facts underscore the deeply political and economic dimensions of global warming's causes, with globalization firmly in the driver's seat of this catastrophe.

The highly probable scientific prediction that greenhouse gases, principally carbon dioxide, will double sometime later this century, perhaps before 2050, raising mean temperatures on Earth by an average 2–3 degrees Centigrade (3–5 degrees Fahrenheit), is alarming indeed.²⁹ The principle causes of this meteoric temperature increase are anthropogenic. While the various global organizations and UN agencies that monitor and assess the effects of global warming around the world and host meeting after meeting with thousands of climate scientists and researchers participating at these global forums, little tangible change is evident and, if anything, things have grown progressively hotter notwithstanding Al Gore's 2006 award-winning documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth*, or James Orlowsski's 2012 National Geographic documentary, *Chasing Ice*.

In the main, though many in the U.S. and in other parts of the world, particularly those effected in regions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America where global warming effects are most pronounced, would like to do something constructive about stopping the tide of global warming in its tracks, the overwhelming majority feel powerless to engineer any radical alternative changes in their lifestyles because they are forced to live within the parameters of economic globalization and eke out an existence under this unjust and unviable system. These economically vulnerable people are forced to accept the dictates of the architects and beneficiaries of globalization: the transnational conglomerates who demand the denuding of forests and the mining of hills and valleys for minerals or the imposition of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) that are harmful and destructive to the fragile balance and cycles of all elements of the natural world, the Monsanto corporation being a leading player in this violation of the beings of the natural world. Globalization is

the system that uses the ideology of economic prosperity and materialistic progress as its mantra and it is this obsession with economic and financial growth through industrialism that is now pitted against the Earth, a Mother to all of us who breathe, plant and four and two-legged alike. Globalization's protagonists insist that the driver of the world is *economic growth* and that the Earth can be manipulated to meet expansion of human materialistic pursuits, refusing to realize, as Indigenous people have explained, that the Earth is a living being who cannot be manipulated by human beings for the benefit of commodities and agglomeration of profit. After all, Earth has been here for millions, even billions of years, without the presence of human beings. Globalization in its arrogance towards the Earth, thus, signifies in actuality "wars against the Mother Earth," precipitating the current lethal crisis of global warming and climate change.

Of equal concern, though not receiving the equivalent attention as carbon and methane, is nitrous oxide that has been increasing at the rate of 0.7 ppb or 0.26 percent each year for the past few decades.³⁰ Microbial production of nitrous oxide from expanded use of chemical fertilizers in industrialized agriculture are held to be the principal cause for this increase as determined by the IPCC Third Assessment Report of 2001 and the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report of 2007 respectively.³¹ While nitrogen oxide is found in natural terrestrial ecosystems such as wet tropical forests, scientific research on global emissions of nitrous oxide from 1990 through 2001 concurs with the assessment that emissions from agriculture constitute the most formidable source of such emissions attributable to synthetic agricultural fertilizers and animal waste, from 0.01-2.2 Tg N₂O-N yr⁻¹ in 1990 to 4.2 (0.6-14.8) Tg N₂O-N yr⁻¹ in 1998.³² With the expansion of global cereal production by 20 percent and meat production by 26 percent and the manufacture of synthetic fertilizers through the Haber-Bosch industrial process from 1995 through 2005, reactive nitrogen Nr creation increased dramatically. The proportions of Nr that's not used for synthetic fertilizers for agricultural production is used for the manufacture of nylon, other plastics, resins, fish food supplements, and explosives.

The "nitrogen cascade" phenomenon is now of deep concern to all climatologists for a few significant reasons. Nitrogen has a direct impact on ozone depletion, loss of biodiversity, warming of the Earth, acidification of soils and water, and groundwater pollution. The troubling and complex element about reactive nitrogen Nr in gaseous forms (NH₃ and NO_x) is that its effects are felt thousands of miles away from its original source through runoff from rivers to marine systems that is diminishing all aquatic life. Its presence in the environment is most acute with the intensification of agricultural industrial

activity.³³ While British climatologists might disproportionately blame Saharan dust, other dust particles and ozone for the extremely high pollution levels in Britain in the first week of April 2014 that caused breathing problems for the elderly especially, the fact of global warming and climate change due to increased levels of nitrous oxide and other greenhouse gases by auto emissions within Europe itself can never be understated in the instability and volatility of weather patterns, wind movements, and air flow.³⁴

The impact of fossil fuels and combustion engines too can never be downplayed in the discourse on global warming. Marine transportation that uses large freighter ships, for example, emit significant air pollutants through use of combustion engines to power their movement through river and ocean waters. Inland waterways and oceans are all heavily polluted as a result of shipping, with discarding of oily bilge and ballast water, dumping of non-biodegradable solid wastes into oceans, oil spills, and transportation of non-Native species of plants and animals that damage local ecosystems. Ballast water is used to fill empty tanks of oil freighters, for example, since all ships need to have significant weight to enable them to sail through ocean water. Before loading of oil and petroleum products cargo into the holds of such ships at ports, ballast water containing wastes and oil needs to be discarded, resultantly causing heavy pollution in waterways and adding to water and air pollution.³⁵

Even alternative fuel use presents its own problems, part of the contradiction of all Western industrial systems. Though there may be zero emissions of greenhouse gases from electric powered vehicles, the electricity needed for an electric vehicle battery is generally produced from a coal-fired power plant, resulting in net carbon dioxide emissions being higher than that of conventional fuel.³⁶ Though biofuels like biodiesel and ethanol that are often promoted by the alternative energy lobby may have the potential for offsetting and reducing carbon dioxide emissions as in Brazil, where ethanol and bagasse substitution from fossil fuels have been used, the global warming potential (GWP) of nitrogen oxide (N₂O) is 320 times that of carbon dioxide, influenced by questions of temperature, operating conditions, excess air level, and catalytic activity.³⁷

Globalization's boasting about the claim that more humans are consumers of food, especially meat, at levels far exceeding those of any period of human history, does not consider the unhealthy fact that more than one billion human beings in the world are overweight and 300 million are officially classified as "obese," attributable to the fossil fuel revolution since humans in industrialized societies are now more sedentary, walk much less, and depend on automobiles

for transporting themselves.³⁸ One third of human beings in the U.S. are obese and almost half are overweight, followed by Britain where the obese human population is expected to rise to 50 percent by 2050.³⁹ People in Canada, Australia, Argentina, China, and many other industrialized societies are eating excessively poor quality food laden with fats and sugars excessively and becoming overweight. These facts not only underscore increased human weight on the planet but the escalating pressure on ecosystems as the result of expanded agricultural production using synthetic fertilizers with nitrogen composition that inevitably decimates marine and other natural ecosystems. English health practitioner and researcher Ian Roberts explains that “the human race is getting fatter and the planet is getting hotter, and fossil fuels are the cause of both,” the principal causes being sunlight, petroleum, food, and fat, underpinned by money and greed.⁴⁰

Sea level rise is one of the most catastrophic effects of global warming and climate change. Since 1870 and during the height of European industrialism to the present, sea levels rose 20 centimeters.⁴¹ The sea is rising at the rate of 3.2 millimeters each year and steadily increasing in various regions of the world.⁴² Around island nation countries like Tuvalu and Kiribati in the South Pacific, sea levels have already risen to the point of virtually extinguishing the existence of these countries. High tides occurring at the end of the summer there cause flooding of low-lying areas like the airport, and cyclones that are becoming frequent cause the storm dunes to collapse, making life for Tuvalu residents even more difficult.⁴³ The tiny island of Mauritius off the southeastern coast of Africa is under threat of rising sea levels and many are considering migrating to Australia. The beautiful island of Maldives, a nation of 300,000 people and encompassing some 1,190 islands of about 90,000 square kilometers, is just 2.4 meters above sea level and a foreign tourist paradise. Yet for the Indigenous Maldivians, their island is anything but paradise. The country has been subject to massive flooding and its atolls are subject to constant destruction because of powerful storms in the Indian Ocean. In 2004, the tsunami that hit Indonesia and killed over 240,000 people made its way to the waters of Maldives. Eight-two people drowned, 12,000 were rendered homeless and key tourist resorts were destroyed.⁴⁴ Though the government subsequently invested millions of its tourist revenues in 2007 to raise the height of Hulhumale Island by dredging sand and sucking them into a shallow lagoon so that it would be a higher ground refuge for the residents, the lingering impact of global warming and lethal sea level rise has prompted consideration among some circles of suing the U.S. government for being the key cause of global warming.⁴⁵ Within the U.S., the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina on

the southeast Gulf Coast in 2005 and Hurricane Sandy in 2012, which was the deadliest hurricane of the Atlantic for that year, still reverberates among all communities living close to coastal areas in the country. The deaths of over 1,500 in New Orleans and the forced evacuation of over 300,000 residents, most of whom have been unable to and prevented from returning because they are overwhelmingly Black and poor, serves as a reminder of the incredibly powerful effects of global warming especially on those socially and economically marginalized. The Gulf Coast is particularly vulnerable. With the erosion of 130 square kilometers of marshland each year and the reduced silt from the Mississippi River each year, Louisiana has shrunk by 4 million square kilometers from over 100 years ago.⁴⁶ The Everglades in Florida where the Indigenous Seminole nation once thrived and lives today, like all wetlands, was considered the “kidneys of the Earth” because of its massive natural filtering and draining system and covered some 2.9 million acres south of Lake Okeechobee over 150 years ago.⁴⁷ It consisted of peatland with tall saw grass in shallow water. In an ecologically balanced manner, when Lake Okeechobee’s levels rose, the surplus water flowed slowly over a 50-mile sheet south, about a foot deep. With widespread European American occupation and settlement of the area in the late 1880s, settlers began draining the watershed of the Kissimmee River-Lake Okeechobee-Everglades system.⁴⁸ The organic muck soil was subsequently exposed and gradually eroded to the point that just 50 percent of the Everglades are left today, a truly human-caused ecological extinction and environmental disaster, with just 50 panthers left and most alligators under threat of being permanently erased since their habitats are unsustainable in an ever-eroding Everglades wetlands. The ivory-billed woodpecker, indigenous to the Big Cypress Swamp, is extinct, birds have been reduced by one-third, and one-third of all four-leggeds and birds on the U.S. Endangered species list are found in Florida.⁴⁹ To compound problems, a nuclear power plant was built on one of the freshwater diversion waterways as a result of the St. Lucie canal, part of a network of canals spanning 1,400 miles that have drained the Everglades. This is the magnitude of the irresponsibility of capitalist “development” of areas like the Everglades, intrinsic to the natural filtration and drainage actions of Earth.

Climate warming is not just a concern of raised temperatures for human life. Food and crop production is directly effected. For instance, animal mortality is a consequence of higher temperatures and has an impact on milk production by cows and fertility. Warm weather resulted in loss of 5,000 head of cattle during heat waves of 1995 and 1999.⁵⁰ In the south-central and south-eastern parts of the U.S., pig and beef production were most adversely effected,

while dairy production suffered in the Midwest and northeast. Research by T. L. Mader, K.L. Frank, J. A. Harrington, Jr., L. Hahn, and J. A. Nienaber from 2009 indicates that temperature increases in the Midwest and northeast will result in lower milk production levels, exerting pressure on both availability of milk products and prices.

The impact of intensified industrialization is very evident around the world, with massive and lingering smog in megacities like Beijing, Mumbai, Jakarta, Taipei, New York, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, and more recently in Paris and French cities, where pollution from a week in mid-March reached dangerous levels due to smog particles, is one of the lethal effects of globalization's obsessive industrialism that views the commodity production as the key to economic prosperity and human culture in the world.⁵¹ The net result is the vitiation of the quality of air that we breathe, particularly for the poor and the working classes of the world, who are forced to live in overcrowded cities after migrating from their rural villages and homes due to either overgrazing of lands, closure of thousands of farms, drought, and lack of infrastructure to sustain village life. Respiratory diseases are now rampant in most cities as the result of industrial smog.

Nuclear power, which is considered an alternative to the global energy crisis is hardly a solution given the aftermath of events like Chernobyl in the Ukraine in 1986 that killed 28 of the 600 workers at the nuclear power plant within four months and affecting another 200,000 cleanup workers who received between 1 and 100 rem (roentgen equivalent man) doses of radiation.⁵² Some 5 million people in surrounding areas were also effected to varying degrees and deleterious health effects from cancer are still being studied and analyzed. The real long-term effects of Chernobyl will never be fully known since cancer illness from this disaster has been experienced over decades since 1986.

Depletion of the Ozone Layer and Melting Glaciers

The rape of the Earth continues to escalate in lightning proportions today with the depletion of the ozone layer in the atmosphere so that a hole as large as Antarctica is visible, the icecaps are beginning to gradually melt, and the emissions of carbon dioxide has exacerbated pollution levels, causing cancer and respiratory diseases like asthma affecting millions around the world. The magnitude of the crisis of melting ice hits home when one realizes that just two continental ice sheets, Antarctica and Greenland, constitute over half of all fresh water and almost 99 percent of the freshwater ice on Earth.⁵³ Hun-

dreds of thousands of years of accumulated ice is now disintegrating in front of our eyes in a few decades. On September 19, 2012, a new low of sea ice covering the Arctic was reached, covering 1.32 million square miles or 24 percent of the surface of the Arctic, down even further from the 2007 low of 2 percent of Arctic surface cover.⁵⁴ Arctic ice has disappeared at the rate of 8.9 percent per decade in September and 2.5 percent per decade in March over the past three decades, and the area and thickness of ice is steadily declining so that the Northern Sea route on Russia's Arctic coast is navigable between 20–30 days annually and is expected to attain 80–90 days annually by 2080.⁵⁵ At present rates of ice melting, the Arctic is predicted to become a mostly ice-free zone by 2100, threatening to affect the extinction of the polar bear as a species, yet another index of the lethal ecocidal scope of global warming. Greenland is particularly critical in the balance of temperatures globally because it encompasses a total area of 1.7 million square kilometers, constituting a volume of 3 million cubic kilometers of ice sheet. It is especially susceptible to small temperature increases that result in surface melting and rapid direct drainage into the ocean, reducing the level of ice sheet volume. Indirectly, this melting causes the lubrication of the base of the outlet glaciers, destabilizing the existing ice topography further.⁵⁶ If the entire Greenland ice sheet were to melt, it would raise sea levels around the world by 7 meters!⁵⁷ Antarctica has 27 million cubic kilometers of ice and is correspondingly affected radically by the pattern of climate warming with the collapse and removal of foundational ice shelves. Sea levels have risen by about 7 inches over the past century as the result of warmer seawater and glaciers melting and are expected to rise by similar levels in the 21st century. Most acute sea level increases are evident in areas where land loss is severe, like around the U.S. Gulf Coast, with coastal Louisiana experiencing a rise of 8 inches over the past 50 years, twice the global sea rise average.⁵⁸ The northeast Chesapeake Bay is also witnessing significant land loss, accompanied by near-future floods and tidal wetland activity that could destroy significant portions of the regional coastline.

The amazing fact about the Earth and the rest of the universe is that the balance within each element and feature is maintained so that life is possible. For instance, the atmosphere is constituted by numerous elements, including gases like water vapor, carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide and ozone, all of which keep Earth warm to the point of sustaining life. The absence of such gases would make Earth so cold that life would not thrive. However, an unsettling balance of these gases results in the opposite effect: Earth becomes too warm so that life in turn begins to diminish and eventually perish, as we are experiencing now with global warming. The ozone is an essential part of the

stratosphere layer of the atmosphere, the upward most layer that is between 12.9 and 19.3km and increases to 50km above human heads. Ozone is crucial since it absorbs harmful ultra-violet rays of the sun, all part of the electromagnetic radiation along with gamma rays, X-rays, visible light, and infrared radiation. Gamma and X-rays “are absorbed by the upper atmosphere” so that ozone levels are in balance and harm to life on earth is prevented.⁵⁹ Anthropogenic activity has now disrupted this very fragile balance of gases within the ozone and heat is now trapped within the atmosphere, generating the results described in the preceding paragraph.

A 2006 report from the Goddard Institute for Space Studies at NASA has confirmed that the Earth is now the hottest that she has ever been, and that warming has occurred at the rate of 0.2 degree Celsius per decade for the past thirty years.⁶⁰ The overall temperature is the warmest during this current interglacial period that started 12,000 years ago. The year 2010 has been recorded as the hottest on record since record keeping of climatic conditions began. While NASA scientists like James Hansen urge swift action to arrest carbon greenhouse emissions that could see the ice sheets disappear by 2020, governments like the U.S. and Russia continue to explore drilling for oil in the Arctic.⁶¹

During my visit via cable-car and then hiking up to the Luyong Snow Mountain glacier outside Lijiang in southern China’s Yunnan province in June 2013, I had the opportunity to travel up to 15,000 feet and see the effect of global warming first-hand with the glacier, Eurasia’s southernmost and at the tip of the Tibetan Plateau, fast eroding. Baishui, the largest glacier on Luyong Snow Mountain, has retreated 275 yards since 1982.⁶² The Tibetan plateau is the source of some of Asia’s might, rivers like the Yangtze, the Mekong, and the Ganges and provides water to over a billion people. Temperatures in the plateau have risen markedly and are increasing more rapidly than the rest of China. So too, the world’s highest peak, Mount Everest in the Himalayas (*Sagarmartha* in Nepali and *Chomolangma* in Sherpa), is experiencing significant melting with 13 percent of its snow-cover being lost over the past 50 years. The snowline has dropped by 590 feet according to climatologists.⁶³

Glacial melting has occurred in Alaska, the Canadian Rockies, Scandinavia, Patagonia, the South American tropics, New Zealand, Austria, where the Vernagtferner glacier has shrunk by 30 percent between 1912 and 2003, Kazakhstan, and in East Africa on the Rwenzori, Kenya, and Kilimanjaro (“Shining Mountain” in Kiswahili) mountains. Most of the glaciers in New Zealand (Aotearoa) are found in the Southern Alps and have experienced a net ice volume loss of 17 percent between 1977 and 2005.⁶⁴ Almost half of all the ice in the East African glacial mountains has melted and larger glaciers on Kilimanjaro



Global warming and climate change are direct effects of emission of greenhouse gases that have continued relentlessly under globalized industrialism. Glaciers are melting in many parts of the world, evidenced here at Columbia Glacier in Alaska (Tad Pfeffer).

have become fragmented. From 1906 through 2006, 82 percent of the areas of these glaciers have been lost, from 21 square kilometers to a shocking 3.8 square kilometers today.⁶⁵ Between 1962 and 2000, 55 percent of Kilimanjaro's glaciers disappeared.⁶⁶ The melting of these East African glaciers will not have a direct impact on water supplies in the region; however, the impact on ecological balance and climate stability will certainly be felt since almost 3,000 plant species are found in Kilimanjaro and over 1 million people depend on the fragile ecosystem and water sources originating in the area. Temperatures in and around Kilimanjaro increased from 1950 to 1960, remained stable from 1960 to 1981, and rose steadily from 1981 to 1995, with average decade temperatures in the adjoining Amboseli region rising by 2 degrees Fahrenheit.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, rainfall levels have dropped significantly over the past century and frequently more months with rainfall under 30 millimeters being the pattern. Banana and coffee plantations at the base of Kilimanjaro have been displaced by montane forests at 1,700 meters and subalpine forest at 2,800 meters, indicating that global warming and climate change have forced the upper forest line to move downward and raised the risk of fires several fold owing to the pervasive dryness of the forest cover.⁶⁸ Since 1976, over 150 square kilometers of forest has been burned, mostly as the result of human activity. Melting glaciers are a phenomenon that have been observed around the world and signify a troubling issue indeed. The melting of glaciers in the Arctic documented in *Chasing Ice* is just one vivid example.

The Nile River basin is another area of Africa that continues to experience significant water stress as a result of global warming, stretching the resources of the longest river in the world at 6,700 kilometers to the maximum. Since the 1960s, when the levels of Lake Victoria that feeds the White Nile rose by over two meters, there has been a consistent lowering of water flow. Since 1900 there has been a progressive decline in water levels of the Nile entering Egypt, a country that has very sparse rainfall and depends on the Nile for 95 percent of its freshwater needs. Following the completion of the Aswan High Dam in 1972, the annual Blue Nile flood has become non-existent from its preceding quadruple and quintuple flows.⁶⁹ The dam eliminated the Nile river silt that functioned as a natural organic fertilizer for food crops, forcing farmers to use non-organic chemical fertilizers.⁷⁰ The heating of the climate has raised the evaporation levels further and caused serious hardship for agriculture and rural communities' sustenance in Egypt and Northern Sudan. Almost half of the inflows from the White and Blue Nile entering the Sudd Wetland in Southern Sudan have been lost through evaporation. Average temperature increases in Egypt and the surrounding region are projected to rise



The visible collapse of historic glaciers as the result of warming of the poles is a sore sight for the citizens of the world. This is the calving of Margerie Glacier (Michael Arrighi).

by 1 degree Celsius by 2030, 1.4 degree Celsius by 2050 and 2.4 degrees Celsius by 2100.⁷¹ The effect of reduced agricultural production particularly on food staples like corn and wheat due to higher evaporation levels (10 billion cubic meters annually from the Aswan High Dam itself), reduced Nile flow levels, and sweltering desert temperatures makes this part of the world among the most vulnerable to the devastating implications of global climate change.

Droughts, Food Riots, Heat Strokes and Disease

In the U.S. Midwest where two-thirds of all food is grown, for instance, the region is now susceptible to permanent drought with the progressive depleting of the finite water resources of the Ogallala Aquifer. Aquifers are permeable rock formations that contain groundwater.⁷² The mighty 1,450-mile Colorado River that snakes its way through much of the south-western states and from which seven states receive water, is experiencing its driest spell in the past 1,250 years with 14 years of continuous drought and with many of the human-made reservoirs connected to the Colorado sagging to half of their capacities and many water utilities using sewage effluent to compensate for water shortages. Resultantly, federal administration officials will be reducing the quantity of water that flows into Lake Mead, the country's largest reservoir, from Lake Powell, some 180 miles upstream. Cities from Las Vegas in Nevada to Los Angeles in California depend on the water of Lake Mead, including millions of acres of agricultural land. Water administrators are expecting to ration Lake Mead's water to states downstream. The somber reality is that the Colorado is fast drying up and never before are the lives of 40 million people and agricultural producers from Imperial Valley in California to cattle farmers in Wyoming been effected so direly, since three-quarters of Colorado's water flow supports all. Fifteen percent of food supplies in the U.S. depend on the waters of this giant river, now flowing to a trickle from its historical wide blue spread of a couple of decades ago.⁷³ This is the grim picture of global warming right in our back and front yards.

Visiting California for research in the first weekend of February 2014, the headline news was that California had officially declared that it was in a severe drought period, the worst in the state's history.⁷⁴ For the first time in its 54-year history, the State Water Project of California will deliver no water to residents and farmers in the summer of 2014, and regions and towns will need to depend on the scarce water resources of local reservoirs, underground wells, recycled water, and conservation measures. Area, like the industrial hub

of Silicon Valley and towns of the East Bay around San Francisco like Livermore, Pleasanton, and Dublin who have been accustomed to receiving 80 percent of their water from the State Water Project will face the hardest of obstacles in acquiring water, particularly over the perennial dry summers in the state. The Board has supplied water to 29 water districts in California, consisting of a labyrinth system of 21 dams and 701 miles of canals and pipelines that pipes water from the northern part of the state to the south, securing melting snow and capturing it for transportation in the pipe grid hundreds of miles across the San Joaquin River Delta down to San Diego, meeting the water needs of some 23 million residents and irrigating 750,000 acres of agricultural farmland. The magnitude of the state's (and by inference the country's since California is the major agricultural and most populous state in the country) water woes is reflected in the fact that in 2012, the State Water Board provided 65 percent of water to cities and farms, 35 percent in 2013, and in November, predicted that it would supply 5 percent in 2014, which turned out to be unrealistic and is now at zero. The ecological devastation of birds and other species of land creatures in California will be unfathomable given the history of recent drought in the state, followed by a deep hole in the state's \$40 billion agricultural industry, which will suffer higher costs for cattle-feed and crop irrigation and resultantly higher food and transportation costs, as well as reduced capacity of the state's cheaper hydroelectric power production in the past. The drought will compound further woes for California's forests, which saw raging summer forest fires that destroyed hundreds of thousands of acres of forest and hundreds of homes over the past decade.⁷⁵

Awareness of the lethal effects of global warming and climate change on California has been existent for close to a century. California has experienced serious droughts from 1928 to 1934, successive dry years in the mid-1950s, and a major drought in 1976-77.⁷⁶ California's water problems continue to mount, particularly in areas of water supply management where water from the water-rich (previously) northern part of the state need to be piped to drier southern California, maintaining Delta Islands Land Use so that saltwater intrusion into the river system of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers is prevented, and ensuring that levees are well maintained in the face of deterioration so that saltwater eastward from San Francisco does not intervene into the river system as a result of wind-surge and sea levels increasing.⁷⁷

Interestingly, the state of Texas, which is larger than many countries in area, is the largest emitter of greenhouse gases in the U.S., on par with Britain and Italy, even though Britain has thrice the human population of Texas. Texas produces almost twice the carbon dioxide of any other state in the country,

contributing up to 10 percent of total U.S. carbon dioxide emissions. The bulk of these emissions derive from industry, with oil production being the leading cause and producing almost half of all carbon dioxide emissions.⁷⁸ As a leading oil producer in the U.S., Texas extracts, refines, and burns oil, processes that constitute 52 percent of the state's carbon emissions. An indication of the heavy dependence on oil production and extremely poor efficiency of motor vehicles is reflected in the fact that in 1986, the average gas consumption per vehicle was 14 miles per gallon!⁷⁹ Texas released an amazing 38.8 trillion tons of carbon dioxide in 1988 from use of vehicles, 21 percent of the state's total emissions of greenhouse gas. The bumper sticker that many Texans flaunt, "Don't mess with Texas" is not as revealing as one that should read, "Texas messes with everybody ... especially when it comes to carbon emissions!" Texas is also the state that has experienced drought conditions in various regions, with a serious drought during each decade of the 20th century. Areas of the west like El Paso and San Angelo generally receive very sparse precipitation of an average of 7.8 inches and 18.2 inches per year respectively.⁸⁰ The future climate scenario for this wealthy-oil producing state is not very bright given the high incidence of carbon emissions and the fact that 90 percent of the precipitation falling on Texas does not make it to groundwater levels since most is lost to evaporation that returns moisture into the atmosphere, plants, and transpiration.⁸¹ Texas is facing its gravest water crisis in decades, with many small towns in oil and natural gas producing areas experiencing acute water shortages and 29 communities in the state running out of water in the summer of 2014 due to drought conditions, and the effects of fracking and reservoirs in west Texas are only at 25 percent of capacity. Fracking and the drilling of 40,000 oil and natural gas wells since 2011 has resulted in the loss of some 97 billion gallons of water, half of this in Texas alone.⁸² Three-quarters of all oil and gas drilling occurred in regions where water was in short supply and 55 percent of the areas experienced drought. There appears to be clear connections between fracking causing the depletion of precious water from aquifers, especially in western states of the U.S. like California, Colorado, Texas, Wyoming, and Oklahoma, and the tenacity of drought-stricken conditions in many of these states today.

In Arizona, the U.S. Department of the Interior has declared that climate change will radically reduce water flow for endangered rivers such as the Colorado, the Rio Grande, and the San Joaquin which provides water for eight western states from Texas to California, and the nation of Mexico, so that rivers will experience an 8 to 20 percent decrease in flow due to drying conditions.⁸³ Millions of people across the West will face water shortages. In Montana, ever-

greens have collapsed due to being attacked by beetles who historically have been kept away by the severe cold but who now thrive due to warming temperatures. In Colorado, at last 15 percent of the state's aspen trees have died because of lack of water, and across the northern and central Rockies, millions of pines have become lifeless.

Heatwaves have been scalding in several ways. In 1995, during a heat wave in Chicago, some 700 people were killed, including many from low-income neighborhoods and the elderly.⁸⁴ The pattern was similar to that of Europe, later during my sabbatical in 2003, when over 30,000 people died from excessively high and unbearable summer temperatures.

In Canada, the predictions for climate change are quite stark. The Climate Change Adaptation Project (CCAP) reported in 2010 that using a collection of 24 General Circulation Models compiled by the Canadian Climate Change Scenarios Network (CCCSN), winter precipitation was expected to increase in all regions of the country, making many areas prone to intense flooding, particularly in the Winnipeg area.⁸⁵ The most radical precipitation decrease is predicted for the southern part of British Columbia and Alberta, leaving the region vulnerable to extremely dry conditions and making forest fire risks rise astronomically. Drying over summer months is expected to hit southern Ontario, Quebec, and Prairie regions, exerting tremendous pressure on drinking water resources and hydroelectric power generation.

In Alaska, the Indigenous Yupik people who have lived there for time immemorial describe the manner in which *Ella Cimissiiyaagtuq* (the weather has changed so much) over the past ten years particularly. The winters and summers are warmer, with temperatures reaching 80 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer and causing food to spoil easily. Snowfall has decreased and the warm south winds have increased, causing warmer weather overall, compared to many elders like Frank Andrew and Paul John recalling very short wind spells of two days as opposed to the fourteen days now.⁸⁶ Weather conditions and the observation of mountains and hills could be predicted before; now the high and sudden variability of the weather makes it impossible to predict weather conditions reliably. Ice conditions in the Arctic are becoming milder and the *tuag* (shore fast ice) is thinner and far less than the six miles freeze from the shore from ten to fifteen years ago. Hunting on frozen rivers has thus been limited and dangerous because the ice is thinner, reducing vital food resources. Fewer birds and seals that depend on ice for their livelihoods are the norm for much of Alaska since ice levels have receded significantly.

Russia suffered the worst heat wave in its history during the summer of 2010, which resulted in thousands of people dying from heat stroke and

related problems and extending an unprecedented drought that caused the country to freeze grain exports and triggered a 90 percent rise in the price of wheat.⁸⁷ Russia, the world's largest grain producer since World War II and now the world's third largest wheat exporter, supplied grain to impoverished countries like Egypt and Mozambique, both of whom raised prices on grain food staples, which in turn provoked rioting and the deaths of at least 11 people in Mozambique in September 2010 and fierce protests in Egypt and India in 2008 and subsequently led to wide scale economic discontent and political anger in February 2011 that saw the Mubarak regime in Egypt dissolve.

Raj Patel from the *Observer* eloquently described the horror of the link between global warming and growing impoverishment in 2010 when he asserted that "Japan had its hottest summer on record, as did South Florida and New York.... But to see how climate change will pan out in the 21st century, you needn't look at the Met Office.... Look instead to the deaths and burning tyres in Mozambique's 'food riots' to see what happens when extreme natural phenomena interact with our unjust economic systems."⁸⁸ **Table 1** below highlights the projection of people thrown into the ranks of extreme poverty as environmental disaster escalates, with a general projected increase

Table 1: UN Human Development Report 2013

Population in extreme poverty under the environmental disaster scenario, by region, 2010–2050 (millions)

Region	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050	Increase, 2010–2050	Difference	
							From base case scenario, 2050	From accelerated progress scenario, 2050
Arab States	25	25	39	73	145	120	128	144
East Asia and the Pacific	211	142	211	363	530	319	501	522
Europe and Central Asia	14	6	17	32	45	30	41	44
Latin America and the Caribbean	34	50	90	138	167	134	135	155
South Asia	557	530	738	978	1,207	650	1,126	1,194
Sub-Saharan Africa	371	377	496	709	1,055	685	788	995
World	1,212	1,129	1,592	2,293	3,150	1,938	2,720	3,054

Note: Extreme poverty is defined as \$1.25 a day in purchasing power parity terms. See Technical appendix for a discussion of the base case and fast track scenarios. Source: HDRO calculations based on Pardee Center for International Futures (2013).

Human Development Report 2013: The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World (New York: United Nations Development Program, 2013), p. 96, at http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf, accessed on June 8, 2014. Used with permissions from the United Nations Development Program, licensed by Creative Commons 3.0 IGO at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/igo/legalcode>.

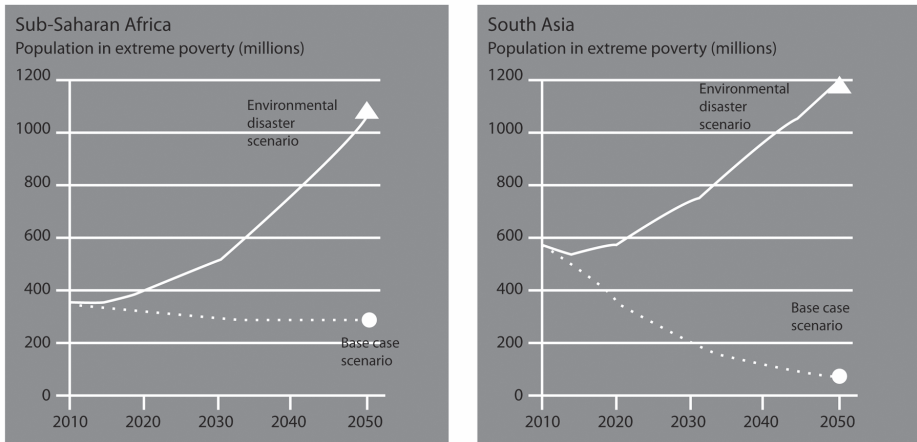
of 1.938 billion poorer people from 2010 to 2050. Under current climate change conditions, 2.720 billion more people will be siphoned into extreme poverty while a high of 3.054 billion extremely poor people is projected if climate change conditions steadily worsen over the next 30–40 years.

For Africa south of the Sahara and South Asia, where the most impoverished people of the world live, the UNDP projects about 300 million more people in extreme poverty in the case of the former and about 100 million in the case of the latter should current climate change patterns hold, with these numbers skyrocketing in the event of escalating environmental disasters to a billion in the case of Africa and 1.2 billion in the case of South Asia (**Fig. 1**).

Patel notes that the real causes for Mozambican riots lie in the 30 percent increase in bread prices, the double digit increases for water and energy and the fact that three-quarters of the average household income in Mozambique is earmarked for food, a painful result of the global escalation in oil, wheat, and corn prices in 2008, which saw such staples triple in price.⁸⁹

Fig. 1

Different environmental scenarios have different impacts on extreme poverty



Note: Extreme poverty is defined as \$1.25 a day in purchasing power parity terms. See Technical appendix for a discussion of the base case and fast track scenarios. Source: HDRO calculations based on Pardee Center for International Futures (2013).

Human Development Report 2013: The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World (New York: United Nations Development Program, 2013), p. 25, at http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf, accessed on June 8, 2014. Used with permissions from the United Nations Development Program, licensed by Creative Commons 3.0 IGO at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/igo/legalcode>.

Patel explains that the combination of natural calamities like the drought in Australia, crop disease in central Asia, and floods in south-east Asia, with the effects of unjust social systems and policies that raised oil prices phenomenally in 2007, sparked exorbitant prices for food, and encouraged biofuel policy led by the U.S. that urged ethanol production and forced farmers to divert land for energy production rather than food. The commoditization of food (kindling memories of former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz, in the 1970s who described food aid as a “weapon ... one of the principle tools in our negotiating kit” following former U.S. president Richard Nixon’s threat at the UN General Assembly in 1974 that the U.S. could use food as a weapon as the oil-producing nations did with oil) unleashed riots in Asia, Africa, and Latin America where most people are impoverished in the first place.⁹⁰ Thanks to globalization and the oppressive regime of the World Trade Organization (WTO), food production hitherto practiced by small farmers around the world so that domestic needs are met is now the principal monopoly of large transnational corporations such as Cargill, Tyson, Smithfield, Archer Daniels Midland, General Mills, Cenex Harvest States, and Monsanto in the U.S. where for instance, Cargill, Archer Daniels Midland, and Zen Noh alone control 82 percent of corn exporting processes.⁹¹ Food is a profit-making commodity whose profits are lucrative through unjust global trade policies that favor large corporations in the Western metropole countries. The net result of diversion of land for food crops for biofuel production was a further 100 million people driven into deep poverty in 2007 and the explosion of the ranks of undernourished people from 854 million people in 2006 to 1.02 billion in 2009, the highest since records on such details have been kept. The primary victims of this deepening of poverty were women who headed households because of structures of gender bias where they were poorly paid for their labor and were thus disadvantaged economically.⁹²

Twenty percent of the Amazon rainforest, the “breathing lungs of the planet,” has been decimated.⁹³ The continuing drought in the Amazon has turned the traditional absorber of carbon dioxide to a net emitter of such gases with scientists predicting eight billion tons of carbon dioxide being released as a result of dying trees and deforestation, which is the equivalent to that annually emitted by the U.S. In 2005, the Amazon drought caused over five billion tons of carbon emissions.⁹⁴ The Amazon rainforest has suffered almost 18,000 square kilometers of deforestation and one projected estimate of carbon dioxide emissions, based on deforestation rates that are 15 percent of the forest in the year 2000, would result in 48 Gigatons of carbon dioxide by 2100, or 7 times the rate of current fossil fuel emissions or 30 times the

rate of current carbon emissions based on land use.⁹⁵ The Congo Basin in Africa is home to the earth's second largest rainforest after the Amazon and, like the Amazon, regulates temperature and rainfall because it absorbs carbon emissions, but is now under constant threat by industrial developers who desire its trees for logging and timber. Though China and the EU have committed themselves to stop illegal logging in the Congo basin, the protection is extremely fragile. China, for instance, is the largest importer of timber from neighboring Gabon, where forests cover 85 percent of the land area.⁹⁶ With diminishing revenues from oil reserves, Gabon has turned to exporting its most precious resource, forested wood, especially to China and Europe. From 2000 to 2012, 2.3 million square kilometers of forest have been decimated, releasing millions of tons of carbon into the atmosphere, according to Google map satellite images.⁹⁷

In 2011, a massive cyclone in the Baltics ripped a hole that tore a forest in Finland and stretched over 160 kilometers long. Massive logging, deforestation, and clear-cutting in the upland tropics forests in Sumatra have been extended into lowland areas.⁹⁸ The result of such clearing of these forests that are peatland swamps is the release of massive amounts of carbon into the atmosphere. Even the growth of 800,000 square kilometers of forest in Russia does not offset the global annihilation of vital forest cover that functions as a natural medium for holding carbon levels in balance. In 2005, the total emission of carbon dioxide released from deforestation and biomass burning was 5–6 billion tons around the world!⁹⁹

The drying of the Earth is pervasive everywhere we look. Euphorbia trees are dying because of water shortage in Southern Africa and Atlas cedars in Algeria are withering due to lack of rainfall.¹⁰⁰ In northeast Africa, water conflicts have taken on proportions of civil war. Darfur in the Sudan is a case in point. Drought conditions in the northern part of Darfur have driven nomadic farmers further south where they encountered the people struggling for land and water in Southern Sudan who are principally of traditional Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, and other Indigenous descent or members of Christian churches, unlike their northern Muslim neighbors. The result has been eruptive tensions between both areas of Darfur, sparked not by religious affiliation but by the need for access to vital and scarce water resources in the desert since one-third of the Sahel belt has been turned into waterless desert from being semi-desert over the four decades preceding 2006.¹⁰¹ The ecological, environmental, and demographic changes attributable to global warming and climate change in Africa are radical and sweeping.

Also of deep concern is the rapid spread of insect-borne diseases like



Deforestation (shown in Cameroon) has accelerated under the globalization regime and is responsible for the release of lethal greenhouse gases into the atmosphere (Gordon Ajonina).



Globalization has intensified slash and burn agriculture, as in the Amazon, which has been turned from an absorber of carbon dioxide into a net emitter since 2008 (Matt Zimmerman).

that of dengue, malaria, yellow fever, and encephalitis in many parts of the world generally unaccustomed to such outbreaks and which have warmed in recent decades. For instance, dengue is now a problem in the Andean mountains at heights over 7,200 feet and in high-altitude areas in Indonesia, and malaria has spread to thirteen districts in Kenya from three previously. Outbreaks of encephalitis have been experienced in Sweden and in many southern and western states of the U.S. and dengue has been diagnosed in the Netherlands, while people have suffered from pneumonic plague in India.¹⁰² Cholera has spread in places like Haiti and tropical zones of Africa.

Two-thirds of the continental U.S. is now in moderate to severe drought, the driest in over five and a half decades.¹⁰³ William B. Meyer argues that “the net emission of carbon to the atmosphere by human action dates back to at least the origins of agriculture, but half of the total amount released has been released since 1920” and that “Half of the sulphur and half of the lead ever



Water is indeed the most precious resource on Earth today. Global warming and climate change has wreaked ecological and environmental havoc around the world, particularly in arid regions like the southwestern regions of Africa and of the United States. This giraffe died of thirst from the intense drought in Etosha National Park in Namibia in 2003 (author's photograph).

mobilized by humankind have been emitted since 1960; half of the phosphorus since 1975.”¹⁰⁴ The net result is that toxic heavy metals emissions are now twenty times that of natural flows from weathering. A June 7, 2012, issue of *Nature* reported that an interdisciplinary group of 22 scientists that included biologists, ecologists, paleontologists, geologists, and complex-system analysis have concluded that the rate of extinctions, climate change and extreme weather, and other natural disasters are occurring at levels unprecedented in world history that threaten the very existence of all life on the planet.¹⁰⁵ The year 2025, when the humans in the world are expected to reach 8 billion, could become a tipping point for the viability of planetary life.

Philip Stephens, a columnist with the *Financial Times*, concurs with this assessment and warns of the consequences of inaction, especially on the part of the Western industrialized world, along with rising industrial Asian giants, China and India, reducing the stark choices for humankind: leaving future generations to face the deleterious and irreversible effects of global warming or making it a leading political issue and compelling human beings to live and work differently.¹⁰⁶

Earthquakes, Floods, Tsunamis, Typhoons, Landslides and Volcanoes

Warm ocean temperatures have resulted especially in the Indian and Western Pacific oceans, triggering the El Niño phenomenon where intense storms, hurricanes, and floods are the norm for the Earth and sea globally. The mudslides that saw the collapse of four hills and the flooding of several rivers following four days of continuous heavy downpours in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca and the deaths of numerous Indigenous people, trapping close to 1,000 on September 28, 2010, was one such tragedy unleashed by global warming dynamics.¹⁰⁷

The devastating earthquake that shook Haiti and left over 240,000 dead and close to 2 million people homeless on January 12, 2010, is another possible effect of global warming and disruption of the natural cycles of the Earth. Haiti has been underdeveloped and impoverished following it becoming the first Black republic to free itself from slavery by the French in 1804, who in turn demanded reparations for its lost property, enslaved Haitians over 120 years, and combined with the U.S. refused to recognize Haiti’s sovereign government until sixty years after Haitian independence and historically marginalized Haiti in its foreign policy portfolio. U.S. and Western imperial design



The warming of the Pacific Ocean, for example, has precipitated the El Niño phenomenon that has caused erratic changes in weather cycles and patterns marked by extremes in rainfall and drought. Mudslides like this one in Pingtung, Taiwan, in 2010 are becoming frequent around the world (author's photograph).

were clearly evinced when in 1990 populist Lavalas Party leader, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was elected by 65 percent of the vote, only to be overthrown in a military coup in 1991, re-elected in 2000 and subsequently overthrown and exiled to South Africa in 2004. The intervention by the U.S. government to sabotage an already approved Inter-American Development Bank loan of \$500 million for Haitian agricultural development and vital infrastructural construction contributed decisively towards Haiti's immiseration and further impoverishment, acknowledged by former U.S. president Bill Clinton in a speech to a Senate Subcommittee where subsidized rice from Arkansas led to 830,000 rural jobs being lost.¹⁰⁸ The massive storm that raged through the Haitian capital, Port-au-Prince, on September 24, 2010, killing five people and destroying almost eight thousand tents, recalls the tremendous power of Nature that whips everything in its path and underscores the manner in which global warming phenomena principally caused by the industrialized countries effects the impoverished countries most deleteriously because the latter have

sparse resources to cater to such calamities.¹⁰⁹ Haiti still lies in unrepaired ruin with more than 2 million people living in temporary tent housing.

The effects of the tsunami that hit the Fukushima nuclear plant following the massive earthquake in March 2011 continue to linger three years later with 83,000 residents still living as evacuees and being unable to return to their homes within the 4,500 square mile exclusion zone around the damaged reactors due to the current high radiation levels and the delays in decontamination work.¹¹⁰ It's chilling to realize that there are 31 reactors similar to the Fukushima one operating in the U.S. and that a fire at a nuclear spent fuel pool could cause serious health damages and displace some 4.1 million humans in an area covering the state of New Hampshire for 30 years.¹¹¹ Meanwhile, underscoring the gravity of the nuclear disaster reaching far across the ocean, Cesium 134, a radio active metal released from the Fukushima disaster was detected in the water in the Fraser Valley in the northwestern region of Canada, raising alarming concerns about the effects of radiation from Fukushima on Chun salmon spawning in the nearby Harrison River, on whales and other marine life in the area.¹¹² Cesium 137, which is more lethal in its long-standing effects, is predicted to have destructive effects in whales off Vancouver Island in 30 years. To top it all, a senior advisor to operations connected to the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant stated that the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) may have little choice but to dump hundred of thousands of tons of nuclear contaminated water into the Pacific Ocean, escalating the magnitude of the crisis from the summer of 2013 when 300 tons of poisoned water leaked into the ocean each day.¹¹³ Ongoing spills from storage tanks since the Fukushima disaster have continued for three years, substantiating the porous nature of nuclear spent fuel storage in the first place. Even though we are often informed by operators of nuclear power plants and many scientific researchers that certain levels of radiation are "acceptable," it is unequivocal that radiation effects diverse individuals differently, which translates into unreliable assessments of the safety levels of radiation. Cumulatively, *all* radiation exposure has deleterious effects on all persons' health and exposure to environments where radioactive fuel is present compounds the extent of health hazards experienced.¹¹⁴

The South Asian country of Bangladesh, which is surrounded by water and fed by a sprawling delta, experiences major flooding each year. About 30 million Bangladeshis out of 130 million live close to coastal areas that are under significant threat by rising sea levels. Thirty-six percent of Bangladeshis survive on less than U.S. \$1 per day, making this economically vulnerable sector of the world even more susceptible to climate change and global warming. A

2 degree centigrade rise will raise water levels by one meter, causing unimaginable devastation to an already majority impoverished people.¹¹⁵ Bangladesh has suffered the ravages of climate change since it is just 39 feet above sea level, including the most lethal cyclone, Bhola, that left 550,000 dead and Cyclone Aila that killed 300 in 2009.¹¹⁶ Massive Tropical Cyclone Sidr on November 15, 2007, left thousands dead and missing and scores of thousands homeless.¹¹⁷ Though Bangladesh emits only 0.3 percent of global toxic emissions, mostly released by the Western capitalist industrialized nations, it is paying a dear price for this state of climate imbalance. The sea levels around Bangladesh is predicted by some climatologists to rise 13 feet by 2100, quadrupling the global average. By 2050, 17 percent of the land area of Bangladesh is expected to be flooded by rising sea levels and 18 million people could be homeless, part of the hundreds of millions who will become the world's future "climate refugees," prompting Atiq Rahman, the country's leading climate scientist, to declare that these "refugees" should be entitled to migrate to the U.S. where much of the greenhouse gases emanate.¹¹⁸ Somber and tear-jerking anecdotes of children being forced to work in brick factories in Dhaka, the Bangladeshi capital, and of children being forcibly sold to pay for debts from the effects of losing houses and possessions and rebuilding homes abound in the aftermath of the combination of natural and anthropogenic-caused climatic catastrophes, abound.¹¹⁹

So too, earthquakes that hit New Zealand (Aotearoa in Maori) in September 2010 and February 2011, widespread floods in Australia in the same period, and the catastrophic 9.0 earthquake followed by a tsunami that generated 500 mile per hour waves under the Pacific Ocean, all serve as a serious life-shaking reminder that the Earth is not to be taken lightly and for granted as Western industrialism persistently and arrogantly assumes. In Australia, where the "Big Dry" began in the 1990s with little rainfall, conditions have steadily worsened, with twelve continuous years of less than average rainfall, drought conditions in the outback, dust storms that at one point reached 1,000 miles long and 250 miles wide, devastating water shortages in the Murray-Darling basin of south-eastern Australia that produces 40 percent of the country's food, depleted reservoirs in Melbourne, cattle dying from water shortages, rice yields declining by 98 percent, soaring temperatures of 115 degrees for three consecutive days in February 2009 that unleashed a thunderstorm possessing energy of 1,500 atomic bombs, and wildfires in the same year that burned a millions acres and killed 173 people.¹²⁰ Drought-stricken Australians prayed for water and rain, and it came—in gushing floods so that floods in Queensland in 2011 caused \$30 billion in damage. Such horrific results of global warming of Australia led one writer to ponder whether this

is the end of Australia, since the mayor of a city in the Murray-Darling Basin lamented, “Australia is drying up, a little bit like a dried apple.”¹²¹

Massive Chinese industrialization projects in Tibet that harness the water source of various rivers in the area have led to deforestation, soil erosion, and land slides, effecting the southern riparian states of Bangladesh and India.¹²² In 2000, a landslide in Tibet unleashed catastrophic landslides in the mountain states of northeast India.¹²³ In 2008, Myanmar was hit by a massive cyclone, Nargis, the first of the year, as a result of the cyclone being churned from storm surges in the Bay of Bengal and traveling across the Irrawaddy River and along the northeast coastline.¹²⁴ Over 130,000 people died from the catastrophe and over 1 million human beings were rendered homeless. Pakistan was ravaged by the worst flooding in its history as a nation in late August 2010, with 20 million people affected and 8 million people in urgent need of shelter and supplies and one-fifth of the country—62,000 square miles—in shambles.¹²⁵ The destruction of the country’s fragile infrastructure—bridges, schools, roads, electrical power lines, and communications—set the country back decades. The incredible irony is that the looming threat of terrorism by Taliban forces and other “Islamic militants” as portrayed by the U.S. government did not shake Pakistan’s developmental foundations; it was the force of Nature, with global warming being a key factor. The torrential downpours that caused massive floods which swept eastern Indonesia, Vietnam, and China on October 6, 2010, saw river banks swollen, over 100 dead, and 64,000 people evacuated from the Chinese island of Hainan.¹²⁶ Like southern Mexico a week before the east-Asian floods, rains continued unabated for several days. In October 2011, typhoons Pedring and Quiel, which flooded and ravaged Bulacan in the Philippines, saw 15,000 people become homeless.¹²⁷ To complicate matters further and add to the devastation, super Typhoon Haiyan (known as Yolanda in the Philippines) struck the central Philippines in November 2013, leaving over 8,000 dead or missing and four million homeless, followed by yet another cyclone in January 2014 that hit the town of Guiuan on Samar Island about 375 miles southeast of Manila, which destroyed the temporary shelters of residents who were reeling from Yolanda’s previous strike.¹²⁸ On February 14, 2014, Mount Kelud on the island of Java in Indonesia erupted, spewing ash 18 miles into the atmosphere and could be heard 200 kilometers away, causing three deaths, 100,000 people to flee their homes, and three international airports to close.¹²⁹ In the same month, a combination of rain, wind, snow, and fire sparked by wind that tore power lines in Britain, left tens of thousands without power with record rainfalls of 1.6 inches (40 mm) in southwest England, and waves 33 ft. (10 meters) high pummeled the coastline, with

208 flood warnings and 320 flood alerts all over England and Wales. More than 1,000 homes had to be evacuated in Thames Valley and West Country, bringing the total to 5,800 properties destroyed since December 2013. Britain has experienced its wettest climate in 250 years.¹³⁰ On March 22, 2014, a powerful landslide in the town of Oso, 55 miles northeast of Seattle, rocked the entire area, burying 30 houses and covering 0.8 miles of State Route 530, resulting in over 90 people missing. Seventeen human bodies were recovered as of March 28, 2014. The flow from the landslide dammed and partially choked the North Fork Stillaguamish River, precipitating a crisis where serious flooding could occur with a pool of water behind the natural dam up to 30 feet in depth formed.¹³¹ The speed of the landslide was believed by a survivor who witnessed a 20-foot mudwall moving to be around 150 miles per hour and caused shaking of the area for an hour.¹³² In late March 2014, an earthquake measuring 5.1 on the Richter scale hit areas around Los Angeles, destroying scores of houses around Fullerton and dozens of buildings in adjoining areas, followed by several tremors. Within a few days of the shaking of Southern California, on April 1, a massive 8.2 earthquake struck the northern Chilean coast, triggering a tsunami with 8-foot waves, killing six and forcing the evacuation of thousands, especially around the city of Iquique and in Antofagasta.¹³³ The quake comes in the aftermath of a massive 8.8 earthquake in Chile in 2006 that precipitated towering waves that killed over 500 people and destroyed 220,000 homes and significant portions of the Chilean coastline. Seismic experts noted that the tremor from the 2006 quake was so powerful that it shortened each day by half a second due to the disruption of the Earth's rotation.¹³⁴

South Asia, which consists of close to 1.4 billion people, led by India (1.1 billion), and followed by Pakistan (180 million), Bangladesh (155 million) and Nepal (28 million), continues to experience consistent patterns of periodic droughts and floods. Monsoon seasons have been unpredictable in many seasons, causing direct effects on agricultural production in one of the most populous human settlements in the world. Nepal has suffered from ongoing landslides from glacier lake outburst floods in recent years, causing further geographical and social instability as thousands of people lose their homes from such persistent flooding and land destabilization.¹³⁵

NASA scientist James Hansen and colleagues at the Goddard Institute of Space Studies concluded in 1981 that scientific evidence was overwhelming that the single most important factor in the expansion of global warming was human-made greenhouse gases and were the first to coin the term in the journal, *Science*.¹³⁶ His reward for such revelations was a cutting off of funds to

the Goddard Institute by the U.S. Department of Energy under Ronald Reagan shortly thereafter.¹³⁷ The warming of the oceans has caused disruption of weather cycles and disruptive floods, storms, and droughts in some of the most arid parts of the world. Fresh drinking water remains the most precious resource known to humanity, for which people in many places are required to pay. The 2006 *United Nations Human Development Report, Beyond Scarcity: Power, Poverty, and the Global Water Crisis* asserts that the water crisis around the world, including for 1.4 billion people living in river-basins whose water use exceeds that of recharge, is not due to physical scarcity per se but is rooted in “poverty, inequality and unequal power relationships, as well as flawed water management policies that exacerbate scarcity.”¹³⁸ Over 1 billion people suffer acute shortages of drinking and washing water each day, mostly in countries of the South and among Indigenous communities of the North, like the Dineh (Navajo) people of Northern Arizona.

Climate Change Denial and Globalized Capitalist Ideology

Even though the U.S. National Academy of Science sounded a warning in 1979, some 35 years ago, that the Earth was warming and that environmental and climatic changes would not be peripheral, the driving forces of capitalist globalization as late as the early 2000s when George W. Bush ascended to the U.S. presidency insisted in many circles that global warming was a conspiracy and hoax and that it was being fabricated to undermine the lavish materialistic lifestyles of middle-class peoples in the U.S.¹³⁹ Jeff Flake, an Arizona congressman running for the U.S. Senate in 2012 described that though he recognized that the climate was warmer, he was opposed to environmental regulations on curbing carbon emissions from coal-fired power plants, and the best solution was through growth of the economy so that people can make decisions about the environment.¹⁴⁰ Flake’s congressional vote in favor of opening the continental shelf on the West Coast for oil drilling underscores the lethal effects of climate-denial politicians and bureaucrats within government and the private corporate sector.¹⁴¹

It comes as no big surprise to learn that the global warming and climate change-denial lobby is funded by very wealthy corporations who have much vested in propagating deception about the most serious crisis faced by the Earth and all life ever, where the very existence of life on the planet faces extinction. Oil conglomerates like Chevron, BP, and Shell regularly take full-page ads in

major newspapers like the *New York Times* touting their concerns about clean energy and environmental preservation. Exxon Mobil, the most profitable corporation in the world, which rakes in \$1 billion each day from oil sales, funds some 124 different organizations that are involved in propagating misinformation about global warming and specialize in promoting ideologies of “junk science,” myths about deep differences among scientists about global warming, and argue that attempts to change policies and actions that are geared toward addressing global warming and climate change would thwart economic prosperity for all in the world.¹⁴² Groups like the Cato Institute, the Heritage Foundation, TechCentraStation, and the dubious Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change are part of the extensive organizational list designed to sow seeds of confusion about the veracity of global warming’s lethal effects among the U.S. public in particular. It is revealing to note that Philip Morris, the mammoth tobacco company that was responsible for hoodwinking the public about the dangers of environmental tobacco smoke for decades until it was forced to abdicate through massive class-action lawsuits in the U.S. in the 1990s, was the main engineer and funder of a fake “citizens” group, the Advancement of Sound Science Coalition (TASSC), whose mission was to portray scientific research about destructive effects of tobacco smoke, nuclear waste, global warming, bio-technology, and the like as “junk science” and ideologically driven by “politically correct” obsessed organizations and individuals. TASSC was the first major “coalition” organization started by Philip Morris, which launched the climate change-denial movement in 1993. Between 2000 and 2002, it received \$30,000 from Exxon Mobil to fund its website, JunkScience.com.¹⁴³ The amazing fact is that such organizations that are core to the global warming and climate change-denial lobby have infiltrated various sectors of the world including Australia, India, Russia, Britain, and Canada, where issues of global warming are extremely real as explained earlier in the chapter.

Similarly, the Koch brothers have funneled more than \$67 million since 1997 to a range of organizations that are involved in challenging any action that regulates corporations’ actions vis-à-vis the environment and they have funded groups that oppose clean energy initiatives. The Charles G. Koch Foundation and the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation support all legislative efforts geared toward easing limits on industrial emissions. Groups that constitute the core of the climate-denial establishment like the American Council on Science and Health, the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), Americans for Prosperity Foundation (AFP), Ayn Rand Institute (ARI), Center for Freedom and Prosperity Foun-

dation, Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change, Citizens for a Sound Economy, the George C. Marshall Institute, the Fraser Institute, and the Heritage Foundation are just some of the many organizations funded by the Koch brothers.¹⁴⁴

Even though one would assume that intelligence would prevail and more people around the world, especially in the Western industrialized countries where so much of information about climate and global warming is available, would become more concerned and consider radical action to stem the course of global warming, the reality is that the numbers of those concerned are dramatically decreasing, thanks to the globalization ideological onslaught. In Australia, the Lowy Institute reported that 56 percent of those surveyed considered global warming a very serious problem, down 10 percentage points from 2008 and 19 percentage points in 2007 and among a survey of 5,000 people, though 83 percent believed that it is a crisis, only about 50 percent believed the causes to be anthropogenic.¹⁴⁵ In generally perceived liberal Norway, the trend of concern about global warming and accompanying environmental catastrophe has eroded over the decade 2000–2010.¹⁴⁶

U.S. Governmental Initiatives and Global Protocols on Global Warming

In 1992, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, spearheaded the first major international protocol on addressing the urgency of global warming as the result of anthropogenic greenhouse gases emitted in the atmosphere, followed by the 1997 Kyoto Protocol in Kyoto, Japan. The Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change of 1997, which required that greenhouse gas emission countries reduce their emissions by 5 percent below 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012, was never ratified by the U.S. Senate even though the U.S. signed the treaty in 1998. The 5 percent reduction was hardly anywhere the necessary 60–80 percent required by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) to stabilize the global climate system.¹⁴⁷ The allocation was assessed at a 7 percent reduction for the U.S., 6 percent for Japan, and 8 percent for the European Union (EU) countries and an increase of 8 percent for Australia and 10 percent for Iceland. Most underdeveloped and marginalized countries in Africa and Asia were permitted emissions increases since their emissions were significantly lower by contrast to the Western industrialized countries. Ironically, between 1970 and 2000, the

global emissions average actually grew by 1.9 percent per year.¹⁴⁸ The Kyoto protocol was finally set in operation in 2005 thanks to Russia's ratification that established the 55 percent threshold following the rejection of the treaty by Australia and the U.S., the world's second largest emitter today and the largest then. When George W. Bush became president in 2004, his administration consistently challenged the veracity of global warming and dismissed it as a hoax, making any national action, even perfunctory, on global warming and climate change policy highly remote.

Subsequently, Barack Obama claimed when he was elected as president in 2008 that he would require that the U.S. reduce carbon emissions by 80 percent by 2050 and fund all kinds of "green initiatives" that would radically lower the U.S. dependence on fossil fuels and other industrial processes like coal production that generate significant amounts of greenhouse gases.¹⁴⁹ In 2009, Obama stated that the U.S. would become a leader in the global effort to address climate change.¹⁵⁰ He declared that the U.S. Department of Transportation would begin implementing the 2007 law that required cars and light trucks to be fuel-efficient by 2020 and that production of such cars would begin in 2011. The U.S. still uses one-quarter of all oil produced in the world even though it has only 5 percent of the world's human beings.¹⁵¹ The traditional liberal response to global warming that hails such ruling class goals enunciated by the U.S. government as "some action is better than none" does not address the structural dependence of the U.S. and other heavy-energy dependent countries on fossil fuels, coal, and nuclear power for the bulk of their energy needs. While these steps may be considered significant by some in industry, they are largely symbolic within the overall scheme of U.S. fuel and energy consumption since gas-guzzling light trucks and sports utility vehicles continue to be produced, marketed, and sold by the million with little investment in new public transport mechanisms and alternative clean-energies on a national basis. The rhetoric has not been matched by concrete shifts in U.S. energy policy that would disrupt the hegemonic influence of Big Oil in the U.S. economy. For instance, the 2005 U.S. Energy Policy Act mandates that the Department of Interior would conduct research and establish a commercial leasing program that would expand commercialization of oil shale resources so that they can be exploited in Western states like Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming. Oil shale extraction would release toxic gases into the atmosphere, including sulphur dioxide, lead, and nitrogen oxide. The levels of greenhouse gases released from such extraction is ten times that of conventional crude oil. Producing 100,000 barrels of oil shale each day affects visibility for 10 percent of the year and generates 10 million tons of greenhouse gases, along

with requiring 2.1 to 5.1 barrels of water for every barrel of oil extracted and needing 1,200 megawatts of power that would reduce the water flow of the Colorado River.¹⁵² Pledging to have 1 million electric plug-in cars on U.S. roads by 2015 and identifying the goal of 25 percent of the nation's electricity coming from other sources by 2025 does not obscure the reality that there are scores of millions of cars and light trucks using fossil fuels, the main source of greenhouse gas emissions, still on the country's roads in 2014.¹⁵³ Though the U.S. has only 5 percent of the world's human population, it produces 14 percent of the greenhouse gases in the world and from 1990 through 2011 the U.S. increase of greenhouse gases was 8 percent, at the rate of 0.4 percent per year.¹⁵⁴ In 2004, the U.S. emitted 5,987.98 million metric tons of carbon dioxide at the rate of 20.4 tons per person, exceeding that of China, which released 5010.17 million metric tons at the rate of 3.84 tons per person.¹⁵⁵ In 2006, China's rate of carbon dioxide emissions exceeded that of the U.S., but not in per capita emissions since China has over four times the human population of the U.S. For any sort of stability of climate systems, at least temporarily, the global atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide should be under 450 parts per million (ppm) by volume, which most critics argue is unrealistic. The reality is that the greenhouse gases concentration is at 380 ppm and inevitably will raise global temperatures by 0.7 degrees centigrade this decade.¹⁵⁶ Though it was reported in June 2014 that some states have already met U.S. government goals of reducing emissions from electricity by 30 percent before 2030, this still falls short of the 80 percent emissions reduction by 2050 needed to maintain tolerable levels of global warming.¹⁵⁷ Further, the question is whether many of these states like Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Nevada, and Washington's emissions cuts will offset the increases of other states like California, Arizona, Wyoming, Nebraska, Iowa, Arkansas, and Louisiana and whether fracking in the states reducing emissions is still permitted.¹⁵⁸

In late January 2014, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry received a favorable report from the corporate-leaning environmental review committee, possibly opening the way for the Trans-Canada Keystone Pipeline piping oil from Alberta to Texas. It comes as no surprise that Anita Dunn, a former Communications Director on Obama's staff, ran advertising campaigns for Trans-Canada until 2011, and Brandon Pollak and Broderick Johnson who worked on John Kerry's 2004 presidential campaign were also lobbyists for Trans-Canada.¹⁵⁹ Quite a revolving door between the White House and U.S. and Canadian government offices and corporate oil lobbies still exists even while climate change policy and action is being debated!

Meanwhile, the Keystone Pipeline project rushes full steam ahead with Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his Conservative Party weakening or abandoning 70 environmental laws so that the drilling into the Alberta boreal forest intensifies. Fisheries, waterways, and precious forest cover are no longer off-limits to the giant oil companies who have had more than 2,733 communications with oil officials from 2008 to 2012.¹⁶⁰ The Keystone Pipeline is only one of 13 massive pipelines either completed already or proposed that will travel 1,200 miles to Texas and 10,000 miles to Asia and the Pacific carrying fossil fuel. The Northern Gateway pipeline crisscrosses thousands of rivers and streams between Alberta and the Pacific, ripping and raping the land as it cuts through the lush forest region. Canada's role in addressing global warming and its lethal effects is hardly laudatory: it is the only country to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol and it's very far from attaining anything close to the promised reductions of 17 percent of greenhouse gas emissions below 2005 levels. The Alberta boreal forest is one of the largest natural water resources on Earth and it functions as a carbon sink similar to the manner in which the Amazon forest once did. Now that the temperatures have risen phenomenally over the past four decades, the pine beetle has spread all over the region, killing millions of trees and making them a haven for widespread forest fires that once again release tons of carbon dioxide. Stephen Harper's government has been part of the climate-denial clique and has suppressed research and publication of articles on global warming and climate change in peer-reviewed journals, placed limits on the ability of Canada's 23,000 scientists to express their views openly, and consolidated science libraries and slashed funding for such research. Its draconian measures extend to discouraging the medical profession from working in areas where Indigenous people like the Mikisew Cree suffer from cancer and other serious ailments due to poisoning of water and vegetation from the spilloff of toxic waste from tar sands. The national health agency of Canada accused John O'Connor, a medical doctor who worked in Fort Chipewyan some 150 miles from the tar sands, of "professional misconduct" when he reported unusually high rates of rare cancers among Indigenous residents of the area due to environmental poisons, verified by a government review of findings in 2009.¹⁶¹

The negotiations on climate change among governments and various non-governmental sector organizations of Copenhagen, Denmark, in 2009, Cancun, Mexico, in 2010 and iThekwini (Durban), South Africa, in 2011 produced little tangible change in terms of any serious commitment especially by the Western industrialized powers who are the leading greenhouse gas emitters in the world. Frustration by the Bolivian delegation headed by Indigenous

President Evo Morales at the Copenhagen summit led to the Bolivians organizing their own Climate Change conference in Cochabamba, Bolivia, in 2010 that declared the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth.¹⁶² The Cochabamba conference, drew over 35,000 peoples from all over the Americas and other parts of the world, affirmed the rights of the Earth and all living beings to live in freedom as part of bio-diversity and for all to be accorded the right to enjoy clean air and water, the right to integral health, and the right to be “free from contamination, pollution, and toxic or radioactive waste.”¹⁶³ The gathering echoed the primacy of Indigenous peoples’ cultures as the principal cultural manner of addressing global warming issues since Indigenous peoples have far-reaching histories of living sustainably with the Earth.

In 2014, little tangible effect has been seen in shifting away from fossil fuels dependence and development of alternative and cleaner energy mediums. Huge gas-guzzling automobiles and sports-utility vehicles are still the norm in car usage in the U.S., all symbolic of the hegemonic power of the giant oil companies and the automobile industry. If anything, “green initiatives” are still reflective of obsession with the green ... dollar, as opposed to authentic clean energies! The Trans-Pacific Agreement, for instance, that is being signed between the U.S. and nations of the Pacific like Australia, Brunei, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand (Aotearoa), Peru, Singapore, Vietnam, along with Mexico and Canada, does not subscribe to serious environmental protections like prohibition of overfishing, banning on illegal logging and destruction of precious forests, and tight enforceable laws on selling of body parts from threatened species like elephants and tigers, another indicator of the deceptive double-speak of globalization’s political and economic protagonists.¹⁶⁴ This globalized trade-agreement would administer 40 percent of the world’s GNP and one-third of global trade, once again disregarding any measures to curb global warming from deforestation for example or protect marine ecosystems from overfishing.

Conclusion

The release of the latest report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change meeting in Yokohama, Japan, in late March 2014 underscores the gravity of the imminent and looming crisis of global warming and climate change and warns that climate change is effecting every part of the world, and the worst is yet to come, with melting icecaps, Arctic sea ice collapsing,

water supplies suffering, rising seas, droughts intensifying, heavy rains and storms destroying communities and coastlines, coral reefs disappearing, fish and other creatures migrating toward the poles, and extinction of species accelerating.¹⁶⁵ Dwindling food production is the global norm and food security is direly threatened for billions of humans and other life forms on Earth as the climate changes and water becomes the most precious resource scarcely available in most parts of our drying world. The main causes of this life-death crisis is the emission of greenhouse gases principally from industry and fossil-fuel powered vehicles, all ideas from the Western European industrial revolution that now constitute the cornerstone of the globalized capitalist system. Capitalism and its unbridled obsession with profit through mass industrial production is the root cause of the global warming crisis, and the capitalist world that developed in the aftermath of colonization must bear full responsibility for the suffering of the world and break from their addiction to profit and greed that is plundering the Earth.

Nuclear fission, agro-fuels, bio-technologies, and planetary engineering will not solve the problem of global warming and climate change, but merely prolong it and hasten life's demise. Even alternative energies like wind power, solar power, and hydroelectric power still need stable climates and abundant water supplies, all of which are in scarce supply in the present and in the future. The problem is consumption and convenience for well-to-do human elites at the cost of the rest of the impoverished majority. South Asian scientist and activist Soumya Dutta notes that "false solutions" to the global warming crisis need to be confronted so that the world is not misled and ponders: "If hand-stitched leather footballs were enough for Pele and Garincha to weave their magic on the world stage, why do we need multi-million dollar space-age factories to make the same footballs today? Why do we have to light up our urban nights as if there should be no difference between day and night? Why do we need a 2000 Kg (kilogram) SUV to move a single person weighing less than 100 Kg, from his home to work place, when a convenient bus or rail ride can do the same at one-tenth the energy consumption per person and less than one-twelfth the polluting emission—both from its running and manufacturing energies?"¹⁶⁶ Why indeed?! Dutta poignantly concludes that it's critical for all humans to realize the truth and not bury our heads in the sand or aspire towards a utopian world where materialism and consumerism are permanently enshrined in our cultures: "The root cause of the global warming and climate change crisis ... is the unsustainable and in-equitable extraction and consumption of nature's gifts, of privatization of the commons—global regional and local.... As the capitalist industrialist bulldozer has extracted fossil fuels at ever

increasing rates, burned them to produce ever increasing consumables, dumped the wastes (and externalized both the environmental and human costs) into the global common atmosphere and hydrosphere, the Earth's recycling systems are slowly giving in under the enormous extraction/exploitation."¹⁶⁷ Most importantly, Dutta accentuates the fact that *while the total net carbon dioxide-sink capacity of the Earth that includes vegetation, seas, and oceans is about 14–16 billion tons, the total anthropogenic carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuel burning, deforestation, bio-mass burning, mining, and industrialization in 2005, principally from the Western industrialized countries and the world's elite minority, was about 36–38 billion tons, more than twice what Earth can remove, and this figure is growing each year!*¹⁶⁸ The defeatist attitude by some who contend that all of the nations of the world, rich and poor alike, are committed to the mantra of “economic growth” engineered under globalized capitalism and thus greenhouse gas emissions will inevitably increase in the world and that the solution is “improving energy efficiency of the economy,” for example, is myopic because such dispositions fail to recognize the plunder of the Earth and her limited resources by the insatiable kleptocratic forces of globalization and the irreparable ecological and environmental costs of such “efficiency.”¹⁶⁹ The cost of all life on Earth cannot be quantified and reduced to economic proportions as Indigenous peoples globally have always insisted from the ancient past into the present. Indigenous Ramu elder, Belchior Ware, from Bosmun, Papua New Guinea, succinctly captures this view in the face of the ongoing resistance of the Ramu people to nickel extraction from ancestral lands and rivers, when he declares: “Life comes from the land ... we are only guardians.”¹⁷⁰

This chapter has illustrated that the global warming and climate change crisis is clearly human-caused and capitalist-driven and a result of political, social, and economic injustice, since the tiny minority of wealthy capitalist nations emits most of the greenhouses per capita in the world, yet the bulk of those who suffer from this toxic vitiation of the Earth are from the world's most impoverished countries. The obsession with economic growth, expressed by politicians and corporate executives who claim that they are unwilling to engage in radical measures that will reduce greenhouse gases by 80 percent, severely curb the use of water for industrial expansion in the light of a drying Earth, and change lifestyles because such steps would jeopardize corporate profits and lower U.S. competitiveness in the globalized economy, is fundamentally flawed.¹⁷¹ The Earth has spoken and expressed her sweltering anger at the escalating rate of extinction of so many of her children and beckons us to restore our relations with her by respecting life. *There will be no human*

life, let alone economic growth of any sort, if we persist in repeating the lethal capitalist mistakes of the past. We are compelled now to change course and return to who we were meant to be: human beings with spirits living in co-existence with our relatives on Earth, since we are all from the same Mother. This chapter demonstrates that the Earth is a Living Being who is unable to take any more of capitalism's violence and destruction of the lives of Earth's children. We as humans are an integral child of Nature and not above her. We must abandon capitalism ... to simply live. It is either *Existence in Respect of the Earth and Shared Life with Her* or *Globalized Industrialized Capitalism and Non-Existence*. There are no in-betweens if we want to live in a world where tomorrow comes. The Epilogue will chart a path for us to reclaim our humanity so that we understand what it means to be and become a human being in a world free of globalized capitalism.¹⁷²

Epilogue: Whither Unjust Globalization? An Open Future Based Neither on Linear Progress Nor Materialist Consumption

The preceding five chapters have painstakingly demonstrated that globalization is a modern form of *neo-colonization*. Intensified exploitation of the Earth, dispossession and further marginalization of Indigenous peoples, subjugation and compounded violence against women, punishment of the working and marginalized classes through incarceration, torture, and capital punishment, and ongoing wars against the people of the underdeveloped world, *the “three-quarters” world*, for vital energy and mineral resources, is *the* globalized system of the late 20th and early 21st centuries.¹ The after-effects of the sub-prime mortgage and housing crisis in the United States, where some of the largest corporate banks in the world have had to write off \$95 billion in bad debts by the end of 2007 and begged for loans from Chinese investment agencies and Arab wealth funds to rescue them from financial collapse, is just one indicator of the unbridled accesses of capital coming finally to a head, all exacerbated by the forces of globalization that stressed maximum profits by any means necessary.² Bank losses through 2008 and 2009 could total anywhere between \$500 billion and \$800 billion. Carlyle Capital, part of the Carlyle Group, and one of the largest private equity companies in the world, of which George H.W. Bush is a shareholder, has defaulted on over \$16 billion of marginal debt payments.³ The United States from 2008 through 2010 experienced a full recession with some comparing the current financial crisis to the depression of 1929. Although Wall Street investors and bankers were ecstatic that share values have climbed exponentially to their highest in February 2012 since 2008, the real effects of that recession linger. In 2008 and 2009,

360,000 jobs were lost each month. Jobs growth resumed in March 2010, but they were only at the average rate of 100,000 jobs per month. Even with January 2012's increase of 243,000 new jobs, U.S. payrolls were still "5.6 million below what they were at the start of 2008."⁴ The net effect is entrenched unemployment and subsequent poverty and erosion of middle-class positions in the U.S. economy. As former U.S. Federal Reserve chairperson Allan Greenspan wrote:

Global stock prices peaked at the end of October and then progressively declined for nearly a year into the Lehman crisis. Global losses in publicly traded corporate equities up to that point were \$16,000bn (€12,000bn, £11,000bn). Losses more than doubled in the 10 weeks following the Lehman default, bringing cumulative global losses to almost \$35,000bn, a decline in stock market value of more than 50 per cent and an effective doubling of the degree of corporate leverage. Added to that are thousands of billions of dollars of losses of equity in homes and losses of non-listed corporate and unincorporated businesses that could easily bring the aggregate equity loss to well over \$40,000bn, a staggering two-thirds of last year's global gross domestic product.⁵

During 2008, the net worth of U.S. households lost a total of \$11.5 trillion, some 18 per cent of their value for the year.⁶ While capitalism's ardent defenders insist that there will be a turn-around, the fact of the matter is that the wealth losses will never be recuperated, causing a permanent loss to the capitalist edifice that is incorrigible and irreparable. The economic downturn after all has been generated by the exchange of credit intrinsic to the capitalist system, where banks use deposits of account-holders to lend monies to people who need to live in houses but do not possess the cash resources to pay for such fundamental necessities and are thus forced to take out mortgage loans over two or three decades at phenomenal rates of compounded interest that result in borrowers often paying two or three times the original purchase price of the home. Such is the foundation of the U.S. economy that involves \$10 trillion in market value, almost two-thirds of the country's gross domestic product. Although the housing market has generally regained some of the real estate value lost since 2006, the losses are still impossible to regain in entirety. In 2009, housing values dropped by \$1 trillion and a further \$1.7 trillion in 2010, bringing total losses in housing values to \$9 trillion since June 2006.⁷ Sooner or later the "American dream" bubble that is rooted in a system of working class and poor people being forced to work as contemporary economic slaves for mammoth transnational corporate banks, was destined to burst, unleashing the well-kept secret crisis of poverty and exposing the unmitigated greed of giant Western banks that constitute the pillars of the Western financial system. In a world where only 8 per cent of the people possess bank

accounts and where only 5 percent are owners of computers, collapse of the system of monetary accumulation of the wealthy few at the cost of the forced toil and labor of the world's impoverished majority was ineluctable and is now imminent. The middle classes around the world, which are themselves now facing economic hardships are experiencing a little of what the working classes and the impoverished peoples of the world have always suffered: economic, cultural, social, and personal misery as a result of capitalism's blood-thirsty nature and orientation. As Bill Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement put it, "We are all Indian now!" Sad to say, then, the election of Barack Obama as the first Black president of the United States has not ushered in a post-racial United States as some have contended; neither has it institutionalized racial and economic justice within the country or without because all presidents of the United States are beholden to the same capitalist system that installed them in the first place and are required as their office demands: to be the commanders-in chiefs of U.S. imperialist hegemony. It is evident from Obama's over six years in office that the policies and practices of using taxpayer funds, some \$2 trillion, to ensure large banking and corporate commercial profits and stability and of maintaining a superpower war budget as from the Reagan-Bush era will continue into the foreseeable future.⁸ The early November 2010 decision by the U.S. Federal Reserve to inject some \$600 billion dollars into the U.S. economy through purchase of government bonds will not provide the necessary economic corrective because the U.S. economy is based on credit and indebtedness, in which U.S. citizens are urged to purchase homes, cars, and all consumer goods on credit so that the banks earn huge profits from credit interest. Today, the major banks in the U.S. are sitting smug and flush with lots of cash as a result of the U.S. government bailout of failing banks in 2008.

While this economic recession is officially losing steam according to the mainstream media, a recovery is projected with Wall Street gaining trillions in profits from purchase and sale of stocks, but it is still described as a "jobless recovery." What does this mean? In essence, that an economic recovery in the United States has little to do with employing the close to 30 million people who are either unemployed or under-employed, reflective of the over 15 percent unemployment rate that includes people who have exhausted the process of seeking new jobs. It is estimated that at the current rate of job creation, it would take nine more years to regain jobs lost from the recession, which excludes the 5–6 million new jobs needed from the increase in the U.S. population. Given that the median prices of house have fallen by 20 percent since 2005, it would take 13 years for houses to reach their peak, according to Allen

L. Sinai, a leading economist at Decision Economics. In essence, what the United States has had in terms of economic wealth and household and monetary value is never coming back.

What is fundamentally ignored while states slashed budgets in education, health, and basic benefits in 2010 and 2011 and the newly constituted Republican and Tea Party–dominated Congress has promised more radical cuts in public spending to trim yawning budget deficits, is that the escalation of the military budget, about \$600 billion, close to a quarter of the federal budget in 2010, has not been radically cut. The U.S. continues to maintain a wartime budget even though the Cold War officially ended in 1989. The preceding chapters painstakingly illustrated the entrenched militarization of the U.S. economy that is now steeped in global wars for resources in the name of the unending “War on Terror.” The intensification of this War on Terror, in actuality a *War of Terror*, is a foundational trope in this era of globalization because it is focused on resource acquisition and expropriation as demonstrated in the chapters of this book. One wonders why it is that the U.S. borrows billions of dollars from China to sustain its budget deficits so that it can wage wars in and around Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and in North Africa. A reasonable-minded person may ask: Why were not chunks of the military budget sliced so that they could be invested in the cleaning of the environment, thus reducing the dependence on oil and fossil fuels to stave off the catastrophic crisis of global warming? Further, why were strategic investments not intensified in education for expansion of schools and universities and quality teacher training, fully funded health care, clean air and energy development and research, public transportation and housing, job creation, child support programs, rehabilitation of the imprisoned and those on drugs, and the renewal and transformation of U.S. society? Sounds quite rational if one thinks about it. The reason that the U.S. is unable to pursue such sensible options is because of the hegemonic role that the oil corporations and the military industrial complex play, as explained in detail in Chapters 1 and 3. So the crisis continues unabated.

The unrelenting devastation of forested regions of the world, massive contamination of marine oceans and fresh water rivers, lakes, and the saturation of our air with pollutants as the result of Western industry, along with the movement of the tropical boundaries toward the poles and the intensification of drought zones resulting in drier summers and winters, have cumulatively been a part of the crisis of globalization in this phase of late capitalism in the world. According to the latest reports, 20 percent of the Amazon rainforest has been deforested and, over the past year alone, a forested area the size

of Belgium, has been cleared.⁹ If a serious push to immediately terminate deforestation in the Amazon does not occur and does not produce radical changes away from decimation of the forest, an incredulous 40 percent of the forest will be depleted by 2030. The reason for this massive ecocide is the need for soybean cultivation for energy demand in the United States and the greed for timber in Western Europe and North America, executed by loggers in the Amazon. Such felling of the Amazon will result in the emission of anywhere between 55.5 billion and 96.9 billion tons of carbon dioxide gases into the atmosphere, causing a spike in temperatures in areas in North America and as far away as India.¹⁰

In March 2009, Indigenous communities and the environmental protection movement were horrified to learn that Arizona environmental officials had killed the last remaining wild jaguar in the world through a perverted policy of supposed protection that ended in putting the animal to sleep, falsely assuming that its kidneys had collapsed.¹¹ The arrogance of positivist strands in Western science and culture that insists that they can recast and remake the world of nature in Western humanity's image causes irreparable suffering and extinction, as with the catastrophic elimination of the southwestern jaguar. Western science insists that it knows how to preserve and save the world without being willing to acknowledge its historical oversight of ecocide.

The nagging question remains: now that we know so much of the disastrous effects of globalization, what can we do or what should we do? The philosophical foundations for economies of the Indigenous peoples of Sabah, Malaysia, which resonate with hundreds of millions of Indigenous people globally recall us to ancestral wisdom that is timeless:

The traditional economic system, which puts community solidarity as its priority, is being replaced by the dominant capitalist economic system, which puts profit first rather than people.

Sustaining indigenous systems in the current context where the dominant system continuously imposes itself on the traditional systems and the desire for progress within the community which sees the traditional system as a stumbling block, remains the greatest challenge.¹²

In discussing the subject of the role of the academy and the pursuit of knowledge vis-à-vis the crisis of political governance in Africa, John Morongo writes:

We have too many academic institutions in the world today that call themselves universities. It may be time for them to stop doing so, for they are not universal or political in the elemental sense. They are simply parochial academic institutions that lack the will and courage to truly be universal. Genuine universities should be

in the business of providing universal political education—the kind of education that is deeply and thoroughly rooted in global justice. They cannot be what they ought to be if they do not practice universal justice. If instead of preparing our students for citizenship in the universe, we continue preparing them for citizenship in an anachronistic, nineteenth-century world of nation-state citizenship, we will continue to reinforce catastrophic governance in the world.¹³

There is no question that the global capitalist system as symbolized by transnational corporations and the Western ruling elites and their ruling class regime allies around the world have no real future because their cosmological foundations are rooted in greed and exploitation of Mother Earth and all life. B. A. Ogot, the noted African scholar, argues:

It is clear that the liberal world economy as it has existed since 1945 is on its way out. What we have to expect in its place, if present trends are a reliable guide, is something approximating to a world of regional blocks or super blocks ... of exclusive trading areas hedged in by protective tariffs, in which groups of developed [*sic*] and developing [*sic*] countries are linked together by mutual interests and stand opposed to other groups of developed [*sic*] and developing countries linked ... since the free-market economy has failed to provide employment and as a means of distributing the world's wealth, perhaps a regulated, regionally organized world economy, even if it is not perfect, may have tangible advantages to offer, both to the developed [*sic*] and developing [*sic*] countries.¹⁴

The liberal tendency response to globalization has been to call for peaceful settlement of conflicts, whether it is the Indigenous people of the Western hemisphere demanding the return of ancestral lands and barring mining and energy extractionist corporations, or the colonization of Palestine by Western-Israeli colonialism, or the struggles of Indigenous Africans in South Africa and Zimbabwe to have their dispossessed lands returned unconditionally to them, or the struggles of Indigenous people of Australia and New Zealand (Aotearoa) to have access to ancestral lands for ceremonies. Yet this peace is chimerical. Under the auspices of globalization, few historically rooted colonial conflicts have been resolved. Dev Nathan and Govind Kelkar write:

Peace, however, cannot be simply the absence of conflict or the elimination of fear of physical violence. That would be a “negative” and insecure peace. To be positive, peace must eliminate the structures that support unequal capability fulfillment within or between countries and redress the wrongs done to all those involved in unequal power, including gender relations. Rather than a return to the status quo, a positive peace must include the elimination of unequal power and development relations.¹⁵

Pakistan was besieged by floods in 2010 that saw up to 14 million people rendered homeless or effected, all while it was being urged to intensify its

fighters against the Taliban and Al Qaeda “terrorists.” It has hardly recovered from the devastation from flooding and hunger and poverty have soared as a result of the flooding, yet another indicator of the lethal effects of global warming, especially on underdeveloped nations who don’t possess the resources or infrastructure to redress Earth’s anger from global warming. Pakistan, like India, is a nuclear power, yet the bulk of the people in Pakistan and India live in dire poverty, almost a billion people in all. India was ranked 119 in its Human Development Index by the United Nations Development Program, among 169 countries in 2010.

During the 2007 festive season bloodletting continued unabated in Pakistan following the killing of Benazir Bhutto on December 27, with over 42 people killed, 947 vehicles destroyed and 131 banks and 31 petrol stations burned. Bhutto, a former prime minister, had promised genuine democracy in the military-ruled nation, but continued to maintain a family heirloom of wealth and political manipulation beholden to Washington, D.C.¹⁶ Prominent Pakistani-English critic Tariq Ali sums up the situation aptly in his article “Daughter of the West” in the *London Review of Books*, where he explains that both Pervez Musharraf, the former president of Pakistan made so through a military coup in 1999 and the late Benazir Bhutto both functioned as surrogates for U.S. military imperialism, an extensive quote that is warranted here given the obfuscation over Pakistan’s “democracy.”

Both parties made concessions. She agreed that he could take off his uniform after his “re-election” by Parliament, but it had to be before the next general election. (He has now done this, leaving himself dependent on the goodwill of his successor as army chief of staff.) He pushed through a legal ruling—yet another sordid first in the country’s history—known as the National Reconciliation Ordinance, which withdrew all cases of corruption pending against politicians accused of looting the national treasury.

The “breakthrough” was loudly trumpeted in the West, however, and a white-washed Benazir Bhutto was presented on U.S. networks and BBC TV news as the champion of Pakistani democracy—reporters loyally referred to her as “the former prime minister” rather than the fugitive politician facing corruption charges in several countries.

She had returned the favour in advance by expressing sympathy for the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, lunching with the Israeli ambassador to the UN (a litmus test) and pledging to “wipe out terrorism” in her own country.¹⁷

In Kenya, presidential elections were held in March 2013 in which Uhuru Kenyatta won a much-contested election against incumbent president Mwai Kibaki. During the December 2007 elections, Mwai Kibaki was returned to the presidency following a patently rigged election. Close to 1,500 people were

killed then and 600,000 people were forced to flee their homes from the Rift Valley and around Kenya to live elsewhere by the conflict between the ruling Kenya African National Union Party and Raila Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement. Though the conflict has generally been painted as a "tribal" feud between Kikuyu-speaking Kenyans and Luo-speaking Kenyans and social, political, and economic dominance by the former in Kenya since formal independence from Britain over 40 years ago, the quintessential issue for the upheaval is poverty among the majority of the people in Kenya caused by the Western-capitalist structured and governed economy. As one commentator responded, "There are only two tribes in Kenya ... the haves and the have-nots." The hundreds of thousands of impoverished men and women living in Nairobi's slums like Kibera and Mbare took to the streets in angry protest when they realized that the candidate for whom they had voted and on whom they had pinned their hopes for economic change, Raila Odinga, was not going to be accorded justice in an election controlled by the ruling party. Further, both the Kenyan African National Union Party and the Orange Democratic Movement concurred on the planned invasion of Somalia in line with the political machinations of the U.S. government, which was determined to stamp out the dissident Al-Shabaab organization in Somalia, evoking greater ethnic tensions in the region.

The tragic result of Western-demanded elections in Kenya has been the eruption of colonially-defined ethnic community conflicts that were craftily engineered by elitist groups and from which the latter inevitably benefit, the tearing asunder of a beautiful nation and the forced expulsion of over 200,000 people in the Rift Valley alone. If these elections are patterned on Westminster and Washington recipes for democracy and caused the deaths and dispossession of hundreds of thousands of people in African countries like Kenya, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Cote d'Ivoire, for example, then perhaps it is time to re-assess the current political practice of elections every four years, where generally select elite representatives assume the reins of political power to the detriment of Africa's vast impoverished majority. African's political roots are not in Western Europe but in a continent where traditional Indigenous modes of collective participation in decision making prior to colonialism generated positive societal outcomes for diverse peoples for millennia.

African and other colonized peoples need to hearken back to the frameworks of their cultural pasts to understand how to live peacefully and happily in a contemporary world driven by capitalist greed and wars against Mother Earth that continue to heap untold suffering and maintain perpetual social,

political, economic, and cultural instability in the world. Libya, the historic intellectual and trade and commercial center of ancient African civilizations, which served as the center of Pan African living and community in the 20th and early 21st centuries, is no more since NATO under the leadership of the U.S. dropped thousands of bombs and shelled the countryside with depleted uranium-laden Cruise missiles to occupy the country and install a surrogate regime that extracts oil from the deep oilfields for Western capitalist consumption and profit by the oil conglomerates. The West finds it so difficult to learn moral lessons from its catastrophic invading wars against Iraq and Vietnam.

The nation state that exists in many parts of the world, particularly in underdeveloped countries, the *"three-quarters" world*, has generally been either irrelevant to the lives of the majority of the people in their respective lands or exploited them through militarization, dispossession from traditional lands, and decimation of forests and coast lines for energy resource extraction. States under the globalization regime have often caused untold family suffering through subjugation of women, particularly in agricultural plantations and industrial assembly plants and factories. Most nation states have protected the wealthy and powerful and impoverished and marginalized the working classes. The colonial roots of these states (since many of these boundaries were officially designated during the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885) have perforated kinship ties and land-based cultures in the Pacific, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The suffering of the Gypsy communities in Europe is an extension of the callousness of the nation state towards people who come from Indigenous cultures and feel no allegiance to the state, but cherish honoring the Earth. The nation state that demands allegiance, especially under the auspices of globalization through doctrines of national security, is against Indigenous ways of seeing and living on the Earth and thus problematic for human beings living in peace with their relatives, the rest of the natural world. After all, *we are all citizens of the Earth and the Earth does not belong to us, but we belong to the Earth*, the Indigenous Diné group, *Blackfire*, sings.¹⁸ The Earth knows no colonial, political, territorial, or geographical boundaries as human "civilizations" have demarcated over the millennia. We are her children along with all of our relatives, the four-legged, birds, insects, plants, mountains, rivers, oceans, lakes, and the creatures that walk on their bellies on the face of the Earth.

The wisdom of Indigenous peoples is instructive because of its long-term value and relevance in comparison to the short-term myopic materialist goals sought in Western educational systems. The letter of Chief Seattle, an Indigenous leader in North America in the 19th century, is instructive for our embarkation of paths into the future:

Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. Man did not weave the web of life; he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does it to himself.

One thing we know, which the white man may one day discover—our God is the same God. You may think that you own him as you wish to own our land: but you cannot. He is the God of man; and his compassion is equal for the red man and the white man. The earth is precious to Him and to harm the earth is to heap contempt on its Creator. The whites too shall pass; perhaps sooner than all other tribes. Continue to contaminate your bed, and you will one night suffocate in your own waste.¹⁹

Ed McGaa, an Indigenous spiritual leader, contextualizes the critique and call by Seattle for us in the 21st century, referring to the irreparable damage and destruction evoked by human beings obliviously continuously decimating the creatures on Mother Earth and erasing the hopes of future generations of all life, judicious words warranting extensive citation here:

If killing Mother Earth is a sin, as the Indians believe, then avoiding becomes a step on the path of illumination. The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr declared that sin is a separation from the truth. If the truth, as seen in the Native American's holy visions, is the profound interconnectedness of all existence, then sin becomes inevitable when one becomes alienated from nature. Yet has ever there been a time when humanity has been so torn from nature's embrace? Thoreau wrote that "the mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation." People living in the modern age have become alienated, feeling alone, isolated, and separated. Modern myths have created the perception of an atomistic society, where all connections have been cut. Yet nothing is further from the truth. Interdependence is at the center of all things. The separation between us and nature is a mirage. The perception of separation is the result of ignorance. It springs from the arrogant belief that a human being is unlike animal beings and plant beings and rock beings. It is reinforced by the false teaching that technology has lifted us above the web of life. The sin of hubris made modern people believe that human beings are superior to and independent of nature. The Indians knew the meaning of humility when they stood beneath the Great Spirit in ceremony and prayed, "Oh Wakan Tanka (Great Spirit, Great Mystery) make me worthy." We must realize, it is an unbroken flow that runs from humankind to the glory of creation. We do not seek a "back to nature" movement; instead we emphasize the realization that we can never leave nature.²⁰

The 2008 research report (*BBC World News*, February 14, 2008) from climate and marine scientists indicates that only 4 percent of the seas and oceans on our planet are undamaged and that sizeable portions of coastlines in northern Europe and southeast Asia have been irreparably damaged by over-fishing, commercial shipping and off-shore oil drilling, annihilating thousands of marine species in the process, making the specter that all fish could be erased and sea food diets would become obsolete within fifty years increasingly

likely. In March 2008, salmon fishing all along the Pacific West Coast from Mexico to Washington state, was halted due to the critical shortage of Chinook salmon in the cold waters of the northwest.²¹ The view by a billionaire businessman at the Davos summit in January 2008 that “water is the oil of the twenty-first century” is a haunting reminder that the expediency of Western industrialism, while satisfying greedy materialistic appetites in the short run, is permanently destructive in the long term. David Loy, a Buddhist scholar teaching in Japan, notes the inordinate power wielded by the transnational corporation, observing that in 1995, “only 49 of the world’s largest economies were nations; the other 51 were corporations” and that the “total sales of the top 200 transnational corporations were bigger than the combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of all 182 countries except the top nine nations, that is about thirty percent of the world GDP” yet “employed less than one-third of one percent of the world’s population.”²² Lamenting the fact that corporations in the United States gradually increased their power following the U.S. Civil War and benefited from the most decisive legal decision in U.S. economic history in 1886 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Santa Clara County v Southern Pacific Railroad* that a corporation is in fact “a natural person” and enjoys the protection of the Bill of Rights, including free speech akin supposedly to any person, Loy concludes that corporations are morally incorrigible. It is clear though that, since the early part of the 20th century, free speech was radically curtailed for all those citizens who challenged the injustices of society, particularly for African Americans, rights of course which never existed for the Indigenous people since the founding of the United States. Citing the 1984 disaster in Bhopal, India, where a chemical leak from the Union Carbide plant there resulted in 10,000 deaths and over 50,000 permanently injured, Loy balks at the fundamental insouciance of the transnational corporation, the leading pillar of capitalism, because the \$400 million in damages that Union Carbide paid for through its insurance has not served as a deterrent to other TNCs, but instead has emboldened them to continue illicit practices that jeopardize both human life and environmental conditions, risking fines for such criminal practice. Loy asserts:

As the example of Bhopal shows, a corporation is unable to feel sorry for what it has done (it may occasionally apologize, but that is public relations, not sorrow). A corporation cannot laugh or cry; it cannot enjoy the world or suffer with it. Most of all, a corporation cannot love. To love is to realize our interconnectedness with others and live our concern for their well-being. Such love is not an emotion but an engagement with others that includes responsibility for them, a responsibility that if genuine transcends our own selfish interests. If that sense of responsibility is not there, the love is not genuine. Corporations cannot experience such love or

live according to it, not only because they are immaterial but also because of their primary responsibility to the shareholders who own them. A CEO who tries to subordinate his companies' profitability to his love for the world will lose his position, for he is not fulfilling that financial responsibility to its shareholders.²³

Loy finally underlines the need for the positive abolition of the corporation that he views as the most lethal threat to the future of the world:

My Buddhist conclusion is that transnational corporations are by their very nature problematic. We cannot solve the problems they create by addressing the conduct of this or that particular corporation; it is the institution that is the problem.... As long as corporations remain the primary instruments of economic globalization, they endanger the future of our children and the world they will live in.²⁴

In repudiating the Chinese shift away from socialism towards market capitalism, Samir Amin observes that this "economic revolution" that has stunned the world obscures the fact that the reason for Chinese insertion into prominence on the global world stage is the powerful shake-up generated by the agrarian socialist revolution under Mao Tse-tung in 1949 and lasting until 1976. Amin accentuates the unavoidable truth that "capitalism, by its very nature, is incapable of solving the peasant question, and that the only prospect it offers is a of a 'shantyized' planet with billions of surplus human beings" and that "capitalism is becoming barbarism and directly leading to genocide," necessitating a replacement with a philosophy that is essentially about development and a "higher rationality."²⁵ Amin surmises that environmental concerns will compel the demise of capitalism and the charting of an alternative path for societies and argues against any deterministic unadulterated economic laws that govern history, but rather views as decisive the "social reactions to the tendencies expressed in them" which in turn shape social relations in the world.²⁶ He proposes a socialistic order for the future and cautions that "there will be no socialism without democracy, but also democratic advances without social progress," and calls for a pluricentric world where the military designs for control of the Mother Earth by U.S. imperialism are extinguished.²⁷

Yet, it is important to move beyond a socialist alternative as Amin so eloquently suggests. Political and economic philosophies, systems, and structures will come and go throughout the unfolding of human history and like human beings and all life will physically become transformed into something other than material body. As much as Marxian thought has provided the most comprehensive and incisive critique of capitalism since the inception of the capitalist system over two centuries ago, it nevertheless is deficient in that it deifies human nature and elevates the realm of humanity over Mother Earth and the rest of the natural world. Human beings cannot be reduced to their materialist

proportions and the history of human struggle cannot be couched principally as the struggle to “tame nature” for the well-being of the human species. Human beings are an integral part of the natural world, having originated in Earth. The idolatry of deifying the temporality of human nature as it evolved in medieval Europe has caused enough destruction to the ecology and stability of our very fragile planet. We cannot continue down this path of perennial devolution and self-destruction. This is not in any way to dismiss the noble goals of socialism towards economic and social justice in the world, as employed in the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, for example. The problem is that these socialist experiments are short-term and cannot project themselves into the future, without instruction from the Earth. We need to return to the ways of living with the Earth and not against the Earth as if she were some commodity structured for exploitation and manipulation. The Earth has ways to instruct us on how to engineer economies of scale that can truly develop our societies and ecologies in sustainable and healthy ways. As Dagara spiritual elder, Malidoma Somé notes:

Indigenous people find their rhythm in nature. Westerners, on the other hand, seem to seek meaning in the realm of the machine, where one finds neither peace nor wholeness, but ceaseless movement. In the West, people are always frenetically rushing somewhere in the countless lanes of the multiple highways of progress.²⁸

Western humanity has elevated itself above nature and is now reaping the bitter fruit of such idolatry and narcissism as Westerners find it increasingly impossible to control the processes of Mother Earth, particularly in the manner that weather and ecological systems wreak havoc on artificial human-engineered manipulations of the natural world like rivers and forests. This obsession has produced a permanent restlessness within the contours of Western culture. Vine Deloria, the Indigenous scholar, laments that

The white man, when viewed in this context (of lack of knowledge about the intricacies of the American landscape-mine), appears as a perennial adolescent. He is continually moving about, and his restless nature cannot seem to find peace. Yet he does not listen to the land and so cannot find a place for himself. He has few relatives and seems to believe that the domestic animals that have always relied upon him constitute his only link with the other peoples of the universe. Yet he does not treat these animals as friends but only as objects to be exploited. While he has destroyed many holy places of the Indians, he does not seem to be able to content himself with his own holy places ... for his most holy places are cemeteries where his forefathers lie under granite slabs, row upon row upon row, strangers lying with strangers.²⁹

Human beings are fallible creatures, not immortal, as much as the ancient Greeks aspired in their mythologies to depict humans becoming like eternal gods. We

are here for this moment and we need to live in creative and responsible ways that prepare for the next seven generations. Our words and bodies will pass away.

What *will* remain is Mother Earth and the ultimacy and eternity of the spirit world that outlasts all physical life. Spirit is supreme and outlives every materialistic political or economic system constructed by human society. We who have come from Earth, made with Earth, ultimately return to Earth, for burial or as dust when cremated. This is what Indigenous peoples have always exhaustively, even at the cost of peril to ourselves when confronting the edifice of globalization, attempted to teach the master philosophers of the Western world in our simplicity and humble collective village cultures. The Western world has neither seen fit nor possessed the spiritual fortitude to chart a way of life that makes harmonious respect of and living with Mother Earth the ultimate principle of existence. Instead, Western epistemological confusion has elevated the scientism of the human mind to divine proportions, aborted from its spiritual moorings. The result is the pervasive confusion, greed, violence, nihilism, anxiety, fear, oppression, racism, sexism, hatred, social conflict, pollution of air and water, and distortion of spirits, minds, and bodies that ineluctably leads to widespread drug addiction, rootlessness and accompanying ruthlessness, social and diseased epidemics that invade and occupy all communities regardless of electrified gates and high-rise concrete walls and barbed wire fences, preoccupation with probes into space while ignoring the desecration and violation of Earth and the elimination of the right to life of humans and other animal and plant life, and myopia that views the material present as ultimate where genetically modified seedless production terminates our links to the future. In a different world, such would be classified as “insanity.” So many call it “progress,” “post-modernity,” “the pinnacle of civilization,” and, yes, “the miracle of globalization.” Winona LaDuke, Anishinaabeg activist from Minnesota, emphasizes the gravity of the ecological crisis pointedly:

According to Harvard biologist Edward O. Wilson, 50,000 species are lost every year. Three-quarters of the world’s species of birds are declining and one-quarter of all mammalian species are endangered. Tropical rainforests, freshwater lakes, and coral reefs are at immediate risk, and global warming and climate change will accelerate the rate of biological decline dramatically.³⁰

As you complete the final segment of this book, a good question to ask would be: *how many species have been irretrievably erased during the course of my turning the pages? Is it indeed the miracle of life or is it really the horror of destruction?*

The Earth is ultimately the driving force of the world and without us recognizing her sacred and indomitable power, which demands that we as

human beings struggle and strive to walk in harmony with her, we will go nowhere, but continue to actively destroy this beloved planet. We need to do more walking on Earth, barefoot as much as possible, to reconnect with the voice of Earth, like the Longest Walk across Turtle Island from Alcatraz Island on the West Coast started in February 2008 and ending in Washington, D.C., in July 2008, like the long walk of Indigenous activists in Australia in July 2007. We need to abandon our automobiles that are powered by the blood of the Arabs, Africans, Latin Americans, and Asians, the poor people of the deserts and the forests of this world. We need to undo the asphalt and the concrete that can never cover the Earth, and become real. We can never remove her since she is the ground upon which we walk, and like the weeds that we attempt to exterminate, she always comes back—sometimes angry enough to cause uncontrollable storms! It needs to be reiterated in this epilogue that the Earth is a living being and like all of the bodies in the celestial sphere, is a live and powerful spirit and by whose natural laws we are required to live, if we are to expect anything meaningful as humans living on Earth. This is precisely the reason that the knowledge possessed and the cultures practiced by Indigenous nations like the Khoi San and the Indigenous people of Australia are so foundational in the discussion of the future of our world. Speaking from the Indigenous nation of Australia, Mary Graham, perspicaciously critiques the endemic individualism, the commoditization of land, and the deification of money in Western industrialism:

Older Aboriginal people have often stated that white Australians “have no dreaming,” that is, they have no collective spiritual identity, no true understanding of what constitutes a correct, “proper,” relationship with land/reality.

The spirit of the sacred has been reified as “money.” Western behaviour, as we have observed it over the last two hundred years, has elevated money to the status which is normally accorded to the sacred.

By contrast, in Aboriginal society money has the same status as other useful resources, such as food, clothing, transport and housing. These resources are there for the use and benefit of the family group first, and then of the community. Money is therefore subject to the same sort of treatment as other resources—sharing.³¹

Graham emphasizes that particularly in an ethos of globalization where economic production is paramount and resource extraction ultimate, the principles of Indigenous culture are unwavering:

The Land is the Law: The land is a sacred entity, not property or real estate; it is the mother of all humanity. The dreaming is a combination of meaning (about life and all reality, logic) and a guide to living. The two most important relationships in life are between land and people and then between people; the second is always contingent upon the first. Land, and how we treat it, is what determines our

humaneness. Because it is sacred and must be cared for, land ontologically becomes the template for society and social relations. All meaning, then, comes from land.

You are not alone in the world. Aboriginal people have a kinship system that extends to the land. This system was, and still is, organized into clans. *The Western question is: What is the meaning of life? The Aboriginal Question is: Who is it that wants to know?* Aboriginal cultural praxis maintains that one does not need work, money, or possessions to justify one's existence. Over long periods of time, Aboriginal people have invested most of their creative energy in trying to understand what makes it possible for people to act purposively, and experience "events," or to put it another way, *what is it exactly that makes us human?*³²

The obsession with industrial progress and vulgar individualistic material accumulation is rooted in a culture that has terrorized the Earth and has produced the cultures of impoverishment of Indigenous people all over the world, decimated most beings of the rest of the natural world, subjugated and violated the sacred roles of women as life-givers, underdeveloped the colonized peoples of the world, pursued wars of conquest for possession of economic and political hegemony that have created craters in the Earth and caused animals, birds, insects, and plants to vanish and become extinct, and established regimes of punishment of the poor through the prison industrial complex, all subjects discussed extensively in this book. The resistance movements to globalization around the world, like those at the 1993 WTO meeting in Seattle, the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in 2003, the protests at Davos in 2008 and in various cities and towns around the world, and the Occupy Wall Street movement, are all positive signs of the spiritual movement towards wholeness and against profit, greed, and colonial imperialist violence. Ultimately, these dissidents around the globe will need to connect with the voices and cultures of Indigenous people who are the oldest caretakers of the Mother Earth as enunciated above.

Finally, it is important to underscore that no singular human being or culture has all of the solutions to the problems of the world. Indigenous peoples have understood two important principles that we all need to earnestly consider: (i) The Earth is not the center of the Universe and (ii) the Universe has no center and is thus timeless and "spaceless." In this sense, Indigenous peoples do not subscribe to the concept of linear time because it is restrictive and unscientific in explaining the manner that the universe functions. The concept of the Earth come into being 15 billion years ago as part of a cosmic explosion of particles as Western science teaches does not expose the fact that 15 billion years is a linear concept of time that is totally abstract because it cannot be imagined. Similar is the concept that declares that the nearest star is 20 light years away, which implies that by traveling at the speed of light, it

would take us 20 years to get to such a star. Humans will never be able to accomplish such a feat because it is unachievable and thus totally abstract. It is precisely for these reasons that Indigenous peoples subscribe to the view that we live in a timeless Universe with no center and that we are ultimately all spiritual beings whose spirits manifest themselves in cycles of events that cannot be measured in linear time. This is the reason too that Indigenous peoples are not obsessed with the question of the origin and the time in which the Earth originated because it is a futile exercise with little relevance to the preservation of the spirit that binds every being to the endless universe. In some sense, it is a realization that as human beings are expendable in a timeless universe, so too other forms may emerge in different worlds if it occurs in the future that humans do not exist. In a real manner then, in a cyclical timeless and “spaceless Universe,” our physical lives are but a moment of the manifestation of the infinite spiritual manifestation of the universe and that matter in the universe is what Vine Deloria describes as “mind-stuff” that leaves everything open-ended.³³ As he wisely cautions:

Our expectations in life are that events will occur in a cause-and-effect universe in which it is relatively simple to trace the beginnings and end of any natural phenomenon.... When we experience an event or feeling out of the ordinary, we tend to dismiss it as unreal, a fantasy that somehow broke out into our consciousness. We cannot explain what we have experienced because we have only this narrow materialistic framework to evaluate what has happened.³⁴

This book serves as the prophetic call to thoughtful cultural praxis and the abandonment of materialistic capitalist paths and a return to restoring the traumatically violated relationship with the Earth and living in simple ways that ensure harmony with the rest of the natural world since human beings are an intrinsic element of the tapestry of nature, and not extrinsic to her or above her. In a real manner, this epilogue ironically contends and illustrates that for humans to move forward, we will need to delve deeply into the wellspring of Indigenous pasts to be the best human beings can be.³⁵ It is only through the re-union and the restoration of a harmonious relationship with the Earth that humankind can reclaim some of the positive elements of the global commerce and trade that occurred among the peoples of the world, across Asia as far as China and the Pacific, across north and west Africa all the way from Egypt and the Horn of Africa down the Kiswahili east coast to Senegal and the Congo, with Europe, and with the Western hemisphere, dating back to the early part of the previous millennium that lasted 14 centuries.³⁶ Paradoxically, it was Asian and African trade with Europe that generated sustainable economies for all peoples, not the kind of slaving predatory inhuman

global economies of scale we have today. Those ancient global relations respected the sacred amid serious social and economic contradictions in those industrial societies. Restructured and respectful global relations that are collectively beneficial for all life can only transpire under a supportive Earth. Anything contrary is doomed to self-destruction, as are economic systems or empires themselves. After all, the Earth does not make progress; she rotates relentlessly from season to season in rhythm with the rest of the universe. *If the Earth is indeed our Mother and does not make progress, how could we humans who are her children?!*

Chapter Notes

Introduction

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Chapter 1

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Chapter 2

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tices of Permanent Forum on the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) for proclaiming the protection of Indigenous cultural heritage and rights on the one hand, while excluding Indigenous peoples from fundamental decisions made at international forums on such rights, on the other. A joint statement written by Chi Endeh Community Alliance members, Michael Paul Hill and myself, was read by Michael Hill at the same UNPFII forum and simultaneously criticized WIPO for vacillating on questions of “tangible” and “intangible” rights that WIPO representatives at the UN conference described. Essentially, WIPO obscures radical disparities of power wielded by state governments and Indigenous peoples when it comes to protection of Indigenous cultural and property rights and claims to protect Indigenous peoples’ rights while working closely in the service of state governments.

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53. Jorge Calbucura, “Investing in Indigenous People’s Territories, a New Form of Ethnocide? The Mapuche Case” in *Walking Towards Justice: Democratization in Rural Life*, 240.

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57. The author attended a panel organized at the 13th UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) in New York in May 2014 where Judy Kipkenda from the Ogiek Peoples Development Program presented a paper on the struggles of the Ogiek people for autonomy and ancestral land protection.

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60. Dev Nathan and Govind Kelkar, Introduction, *Globalization and Indigenous Peoples in Asia: Changing the Local-Global Interface*, 21–22.

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126. See, for instance, Clara Jimeno's article "Implementation of the Gender Demands Included in the Guatemala Peace Accords: Lessons Learned" in *Women Resist Globalization: Mobilizing for Livelihood and Rights*, edited by Sheila Rowbotham and Stephanie Linkogle (New York: Zed Press, 2001).
127. Clara Jimeno, "Implementation of the Gender Demands Included in the Guatemala Peace Accords: Lessons Learned" in *Women Resist Globalization: Mobilizing for Livelihood and Rights*, edited by Sheila Rowbotham and Stephanie Linkogle, 190.
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129. Karen Kampwirth, "The Mother of the Nicaraguans: Doña Violeta and the UNO's Gender Agenda" in *Rereading Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Political Economy of Gender*, edited by Jennifer Abbassi and Sheryl Lutjens, 179, 181.
130. The author was part of a Nicaragua delegation of the Alliance for Global Justice, a Central, South American and Caribbean solidarity organization based in Washington, D.C., from August 27 to September 5, 2012.
131. Sylvia Marcos, "The Borders Within: The Indigenous Women's Movement and Feminism in Mexico" in *Dialogue and Difference: Feminisms Challenge Globalization*, edited by Marguerite Waller and Sylvia Marcos (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 102.
132. Sylvia Marcos, "The Borders Within:

The Indigenous Women's Movement and Feminism in Mexico" in *Dialogue and Difference: Feminisms Challenge Globalization*, edited by Marguerite Waller and Sylvia Marcos, 102.

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134. See for instance, Keith Harmon Snow's substantive coverage of the role of Western and neighboring surrogate regimes and national corporations in the looting of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and in the Great Lakes region of Africa, at his blog, *Black Agenda Report*, at <http://blackagendareport.com/?q=blog/144>, accessed in June 2014. Snow is an investigative journalist whom the author knows personally through visits to Arizona. Billy Batware's paper, "Resource Conflicts: The Role of Multinational Corporations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," May 12, 2011, at <http://acuns.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/RoleofMultinationalCorporations.pdf>, accessed on June 4, 2014, provides some information on the range of corporations culpable in the high mortality rate in the DRC stemming from the wars for minerals in the country. The article, "Zimbabwe Accuses De Beers of Looting Diamonds," March 5, 2010, sheds light on De Beers' devious role in illegally extracting diamonds in Zimbabwe, at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/dark-side-of-natural-resources/diamonds-in-conflict/debates-and-articles-on-diamonds-in-conflict/48826.html>, accessed on June 4, 2014.

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136. See Eric Elliott's article, "750 Congolese Soldiers Graduate from U.S.–led Military Training, Form Light Infantry Battalion," United States Africa Command, September 20, 2010, at <http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/7727/750-congolese-soldiers-graduate-from-us-led-milita>, accessed on June 4, 2014. In his article "Tomgram: Nick Turse, America's Non-Stop Ops in Africa," March 27, 2014, Nick Turse, Managing Editor at TomDispatchwww, notes that senior military officers from the DRC were implicated by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in crimes of rape and violence in Kivu province in 2012. DRC military personnel have been trained by AFRICOM as indicated above. Turse's detailed article on the extensive role of the U.S. in military operations and training in Africa also highlights

that the U.S. mentored the military officer who overthrew the democratically-elected government in Mali in 2012, at http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/175823/tomgrampercent3A_nick_turse_america's_non-stop_ops_in_africa/, accessed on June 4, 2014. The UN Human Rights report, "UN denounces sexual violence, other serious violations in Eastern DRC," May 8, 2013, is at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=13308&LangID=E>, accessed on June 4, 2014. Eric Schmitt's article "U.S. Training Antiterror Elite Troops in Four African Countries" in the *New York Times* on May 27, 2014, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/27/world/africa/us-trains-african-commandos-to-fight-terrorism.html?emc=eta1> and accessed on May 27, 2014, elaborates on the expanding U.S. military role in Africa in this globalized era.

137. Noted political science and sociology scholar Samir Amin's excellent article "Rwanda's Proxy's Wars for Imperialist Interest" lucidly explains the colonialist and Western imperialist role in the Rwandan genocide of 1994, *Pambazuka News*, Issue 675, April 24, 2014, at <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/91475>, accessed on June 4, 2014. Michel Chossudovsky's instructive book *The Globalization of Poverty and the New World Order* (Montreal: Centre for Research on Globalization, 2003), specifically the section, "Economic Genocide in Rwanda," provides a good background to the economic underpinnings of the Rwanda conflict and globalization being implicated through the radical drop of global coffee prices, where the U.S. intervened in the deliberations of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1989 on behalf of large coffee producers. Rwanda's economy, which depended on coffee exports, was radically undermined, causing a deep socio-economic crisis in the country. Excerpts from "Economic Genocide in Rwanda" are at http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/East_Africa/Rwanda_EconGenocide_GPNWO.html, accessed on June 4, 2012.

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141. Lamia Rustom Shehadeh, "Women in the Lebanese Militias" in *Women and the War in Lebanon*, edited by Lamia Rustom Shehadeh (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 149.

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144. American Friends Service Committee White House Discretionary Budget for 2013, sent in sticker format via mail to the author in March 2012.

145. See, for instance, Chalmers Johnson's book, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt, 2004), especially page 4 which notes that the U.S. has 725 military bases around the world.

146. It should come as no surprise that a Mass Fatality Planning bill was introduced in Congress on October 6, 2012 (HR 6566), which constitutes an amendment to Section 504 of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 that grants FEMA authority to execute the burial of masses of U.S. citizens in the event of a natural disaster or "terrorist" incident. All U.S. citizens need to pay serious attention to the reasons proposed for such a bill and its connection to Homeland Security. Cited from <http://www.legitgov.org/FEMA-Ordered-Prepare-Mass-Fatality-Planning-Bill-Introduced-Congress>.

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commissionreport, accessed on June 4, 2013. Skeptics include prominent scholars like David Griffin, *The New Pearl Harbor: Disturbing Questions About the Bush Administration and 9/11* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2004); Michel Chossudovsky, *War and Globalisation: The Truth Behind September 11* (Shanty Bay, Ontario: Global Outlook, 2002); David Griffin and Peter Dale Scott (co-eds.), *9/11 and American Empire—Intellectuals Speak Out*, Vol. 1 (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2006); John A. Cobb (co-ed.), *9/11 and American Empire: Christians, Muslims, and Jews Speak Out*, Vol. 2 (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2006); Steven Jones (founder of *Journal of 9/11 Studies*), Howard Zinn, A. K. Dedwney, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and John McMurtry. French journalist Thierry Meyssan's *l'Effroyable imposture (The Horrifying Fraud)* (Paris: ALPHEE, JEAN-PAUL BERTAND, 2007) is another source of skepticism about official events of September 11, 2001.

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Chapter 4

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Stock Profits,” at http://www.dunwalke.com/4_Narco_Dollars.htm, accessed on September 25, 2014.

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161. Jacques Leslie, "Is Canada Tarring Itself?" Op-Ed, *New York Times*, March 30, 2014, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/31/opinion/is-canada-tarring-itself.html?emc=eta1&r=0>, accessed on March 30, 2014. John O'Connor is featured in an interview in the outstanding 2014 film documentary *Standing on Sacred Ground:*

Profit and Loss, that describes the resistance of the Mikisew Cree people to the toxic and destructive effects of the tar sands project in Alberta and the struggle of the Ramu people in Papua New Guinea against land dispossession, mining for nickel by Chinese corporations, and toxic dumping by Australian companies. *Standing on Sacred Ground* is a four-part series on Indigenous peoples struggling for land and protection of sacred sites produced by Christopher McLeod and Bullfrog Films, accessible at www.bullfrogfilms.com.

162. <http://therightsofnature.org/cochabamairights/>, accessed on March 12, 2014.

163. "World Peoples Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth: Building the People's World Movement for Mother Earth" at <http://pwccc.wordpress.com/programa/>, accessed on March 12, 2014. Ofelia Rivas, a traditional elder from the Tohono O'odham nation in Arizona, was one of the delegates to the Cochabamba conference in 2010 and has shared the power of the experience at Cochabamba with the author on several occasions.

164. "4 Ways Green Groups Say Trans-Pacific Partnership Will Hurt Environment," *National Geographic Daily News*, January 17, 2014, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/01/140117-trans-pacific-partnership-free-trade-environment-obama/>.

165. Justin Gillis, "Panel's Warming on Climate Risk: Worse Is Yet to Come," *New York Times*, March 31, 2014, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/01/science/earth/climate.html?emc=eta1>, accessed on March 31, 2014.

166. Soumya Dutta, "Reclaiming Our Ecological Commons" in *Critical Issues of Justice, Equity and the Climate Crisis; Resisting Destructive "Development": Those Who Pollute/Emit the Most Are Not the Ones Threatened by Impacts* by Meher Engineer, Soumya Dutta, and Asit Dash, 61.

167. Soumya Dutta, "Reclaiming Our Ecological Commons" in *Critical Issues of Justice, Equity and the Climate Crisis; Resisting Destructive "Development": Those Who Pollute/Emit the Most Are Not the Ones Threatened by Impacts* by Meher Engineer, Soumya Dutta, and Asit Dash, 63.

168. Soumya Dutta, "The Basic Science of Global Warming and Climate Change" in *Critical Issues of Justice, Equity and the Climate Crisis; Resisting Destructive "Development": Those Who Pollute/Emit the Most Are Not the Ones Threatened by Impacts* by Meher Engineer, Soumya Dutta, and Asit Dash, 16.

169. See, for instance, Roger Pielke, *The Climate Fix: What Scientists and Politicians Won't Tell You About Global Warming* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 219. The problem is that such schol-

ars still adhere to the reform of the discredited, morally incorrigible, and unsustainable globalized industrialized capitalist system as the solution to the crisis of global warming and the extinction of life itself.

170. Trailer, *Standing on Sacred Ground*, a four-part series on Indigenous peoples resisting globalization and annihilation of their ancestral lands and cultures by Christopher McLeod, 2014, available at <http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/ssg.html>, accessed on March 28, 2014.

171. See for example Toni Johnson's article "Economic Challenges for Climate Change Policy," *Council for Foreign Relations*, July 7, 2009, at <http://www.cfr.org/world/economic-challenges-climate-change-policy/p16009>, accessed on June 9, 2014.

172. See the beautiful words of Leon Shenandoah, *To Become a Human Being: The Message of Tadodaho Chief Leon Shenandoah*, by Steve Wall (Charlottesville: Hampton Roads, 2001).

Epilogue

1. The author proposes this term as an accurate description of the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean, since collectively these regions constitute three-quarters of the world's human beings. The term is proposed as an alternative to the pejorative "third world" coined by Western economists of the 1960s and 1970s to describe the peoples of these regions.

2. See, for instance, the article "Mortgage Meltdown: Interest Rate 'Freeze'—The Real Story Is Fraud," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Insight Section, December 9, 2007, for an analysis of the dynamic of the interwovenness of greed and fraud by the custodians of U.S. financial capital, the banking industry, exposed through the sub-prime mortgage crisis.

3. Julia Werdigier, "Dutch-Trade Fund Moves Toward Collapse," *New York Times*, March 14, 2008, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/14/business/worldbusiness/14carlyle.html>, accessed on March 15, 2008.

4. Don Lee, "Jobless Rate Falls to 8.3%, Cheering a Surprised Wall Street," *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 2012, at <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/feb/04/business/la-fi-jobs-20120204>, accessed on February 10, 2012.

5. Allan Greenspan, "Equities Show Us the Way to Recovery," *Financial Times*, March 30, 2009, at <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/1e955244-1cc3-11de-977c-00144feabd0.html#axzz34gKmrYAw> accessed on April 2, 2009.

6. Allan Rappoport, "Record Falls in Net Worth of U.S. Citizens," *Financial Times*, March 13, 2009, at <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/6369a6e6-0f70-11de-ba10-0000779fd2ac.html>, accessed on March 14, 2009.

7. Michael Gerrity, "Special Report: U.S. Homes Lost \$1.7 Trillion in Value in 2010. Total Value Destruction Since Market Peak Now \$9 trillion, Cost of 12 Iraq Wars," *World Property Channel*, December 9, 2010, at <http://www.worldpropertychannel.com/us-markets/residential-real-estate-1/real-estate-news-home-value-declines-home-value-destruction-zillow-report-lost-home-equity-values-home-foreclosures-bulk-condo-sales-worst-real-estate-markets-3601.php>, accessed on June 6, 2014.

8. The stellar documentary *Inside Job* provides a moving dramatic account of the revolving door between the U.S. government, especially the White House, and Wall Street, with former president George W. Bush and current president Barack Obama ensuring that the corporate banking sector and Wall Street bankers have their profits solidly protected by U.S. taxpayer bailouts. This was one of Obama's first major financial policy moves in his first six months in office.

9. *Sunday Independent*, South Africa, February 3, 2008.

10. "'Lungs of the Planet' Under Threat," IOL online news at www.iol.co.za, December 6, 2007.

11. Tony Davis and Tim Steller, "I Baited Jaguar Trap, Research Worker Says," *Arizona Daily Star*, April 2, 2009, at http://azstarnet.com/news/science/environment/i-baited-jaguar-trap-research-worker-says/article_8fa21c82-d1c9-5750-ab9a-fd2744565e01.html, accessed on June 23, 2014.

12. Felix Tongkul, *Traditional Systems of Indigenous Peoples of Sabah, Malaysia: Wisdom Accumulated Through Generations* (Penampang, Sabah, Malaysia: PACOS Trust, 2002), 60–61.

13. John Murungi, "The Academy and the Crisis of African Governance," *African Issues* XXXII, nos. 1 and 2 (Fall 2004), 21, published by the African Studies Association, Rutgers University, 2004.

14. B. A Ogot, *Building on the Indigenous: Selected Essays 1981–1998* (Kisumu, Kenya: Anyange Press, 1999), 17–18.

15. Dev Nathan and Govind Kelkar, Introduction, *Globalization and Indigenous Peoples in Asia: Changing the Local-Global Interface*, edited by Dev Nathan, Govind Kelkar, and Pierre Walter (New Delhi: Sage, 2004), 25.

16. *Sunday Independent*, South Africa, December 30, 2007.

17. Tariq Ali, "Daughter of the West," *London Review of Books*, 13 December 2007.

18. *Blackfire*, an award-winning Native American musical group in Flagstaff, Arizona, has now been replaced by Sihasin, another award-winning musical group constituted by Jeneda and Clayson Benally, daughter and son of Hataali Jones Benally.

19. Ed McGaa, Eagle Man, *Mother Earth Spirituality: Native American Paths to Healing Ourselves and Our World* (San Francisco: Harper-Collins, 1990), xi.

20. Ed McGaa, Eagle Man, *Mother Earth Spirituality: Native American Paths to Healing Ourselves and Our World*, xv.

21. Peter Fimrite, "1-Year Ban on Chinook Salmon Fishing Proposed," *San Francisco Gate*, March 17, 2008, at <http://www.sfgate.com/green/article/1-year-ban-on-chinook-salmon-fishing-proposed-3291301.php>, accessed on June 23, 2014.

22. David Loy, "Can Corporations Become Enlightened? Buddhist Reflections on TNC's" in *Globalisation: The Perspectives and Experiences of the Religious Traditions of Asia Pacific*, edited by Joseph A. Camilleri and Chandra Muzaffa (Selangor, Malaysia: International Movement for a Just World, 1998), 63.

23. David Loy, "Can Corporations Become Enlightened? Buddhist Reflections on TNC's" in *Globalisation: The Perspectives and Experiences of the Religious Traditions of Asia Pacific*, 70.

24. David Loy, "Can Corporations Become Enlightened? Buddhist Reflections on TNC's" in *Globalisation: The Perspectives and Experiences of the Religious Traditions of Asia Pacific*, 71.

25. Samir Amin, *Beyond U.S. Hegemony? Assessing the Prospects for a Multipolar World* (Beirut: World Book; Kuala Lumpur: SIRD; Scottsville, South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press; London: Zed Press, 2006), 38.

26. Samir Amin, *Beyond U.S. Hegemony? Assessing the Prospects for a Multipolar World*, 151.

27. Samir Amin, *Beyond U.S. Hegemony? Assessing the Prospects for a Multipolar World*, 174.

28. Malidoma Somé, *Of Water and the Spirit: Ritual, Magic, and Initiation in the Life of an*

African Shaman (New York: Arkana/Penguin, 1995), 178.

29. Vine Deloria, *For This Land: Writings on Religion in America* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 241.

30. Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (Boston: South End Press, 1999), 197. LaDuke cites these facts from Lester R. Brown, Christopher Flavin, and Hilary French, *State of the World 1997: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 13.

31. Mary Graham, "Globalisation: An Indigenous Perspective" in *Globalisation: The Perspectives and Experiences of the Religious Traditions of Asia Pacific*, 130–131.

32. Mary Graham, "Globalisation: An Indigenous Perspective" in *Globalisation: The Perspectives and Experiences of the Religious Traditions of Asia Pacific*, 128–129.

33. Vine Deloria, *The World We Used to Live In* (Boulder: Fulcrum Books, 2006), 199.

34. Vine Deloria, *The World We Used to Live In*, 194.

35. In this regard, the instructive words of Leon Shenandoah, Indigenous Tadodaho spiritual leader from the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy are captured in *To Become a Human Being: The Message of Tadodaho Chief Leon Shenandoah* by Steve Wall (Charlottesville: Hampton Roads, 2001).

36. This point is made by Anoushiravan Ehteshami in *Globalization and Geopolitics in the Middle East: Old Games, New Rules* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 7. See also the work by John Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilizations* (New York: Citadel, 1980), and W. E. B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1965) for an illumination of pre-colonial global commercial and trade interactions among the peoples of Africa, Asia, the Pacific, Europe, and the nations of the Western hemisphere.

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