The Politics of Ecocide, Genocide and Megaprojects: Interrogating Natural Resource Extraction, Identity and the Normalization of Erasure

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The Politics of Ecocide, Genocide and Megaprojects: Interrogating Natural Resource Extraction, Identity and the Normalization of Erasure

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ABSTRACT

At the root of techno-capitalist development – popularly marketed as "modernity," "progress" or "development" – is the continuous and systematic processes of natural resource extraction. Reviewing wind energy development in Mexico, coal mining in Germany and copper mining in Peru, this article seeks to strengthen the post-liberal or structural approach in genocide studies. These geographically and culturally diverse case studies set the stage for discussions about the complications of conflictual fault lines around extractive development. The central argument is that "green" and conventional natural resource extraction are significant in degrading human and biological diversity, thereby contributing to larger trends of socio-ecological destruction, extinction and the potential for human and nonhuman extermination. It should be acknowledged in the above-mentioned case studies, land control was largely executed through force, notably through "hard" coercive technologies executed by various state and extra-judicial elements, which was complemented by employing diplomatic and "soft" social technologies of pacification. Natural resource extraction is a significant contributor to the genocide-ecocide nexus, leading to three relevant discussion points. First, the need to include nonhuman natures, as well as indigenous ontologies and epistemologies, into genocide studies to dispel an embedded anthropocentrism in the discipline. Second, acknowledges the complications of essentializing identity and the specific socio-cultural values and dispositions that are the targets of techno-capitalist development. Third, that socio-political positionality is essential to how people will relate and identify ecocidal and genocidal processes. Different ontologies, socio-ecological relationships (linked to "the Other"), and radical anti-capitalism are the root targets of techno-capitalist progress, as they seek assimilation and absorption of human and nonhuman "natural resources" into extractive economies. Genocide studies and political ecology – Anthropology, Human Geography and Development Studies – would benefit from greater engagement with each other to highlight the centrality of extractive development in sustaining ecological and climate catastrophe confronting the world today.

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Clearly, the 20th century [Mexican] governmental model used for implementing development in our [Isthmus of Tehuantepec] region obstructs, negates, destroys and disappears our nations. So it is by all means a genocide, but it is also public policy and those policies call us Indigenous. Therefore the term, ethnocide is also fitting. It is also fitting, but I would stick with genocide because ethnocide is specifically for native groups, but here the killings are not making a distinction. Anyone living in the region near this new infrastructure is being targeted for the sake of development and the current national priority of energy generation.—Carlos Manzo, Unión Hidalgo, 15 December 2019

Introduction

Taken to its natural end, genocide creates environments of lived erasure. Environments where various human and nonhuman persons have been erased. In practice, lived erasure is experienced by never knowing who or what previously lived and flourished in environments where one lives, visits or passes through. Maybe various species have moved, maybe erased by various landscape practices, but they are no longer part of that environment. The elimination of *peoples* within territories and living in that space unknowingly without them is the outcome of a genocidal process. Genocide, we might argue, is complete once inhabitants perceive a landscape as normal and healthy, yet it is missing inhabitants, life ways and socio-cultural value systems that once lived and were essential to nourishing the health of that place or territory. The urban or suburban spaces where we inhabit and walk down the street appreciating a spring day, noticing what remains of the trees, flowers and fruits, are in fact missing *the native persons* indigenous to this land. We will often find ourselves waltzing along landscapes with smells, feelings and tastes erased from our senses by ignorance or purposely regimented by practices of extermination, confinement and assimilation that have been normalized as unquestioned practices of our techno-industrial societies. Previous species and peoples becomes a specialized knowledge relegated to archives, museums or, if they are lucky, university courses. Mainstream genocide studies, let alone a "well adjusted" citizenry, rarely question everyday form of erasure and the normalized forms of degradation and exodus that modernization or "progress" often entails**.** This progressive erasure of cultural, memory, sensorial and other vital qualitative socio-ecological dimensions remain an issue of central importance for genocide studies.

While genocide against human populations is rarely complete,[1] the lesser- acknowledged extermination practice in genocide studies are the nonhuman persons. Environments and ecosystems are the first to be devastated in warfare,[2] meanwhile remaining the objects of systematic degradation during so-called "peacetimes" under industrial-developmental regimes naturalizing the erasure of flora, fauna and (socio-cultural) human diversity. According to estimates, this "peace" subservient to techno-capitalist progress has contributed to the "seasonal decline of 76 per cent, and mid-summer decline of 82 per cent in flying insect biomass over the 27 years of study."[3] This includes

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[1] A. Dirk Moses, "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust," *Patterns of Prejudice* 36, no. 4 (2002): 7–36.

[2] William Thomas, *Scorched Earth: Military's Assault on the Environment* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1994); and Gar Smith, *The War and Environment Reader* (Washington, DC: Just World Books, 2017).

[3] Caspar A. Hallmann, et al., "More Than 75 Percent Decline over 27 Years in Total Flying Insect Biomass in Protected Areas," *PLoS ONE* 12, no. 10 (2017): 1.

the loss of "thirteen million hectares of forests" every year, according to the United Nations,[4] which simultaneously extends to the "desertification of 3.6 billion hectares" of dry lands. Furthermore, a recent study by the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES),[5] concludes "that around 1 million animal and plant species are now threatened with extinction, many within decades, more than ever before in human history."[6] The forest lost and animal death toll in the recent Australian wildfires, is another example.[7] The dystopic statistics can continue ad nauseam, yet a central root of intensifying ecological catastrophe, the Sixth Extinction and the "Worldeater"[8] is the myth of human supremacy.[9] Social and political ecology contend that ecological problems are inextricably intertwined with social problems: "[s]ocieties that dominate nature also dominate people."[10] The neglected issues of "ascertainable ecocide" – ecocide perpetrated by state, corporate and identifiable human interventions – and its relationships to the so-called "non-ascertainable ecocide" that refers to catastrophic events,[11] are often wrongly considered "natural disasters" instead of "social disasters" created by faulty and careless socio-ecological interventions and organization(s).[12] Building on previous research on the "genocide-ecocide nexus,"[13] this article confronts the anthropocentrism in genocide cities. Recognizing (and correcting) this ontological blind spot or enlightenment hangover that is essential for genocide studies and, in popular parlance, its decolonization.[14] Political ontology, following Mario Blaser,[15] is not only at the centre of environmental conflicts, but also the genocide-ecocide nexus.

Reviewing conflicts surrounding wind energy development in Mexico, coal mining in Germany and copper mining in Peru, this article applies the post-liberal or structural

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[4] UNSDG, "Sustainably Manage Forests, Combat Desertification, Halt and Reverse Land Degradation, Halt Biodiversity Loss," The United Nations, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/biodiversity/ (accessed 06 July 2018).

[5] See works by Sian Sullivan, Larry Lohmann, Bram Büscher and others from the study of "Neoliberal Natures." This committee and previous reports, it should be acknowledged, have been instrumental to building the green economy and further demarcation, privatization and commodification of habitats or so-called "ecosystem services."

[6] UNSDG, "UN Report: Nature's Dangerous Decline 'Unprecedented'; Species Extinction Rates 'Accelerating,'" The United Nations, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2019/05/nature-decline-unprecedented-report/ (accessed 21 June 2019).

[7] Simon Batterbury, "Political Ecology in, and of, the Australian Bushfires," Undisciplined Environments, https://undisciplinedenvironments.org/2020/02/11/political-ecology-in-and-of-the-australian-bushfires/ (accessed 12 February 2020).

[8] Alexander Dunlap and Jostein Jakobsen, The Violent Technologies of Extraction: Political Ecology, Critical Agrarian Studies and the Capitalist Worldeater (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 1–164.

[9] Simon Springer et al., Anarchist Political Ecology: Vol. 1, Undoing Human Supremacy (Oakland: PM Press, 2020) and Derrick Jensen, The Myth of Human Supremacy (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2016).

[10] Kirkpatrick Sale, Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991[1985]), 122; John Clark and Camille Martin, Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: Selected Writings of Elisée Reclus (Oakland: PM Press, 2013), 1–282; Murray Bookchin, The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy (Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982), 1–385; and Springer et al., Anarchist Political Ecology.

[11] Martin Crook, Damien Short, and Nigel South, "Ecocide, Genocide, Capitalism and Colonialism," Theoretical Criminology 22, no. 3 (2018): 304.

[12] This idea is subtly referenced by Martín Correa Arce, "Los Papeles De Cielos, Selvas, Ríos Y Montañas En Las Historias," Sociedad y Ambiente, no. 17 (2018): 240–1.

[13] Martin Crook and Damien Short, "Marx, Lemkin and the Genocide-Ecocide Nexus," International Journal of Human Rights 18, no. 3 (2014): 298–319; Damien Short, Redefining Genocide: Settler Colonialism, Social Death and Ecocide (London: Zed Books, 2016), 1–197; and Crook et al., "Ecocide, Genocide, Capitalism and Colonialism."

[14] Mark Levene and Daniele Conversi, "Subsistence Societies, Globalisation, Climate Change and Genocide: Discourses of Vulnerability and Resilience," International Journal of Human Rights 18, no. 3 (2014): 281–97. Furthermore, Crook et al., "Ecocide, Genocide, Capitalism and Colonialism," mention "decolonizing international law." This concept deserves caution and skepticism, necessitating grounded deconstruction of colony, colonialism and international law.

[15] Mario Blaser, "Notes toward a Political Ontology of 'Environmental' Conflicts," in Contested Ecologies, ed. Lesley Green (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2013), 13–27.

approach in genocide studies to analyze these extractive projects. Genocide studies, it is argued, needs to further challenge megaproject development by dismantling its Euro-centric heritage, anthropocentrism and identity essentialism in order to confront nonhuman extinction and climate catastrophe. Natural resource extraction, or extractivism broadly defined, remains central to the continuation and "creeping"[16] progress of the "genocide-ecocide nexus" or, what Robert Davis and Mark Zannis have called: "The Genocide Machine."[17] The post-liberal approach recognizes the evolving and generational processes of genocide/ecocide; the various (insidious) modalities of killing (e.g. social death, deprivation/starvation, assimilation/self-management); the economization of control and its productive and energy conscious technologies geared towards regimenting/harnessing life as opposed to direct extermination.[18] The latter, we can say in cynical bureaucratic terms, is the "poor allocation" of natural resources through direct killing and confinement,[19] while presently the structure of conquest is increasingly becoming "enlightened," "sustainable" and "carbon conscious." This article seeks to encourage (mainstream) genocide studies to empathize and take seriously the everyday processes of "green" and conventional natural resource extraction, its corresponding political repression and the overall structure of capital accumulation. Fieldwork centred disciplines such as anthropology, human geography and development studies should also recognize the relevance of (post-liberal) genocide theory – or the genocide-ecocide nexus – within their field sites. The environmental conflicts reviewed in this article demonstrate several theoretical issues within post-liberal genocide theory as well as noticeable impasses in genocide studies.

Fieldwork about wind energy development in Mexico, the lignite coal mine in Germany and copper mine in Peru was conducted between December 2014 and April 2018. Each case study has been detailed in previous articles[20] and draws on anthropological methodology, maintaining a commitment to opposition groups at each site. The methods employed were participant observation, semi-structured, informal and oral history interviews. In Mexico, 123 semi-structured and oral history interviews were collected across multiple-sites, followed by twenty-two in Germany and forty-seven in Peru. This was complemented by upwards of fifty informal interviews in each site and secondary research materials such as journal articles, newspapers, online resources and/or company promotional material. In Germany, research was led by Andrea Brock, who engaged in a larger research project on biodiversity offsetting in Europe,[21] while research in Mexico

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[16] Mark Levene, "The Chittagong Hill Tracts: A Case Study in the Political Economy of 'Creeping' Genocide." *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1999): 339–69.

[17] Robert Davis and Mark Zannis, *The Genocide Machine in Canada* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973).

[18] Alexander Dunlap, 'The 'Solution' Is Now the 'Problem': Wind Energy, Colonization and the 'Genocide-Ecocide Nexus' in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca," *International Journal of Human Rights* 42, no. 4 (2018): 550–73; and Alexander Dunlap, *Renewing Destruction: Wind Energy Development, Conflict and Resistance in a Latin American Context* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 214.

[19] Byung-Chul Han, *Psychopolitics: Neoliberalism and New Technologies of Power* (Verso Books, 2017), 1–87; and Dunlap, "The 'Solution' is Now the 'Problem'."

[20] Alexander Dunlap, "Counterinsurgency for Wind Energy: The Bíi Hioxo Wind Park in Juchitán, Mexico," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 45, no. 3 (2018): 630–52; Andrea Brock and Alexander Dunlap, "Normalising Corporate Counterinsurgency: Engineering Consent, Managing Resistance and Greening Destruction around the Hambach Coal Mine and Beyond," *Political Geography* 62, no. 1 (2018): 33–47; and Dunlap, "'Agro Sí, Mina No!' The Tía Maria Copper Mine, State Terrorism and Social War by Every Means in the Tambo Valley, Peru," *Political Geography* 71, no. 1 (2019): 10–25.

[21] Andrea Brock, "Conserving Power: An Exploration of Biodiversity Offsetting in Europe and Beyond" (PhD diss. University of Sussex, 2018).

and Peru was carried out with interpreters and friends: "Mr. X" and Carlo Fernández Valencia. A previous articles and book chapters on wind energy development in Oaxaca, Mexico, have discussed these wind energy projects in relationship to cultural genocide and the genocide-ecocide nexus,[22] which this paper builds from with additional fieldwork in Oaxaca and by discussing two additional cases studies. While there is overlap, in this case material summary below, this contribution seeks to extend theoretical discussions and encourage greater accuracy in post-liberal genocide theory.

Affirming the relevance of the "genocide machine," the next section discusses intent and elaborates on the "self-management" phases in the genocidal process (discussed in previous works).[23] The following section offers a brief summary of the conflicts of the wind energy development with Zapotec and Ikoot Indigenous people in Oaxaca, Mexico; the coal mine in Germany with local German and European environmental and anarchist activists; and the copper mine in Peru with small (and sometimes medium) scale farmers and agriculturalists of both indigenous and non-indigenous backgrounds. These geographically and culturally diverse case studies then set the stage for discussing the complications of conflictual fault lines around extractive development, which leads to three discussion points critiquing genocide studies and advancing post-liberal analysis of the genocide-ecocide nexus. This includes, first, the need to incorporate nonhuman natures, as well as indigenous ontologies and epistemologies, into genocide studies to dispel an embedded anthropocentrism in the discipline. Second, acknowledges the complications of essentializing identity and the specific socio-cultural values and dispositions that are the targets of techno-capitalist development. Third, that socio-political positionality is essential to how people will relate and identify ecocidal and genocidal processes. Acknowledging similarities within environmental conflicts and identities, this article concludes by asserting the importance of acknowledging developmental interventions and environmental conflicts as contributing to larger trends of socio-ecological destruction, extinction and the potential for human and nonhuman extermination. Furthermore, the colonial and statist project – in their mission to conquer, enlighten and (industrially) develop – are always targeting resistance. More specifically, colonial/statist powers seek to eliminate and assimilate the cultural values wedded to the land and in union with nonhuman natures as these life ways implicitly reject capitalist and statist configurations of coercion, dependence and technological allure. Different ontologies, socio-ecological relationships, and anarchistic anti-capitalism are the root targets of the Genocide Machine, who seek assimilation and servitude to the continuation of techno-capitalist progress.

The Genocide Machine, Post-liberalism and the Genocide-Ecocide Nexus

The "Genocide Machine" theory has rattled and revived genocide studies. When Patrick Wolfe[24] writes: "invasion is a structure not an event," the Genocide Machine is the 1973 theoretical assertion supporting this claim. Undoubtedly inspired by anti-colonialism[25]

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[22] Dunlap, "The 'Solution' Is Now the 'Problem'," and Dunlap, *Renewing Destruction*.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 388.

[25] Aimé Césaire. *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: NYU Press, 2001 [1955]), 1–102; and Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963 [1961]), 1–317.

and Sartre's (1968) indictment of the Vietnam War as Genocide,[26] the theory of the Genocide Machines remains a notable contribution to the understanding of colonialism, neocolonialism and systematic patterns of degradation and extermination.[27] "In the aftermath of the Second World War," Davis and Zannis contend,[28] "colonialism has absorbed a genocide through detached technological means." They continue to define The Genocide Machine as:

> An extension of traditional colonialist genocide with new modes of operation. It is characterized by a pervasive, repressed fear that corrodes the values and sanity of subject peoples and colonial powers alike. This fear acts to advance a super colonialism based entirely on economic considerations which respect no territorial boundaries and victimizes the people of even the great colonial powers.[29]

While we can see shortcomings and strengths to this statement in different times and contexts, Davis and Zannis recognize the limitations of identity boundaries by including "the people of even the great colonial powers." The genocide machines recognizes the total character of techno-capitalist development and how genocidal processes are increasingly implicated within industrial and computational technologies. "[C]olonialism has absorbed a genocide through detached technological means," writes Davis and Zannis, further contending that: "*Automated technology does the work of maintaining colonial power.*"[30] Thinking of the study of material cultures, "genocidal values"[31] have been embedded into technological systems. Achille Mbembe contends that ideas of natural selection are coded into computational technologies, such as algorithms, but specifically applications of genetic and evolutionary algorithms.[32] Jaques Ellul's (1954) notion of *technique* might also approximate these genocidal values. Sharing a psychoanalytical element with Davis and Zannis, Ellul defines *technique* as "man's concern to master things by means of reason to account for what is subconscious, make quantitative what is qualitative, make clear and precise the outlines of nature, take hold of chaos and put order into it." Said differently: "technique is nothing more than means and the ensemble of means."[33] Ellul's exposition of *technique* resonates with early observations of the Nazi state apparatus,[34] but also more recent conversations around automotive warfare and drones that manufacture the "[i]ndustrial production of compartmentalized psyches, immunized

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[26] Jean-Paul Sartre, "Genocide," *New Left Review* 48, no. 1 (1968): 13–25.
[27] Arguably, scholars such as Ward Churchill (in *A Little Matter of Genocide*, 1997*)* and Dirk Moses (in "Conceptual Blockages," 2002) have been instrumental in taking up, advancing and opening this structural theory of genocide to other scholars.
[28] Davis and Zannis, *The Genocide Machine*, 31.
[29] Ibid., 33.
[30] Ibid., 31 (emphasis added).; Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid* Modernity (Malden: Polity Press, 2000).
[31] We can locate these in ideologies of supremacy, control and relations of domination.
[32] " … ideas of natural selection and evolution, some of those ideas we thought we left them behind, but in fact, we thought they belonged to the nineteenth century, but in fact they are coming back. No longer through primitive ideologies of racial selection and all of that, but through technological innovations of our times. I already mentioned genetic algorithms, I could mention evolutionary algorithms, which means actions inspired by biological operators such as cells … ." Achille Mbembe (lecture, Litteraturhuset, 14 September 2019).
[33] Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964 [1954]), 43, 19.
[34] Reflecting on the Nazi state apparatus. Specifically reconciling *technique* with Hitler's "subjective," "arbitrary," "internally generated impulses" and "who made his decisions without the advice of technicians, often despite their advice," Ellul (ibid: 260–2) observes that the Nazi apparatus

> utilized all techniques to the maximum possible degree, reducing them unconditionally to its service, with the exception of the borderline case of politics. Even so, it is not always correct to assume that politics intervened haphazardly. Very often, the firmest doctrines of Nazism had to yield to technical necessities.

against any possibility of reflecting upon their own violence."[35] Echoing Ellul, Davis and Zannis' assertion that "[s]pecialization and bureaucratization … allow the control and administration of a genocidally-oriented system" and remains controlled by "a handful of leaders."[36] The level of control exercised by a "handful of leaders" today remains questionable, as highlighted by the Worldeater hypothesis that views the colonial process as viral and out of control.[37] Undeniable, however, are the exploitative capabilities created by technology; the dependence, deskilling and reskilling of humans; as well as widespread technophilia that contribute to serious collective psychosocial changes and disorders,[38] which do not account for the rates of natural resource extraction necessary to create them.[39] In sum, the concentration of wealth and the spread of industrial, cybernetic and computational technologies[40] reinforce a structure of conquest organized around a political economy that, despite its undeniable allure, convenience and (contested) developmental benefits, underpins and reinforces ecological catastrophe and climate change.

The Genocide Machine recognizes a shift in modality – the economization of extreme coercive power – and locates capitalism or, more acutely, the global techno-capitalist system, as a structure of perpetual conquest. Recognizing the "political economy of genocide"[41] and genocide-ecocide nexus dynamic within The Genocide Machine, Davis and Zannis advocate for the term "environmental genocide" to be distinguished from "insipid elements of the ecology movement."[42] Linking human and environmental factors was the first step towards restoring Lemkin's vision after post-War international legal negotiations and the "colonial clause" that exempted colonial territories from the Genocide Convention's protections.[43] The perpetrators are "mainly a corporate internationalism which must do everything in its power to discourage 'unstable' national movements that disrupt markets and endanger profits."[44] Developing and sustaining structures of capital accumulation and, by extension, natural resources remain essential to the techno-capitalist Genocide Machine that absorbs resources, vitality and now "murder[s] only when they are forced to by resistance."[45] Following Hanna Arendt, we might say that the Genocide Machine's central commonality with the Nazi Holocaust is further

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[35] Grégoire Chamayou, *Drone Theory* (London: Penguin Books, 2015 [2013]), 123.

[36] Davis and Zannis, *The Genocide Machine*, 176.

[37] Dunlap and Jakobsen, *The Violent Technologies of Extraction*, ch. 2.

[38] This phenomenon is readily visible with extensive documentation from various disciplines, yet here is a small sample of theory and study results: Paul Virilio, *Pure War* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2008 [1983]); Chellis Glendinning, *My Name Is Chellis, and I'm in Recovery from Western Civilization* (Boston: Shambhala, 1994); Gayle Porter and Nada K Kakabadse, "Hrm Perspectives on Addiction to Technology and Work," *Journal of Management Development* 25, no. 6 (2006): 535–60; Bruce K. Alexander, *The Globalization of Addiction: A Study in Poverty of the Spirit* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); and James Bridle, *New Dark Age: Technology and the End of the Future* (New York: Verso Books, 2018).

[39] Liam Downey, Eric Bonds, and Katherine Clark, "Natural Resource Extraction, Armed Violence, and Environmental Degradation," *Organization Environment* 23, no. 4 (2010): 453–74; and Benjamin K. Sovacool, Andrew Hook, Mari Martiskainen, Andrea Brock, and Bruno Turnheim, "The Decarbonisation Divide: Contextualizing Landscapes of Low-Carbon Exploitation and Toxicity in Africa," *Global Environmental Change* 60 (2020): 1–19.

[40] The examination of how computational technologies are spreading through development and humanitarian aid practices are insightful, see for example: Mark Duffield, "The Resilience of the Ruins: Towards a Critique of Digital Humanitarianism," *Resilience* 4, no. 3 (2016): 147–65.

[41] Crook et al., "Ecocide, Genocide, Capitalism and Colonialism," 308.

[42] Davnis and Zannis, *The Genocide Machine*, 178.

[43] Jeffery S. Bachman, *Cultural Genocide: Law, Politics, and Global Manifestations* (London: Routledge, 2019), 1; and Short, "Cultural Genocide and Indigenous Peoples: A Sociological Approach," *International Journal of Human Rights* 14, no. 6 (2010), 835.

[44] Davis and Zannis, *The Genocide Machine*, 176.

[45] Ibid.

institutionalizing and normalizing the "banality of evil," becoming strategic, as opposed to indiscriminate in its violence. This evil is organized around the fetishization of efficiency, technological development, rule of law, capital accumulation and power. It is organized by leaders and carried out by people that are "neither perverted nor sadistic, [but] were, and still are, terribly and terrifyingly normal." [46] Terrifyingly normal people who in all likelihood are trying to gain social status and material comfort within industrial society.

Intent, Identity, and Anthropocentrism

The Genocide Machine theory raises the issue of intent, long debated in genocide studies.[47] While "intent can be inferred from action,"[48] Helen Fein coined the term "developmental genocide" where "the perpetrator intentionally or unintentionally destroys people who stand in the way of the economic exploitation of resources."[49] Based on essentialized traditions and cultural identity of Indigenous groups, developmental genocide is relatively easy to decipher past and present as Indigenous people identify the genocidal process taking place. Legal, definitional and scholarly debates often delay or prevent the acknowledgement of these crimes.[50] Essentialism, which we can summarize as "a form of generalization or characterization that assumes an unchanging nature unaffected by human action,"[51] remains crucial to locate identity boundaries and the foundation of which the term genocide rests. Dancing with the (colonial) politics of recognition,[52] judicial systems and liberal genocide scholars thus need to create, approve and judge the authenticity of victim identity. At the heart of the complicated politics of the genocide-ecocide nexus are the variegated intentional or unintentional practice of embracing assimilation, acculturation and the process of socio-cultural erasure. While no one, except a classical fascist, would promote genocide, the earth is still witnessing an enormous loss of human and biological diversity undoubtedly tied to the process of capitalist modernization. We must consider the destructive embrace of Indigenous, but also "non-indigenous" populations when assessing the state of the world and its relationships to the genocide-ecocide nexus. With this conjuncture in mind, it is worth considering some blind spots: one in genocide studies, the others in political ecology and critical agrarian studies.

While the post-liberal scholarship has advanced significantly,[53] there are still important considerations. Honouring indigenous ontologies and epistemologies by dislodging the (Eurocentric) anthropocentrism firmly embedded in mainstream genocide studies implies including nonhuman persons. This means accounting, for not only the humans dislocated, hollowed out and physically killed, but also the impacts on nonhumans: *The trees*

[46] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994 [1963]), 276.
[47] Tony Barta, Norbert Finzsch, and David Stannard, "Three Responses to 'Can There Be Genocide Without the Intent to Commit Genocide?'" *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 1 (2008): 111–33.
[48] Damien Short, "Cultural Genocide and Indigenous Peoples: A Sociological Approach," *International Journal of Human Rights* 14, no. 6 (2010): 835.
[49] Samuel Totten and Paul Bartrop, *Dictionary of Genocide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 433.
[50] Short, "Cultural Genocide and Indigenous Peoples"; and Barta et al., "Three Responses To 'Can There Be Genocide without the Intent to Commit Genocide?'"
[51] Philip Carl Salzman, "What Is 'Essentialism', and How Should We Avoid It?" Openanthcoop, http://openanthcoop.ning.com/group/theoryinanthropology/forum/topics/what-is-essentialism-and-how?commentId=3404290%3AComment%3A35591&groupId=3404290%3AGroup%3A3094 (accessed 1 July 2019).
[52] Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2014), 1–229.
[53] See liberal and post-liberal genocide review in Dunlap, "The 'Solution' Is Now the 'Problem'."

are killed, the relational qualities of "forests" irreparably severed, damaged, exterminated and reorganized into forest colonies or genetically engineered as "flex trees."[54] *The rivers* domesticated by dams, ground water usurped by mines and water is fused and contaminated with different chemical compounds by every industrial means of production. *The weather and ecosystems* that absorb dioxin, arsenic, mercury, thorium, radioactive nuclides and other industrial wastes that circulate to alter the composition and genetics of human and nonhuman life.[55] *Nonhuman peoples* and "four legged people" are systematically executed, displaced and placed into technologically advanced concentration camps or industrial-slaughter houses for their flesh, fur and organs.[56] Not to forget modernized eugenics programmes branded under the (broad) banner of biotechnology,[57] which we know in Orwellian style as "animal testing." Degrading or destroying nature reinforces self-degradation and destruction, which is at a scale that concerns genocide studies.

Similarly, political ecology (and related disciplines) need to acknowledge the genocidal and ecocidal techniques employed within their field sites. When Moses writes, "physical annihilation was checked by the need for indigenous labour,"[58] it sounds oddly familiar to Tania Li, and other critical agrarian scholars, who acknowledge that "when the land is needed but labour is not, the most likely outcome is the expulsion of people from the land."[59] Similarly, Harris *and colleagues* explain that "cultural genocide was often the direct result of physical genocide; faced with repeated waves of military pressure, conquest, relocation, and other forms of violence."[60] This statement resonates with Daniel Münster and Ursula Münster's insights into participatory conservation: "The showcases of successful community participation in site management may also distract from the violence and injustice on which such projects of neoliberalizing conservation are built."[61] Outlining the history of dam construction and flooding around the Plains Indians in occupied North America, Nick Estes reminds us that the Keystone XL oil pipeline "was possible only because Indigenous genocide and removal had cleared the way for private ownership of land."[62] These are incremental, strategic and progressive genocidal and ecocidal actions. Yet an aspect that is central to these operations and the weak point of the term "genocide" (especially in its liberal and legalistic conception) is identity, specifically the need for an essentialized identity that can be demarcated, tried, tested and brought to court. The divide and conquer politics of colonial recognition[63] – what it means to be and who is indigenous – is at the root of genocidal practices. If one wonders what use has the term

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[54] Markus Kröger, "Flex Trees: Political and Rural Dimensions in New Uses of Tree-Based Commodities," *Think Piece Series on Flex Crops and Commodities*, no. 2 (2014): 1–14.

[55] Vandana Shiva, *Making Peace with the Earth* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 1–262.

[56] Bob Torres, *Making a Killing: The Political Economy of Animal Rights* (Oakland: AK Press, 2007).

[57] For detailed discussion on humans, see Stefanie S. Rixecker, "Genetic Engineering and Queer Biotechnology: The Eugenics of the Twenty-First Century?" *Journal of Genocide Research* 4, no. 1 (2002): 109–26.

[58] Moses, "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas," 24.

[59] Tania Murray Li, "Centering Labor in the Land Grab Debate," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 2 (2011): 286; and Ruth Hall et al. "Resistance, Acquiescence or Incorporation? An Introduction to Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'from Below'," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 42, nos. 3–4 (2015): 470.

[60] LaDonna Harris, Stephen M. Sachs, and Barbara Morris, *Re-Creating the Circle: The Renewal of American Indian Self-Determination* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), 54.

[61] Daniel Münster and Ursula Münster, "Consuming the Forest in an Environment of Crisis: Nature Tourism, Forest Conservation and Neoliberal Agriculture in South India," *Development and Change* 43, no. 1 (2012): 215.

[62] Nick Estes, *Our History Is the Future* (New York: Verso, 2019), 28.

[63] In the North American context, see Ward Churchill, "The Nullification of Native America? An Analysis of the 1990 American Indian Arts and Crafts Act," in *Acts of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 21–38; and Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.

genocide accomplished in practice post-Nuremberg, at least two interlinked problem arise. First, there is no justice for victims of past and continued colonial violence and while there is recognition, it is always designed to assimilate people to techno-capitalist structures. Secondly, does it truly hold accountable the continued superficially self-reflective (CSR, FPIC, etc.) initiatives and the socio-ecological destruction systematically perpetrated on a global scale in the name of the economic growth, modernization, progress and, now, climate change?

Anthropocentrism and (an approved) identity in mind, the next section will delve into distinct controversial extractive development projects in three disparate countries: Mexico, Germany and Peru. This extractive conflict summary then sets the stage for the discussion about post-liberal genocide scholarship: demonstrating its strengths, weakness and offering new considerations to resituate genocide studies to comprehend and confront the normalized erasure of human and nonhuman life.

Natural Resource Extraction: Mexico, Germany and Peru Mexico: Capturing the Wind

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec, known locally as the Istmo, is located between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. Its unique geographical features and positioning have triggered a wind rush in the region.[64] This began with the 2003 USAID sponsored report, *Wind Energy Resource Atlas of Oaxaca*,[65] that mapped the "excellent" wind sources in the region, which the International Finance Corporation later called "the best wind resources on earth."[66] The Mexican government claims that the Istmo could produce 10,000 MW of wind energy in an area of 100,000 hectares.[67] Sitting at the base of the Atravesada mountain range, the northern part of the region is generally regarded as Zapotec (Binníza) territory, while the southern side is predominately inhabited by the Ikoot (Huave) people. These overlapped territories are home to five different ethnic groups as well as a *mestizo* population.[68] According to local newspapers, wind energy development in the area has resulted in the construction of 1,728 wind turbines since 2004, with double this amount planned in the future (Figure 1).[69]

Local populations' desire to obtain work, social development and prosperity created a foothold and support for wind projects in the region. In towns like La Ventosa in the Northern Istmo, many of these promises remain unfulfilled and limited, benefiting only a minority of the population,[70] which was observed by other towns and fishing communities in around the Lagoon Superior in the south. The wind parks and their continued southward expansion became an increasing source of discontent in the Istmo. In order to obtain land

[64] Cymene Howe and Dominic Boyer, "Aeolian Politics," *Distinktion* 16, no. 1 (2015): 31–48.

[65] D. Elliott et al., *Energy Resource Atlas of Oaxaca* (Colorado: National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL)), 2003, iv.

[66] IFC, "Investments for a Windy Harvest: IFC Support of The Mexican Wind Sector Drives Results," International Finance Corporation, World Bank Group, http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/60c21580462e9c16983db99916182e35/IFC_CTF_Mexico.pdf?MOD=AJPERES (accessed 24 July 2015).

[67] Santiago Navarro and Renata Bessi, "The Dark Side of Clean Energy in Mexico," *Americas Program*, https://darktracesofcleanene.atavist.com/dark-traces-of-clean-energy-f1xd6 (accessed 15 January 2016).

[68] Lynn Stephen, *We Are the Face of Oaxaca: Testimony and Social Movements* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 1–344.

[69] Dunlap, *Renewing Destruction*, 44–6.

[70] Ibid; and Alexander Dunlap, "'The Town Is Surrounded': From Climate Concerns to Life Under Wind Turbines in La Ventosa, Mexico," *Human Geography* 10, no. 2 (2017): 16–36.
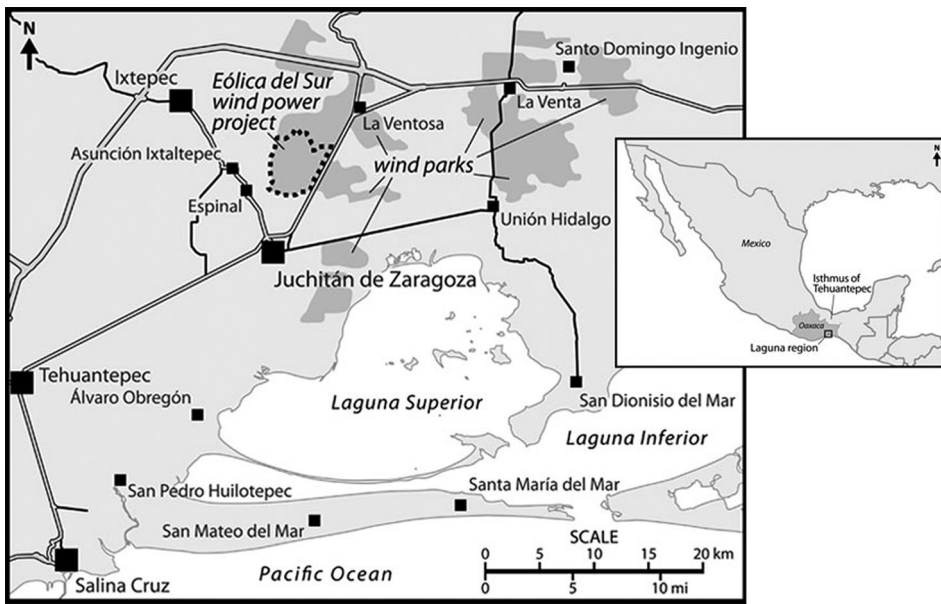
Figure 1. Map of the Coastal Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Source: Carl Sack.

deals, companies approached regional politicians and elites, who then facilitated land acquisition and engaged with selective and personalized consultations of land owners. This included individualized negotiations that used middlemen, known as "Coyotes," in order to convince people to sign contracts. Another technique was to approach collective land commissioners (*comisariado*) and social property – ejidos and communal land – holders to negotiate large land plots. Many land deals were rife with accounts of various forms of deception (false promises, taking advantage of Indigenous languages and illiteracy); coercion; intimidation; unequal benefit sharing; and, at the least with participating land owners, payment disparities with other national and international wind projects.[71] This resulted in various forms of "adverse incorporation."[72] Regional politicians and elites also avoided large-scale public consultation until after ten years of social conflict.[73] Land control and wind energy development, it should be acknowledged, was largely executed through force by various state and extra-judicial forces, employing diplomatic and counterinsurgency techniques. This caused several physical conflicts between police forces and land defenders, including beatings, attempted abductions, arrests, brutal intimidation tactics and killings.[74]

Despite failures in political processes, the impact that these projects had on people's livelihood and subsistence practices was the most concerning. For instance, local accounts

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Saturino M. Borras and Jennifer Franco, "Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'from Below'," *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 9 (2013): 1723–47; and Hall et al., "Resistance, Acquiescence or Incorporation?"
[73] Dunlap, *Renewing Destruction*.
[74] I estimate seven deaths, yet I believe there are more. Counting the death toll is complicated by the overlap of political drama, narcotics gangs (or transnational criminal organizations) and wind company security. The lines and conflicts blur. For more accounts of violence and killing, see Alexander Dunlap, "Revisiting the Wind Energy Conflict in Gui'xhi' Ro / Álvaro Obregón: Interview with an Indigenous Anarchist," *Journal of Political Ecology* 26, no. 1 (2019): 150–66.

describe how proto-construction – digging an abnormally deep foundation – on the Santa Teresa sand bar, which separated the small and large lagoon, resulted in the mass killing of fish: "throughout the whole sea as far as that hill tons of fish died and went away."[75] Not long after the projects arrived near the Lagoon, uprisings against the company and, later, politicians would spread in the defense of people's territories and dignity. Similar negative impacts on fishing livelihoods emerged southeast of the town, where in 2014 the first "Bíi Hioxo" wind park was built on the Lagoon. Fishermen claimed that vibrations and aircraft warning lights pushed the fish away from the shore region, where they would fish by foot with nets. This caused people to drive to other areas to fish, which created inter-regional conflict between the fishermen coming from towns who collaborated or failed to stop the wind projects with those still fighting against them. Threatened subsistence patterns and forced dependency on industrial food systems was compounded by wind turbines and corresponding electoral infrastructure that negatively altered hydrological systems on farmlands, which became either inundated with water in the wet season or, according to farmers, abnormally dry in the hot season. Fields were flooded due to construction-induced hydrological changes that assisted with raised wind turbine access roads trans-formed farmland into pools. There were also accounts of turbines leaking oil into the land and a myriad of other issues covered elsewhere.[76] In addition to regional hydrological and landscape changes, the central concern of these wind development projects is the marginalization of the Zapotec and Ikoot people whose food sovereignty was tied to the land and sea.

Germany: Mining the Coal

The German state of North Rhine Westphalia (NRW) is home to the largest lignite coal deposit (55 billion tons) in Europe. The Hambach mine – one of three lignite mines in the region and operated by RWE, Germany's leading electricity provider – is Europe's "biggest hole."[77] The Hambacher Forest, a highly biodiverse old-growth forest, is currently being cleared to give way to the expansion, or, in the words of RWE, the "migration" of the Hambach mine. This migration refers to the processes of expanding the mine, while sim-ultaneously burying previously mined areas with mining backfill to create an environ-mental restoration and "offset" site called the Sophienhöhe.[78] Lignite coal electricity generation was elevated to "strategic military status" in Nazi Germany under the 1935 Law, which was adopted to strengthen wartime capabilities. Consequently, it allowed the eviction of entire communities for coal excavation. The Federal Mining Act, revised in 1980, stipulates the

> compulsory relinquishment of private property to mining companies […] by eminent domain whenever public welfare is served, particularly for providing the market with raw materials, securing employment in the mining industry, stabilizing regional economies, or promoting sensible and orderly mining procedures.[79]

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[75] Alexander Dunlap, "Insurrection for Land, Sea and Dignity: Resistance and Autonomy against Wind Energy in Álvaro Obregón, Mexico," *Journal of Political Ecology* 25 (2018): 127. Update: a worker drilling the holes into the Barra confirms depths between *17 and 48 meters*, Interview 13, 1 January 2020.

[76] Dunlap, *Renewing Destruction.*

[77] Jeffrey H. Michel, *Status and Impacts of the German Lignite Industry* (Swedish NGO Secretariat of Acid Rain, 2005), 16.

[78] Brock, "Conserving Power."

[79] Michel, *Status and Impact*, 41–2.
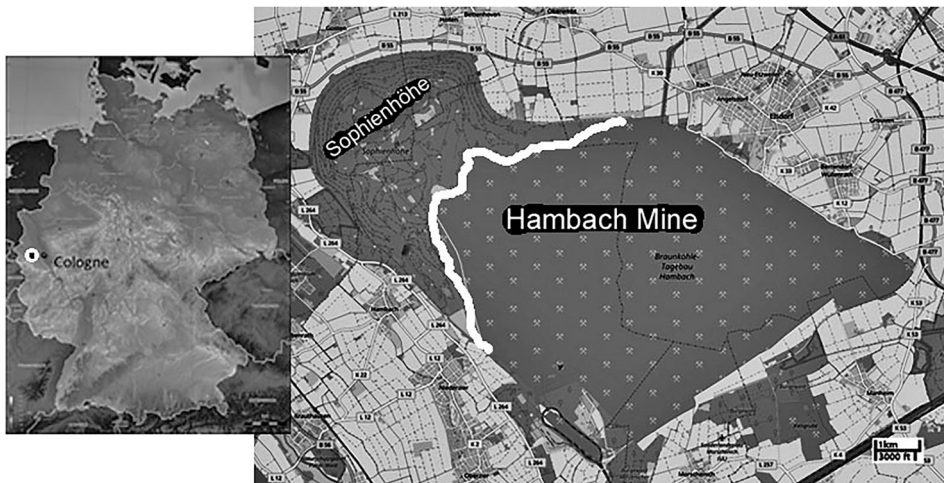
Figure 2. Germany & the Hambach Mine. Source: Adapted Wikicommons images.

The land was directly grabbed by the German state in the name of "public welfare" and national security interests (Figure 2).[80]

Excavation of the Hambach mine began in 1978 and is scheduled to be completed by 2045. The total mining area covers 85 km^2 or 8,500 ha. In total, the mine extracts more than one million tons of coal and cubic metres of overburden a day.[81] RWE is the single largest European emitter, responsible for twelve per cent of CO_2 emissions in Germany, and (between the three Rhinish mines) produces fourteen per cent of the country's electricity.[82] Throughout its lifetime, the Hambach mine has been responsible for the resettlement of six villages, displacing over 5,000 people and creating social tensions in all of the displaced communities. By 2026, a total of 42,000 people will have lost their homes in the Rhinish coal region.[83]

For the clearing of the Hambacher Forest, the mining company is legally required, under the German Nature Protection Law (Naturschutzgesetz) and the European Habitats Directive, to recultivate the mining area and to implement additional compensation measures, or offsets (Ausgleichsmaßnahmen). RWE's compensation measures for the Bechstein's bat include 700ha of "bat infrastructure" to connect remaining fragments of old woodland surrounding the mine as well as a €4 million "green bridge" over the nearby A61 highway to serve "as a crossing aid for the bats from Hambach Forest."[84] Aside from the so-called "bat-highways," the Hambach mine biodiversity management plan includes the newly recultivated area Sophienhöhe, located just North of the mine. The Sophienhöhe is an artificial low mountain range, covering 13 km^2, with a height of 280 metres and praised for its ecological success in recreating habitat for a number of (threatened) species. It is also a convenient way to dispose of the initial 2.2 billion m^3

[80] Brock and Dunlap, "Normalising Corporate Counterinsurgency."
[81] Ibid.
[82] Brock, "Conserving Power"; and Brock and Dunlap, "Normalising Corporate Counterinsurgency."
[83] Ibid.
[84] RWE AG, "Our Responsibility: Report 2015," Essen (2015), https://www.rwe.com/web/cms/mediablob/en/2998766/data/0/2/RWE-Our-Responsibility-Report-2015.pdf (accessed 20 February 2016).

overburden that were generated in the first six years of mining operation.[85] This mountain of "overburden" has been restored and reforested following reclamation, blending and depositing of soil. This exemplifies how environmentalism has become integrated into mining operations, in order to justify continuing coal mining operations and prolong ecologically destructive activities.[86]

The displacement and resettlements of homes, air pollution and environmental destruction entailed by the "migrating mine" have triggered resistance, beginning in the 1970s and continuing into the present day. In 2012, forest defenders started occupying the *Hambacher forest* to prevent the migration of the mine. In November that year, over a four-day period, over 500 police officers (in what is alleged to be one of the most expensive evictions in German police history) forcefully removed forest defenders. Afterwards, a local resident bought land next to the forest to host a permanent protest camp. Shortly thereafter, the *Hambacher Forest* was reoccupied, and now serves as a permanent point of resistance against the mine. Their activities included: road barricades, tree platforms, tree-spiking; the placement of "potential improvised explosive devices;" sabotage of coal-transportation infrastructure (short circuiting power lines; burning pumping stations, radio-masts and electrical transformers); and the ambushing of security-police patrols with stones, slingshots, fireworks and Molotov cocktails.[87] At present, the encampment has been evicted (and reoccupied) four times, at the cost of the life of a young land defender. Militant and peaceful protests actions have been met with increasing and continuous repression by security and police personnel, with claims of attempted vehicle manslaughter by RWE security in January 2016.[88] The mine has temporarily been stopped by legal order and NGOs have taken a greater interest in the struggle, yet whether this will lead to the pacification of resistance or the closure of the mine remains to be seen.

Peru: Trying to Mine Copper

The proposed Tía Maria mine is located in the southwest corner of Peru above the Tambo Valley in the Islay province. Southern Copper Peru (here after Southern), a subsidiary of Grupo México, began assessing the mineral reserve situated above the agricultural Tambo Valley in 2000. Geological and geochemical studies were conducted in 2003, followed by The Ministry of Energy and Mines' (MEM) approval for an environmental impact assessment (EIA) in 2006.[89] Eighty-five per cent of the Islay province is conceded to extractive corporations, while ninety-six per cent of the Tambo Valley is under concession.[90] The Tambo Valley and River create a green oasis that forms part of Peru's

[85] Christoph Imboden and Nicola Moczek, "Risks and opportunities in the biodiversity management and related stakeholder involvement of the RWE Hambach Lignite Mine," IUCN, Gland, Schweiz (2015), https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/2015-010-En.pdf (accessed 3 October 2016).

[86] See Brock's forthcoming "Accumulation by Restoration Special Issue."

[87] Anonymous, "Text Concerning Hambach Forest (Germany)," 3 *Return Fire* (2015–2016): 91 https://325.nostate.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/return-fire-vol3-contents.pdf (accessed 21 April 2016).

[88] Kai Schönberg, "Wachschützer überfahren Aktivisten," Taz, 22 January 2016, http://www.taz.de/!5271275/ (accessed 13 March 2016).

[89] Marlene Castillo Fernández et al., "Valle De Tambo-Islay. Territorio, Agua Y Derechos Locales En Riesgo Con La Minería a Tajo Abierto," Copper Accion, http://cooperaccion.org.pe/publicaciones/valle-de-tambo-islay-territorio-agua-y-derechos-locales-en-riesgo-con-la-mineria-a-tajo-abierto/ (accessed 20 October 2017).

[90] Lynda Sullivan, "Peru's Tia Maria Mining Conflict: Another Mega Imposition," Upside Down World, http://upsidedownworld.org/archives/peru-archives/perus-tia-maria-mining-conflict-another-mega-imposition/ (accessed 20 August 2017).

agricultural belt, which is surrounded by desert and ocean. The Tambo Valley retains a strong agrarian economy and culture, providing upwards of 40,000 jobs.[91] Southern entered the Tambo Valley by approaching the national political bodies, local municipal leaders and, eventually, civil society groups. The President of the civil society group The Broad Front of Defense and Development Interests in the Islay Province, at the time Catalina Torocahua, explained that in "2006 the mine became known as a result of usurping city boundaries" and by "2007 the company entered formally to talk with the authorities: mayors and leaders."[92]

The Tía Maria project sought to extract 120 thousand tons of copper cathodes (among other non-disclosed minerals such as gold) per year for 18 years with a 1.4 billion dollars investment in three mining and processing sites. The first mining site is "La Tapada" in the Pampa Yamayo, which is located closest to Cocachacra, El Fiscal and the Tambo River. Southern claims La Tapada site is located 2.4 kilometers away from the Tambo River (see Figure 3), while independent investigators in fact demonstrate that it is 1.2 Kilometers while locals claim that it is 500–700 metres away. The second site, "Tía Maria," is located in the Cachuyo area, which is located 7 Kilometers from the Tambo Valley according to the company. The third is the processing and leaching site in the Pampa Cachendo, which is 11 kilometers away. Since 2012, the MEM is responsible for approving environmental impact assessments (EIAs) instead of the Ministry of the Environment.[93] After negotiations with government officials and civil servants in 2005, three public consultations (*audiencias públicas*) were approved in the Tambo Valley to inform the population of the mining project. It is during the third consultation in August 2009, however, that the Tía Maria conflict became noticeably visible. People began rioting, throwing rocks and plastic chairs at Southern Copper Peru representatives when the latter indicated their preference to use the ground and river water, instead of sea water with a desalination plant at the mine.[94] What began there would turn into a protracted conflict that has resulted in eight deaths since 2011 – seven protesters and one police officer – hundreds of injuries and the declaration by President Ollanta Humala of a sixty day State of Emergency, on 9 May 2015.

The Defense Front and Interests of the Tambo Valley organized a popular referendum (*consulta popular*), resulting in the rejection of the Tía Maria project by the voters by 93.4 per cent.[95] The Tambo Valley was invaded twice, once by 4,000 officers of the Peruvian National Police and the second time, on 9 May 2015, by 3,000 police and 2,000 military personnel[96] to crush the general strikes rejecting the mine. People were beaten, tear gassed, shot with birdshot and live ammunition. Lights were reportedly cut in the village and informant networks were created for the police to retroactively raid houses in the early morning, tearing people from their beds in order to arrest suspects who

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[91] José Antonio Lapa Romero, *Lo Que Los Ojos No Ven: Capital Minero, Hegemonia, Represión Estatal Y Movimiento Social En El Valle De Tambo De Marzo a Mayo Del 2015: El Caso Del Conflicto Tia Maria En La Región Arequipa* (Lima: Grupo Editorial Arteidea, 2017), 1–144.

[92] Interview 1, 13 January 2018.

[93] Jan Lust, "Peru: Mining Captial and Social Resistance," in *The New Extractivism*, eds. by Henry Veltmeyer and James F. Petras (London: Zed Books, 2014), 192–221.

[94] Maiah Jaskoski, *Military Politics and Democracy in the Andes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013); and Romero, *Lo Que Los Ojos No Ven*.

[95] Sullivan, "Peru's Tia Maria Mining Conflict: Another Mega Imposition."

[96] Romero, *Lo Que Los Ojos No Ven*.

Figure 3. Peru and the Tambo Valley. Source: Ministry of Energy and Mines.

participated in the general strikes and subsequent street battles. While the state violently repressed dissenters, Southern Copper Peru cranked up its public and community relations apparatus in an attempt to win the "hearts" and "minds" of the recalcitrant valley (for instance, by employing social development programmes supporting "health, education, environment, [and] culture").[97] While these programmes might have incremental success, the mine is still trying to enter the valley with the support of the police and military. This conflict continues as people mobilize to defend their water and livelihoods from mineral extraction.

Normalized and Self-Managed Degradation and Extermination

It is no secret that capitalism, guided by its growth imperative, is organized to control, process and consume the natural resources of the planet, hence its qualification as "The Worldeater." This is accomplished by enforcing colonial/statist logics; fusing market relationships into every individual, its culture and its relation to nature itself; as well as employing discursive frameworks such as "ecosystem services" to justify this continuous ecological conquest.[98] Recognizing the colonial imperative (positioned in the name of saving life[99]) that is bent on industrialization, resource extraction and techno-capitalist development is precisely what the Genocide Machine and post-liberal perspectives

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[97] Dunlap, "'Agro Sí, Mina No!'" 22.
[98] Alexander Dunlap and Sian Sullivan, "A Faultline in Neoliberal Environmental Governance Scholarship? Or, Why Accumulation-by-Alienation Matters," *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* (2019).
[99] Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South* (New York: Routledge, 2014), recognizes this hypocritical Orwellian Newspeak particularly well.

bring into question. Keeping the case studies described above in mind, this section will offer considerations to advance the post-liberal genocide perspective. The purpose, especially given the activist history and orientation of genocide studies, is to assist the discipline in mapping and discussing the "slow industrial genocide"[100] taking place against the earth and its inhabitants.

In Oaxaca, in an area with distinct Zapotec and Ikoot identities, eliminating and reconfiguring the subsistence practices for (corporate and extractive) wind energy development, by any reasonable standard, fits the category of a "slow," "creeping" developmental genocide – a position already argued at length in other works.[101] The case of Oaxaca bares strong similarities with the coal and copper extraction activities of the German and Peruvian projects, yet the latter cases do not share the same intensities of violence or distinct Indigenous identity that was important to the former. The inhabitants of the three cases all experienced high-levels of social opposition and/or militant resistance. National, regional and local politicians – or "leaders"[102] – served as key collaborating forces to initiate or make these projects possible (despite majority opposition). Resource extraction efforts, or ecological mass killing, were only possible with the deployment of coercive counterinsurgency protocols to beat, kill and intimidate land defenders. Meanwhile, the companies simultaneously employed social engineering initiatives to curtail resistance, divide the population and solidify extractive hegemony in each region. This could be deemed a counterinsurgency strategy, perpetrating and enabling systematic and continues process of ecological mass killing that culminates into ecocide.

Each project entailed various levels of *deforestation and flora* disruption – degradation and extermination in particular locals and bioregions. *Water usurpation* or pumping from aquifers, rivers and, in the case of Peru, potential desalinization facilities taking water from the sea that had not undergone an environmental impact assessment (which was often half-hearted, incomplete and non-participatory). Additionally, *water contamination* with concrete and related solidifying chemicals in ground aquifers in the case of wind turbine foundations was a big issue,[103] as it drained aquifers and disrupted hydrological cycles, specifically the water that would normally replenish the Lagoon.[104] Polluted water run-off from coal spoil heaps and copper tailing ponds also cause serious socio-ecological problems. *Animal habitat* is cleared for roads, foundations and mining sites, which affects the fauna, flora and water in order to create profits and (limited) employment. Avian life is significantly threatened with the placement of wind turbines, but also – to a degree – other habitat disruptions and loss. Placed near these green and conventional

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[100] Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short, "'A Slow Industrial Genocide': Tar Sands and the Indigenous Peoples of Northern Alberta," *International Journal of Human Rights* 16, no. 1 (2012): 216–37.

[101] Dunlap, "Counterinsurgency for Wind Energy," and Dunlap, "'Agro Si, Mina NO!'"

[102] Peter Gelderloos, *Worshiping Power: An Anarchist View of Early State Formation* (Oakland: AK Press, 2017), ch. 1. Gelderloos's historical recognition of leaders as central mechanisms for enticing or blackmailing different horizontal Indigenous communities by circumstance of colonial intervention into war, authoritarianism and state formation. This dynamic is still present in resource extractivism and the politics of human rights groups today.

[103] A farmer observes wind park development within 30 metres to his land: "They brought a lot of machinery, those for digging, they made a ravine and a square that was 20 × 20 metres and it was 12–15 metres deep. So for example where that one is standing [there …]. After they brought some fluids and they poured them into the water and I do not know what happened, but after that the water stopped. They were working really fast." Dunlap, *Renewing Destruction*, 97.

[104] Interview 4, 14 December 2019.

extraction sites, humans also experience or risk various and severe negative health impacts based on the air, noise, water, and emissions pollution.

Natural resource extraction interventions are significant and, although often naturalized, have been a source of conflict since mining mechanization. For centuries these processes have been sold to the public as progress and development, as they form the modus operandi of techno-capitalist development.[105] Natural resource control, and the technological development culminating from and inspiring it, thus draws a firm and continuing line between colonial conquest, state formation and the current environmental conflicts taking place across the world. The "slow industrial genocide," highlighted by Huseman and Short, is not new. That said (main steam) genocide studies has resisted this level of societal and generalized self-reflection, marginalizing post-liberal perspective (despite its cross-disciplinary support), which entailed sidelining Indigenous populations and others struggling against capitalist development as "activists."[106] The present onslaught of climate change, extinction and generalized ecological crisis, or official recognition thereof, is testimony to the increasing importance of the post-liberal genocide perspective.

The fact is, capitalism – or the techno-capitalist civilized system – is bent on absorbing or destroying anything that is antithetical, different or threatening to its project of human and nonhuman resource control and accumulation. Dunlap and Jakobsen have gone so far as to describe the techno-capitalist system as "the Worldeater,"[107] whose body manifests with industrial infrastructure, giving rise to climate change and the so-called "Anthropocene," all the while consuming the planet with its sights set on resource exploitation on Mars. Central here, and at the root of techno-capitalist development, is the politics of engineering populations, harnessing energy and economic growth that is presently mass killing entire species, solidifying past genocidal campaigns against Indigenous populations and repressing or absorbing any *oppositional* difference. Human and nonhuman peoples are organized as raw material for warfare and industrial development by a multiplicity of means – "structure." It involves the concerted killings and confinement – "event" – of anything that challenges the "war of progress:"[108] anti-colonial, anti-state and anti-capitalist actions. Recognizing that anything challenging the grid of state authority, seeking autonomy and developing anti-capitalist (socio-ecological) relationships – especially as these reinforce each other – will be steamrollered by waves of repression, cooptation and assimilation techniques in order to bring about a state of exhaustion. As Carlo Manzo, in the epigraph, reminds us: "Anyone living in the region near this new infrastructure is being targeted for the sake of development and the current national priority of energy generation." People, however, experience different and variated scales of "hard" and "soft" repression in different times and places,[109] which are also culturally conditioned.

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[105] Dunlap, "Permanent War: Grids, Boomerangs, and Counterinsurgency," *Anarchist Studies* 22, no. 2 (2014): 55–79; and Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

[106] Dunlap, "Book Review: The Anarchist Roots of Geography by Simon Springer," *Human Geography* 11, no. 2 (2018): 62–4; and Andrew X, "Give up Activism," *Do or Die*, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/andrew-x-give-up-activism (accessed 7 May 2012).

[107] Dunlap and Jakobsen, *The Violent Technologies of Extraction*.

[108] Dunlap, "Permanent War," 55.

[109] Alexander Dunlap, "Wind, Coal, and Copper: The Politics of Land Grabbing, Counterinsurgency, and the Social Engineering of Extraction," *Globalizations* (2019): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2019.1682789

Affinities emerge through a myriad of tensions, actions and projects challenging state and corporate control of human and nonhuman resources. Indigenous autonomy, urban squatting, territorial land defense and communal/collective health and food initiatives all seek to reconfigure and counter world destroying progress. Geographical difference, language, motivation, emphasis and recognition of other struggles condition connections and solidarity. Furthermore, people experience different intensities of absorption or "digestion" into colonial/statist systems, which will lead people to identify the causes of socio-ecological destruction (or "enemies") in different ways, more below on these points.

A "super colonialism based entirely on economic considerations which respect no territorial boundaries and victimizes the people of even the great colonial powers," as Davis and Zannis tell us, means everyone is organized in the service of this politico-economic system enacting racist, sexist, classist and authoritarian socio-institutional processes. While racism, sexism, classism and authoritarian control are crucial mechanisms to divide, conquer and control humans, they can also be inhibitors by creating unnecessary frictions that limit the potential of infinite expansion and exploitative capabilities of the techno-capitalist Worldeater. The purpose of advanced genocidal-ecocide methods is to consolidate power and control over everyone, making people implicated – dependent and addicted – in its operations. The operations of techno-capitalist development are also dwelling into the frontiers of green capitalism (conservation, renewable energy, nature banking, etc.).[110] This forming Worldeater or Genocide Machine is operating on a different time-scale (surpassing human lifespans), which is teaching people to "forget" about the flora, fauna and native populations generally, taking along with it the lived practices, experiences and connections of humans to the "more-than-human world."[111] The outcomes are immense social discord, illnesses and catastrophic socio-ecological crises that are presented as normal outcomes of "social development," global cycles or market opportunities – which now form the new frontiers of "The New Climate Economy."[112] This understanding of The Genocide Machine acknowledges three lessons for genocide studies.

Anthropocentrism

First, in the tradition of indigenous ontologies and epistemologies, mainstream genocide studies would be wise to challenge the embedded anthropocentrism. This means recognizing the importance of nonhuman and more-than-human natures in their ecosystems and their role in the prevention of ecological catastrophe. Neglecting the systemic and genocidal violence perpetrated against nonhuman persons – on which humans are dependent, interconnected and related – will only perpetuate genocide, ecocide and the myth of human supremacy responsible for the genocide-ecocide nexus. Human settlements should be re-organized to respect and support nonhuman natures, to promote relational harmony. The control and extermination of nonhumans is relevant to genocide studies, and remains a blind spot that is becoming more pressing with the onset of

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[110] Dunlap and Sullivan, "A Faultline in Neoliberal Environmental Governance Scholarship?"
[111] David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 1–326.
[112] Cory Morningstar, "The Manufacturing of Greta Thunberg – for Consent Has Been Written in Six Acts," *The Wrong Kind of Green*, ACT V, http://www.wrongkindofgreen.org/2019/01/17/the-manufacturing-of-greta-thunberg-for-consent-the-political-economy-of-the-non-profit-industrial-complex/ (accessed 7 July 2019).

climate and ecological catastrophe. Therefore, the presence of anthropocentrism within genocide studies needs to be re-balanced and become the object of further investigation.

Identity Politics

Second, everyone – to various degrees – is a target of techno-capitalist progress. As previously argued,[113] after extermination, confinement and assimilation comes the fourth phase: "self-management." This is an intensification of the assimilation phase to normalize colonial structures, making them self-reinforcing and managing.[114] Everyone is subject to indoctrination by the colonial-capitalist ideology and its habits through statist institutions, which engineer the values of techno-capitalist progress into target populations. Through techniques of (structural) conquest, the following values are being regimented: human supremacy over nature, the culture of private property, submission to authority (hierarchy), imperialist monotheism, patriarchy, the ideology of work, Taylorism (divisions of labour – industrial organization), fetishization of technology and economic growth. While there are cracks – widening, splintering and spreading – and evasive outsides in permanent rhizomatic conflicts, attempts to have spaces "outside" or unmediated and oppositional lives to the (normalized) onslaught of these ideologies and operations are met with permanent violence from colonial/statist and collaborating private institutions.

Learned internalization, self-identification and, at the least, acquiescence to techno-capitalist values, hermetically seals the trajectory of total resource control. This has made "Indigenous" or land centred (subsistent/semi-subsistent) populations across the world the target of extermination and assimilation. We should remember, as Lorenzo Veracini and Majid Rahnema remind us,[115] that colonialism and statist development are a virus. Diffuse, retaining different intensities and infectious capabilities, the civilizing virus psycho-socially,[116] emotionally and physically penetrates people to manufacture docile, insensitive and self-managing agents enforcing the present trajectory of catastrophic progress. Thus, settler populations' subjectivities are consolidated, re-projecting their value systems, ideologies and technologies, becoming – to various degrees – technologies of conquest. The civilized virus consumes indigenous and non-indigenous people alike, each person experiencing variegated phases of infection that differ in how people relate, practice, resist and accept their socio-political confinement. Despite closer connection to cultural traditions and land-centred practices, Indigenous societies are diverse groups of people experiencing similar psycho-social splintering, political divisions and struggles for existence against a racist techno-capitalist regime. The result, like colonial societies themselves, are assimilation survival strategies, conservative/intolerant political views, (power hungry) political collaboration with oppressive forces, concerted participation in capitalist and extractives projects and forced belief in coercive (often "participatory") political systems.

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[113] Dunlap, "'The Solution' Is Now 'the Problem'," 556.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Lorenzo Veracini, "Understanding Colonialism and Settler Colonialism as Distinct Formations," *Interventions* 16, no. 5 (2014): 615–33; and Majid Rahnema, "Development and the People's Immune System: The Story of Another Variety of Aids," in *The Post-Development Reader*, eds. Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (London: Zed Books, 1997), 111–29.

[116] "Civilizing," related to the real and imagined values of ancient civilization that had been spread by colonizing powers remains more accurate description and retains a longer lineage than "colonizing virus."

This is to resituate Indigenous romanticism in the face of complex conflict dynamics created by schools, reservation systems, security forces and politico-economic divide and conquer strategies. Common domination and attacks against vital life place indigenous and non-indigenous confronting similar situations, thou experienced in different ways as the case studies demonstrate. There is variation in the intensity of violence and racism, yet political submission is organized by every means to continue the imperatives of extractive capitalism. While the insurrectionary fishers, forest defender and water proctors are real – reviving and resurging their socio-cultural practices – they also confront and struggle against natives internalizing techno-capitalist orders and desires. This is to recognize that humans – both Indigenous and non-indigenous – are frequently betraying themselves, their lands, cultures and nonhuman brethren (and life supports) for material and political developments that are leading the world to ecological and climate catastrophe. The "enemy is not a class"– nor a particular identity signifier – "but a point of view, a subjectivity"[117] and a (techno-capitalists) socio-cultural value system. This why, when discussing the genocide-ecocide nexus, a Zapotec Land Defender asserts that:

> *We are not the only ones who are targets*, you as researchers are targeted because the companies do not want information to spread. Also the NGOs who come and befriend us or the teachers who is afraid to discuss things with his students because he fears being identified as an enemy of the company … . So even you become targets by coming here to gather evidence, which is why we are neither victims nor the only ones. We are part of a movement, a grain. Because a large movement is made of many circumstances, many people and different kinds of support.[118]

Taking a different angle, yet confirming the Zapotec land defenders point, "Jim," an ex-Peruvian military and private security contractor in the business for over fifteen years, when referencing research on the Tía Maria mine contends:

> The things that you are doing are intelligence work and, so they [the mining companies] have their counter-intelligence team, I hope that this [research] does not become detected at any moment; otherwise you are going to have very serious troubles.[119]

This "trouble" indicates an entire range of coercion,[120] including forced disappearance and death. The point, however, is that *everyone resisting becomes a target*, a potential object of assassination, intimidation or civil–military interventions. Taking a position in defense of land, nonhuman peoples and in conflict with the apparatus of extractive progress will lead to similar experiences across identity categories, even if Indigenous and people of colour will receive greater intensities of racist coercion.

This, among the reasons mentioned above, is precisely why caution should emerge with the broad – and politically convenient – category of "Indigenous people." Essentializing Indigenous people – or any people – creates a political category that flattens socio-cultural diversity, political ambitions and (past and present) conflict dynamics, creating partial romantic or over generalizations that are productive to the institutional circus of

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[117] Josep Gardenyes, "Social War, Anti-Social Tension," *The Anarchist Library*, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/distro-josep-gardenyes-social-war-antisocial-tension (accessed 24 June 2018).
[118] Interview 25, 18 January 2020.
[119] Dunlap, "Agro Si, Mina No," 19 (with an improved edit).
[120] For a typology of extractive violence, see Dunlap, "The Politics of Land Grabbing."

techno-capitalist development. Academic "decolonization" works, [121] for example, based on identity-politics remain uncritical of Ghandi's role as colonial collaborator,[122] Evo Morales and other Indigenous politicians – large and small – who are complicit in active betrayals against the land and continuing the genocide-ecocide nexus. The state apparatus is the structure(s) of conquest – the colony model.[123] Re-branding leftist, hierarchically organized and, at best, more egalitarian techno-capitalist life ways still reproduce the existent: "*the last day of oppression and the first day of the same*" as the aphorism goes.[124] Indigenous socio-cultural diversity and politics matter in the face of divide and conquer programmes by colonial, company and statist forces; structural (as opposed to discursive) practices of (neo)colonialism; and everyday institutional operations. Internalization, reproduction and re-projection of colonial/statist forms of organization and mentalities are some of the issues that "revolution," "armed struggle" and "counter-hegemony" movements have largely failed to identify during the last seventy years. Militant struggles invite "all-of-government" counterinsurgency interventions, while material aspirations and ontological dynamics tend to reproduce techno-capitalist systems. In the three case studies above, common political structures, civil–military techniques of pacification and negative socio-ecological outcomes can be observed. Developing new strategies of anarchistic (as opposed to Maoist-Marxist-Leninist) decolonization that seek to radically dismantle the colonial model, distribute power and re-organize life around nonhuman *peoples* should be considered a priority. Furthermore, recognizing the destructive internalization of socio-cultural values and complicated conflict dynamics they can strengthen resistance and counter genocidal and ecocidal processes.

Positionality & Self-Identification

Central to the issue above, and third, is how humans relate to colonial/statist institutions and operations. This is a question of acknowledging, accepting or rejecting – in whole or in part – ones' conditioning and consolidation as a colonial/statist subject. It addresses the question of how someone relates to (large-scale) hierarchies, power and mechanized/bureaucratic organizational structures. How do people identify their own position as "citizen/subjects" while being surrounded by hierarchical governments, generalized confinement practices and landscapes in the process of systematic poisoning in the name of progress and development? Recognizing how people identify with statist/colonial structures remains central, as identity extends to include ones relationship to the state and economy, alternative systemic projections and desired relationships with the land and nonhuman natures. In the era of political-economic assimilation and self-managed oppression, these forms of identification transcend skin colour, nationalism and cultures subjugated to schooling, microfinance and modernist city planning. *All political conversations*

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[121] Walter Mignolo and Arturo Escobar, *Globalization and the Decolonial Option* (New York: Routledge, 2010); and Walter Mignolo and Catherine Walsh, *On Decolonality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018). About "decolonizing the state," see Catherine E. Walsh, "Insurgency and Decolonial Prospect, Praxis, and Project," in *On Decolonality*, eds. Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 33–56.

[122] Peter Gelderloos, *The Failure of Nonviolence* (Seattle: Left Bank Books, 2013); and the section from the documentary *END CIV: Resist or Die*, titled "Pacifying Resistance," available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssYBZmK9hmA.

[123] For details on the colony model, see Dunlap, "The 'Solution' Is Now the 'Problem'."

[124] Agustín Cueva' (1972) quote in Jeffery R. Webber, *The Last Day of Oppression, and the First Day of the Same* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017), 1.

are rooted in one's identity and positionality to this system – the lines of acceptance, conflict and acquiescence – that people use to justify participating within or outside of the system. This might constitute some steps in the direction of Mbembe's conception of "planetary consciousness."[125] The heart of socio-ecological crises and climate change are: large-scale hierarchical systems, patriarchy, speciesism, scientism (broadly understood), divisions of labour and technological enchantment. Overall, the timeless question of organization becomes the central colonial issue that needs to break with Ancient Civilized, Eurocentric forms or their re-appropriation and re-projection in the name of the "Other." Political ontology is not only at the centre of the genocide-ecocide nexus, but also the politics of human organization and relationships.

The roots of the structure of conquest are deep, adaptive, strategic and continuous. Assimilation practices are dependent on eliminating alternative knowledges and healthy socio-ecological practices, which necessitate the opposite (strengthening soil quality, social relationships, air and water vitality). While people have inherited the existent, they enjoy the enchantment of computational devices and continue participating in energy intensive infrastructures and apparatuses. Now, more than ever, is the time to recognize these inherently destructive politico-economic processes and stop the systematic loss in so-called human and biodiversity.

Conclusion

This article revisits and expands on the theory of The Genocide Machine, by reflecting on three cases studies of natural resource extraction and the social conflicts that arose in these regions. The article examines these case studies of progressive ecological destruction, in order to argue that genocide studies needs to further challenge megaproject development while questioning its own Eurocentric heritage, anthropocentrism and identity essentialism. Recognizing these blind spots within genocide studies, this article recommends challenging anthropocentrism, which disregards and devalues nonhuman life (hence the term dehumanization); the infectious reality of internalizing and self-managing colonial/statist systems; and their ties to identity categories and construction.

Recognizing these issues – and the timeless difficulty of the analysis of identity within genocide studies – allows us to understand these three, relatively standard, extractive development case studies as subtle and creeping contributor to a slow industrial genocide. Extractive development – conventional or green – are cumulatively leading to planetary impacts: species extinction and a potential 6th Extinction if industrial humans do not change their habits, behaviours and political structures. Genocide studies, with some notable exceptions from the post-liberal camp, remains unprepared to position itself in the face of ecological extinction and climate catastrophe. Combining this with confronting the anthropocentrism within genocide studies, the viral psychosocial effects of colonial/statist systems and complications of identity will not only begin a more accurate conversation about the techno-capitalist elephant in the room, but also initiate a serious advocacy against faulty climate change mitigation programmes in different disciplinary arenas. It is time to recognize the validity of the Genocide Machine perspective and position post-liberal genocide scholarship as the mainstream within genocide studies.

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[125] Achille Mbembe, lecture, Litteraturhuset, 14 September 2019.

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Disclosure Statement

Notes on contributor

Alexander Dunlap is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Centre for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo. His work has critically examined police-military transformations, market-based conservation, wind energy development and extractive projects more generally in both Latin America and Europe. He has published in *Anarchist Studies*, *Geopolitics*, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, *Political Geography*, *International Journal of Human Rights*, *Journal of Political Ecology* and *Environment and Planning E* a recent article in *Globalizations* among others.