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Global Undertones

SUMMER2014

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how did we get here?

Black Gold

The dark side of development
in Colombia

INTO THE

STREETS



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summer 2014

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Issue I: INTO THE STREETS

Our first issue is inspired by the recent expansion of public political participations and mobilization that has dominated foreign politics and media coverage over the last few years. This issue covers a range of topics from labor politics, climate change, to all out revolution.

All of these movements have similar bearings- rooted in shared economic, social, and political realities that have compelled civilians to act in the pursuit of change.

The aim of "Into the Streets" is to expose some of the less commonly explored narratives that shaped these ongoing events, as well as their outcomes and consequences.

About Us

Global Undertones Magazine (GU) is a peer-reviewed global affairs publication. Founded in 2013 by a group of graduate students, our publication aims to narrow the gap between popular and academic narratives of world issues.

GU's objective of "bringing the local global" highlights our dedication to accessibility. The stories we publish not only help explain developments around the world, but take seemingly localized events and emphasize their importance in a way that resonates with readers regardless of their country of origin.

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“Get it
DONE!”

“Rarer by far than originality in science or art is originality in political action. And rarer still is original political action that enlarges, rather than blights or destroys, human possibility.”

-Jonathan Schell





By John Foran

The Global Climate Justice Movement & the fateful race for a radical climate treaty

Protestor demands Climate Justice and an end to coal on the Capitol. Climate activists and activists from diverse social movements—including progressive labor, indigenous organizing, and the fledgling eco-socialist movement—are increasingly embracing the overlap in their demands and desires for a more socially just future within the Global Climate Justice Movement. Courtesy of The Nation.

The science is in: climate change is here now, not in the future [ii], and it is already having devastating effects on people’s lives. [iii] That’s the bad news. The good news: there’s a global climate justice movement growing in numbers, reach, strength, and inventiveness. The global climate justice movement consists of thousands of organizations at every level –community, city, region, nation, and global –interlinked in a network of networks. This essay will examine some of what it has accomplished so far, where the major point of impact lies at the moment, and what strategic decisions must be faced moving forward.

In December 2015, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [[UNFCCC](#)] convenes the COP 21 meetings (the Conference of the Parties, in this case the twenty-first annual U.N. climate summit) to finalize the global climate treaty it has been working on for several years. The goal is to find ways to prevent earth from warming more than two degrees Celsius since 1800, a target set by climate scientists and generally accepted by the governments of the world. If passed, this threshold will plunge humanity into increasingly unlivable conditions.

A climate treaty may represent the last best chance to contain disruptive climate change... and to preserve some dignity for individuals and societies.

Humanity’s future, then, looks increasingly set to be a race. On one hand stands the effects of climate change and its corporate and nation-state drivers. On the other, stands the efforts and

ability of this movement and its nation-state and popular allies to check those effects, halt the rate of increasing greenhouse gas emissions that cause global warming, and then rapidly reverse the trend downward by defeating the one percent at the ballot box, in the streets, at places of work and consumption, and in the very carbon-saturated culture and media in which we swim.

I’m going to start with two observations, which are not self-evident and which may challenge some readers’ assumptions and understandings:

First off, the climate crisis is far more profound and daunting than most of us realize;

And secondly, the planet cannot stay below the bottom-line warming target of 2 degrees Celsius under capitalism as we know it.

Let’s take a brief look at each of these claims.

Climate in crisis

In his powerful essay, “Global

Warming’s Terrifying New Math,” prominent U.S. climate activist Bill McKibben argues that the world’s largest fossil-fuel producing corporations and countries must be compelled to leave 80 percent of their proven reserves (and thus their actual value) in the ground. This is the inescapable physical logic of salvaging a livable planet for future generations. [iv]

In other words: to have a ‘reasonable’ chance—in this case meaning “four chances in five, or somewhat worse odds than playing Russian Roulette with a six-shooter”—of averting a two-degree Celsius temperature rise this century, we can only burn a given amount of fossil fuels.

As of 2012, or the time of writing his *Rolling Stones* piece, McKibben estimated the cap for maximum atmospheric CO2 emissions at 565 gigatons as the upper limit for staying at or below a 2 degrees Celsius temperature rise. This cap is equal to roughly

a fifteen year supply –till about 2027 –if “business as usual” trends of economic production and growth continue.

The terrifying part, of course, is the estimate that the world’s already “proven” reserves of fossil fuels exceed McKibben’s cap by five times.

What this means, in real terms, is that the richest corporations in the history of the world would have to forego four-fifths of their future earnings –by some estimates, an astronomical \$27-28 trillion. Instead, they are currently spending over \$600 billion a year trying to discover *new* sources of fossil fuels. Each year the amount we can afford to burn decreases.

Confronting the climate challenge

Fortunately, radical climate scientists Kevin Anderson and Alice Bows of the Tyndall

Centre for Climate Change Research in Manchester, England, are trail blazers for their peers in the scientific community. Like McKibben, these two are not only analyzing the climate problem, but are mobilizing their knowledge to identify the larger political problem that underlies it. [v]

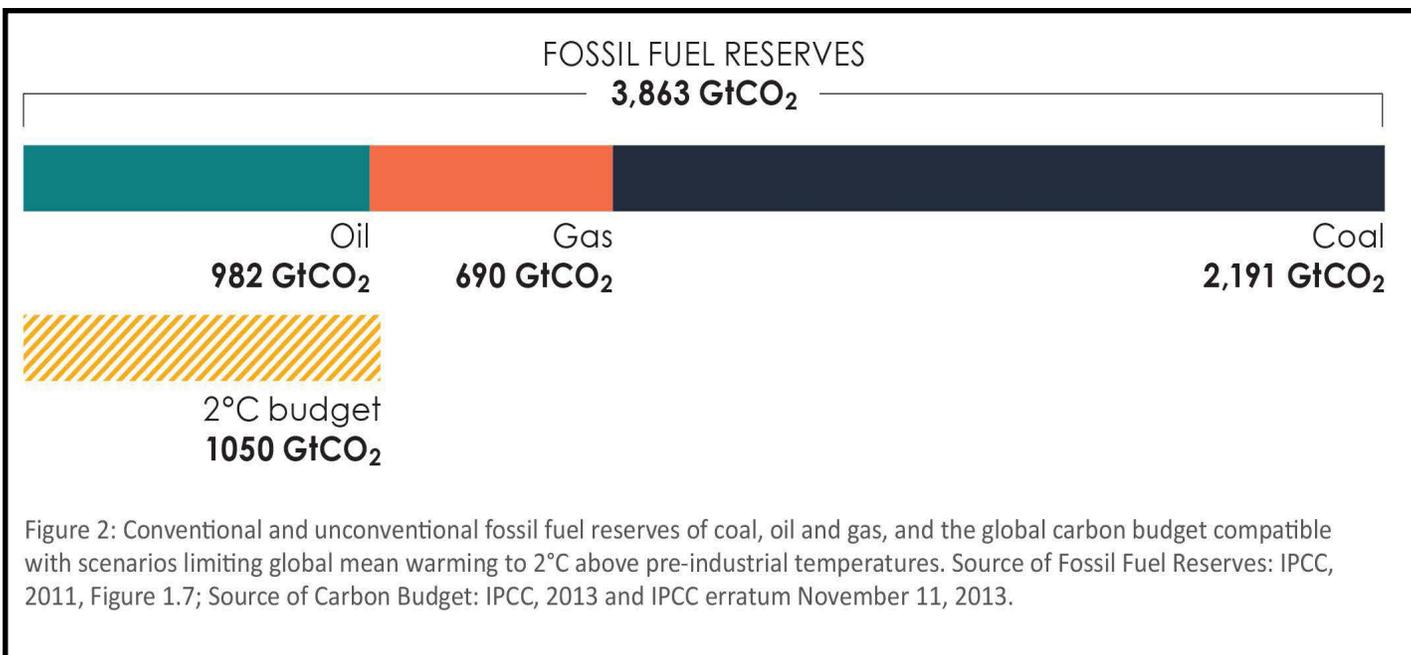
Anderson and Bows communicated this mission in the subtitle to their well-attended side event running parallel to last November’s COP 19 UN climate summit in Warsaw, Poland: “Global Carbon Budget 2013: Rising emissions and a radical plan for 2 degrees.” [vi] The event’s sobering presentation of numbers, only slightly different from McKibben’s, would allow us to emit another 1,000 gigatons of CO₂ for a 66 percent chance of staying under two degrees.

According to these assumptions,

we have roughly twenty years left of business as usual before we exceed the limit—but now put *two* bullets in the gun while playing Russian Roulette with the planet.

What makes Anderson and Bows true heroes within the climate science community, however, is their bold articulation of the policy implications of our predicament. They argue that we need to avoid 4 degrees at all cost (as even the World Bank now agrees) [vii], and that the global North needs to cut 70 percent of its emissions *over the next decade*

As they noted, “we’re not short of capital, just the initiative and courage.” More damning are the political consequences that Anderson drew just before the COP 19 talks: “Today, after two decades of bluff and lies, the remaining 2°C budget



Estimated CO₂ (in gigatons) in remaining fossil fuel reserves versus estimated maximum CO₂ emissions (in gigatons) to keep the planet within a 2 degrees Celsius “carbon budget.” US climate activist Bill McKibben almost cuts this figure in half, setting the carbon budget at max. CO₂ emissions of approx. 565 gigatons, or a small fraction of CO₂ in remaining known fossil fuel reserves.

demands revolutionary change to the political and economic hegemony.”[vii]

In another interview during the COP 19 talks, Anderson said: “I’m really stunned there is no sense of urgency here, “pointing out that leadership, courage, innovative thinking, engaged people, and difficult choices are ultimately needed to appropriately deal with climate change. [ix]

Following from this, the global climate justice movement confronts several tough questions: What are the corresponding *social and political* implications of this argument? How do we achieve this feat, with the might of the world’s largest corporations and richest governments united in suicidal lockstep against us?

How does the global climate justice movement achieve this feat, with the might of the world’s

largest corporations and richest governments united in suicidal lockstep against it?

Capitalism conundrum

The claim that the planet cannot stay under 2 degrees Celsius under our current strains of capitalism results from a long chain of reasoning: historical, theoretical, and empirical –in a word, the sociological. At a glance, the sociology of climate change [x] looks something like this:

Because the economic system of capitalism is based on literally endless growth, which requires ever-rising demands on the planet’s finite natural resources, capitalism will become unviable as resources are increasingly depleted, overworked, or made scarce by the impacts of climate change.

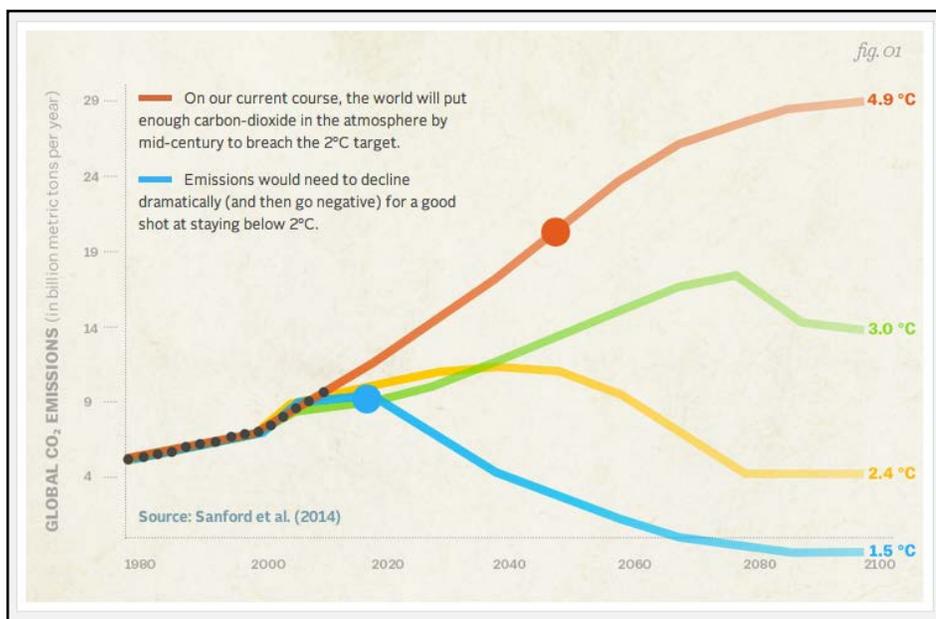
The problem in the medium-term future of capitalism (e.g. the next 25-50 years) is that the natural resource base necessary for producing what humans require to survive will no longer be dependable. Some excellent advocates of sustainable development, notably British ecological economist and University of Surrey professor Tim Jackson [xi], have advanced the important idea that an ecologically-guided “degrowth” economy is a solution to this contradiction. Their arguments nevertheless lack a convincing case this could be delivered under the political economy of capitalism as we know it.

Nor does it appear realistic that capitalism can be radically reformed, even with all the political will in the world (currently conspicuous by its absence) in the necessary time frame, by

2050--by which point [climate science](#) tells us the vast majority of emissions must have ended.

No one has put this problematic scenario more eloquently lately than Australian journalist Renfrey Clarke, who asks “What is it about capitalism that the system willfully pursues strategies that look certain to bring about its own demise?”

The answer lies in the fact that while an unaddressed climate crisis will be lethal to capitalism, the solutions to the crisis also promise to bring the system down — and sooner. The capitalists’ dilemma becomes clearer if we list some



A visual comparison of the gulf between the “business-as-usual” trajectory (the one we’re currently on, marked in red) and a more climate-conscious trajectory (marked in blue) involving extreme emissions reductions and even reversal. According to the blue line, global CO₂ emissions would need to peak by 2050. According to the red line, the 2 degrees Celsius limit will have been long-breached by 2050.

Photo Courtesy of Vox.

of the key measures required...:
–Material and financial resources need to be reoriented, in a concerted way, from the pursuit of maximum profit toward achieving rapid declines in greenhouse gas emissions.
–This reorientation of the economy will need to include a large element of direct state spending, structured around long-term planning and backed by tightening regulation. Schemes such as carbon pricing cannot play more than a limited, subsidiary role.
–To keep mass living standards

moment is as a *triple crisis* consisting of: 1) long-term economic uncertainty; 2) waning public confidence in political parties (the “democratic deficit”), and 3) an economy and culture saturated with militarism and endemic violence. The wild card of climate chaos now exacerbates and binds these elements together. This would seem to auger a perfect storm of crisis.

Even if capitalism could somehow overcome the natural barriers to its continued existence,

capitalism would seem to set the social and natural worlds on a collision course—one which even the elites cannot win on their own terms without destroying the basis for all human life.

To put it bluntly, we are face to face with a “wicked” problem [xiv]: the climate crisis is perilous, our 500 year-old economic system cannot see us through it safely, the window for resolving this dilemma is closing, and the forces arrayed against us are strong, *very* strong.

“Ultimately, the massive social, economic, and political inequalities already generated by neoliberal capitalism would seem to set the social and natural worlds on a collision course.”

at the highest levels consistent with these measures, and ensure popular support, the main costs of the reorientation need to be levied on the wealthy.

“Can anyone imagine the world’s capitalist elites agreeing to such measures, except perhaps under the most extreme popular pressure?” [xii]

Quoting [Noam Chomsky, Renfrey succinctly concludes](#), “In the moral calculus of capitalism, greater profits in the next quarter outweigh the fate of your grandchildren.”

The present moment: a triple crisis in the making

One way to think of the present

the last twenty years of rampant privatization of public goods and services referred to as “neoliberal capitalism” have generated obscene inequality and unparalleled concentrations of wealth and power. Just 90 corporations and fossil-fuel exporting countries are responsible for fully two-thirds of all the carbon emissions that have been generated since the dawn of the industrial revolution. Meanwhile, the richest 85 individuals in the world now possess as much wealth as the poorest half of humanity – 3.5 billion people. [xiii]

Ultimately, the massive social, economic, and political inequalities already generated by neoliberal

The Global Climate Justice Movement

This leads to one of surely many possible hypotheses for necessary next steps: *only a strong and vigorous climate justice movement on a global scale has the capacity to force governments to stand up to the economic and political forces of carbon capitalism to agree to the treaty needed to keep the planet under the dangerous threshold of 2° Celsius.*

Let’s consider the historical arc of this movement so far. One dividing line straddles the end of 2009, when the COP 15 climate summit met in Copenhagen amidst great public fanfare and media attention in anticipation of a deal on climate. The global climate justice movement had announced its existence two years before, at the COP 13 meeting in Bali in 2007, when the radical network Climate Justice Now!

formed up, and attracted to it some formidable forces.

These included the international peasant movement [Via Campesina](#), the youthful young climate justice radicals who started [Camp for Climate Action](#) in the U.K., [Jubilee South](#) and the intellectuals around [Third World Network](#) and [Focus on the Global South](#), [Friends of the Earth International](#) [FOEI], the [Durban Group for Climate Justice](#), and many others perhaps just outside it, among them the indispensable Bill McKibben and a rising [350.org](#).

In Copenhagen, climate justice advocates and activists received support inside the negotiation halls, as well as outside on the streets, where 100,000 people marched for the planet. Their allies included Mohamed Nasheed of the Maldives and much of the 40-plus member strong Alliance of Small Island States ([AOSIS](#)); Bolivian president Evo Morales; Venezuela's Hugo Chávez and the [ALBA](#) (Bolivarian Alliance) left-of-center countries of Latin America's Pink Tide; and a less radical but important part of the Global North, most notably the European Union, led by Germany, some of the Scandinavian governments and Gordon Brown in the UK.

When the United States and China, the world's two biggest emitters of greenhouse gases, failed to find any common ground, the talks collapsed. In reality, neither they nor any of the other large emitting countries were

willing to significantly curb the burning of fossil fuels on which their economies ran.

With the economic collapse that triggered the Great Recession in the same year, the balance of forces shifted decisively away from the positions of AOSIS and ALBA, while the EU aligned itself more and more with the rest of the global North.

A protracted stalemate has

of the global North and global South has become as intractable as ever in an irreconcilable stand-off that makes the chances of finding pathways to a less than 2° world look vanishingly small.

But the second part of the subtitle of Bond's book was "Movement Below." The global climate justice movement regrouped in Cochabamba, Bolivia in April 2009 to deliver a magnificent



Representing the Sioux tribe of South Dakota, Shane Red Hawk (pictured center) protests the Keystone XL Pipeline as part of the April 22nd "Reject and Protect" rally of ranchers, farmers, and tribal communities at the White House. Photo Courtesy of Politico

been playing out ever since, aptly characterized by the subtitle of a book by activist scholar Patrick Bond, published when COP 17 came to his home town of Durban in 2011: "Paralysis Above." [xv] Meanwhile, the power of the corporations, so evident at the November 2013 COP 19 in Warsaw, has become that much greater. The stubborn conflict between the interests

manifesto, "[The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth](#)." Many activists, from Bond himself to McKibben and many organizations from 350.org to FOEI have withdrawn energy from what they see as a hopelessly compromised process in the COPs, and put it instead into local and national-level campaigns and building networked global coalitions.

Alongside them a new front inside and around the COP has emerged: namely, the global *youth* climate justice movement, which has been blossoming from one COP to the next. This movement is also active in many local campaigns. They've led the fossil free divestment campaigns in the U.S. and the UK, are playing an important role in the epic battle against the Keystone XL pipeline in Canada and the U.S., alongside a revitalized Canadian indigenous movement in the form of [Idle No More](#) and have energized the anti-fracking movement in California and elsewhere. They have brought to the movement a new generation influenced by the moment of Occupy and other movements with a strong emphasis on consensus decision-making and non-hierarchical organizational structures (a process known as "horizontalism"). Additionally, they've brought along some new and not-so-new ways of organizing that have real promise: [PowerShifts](#), social media of all kinds, and vast reserves of imagination, energy, openness, and hope. In a word, they are *re-imagining climate justice*. [xvi]

Thinking forward

It seems that we will need to assemble the greatest social movement the world has ever seen to achieve these ends. The global climate justice movement is growing, but it is still far too weak to win—at least for the moment. Yet without such



Activists gather at anti-Keystone XL Pipeline protest in San Francisco's Justin Herman Plaza in solidarity with other "Forward on Climate" rallies taking place simultaneously across the country in February 2013. Photo Courtesy of Steve Rhodes

a movement, we are literally cooked. The global climate justice movement knows this, especially its youthful component. This is their agenda. It should also be the agenda of every scholar-activist and concerned citizen on the planet. The movement(s) for climate justice around the world need all hands on deck.

2014 must be the year that we all scale up our efforts toward the end of mounting irresistible pressure of all kinds on our governments and on the corporations, banks, and all the institutions of neoliberal capitalism that they serve, *forcing them* to take the decisive steps toward the treaty we all need and want.

Let's close with a few observations that at least point out some of the efforts under way to radically reduce emissions. Staying just on the level of events and mobilizations, we may note

a number of new developments:

There is the intriguing Venezuelan proposal to hold two "Social Pre-COP" gatherings this year focused on youth, indigenous peoples, and various movement capacity building gatherings. As Venezuela's lead negotiator Claudia Salerno put it in announcing it at the 2013 Warsaw COP 19, "A situation of madness requires a little craziness," adding, "We are not afraid to fail.... [There is] nothing to lose, and maybe a lot to gain." This is a bold initiative, and a risk no doubt worth running as long as the post-Chávez Venezuelan government of Nicolás Maduro, revolutionary as its legacy may be, does not impose itself on the process [xvii] or as long as the events are not derailed by the elite opposition's street protests. [xviii] The dates for the pre-COPs are July 15-18 and

November 4-7 in Caracas.

Another major new campaign is the [Global Climate Convergence](#), which proclaims “People, Planet, Peace over Profits” and is seeking to build “collaboration across national borders and fronts of struggle to harness the transformative power we already possess as a thousand separate movements springing up across the planet.”

The basic idea is to create a lasting collaboration between climate activism and other forms of social justice, including progressive labor, indigenous organizing, and the fledgling eco-socialist movement in the United States, and ultimately, no doubt, beyond.

Convened by Jill Stein, 2012 presidential candidate of the Green Party of the United States, this call resonates with the formation of the new U.S. eco-socialist organization System Change, Not Climate Change. This organization aims to shift the momentum of the climate justice movement in an anti-capitalist direction, asking questions such as, “can stopping climate change be compatible with an economic system that is flooded with fossil fuel profits?” and “can we create a safe and healthy planet for all human beings while simultaneously allowing ever-expanding resource extraction, endless growth, and the massive inequalities that come along with it?”

Meanwhile, the faltering momentum for a global climate

deal has received a new push. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon is convening a special [Climate Summit 2014: Catalyzing Action](#), to take place in New York in September 2014 with the charge: “This Summit is meant to be a solutions summit, not a negotiating session. I have invited all Heads of State and Government, along with leaders from business and finance, local government and

“ The basic idea is to create a lasting collaboration between climate activism and other forms of social justice... ”

civil society. I am asking all who come to bring bold and new announcements and action. I am asking them to bring their big ideas.” [xix]

The Secretary-General’s bold invitation is of course welcome, but his telling placement of business and finance ahead of civil society and local leaders suggests that the hoped-for breakthrough into progress on the treaty is rather unlikely. The summit might be better titled “Climate Depression 2014: Paralyzing Action.”

On a more promising note, radical U.S. climate justice circles have planned a “[People’s Summit](#)” to take place in New York at the same time, where rather than a conventional protest and demonstration against the UNFCCC governments’ lack of seriousness on the issues, the movement will craft and offer

“bold and new announcements and action” and “big ideas” of its own. An important agenda item for this gathering might be the development of a people’s plan for radical emissions reductions.

Just as Ban hopes to kickstart a UN process that is driven by stalemate from above, the global climate justice movement will build fresh momentum from below as it strives to find the

ways to bring into full flowering the biggest social movement the world has ever seen.

These two forces will meet again at COP 20 in Lima in November, and their unequal struggle over a treaty that may well shape the fate of the planet will resume. As the activists who walked out of COP 19 in Warsaw said to the world about their intentions for Lima: ¡Volveremos!/We will Return!

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‘GET IT DONE!’ THE GLOBAL CLIMATE JUSTICE MOVEMENT & THE FATEFUL RACE FOR A RADICAL CLIMATE TREATY

[i] This was the conclusion to [a fiery speech](#) by young climate activist Anjali Appadurai at the conclusion of the Durban COP 17 climate summit in 2011: ““2020 is too late to wait! We need an urgent path to a fair, ambitious, and legally binding treaty! You *must* take responsibility to act now, or you will threaten the lives of the youth and the world’s most vulnerable. You *must* set aside partisan politics and let science dictate decisions. You *must* pledge ambitious targets to lower emissions, not expectations. 2020 is too late to wait! *Get it done!*” With these words she brought down the house and compelled the session chair to confess: “On a purely personal note, I wonder why we let not speak half of the world’s population first in this conference, but only last.”

[ii] IPCC [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change], “[Summary for Policymakers](#),” pp. 1-28 in *Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis*. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, edited by T.F. Stocker, D. Qin, G.-K. Plattner, M. Tignor, S.K. Allen, J. Boschung, A. Nauels, Y. Xia, V. Bex, and P.M. Midgley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[iii] IPCC, “[Summary for Policymakers](#),” pp. 1-44 in *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation,*

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[v] Anderson, Kevin. “[Climate Change Going Beyond Dangerous –Brutal Numbers and Tenuous Hope](#),” *What Next? Climate, Development and Equity*, edited by Niclas Hällström, special issue of *Development Dialogue* 61 (September 2012): 16-40.

[vi] This account is from my field notes; on what the Warsaw COP means for the global climate justice movement see John Foran, “‘iVolveremos!/We Will Return’: The State of Play for the Global Climate Justice Movement at the 2013 Warsaw UN Climate Summit COP 19,” *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 6 (1) (May 2014).

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[xii] Clarke, Renfrey. “[Climate Change: Evidence of the Death-wish of Capitalism](#)”(26 April 2014).

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[xiii] Wearden, Graeme. “[Oxfam: 85 richest people as wealthy as poorest half of the world](#),” The Guardian (20 January 2014). The original study is by [Oxfam 2014](#).

[xiv] According to [Wikipedia](#), “‘Wicked problem’ is a phrase originally used in social [planning](#) to describe a problem that is difficult or impossible to solve because of incomplete, contradictory, and changing requirements that are often difficult to recognize. The term ‘wicked’” is used to denote resistance to resolution, rather than evil. Moreover, because of complex [interdependencies](#), the effort to solve one aspect of a wicked problem may reveal or create other problems.... Classic examples of wicked problems include [economic](#), [environmental](#), and [political](#) issues. A problem whose solution requires a great number of people to change their mindsets and behavior is likely to be a wicked problem.”

[La Via Campesina](#): an International Peasant’s Movement.

Wiki Background on [Camps for Climate Action](#).

[Jubilee South](#), a movement against external debt in the Global South.

[Third World Network](#), an international NGO that focuses on “environment, development, the Third World, and North-South issues.”

[Focus on the Global South](#), an activist think tank centered around regional and global analysis, sub-altern perspectives & problem solving, and socioeconomic justice.

[Friends of the Earth International](#), a grassroots environmental network focused on interlinked environmental sustainability and socioeconomic justice issues.

[The Durban Group for Climate Justice](#), an international network of independent organizations, individuals, and people’s movements united in solidarity for global grassroots climate solutions (and not, for example, international trade “fixes”).

The globally ubiquitous [350.org](#) is a major grassroots climate movement that calls on a number of virtual and direct action strategies to limit the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere to 350ppm or below.

[Alliance of the Small Island States](#) represents a coalition of forty-four member states (small island and low-lying coastal countries) and observers with shared environmental and developmental concerns about climate change.

Formerly the Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América, [ALBA](#) consists of nine Latin American and Caribbean countries supporting “social, political, and economic integration” regionally.

VIDEO: “[Copenhagen: Last Day of Talks](#).” Kenya CitizenTV (18 December 2009).

[xv] Patrick Bond, *Politics of Climate Justice: Paralysis Above, Movement Below* (Durban: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2012).

“[Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth](#).” April 22, 2010.

[Idle No More](#) is a grassroots protest

movement led by the First Nations focusing on indigenous sovereignty, environmental protection, and socioeconomic equality.

[Power Shift](#) is a virtual grassroots community that serves as a global forum for youth climate activists.

[xvi] “Re-Imagining Climate Justice” is the name given to a gathering of the movement in Santa Barbara, California, in May 2014 in which I played a role ([www.climatejusticeproject.com](#)); see [Summer Gray’s video](#).

[xvii] Escalante, Maria and Adrian Fernandez Jauregu. “[The Pre-COP: A Chance We Must Take](#)” (29 December 2013).

[xviii] Edwards, Guy and Michael Murphy and Paola Eisner. “[Venezuela’s 2014 Climate Summit Faces Credibility Crisis](#)”(11 March 2014).

The [Global Climate Convergence](#) is an educational and direct action campaign aimed at linking grassroots climate justice movements worldwide.

[System Change, Not Climate Change](#) is the grassroots mobilization of a “multi-racial, multi-ethnic left united against the ecological destruction spawned by capitalism.”

The [official website](#) for the United Nations’ special Climate Summit 2014: Catalyzing Action to be held this September in New York.

[xix] Moon, Ban ki. “[Big Idea 2014: The Year for Climate Action](#)”(11 December 2013).

The [official website](#) for the People’s Climate March on September 21st in New York, coinciding with the UN special summit.

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[i] “[Remembering The 1911 Triangle Factory Fire: Legislative Reform at State and Local Level](#),” Cornell University ILR School (2011).

[ii] Kolben, Ken. “[Trade, Monitoring,](#)

[and the ILO: Working to Improve Conditions in Cambodia’s Garment Factories](#),” Yale Human Rights and Development Journal 7, no. 1 (18 February 2014).

[iii] “[Stitched Up: Women workers in the Bangladeshi garment sector](#),” War on Want (2011).

[iv] Henn, Steve. “[Factory Audits and Safety Don’t Always Go Hand in Hand](#),” NPR (01 May 2013).

[v] Worker Rights Consortium. “[Global Wage Trends for Apparel Workers, 2001-2011](#),” Center for American Progress (11 July, 2013).

[vi] “[Global Apparel Manufacturing: Market Research Report](#)” (2012).

[vii] “[Licensing: Did You Know? Collegiate](#),” Strategic Marketing Affiliates (2010).

[viii] The value for apparel sales was extrapolated based on percentages found in Craver’s article: Craver, Richard. “[Collegiate apparel company draws fire](#),” Winston-Salem Journal (2011).

[ix] O’Rourke, Dara. [Independent University Initiative, Final Report](#), Business for Social Responsibility Education Fund, and Investor Responsibility Research Center (2000).

[x] Featherstone, Liza and United Students Against Sweatshops 2002. *Students Against Sweatshops* (London: Verso, 2002).

[xi] Kline, John and Edward Soule. [Alta Gracia: Work with a Salario Digno](#). Research report, Georgetown University (5 December 2011).

[x] Kline, John 2010. [Alta Gracia: Branding Decent Work Conditions](#). Research report, Georgetown University, Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor (30 August 2010).

[xi] Dreier, Peter. “[Alta Gracia Clothing Factory Shows New Pathways in Fair Trade](#),” Yes! Magazine (15 November 2012).

[xiii] Kline, John M. and Edward Soule. “[Alta Gracia: Work with a Salario Digno](#),” Reflective Engagement Initiative, Georgetown University (5 December 2011).