Colonial Racial Capitalism

SUSAN KOSHY
LISA MARIE CACHO
JODI A. BYRD
BRIAN JORDAN JEFFERSON
EDITORS

COLONIAL RACIAL CAPITALISM

BUY

Colonial Racial Capitalism

SUSAN KOSHY, LISA MARIE CACHO, JODI A. BYRD,
AND BRIAN JORDAN JEFFERSON, EDITORS

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS *Durham and London* 2022

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

© 2022 DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS
"Racial Capitalism Now" © 2022 Michael C. Dawson
and Ruth Wilson Gilmore
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Project editor: Lisa Lawley
Designed by Matthew Tauch
Typeset in Arno Pro and Alegreya Sans by
Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Koshy, Susan, editor. | Cacho, Lisa Marie, editor. | Byrd, Jodi A., editor. | Jefferson, Brian Jordan, [date] editor.
Title: Colonial racial capitalism / Susan Koshy, Lisa Marie Cacho, Jodi A. Byrd, and Brian Jefferson, editors.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2022. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2022000016 (print)
LCCN 2022000017 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478016106 (hardcover)
ISBN 9781478018742 (paperback)
ISBN 9781478023371 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Indians, Treatment of—North America—History. | Settler colonialism—United States—History. | Indians of North America—Economic conditions. | Indians of North America—Colonization—History. | Imperialism—Social aspects—North America—History. | Capitalism—North America—History. | Racism—North America—History. | Racism Economic aspects—North America. | North America—Race relations—History. | BISAC: SOCIAL SCIENCE / Ethnic Studies / American / African American & Black Studies | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Ethnic Studies / American / Native American Studies
Classification: LCC E91 .C656 2022 (print) | LCC E91 (ebook) | DDC 970.004/97—dc23/eng/20220518
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022000016
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022000017

Support for this research was provided by the Unit for Criticism and Interpretive Theory at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

CONTENTS

vii *Acknowledgments*

1 Introduction
SUSAN KOSHY, LISA MARIE CACHO,
JODI A. BYRD AND BRIAN JORDAN JEFFERSON

I. Accumulation: Development by Dispossession

33 ONE · The Corporation and the Tribe
JOANNE BARKER

60 TWO · "In the Constant Flux of Its Incessant Renewal": The Social Reproduction of Racial Capitalism and Settler Colonial Entitlement
ALYOSHA GOLDSTEIN

88 THREE · The Racial Alchemy of Debt: Dispossession and Accumulation in Afterlives of Slavery
CHERYL I. HARRIS

II. Administration: The Open Secret of Colonial Racial Capitalist Violence

131 FOUR · In Search of the Next El Dorado: Mining for Capital in a Frontier Market with Colonial Legacies
KIMBERLY KAY HOANG

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

159 FIVE · "Don't Arrest Me, Arrest the Police": Policing as the Street Administration of Colonial Racial Capitalist Orders
LISA MARIE CACHO AND JODI MELAMED

206 SIX · Policing Solidarity: Race, Violence, and the University of Puerto Rico
MARISOL LEBRÓN

232 SEVEN · Programming Colonial Racial Capitalism: Encoding Human Value in Smart Cities
BRIAN JORDAN JEFFERSON

III. **Aesthetics: Reimagining the Sites of Cultural Memory**

257 EIGHT · Nuclear Antipolitics and the Queer Art of Logistical Failure
IYKO DAY

284 NINE · Erasing Empire: Remembering the Mexican-American War in Los Angeles
LAURA PULIDO

IV. **Rehearsing for the Future**

311 TEN · Racial Capitalism Now: A Conversation with Michael Dawson and Ruth Wilson Gilmore
FACILITATED BY BRIAN JORDAN JEFFERSON AND JODI MELAMED

333 *Contributors*
337 *Index*

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This one is for Cedric Robinson. For everything he taught me about race, politics, institutions, fighting, and living. I feel blessed to have known Cedric as a friend and mentor for the nine years I was at UC–Santa Barbara. His expansive intellect, his transfigurative political commitments, his luminous integrity, and his mischievous humor were a gift, teaching lessons I continue to learn. I hope that the work in this volume as well as the work that it took to produce this volume will carry forward the spirit of his work and testify to its horizon-shifting powers.

Before this book took shape as a publication, it was an event. This project was first conceived as a conference on racial capitalism organized through the Unit for Criticism and Interpretive Theory at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, in March 2019. I would like to thank my co-organizers—Jodi Byrd, Lisa Marie Cacho, Brian Jordan Jefferson, and Jodi Melamed—for their creativity and dynamism in planning the conference. For their inspiring contributions to the conference as keynote speakers and for the example of their scholarship and activism, my deepest gratitude to Michael Dawson and Ruth Wilson Gilmore. To the contributors to this volume, many of whom took time away from other long-term projects to work on this collection, no thanks will suffice for your remarkable scholarship and collaborative spirit. I also want to thank the unit's graduate assistants, Alyssa Bralower, Sarah Richter, and Lettycia Terrones, who worked tirelessly to make the conference a success.

This edited volume grows out of the mind-stretching experience of writing and thinking about colonial racial capitalism with my co-editors, Lisa Marie Cacho, Jodi Byrd, and Brian Jordan Jefferson. I am grateful to Lisa for her keen insights, deft revisions, and writerly instincts. My thanks to Jodi, who maintained a consistent focus on the frames of Indigeneity and settler colonialism. I appreciate Brian's work in providing clarity, balance, and precision to our thinking at every stage. To Md. Alamgir Hossain, who worked over the summer

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

editing the manuscript, special thanks for his dedicated work. Finally, for her care and thoughtfulness in preparing this manuscript for publication, thanks to the Unit for Criticism's supremely capable research assistant, Ashli Anda.

For the advice, encouragement, and life-giving conversations that carried me through this work, my thanks to my family—Vinod, Tanya, Sunjay, and Vinay.

SUSAN KOSHY

I feel like I will always be learning how to theorize, articulate, and write about colonial racial capitalism, and I'd like to acknowledge a few people for their brilliance and their patience in thinking through and talking about these concepts with me over the years. Lisa Lowe, Yen Espiritu, Denise Ferreira da Silva, and George Lipsitz are all exceptional mentors who taught challenging classes and provided generous feedback while I was a graduate student. I was also lucky to learn from the other graduate students at UCSD during that time, especially David Coyoca, Ruby Tapia, Rod Ferguson, Grace Hong, Tony Tiongson, Ofelia Cuevas, and the Marlborough House Marxists: Helen Jun, Albert Lowe, Barry Masuda, Boone Nguyen, and Randall Williams. I am very grateful to my fellow coeditors: Jodi Byrd, Brian Jordan Jefferson, and Susan Koshy. I'd like to give Susan a special thanks for taking charge, organizing all of us, doing a lot of the hard writing, and keeping us on track. I also want to acknowledge Jodi Byrd for all her patience and support in helping me to rethink racial capitalism in relation to settler colonial studies and Indigenous studies over the last several years. I'd like to acknowledge a few people for helping me think specifically about my coauthored chapter in this volume. I'd like to thank Ruth Nicole Brown for helping me to write about hard things, and I want to thank her for the work that she does because everything she does is the answer to that all-important question: "So what do we do now?" I want to thank Chandan Reddy for his own work, brilliance, and generosity in helping us to theorize administrative power. And last, I extend much appreciation to Jodi Melamed, my coauthor, longtime interlocutor, and much-loved friend. I am so grateful for Jodi's genius, clarity, big-picture theorizing, and real-world activism. I love the work we produce to-

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

gether, and I love the collaborative process we take to get our shared thoughts out into the world.

LISA MARIE CACHO

I want to thank all my coeditors, and Lisa especially, for the collaborative work on the introduction. I also want to thank Chandan Reddy, Jodi Melamed, Iyko Day, and Alyosha Goldstein, but everyone is already in the collection, so I'm just feeling lucky to have been able to think with everyone for this conversation.

JODI A. BYRD

I would like to thank all who helped organize and participated in the Racial Capitalism conference in Champaign-Urbana in 2019: Alyosha Goldstein, Cheryl Harris, Marisol LeBrón, Kimberly Kay Hoang, Iyko Day, Laura Pulido, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Michael Dawson, Jodi Byrd, Jodi Melamed, Lisa Marie Cacho, Susan Koshy, Lee Gaines, Chandan Reddy, Alyssa Bralower, and Sarah Richter. I would also like to extend thanks to all the students, faculty, and members of the community who came and provided lively discussion. This volume would not have been possible without such robust and collective input.

BRIAN JORDAN JEFFERSON

We are deeply grateful to our production team at Duke for their meticulous attention to all aspects of this volume. Courtney Berger's unflagging support for this book and her deft guidance at every stage kept us on track, despite the many troubles of the pandemic. Many thanks also to Sandra Korn, Lisa Lawley, and Donald Pharr for seeing this book through production and into the world.

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Susan Koshy, Lisa Marie Cacho,
Jodi A. Byrd, and Brian Jordan Jefferson

Introduction

As Robin Kelley points out in his introduction to the 2020 reissue of *Black Marxism*, Cedric Robinson did not coin the term *racial capitalism*, that it in fact "originated in South Africa around 1976"—an origin point within a settler colonial apartheid state that, importantly, signals the convergence of settler colonialism, imperialism, anti-Blackness, and capitalism the following essays address.[1] For many, however, the concept of racial capitalism has been most influentially formulated in Cedric Robinson's monumental study *Black Marxism* (1983). Robinson's paradigmatic challenge to Marx's progressive teleology was transformative, and it extended the critique of South African thinkers and activists, many in the Black Consciousness movement and the Pan Africanist Congress, who were concerned that "dismantling apartheid without overthrowing capitalism would leave in place structures that reproduce racial inequality and the exploitation of all workers."[2] The political and analytical interventions that the framework of racial capitalism made in the work of Neville Alexander, Barnard Magubane, James A. Turner, John S. Saul, Stephen Gelb, and others were specific to South Africa. Robinson's contribution was to generalize and theorize racial capitalism on a world scale. His thesis was that capitalism was racial capitalism everywhere.

Fundamentally, Robinson's reworking of Marxism asserts that racism is not extrinsic to capitalism; it does not merely exacerbate or justify class-based inequalities. Critiquing key assumptions of Marxism, Robinson explains that capitalism did not overthrow the fixed social hierarchies of feudalism but instead extended and incorporated these unequal social and/or colonial relations. Furthermore, he argues, these inequalities had always been decidedly "racial." According to Robinson, racism did not emerge at the moment that Europeans justified the enslavement and colonization of non-Europeans but functioned long before to naturalize

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

economic, social, and political inequalities within Europe that became entrenched within capitalism. As he writes, "The tendency of European civilization through capitalism was thus not to homogenize but to differentiate—to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into 'racial' ones."

In the conversation that concludes this book, Ruth Wilson Gilmore reminds us that Robinson did not see the "racial" as synonymous with skin color. According to Robinson, racial logics naturalize capitalist inequalities and the violence that maintains them by naming the differences that justify unequal social relations as innate—as "biological," "cultural," "environmental," and so forth. These differences refer to unequal social relations, which can—but do not always or necessarily—correspond to skin color. Hence, Gilmore challenges us to renew the analytic of racial capitalism by asking us to think, "What is the 'racial' in racial capitalism?" How do we combine the specificity of how difference functions within specific locations to naturalize capitalist inequalities and their attendant violences with the general trend of capitalism in the world today? As Gilmore urges, "If we seriously want to enliven, and make useful, and keep useful the concept of racial capitalism, we have to get over thinking that what it's about is white-people capitalism. There *is* white-people capitalism, but that's not all of capitalism."[3] For Gilmore, Robinson's work offers indispensable guidance in addressing this challenge in that he demonstrates that although capitalism has always been racial capitalism, *racial* does not necessarily mean Black or require white.

For instance, analyses of hierarchies of global space in postcolonial studies illuminate a key racial logic inherent to Marxist stagism. The division of the world into centers and peripheries, modern and backward regions, and civilized and uncivilized peoples rested on what Enrique Dussel terms "the fallacy of developmentalism," the idea that the European model of economic and political governance was a universal one that must be followed by all other cultures.[4] The "failure" of Third World countries to develop along the pathways set up and exemplified by Euro-American nations, especially after gaining political independence, was taken as proof of a natural incapacity to reach humanity's highest goals through the exercise of universal reason. This failure served as warrant for continued Western intervention in the markets and governments of "less-developed" countries. As Denise Ferreira da Silva explains, developmentalism served as an alibi for expropriating the productive capacity of lands and bodies outside Europe by condensing three racial truths: "(a) that the targets of the development

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

project (illiteracy, poverty, famine) resulted from certain peoples' and places' *natural* incapacity to move forward on their own, (b) those who could: white/Europeans had the moral obligation to help those (Asians, Africans, Latin Americans, and Pacific Islanders) who could not develop, and (c) this natural incapacity preempts attributions of the failures of development to past and current operations of colonial mechanisms of expropriation."[5] In other words, the production of racially marked hierarchies of space allows accumulation through dispossession to be resignified as a problem of development. For this reason, Ferreira da Silva explains, colonial racial critique offers a crucial corrective to Marxist theory: "Racial critique yields an anticolonial analysis of global capitalism without historical materialism's 'original' Eurocentrism."[6]

The racial grammar that shaped developmentalism in the twentieth century is being reconfigured in the twenty-first century in ways that highlight the urgency of connecting the critique of colonial and racial capitalism. Several epochal shifts have undermined Euro-American hegemony and the authority of linear models of development: the rapid economic rise of East and Southeast Asian countries; the relocation of industry to former colonies or semi-colonies; the counterweight of new Chinese development projects reshaping investment and infrastructure in Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America (e.g., the massive Belt and Road Initiative launched in 2013); the heightened global consciousness of the links between Western-style development and planetary environmental catastrophes; the transcontinental effects of the 2008 financial crisis; and most recently the cascading crises of the coronavirus pandemic alongside the resurgence of Indigenous and Black-allied activism and leadership against militarized police and the extractive industries that continue to expropriate resources and lives. The reorientation of the global extractive economy away from Euro-America and toward China, the paradoxical conditions of increasing Western and Asian foreign investments in emerging economies and the hyper-exploitation of racialized populations within them, the creation of permanent surplus populations mostly in the South but also in the North, and the hyper-exploitation of migrant labor within postcolonial states, between them, and in the North point to the emergence of new racializing regimes of accumulation and shifting geographical contours and formations of race. These changes bring to the fore the geographical fluidity of accumulation and racialized difference as the circuits linking North-South, South-South, South-East, and North-East proliferate and diversify at dizzying velocity.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Further complicating emerging global racial formations is the ambivalent role of postcolonial elites in the aftermath of decolonization. As Heidi Nast notes, "Since independence, for instance, postcolonial elites have, for economic reasons, worked to identify tacitly and racially with global hegemons. Yet, to stabilize and enhance their own local, national or regional political positions, they have spoken *in racialized opposition* to these same global hegemons, drawing on racialized commonalities with their own 'people.' The ambivalence and contradictions of such positioning has permitted a kind of racialized relay system in which political risk is dispersed across global and local racial formations, allowing capital to accumulate in ever more centripetal ways."[7] The strategic positioning of postcolonial states and elites, sometimes glossed as "neoliberalism with Southern characteristics" and sometimes seen as simply too heterogeneous and divergent to be captured by this label, raises crucial questions about racial capitalism now.[8]

In addition to rethinking primitive accumulation as endemic to capitalist development, we need to rethink the analytic of "dispossession" so that we can reframe and recenter land within analyses of colonial racial capitalism. One of the interventions that North American Indigenous studies has made to conversations about capitalism and racialization is to highlight how the dispossessive regimes of accumulation through differentiation, elimination, expropriation, enslavement, and incarceration have themselves always been settler colonialist. What is more, these regimes have always been an attack on collective life and its emphasis on relationality, kinship, and responsibility that shapes so many Indigenous philosophies. As mentioned above, Marx's so-called primitive accumulation carries with it a temporal and spatial teleology that assumes successive transformations of the means of production and political economies as necessary conditions of possibility. And even those necessary conditions of possibility rely on taken-for-granted assumptions about land and property as givens.

In linking capitalism to settler colonialism, scholars in Indigenous and settler colonial studies center land alongside labor within the horizons of expropriation. But as Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd cautions, although settler colonial studies and critiques of racial capitalism often understand land as necessary for life, Indigenous studies understands that *land is life.*[9] Accordingly, Yellowknives Dene scholar Glen Coulthard argues for a shift from understanding capitalism as a social relation to understanding capitalism as a colonial relation, an analytic reframing that he suggests might

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

help us "occupy a better angle from which to both anticipate and interrogate practices of settler-state dispossession justified under otherwise egalitarian principles and espoused with so-called 'progressive' political agendas in mind."[10] From this better angle, we can push Robinson's analytic of racial capitalism back to the significance of the term's South African settler colonialist origins to examine how Indigenous dispossession is not the precondition for racial capitalism to emerge but always has been part of its very structure. To understand racial capitalism as additionally a colonial relation, as Coulthard encourages us, is to understand that racial capitalism exploits and expropriates not only labor but also land. For Coulthard, Marx's theory of primitive accumulation "thoroughly links the totalizing power of *capital* with that of *colonialism*."[11] Hence, primitive accumulation redirects attention to "the history and experience of *dispossession*, not proletarianization."[12]

In attempting to apprehend the difference that Indigenous dispossession makes to Marxist understandings of land, labor, accumulation, and property, Rob Nichols addresses what appears to be a contradiction outside of Indigenous studies: If the Earth cannot be owned, how can land be stolen from its rightful owners? He argues that, first, dispossession "transforms nonproprietary relations into proprietary ones" and that, second, the dispossessed "are figured as 'original owners' but only *retroactively*, that is, refracted backward through the process itself." As he elaborates, "It is thus not (only) about the *transfer of* property but the *transformation into* property." Naming this process "recursive dispossession," Nichols pinpoints why Indigenous lands, stolen into property and possession, are so difficult to apprehend outside the systems of property and possession. As he explains, recursive dispossession works through "transformation," "transference," and "retroactive attribution." Indigenous peoples' relations to land are transformed (from a relation of responsibility to a relation of rights) only so that land-as-a-property relation can be transferred or sold to settlers. The act of selling belatedly names Indigenous peoples as "original owners." Dispossession, Nichols demonstrates in *Theft Is Property!*, "produces what it presupposes."[13]

This shift is important for rethinking how primitive accumulation was not a stage of capitalist development but is, in fact, ongoing and necessary for settler-state capital accumulation through its colonial relation.[14] The shift is also important for theorizing and learning from Indigenous resistance: "The theory and practice of Indigenous anticolonialism, including Indigenous anticapitalism, is best understood as a struggle primarily

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

inspired by and oriented around *the question of land*—a struggle not only *for* land in the material sense, but also deeply *informed* by what the land *as system of reciprocal relations and obligations* can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms—and less around our emergent status as 'rightless proletarians.'"[15] As Coulthard explains, to see capitalism as a colonial relation is not just to see capital accumulation through the lens of ongoing dispossession but also to see anticapitalist activism in unceded and occupied Indigenous lands beyond workers' struggles—in other words, to see "indigenous land-based direct action" as fundamentally revolutionary and anticapitalist.[16]

For us, staging our analytic as colonial racial capitalism allows a centering of relations of racism, settler and franchise colonialisms, and capitalism across a variety of historical and geographical contexts and engages their relation to the persistence of violence, precarity, and inequality in capitalist modernity. Our analytic of colonial racial capitalism brings together genealogies of decolonial, Indigenous, and Black radical critique to explore how colonization and imperialism partitioned the globe into racially differentiated lands and peoples, naturalizing and justifying the expropriation of some bodies and lands for the benefit of others. As Chandan Reddy notes, "For the last three hundred years, Westernization and capitalism have refined and continuously expanded 'society' for the human community while abandoning for death any life whose first and primary crime has been its mere existence—that is, whose crime is that it exists without value or meaning for westernized-man."[17]

The essays in this volume move across a range of contexts, from the strategies of Indigenous dispossession encoded in legal definitions of the corporation and the tribe, to the historical erasure of the colonial violence of the Mexican-American War in public memorials, to the cognitive mapping of nuclear wastelands of colonial modernity located on Indigenous lands and in the global South, to mechanisms of debt and development as race-neutral means of asset-stripping Black communities, to the colonial legacies shaping the Vietnamese state's protection of natural resources in the mining sector against Western and Chinese investors. The analyses link the logics and violences of domination and dispossession to interconnections among colonialism, racial capitalism, and formations of social difference. As they construct new links across fields, extend the analytic to unforeseen situations, and direct it toward new materialities, these essays open up possibilities for solidarity, action, and reflection that work against

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

the processes of violent partition and repartition through which colonial racial capitalism is reproduced.

Colonial Racial Capitalism

Racial capitalism *is* colonial capitalism, especially where settler and imperial thefts of land, the production of hierarchies of global space, and the expropriation of labor occur by means of recursive processes that require possession and rights in order to produce dispossession and rightlessness. As Jodi Melamed observes, "Capital can only be capital when it is accumulating, and it can only accumulate by producing and moving through relations of severe inequality among human groups—capitalists with the means of production/workers without the means of subsistence, creditors/debtors, conquerors of land made property/the dispossessed and removed."[18] Thus, although liberal multiculturalism premised on anti-Black settler colonial expropriation now promises inclusion and equality through rights-based forms of administrative rule, colonial racial capitalism depends upon a simultaneous violent disenfranchisement, dispossession, and removal of certain bodies, subjectivities, and possible collectivities to secure and maintain speculative financialization. In the context of US and Canadian settler colonial societies, the ever-expanding logic of accumulation through dispossession depends upon colonial relations with Indigenous peoples as its condition of possibility, and as Joanne Barker observes, "In a state whose capitalism is *always already* reaching out globally, of course Indigenous peoples cannot have equal or commensurate claims to any lands and resources that might compete with corporate-as-the-government's interests to expand, extract, and profit some more. Of course."[19]

This analytic of colonial racial capitalism therefore intervenes in and refracts a broader re-theorization of the relationship between capitalism and violence in Marxist theory that has been under way since the beginning of the twenty-first century.[20] The new work on capitalist violence issues from a convergence of multiple efforts to grapple with the devastating inequalities and cascading crises unleashed by global financialization: growing income inequality and precarity; the gutting of the welfare state in the global North and the social provisioning capacities of developing states in the global South; the debt crises of the 1980s in Latin America and Africa and the Asian financial crisis in 1997; the subprime mortgage

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

crisis and the global financial meltdown in 2008; the expulsion of surplus populations into survival economies, prisons, slums, and migrant circuits; mass incarceration and the militarization of policing and border control; the digitization of social control, logistical operations, financial markets, property valuation, and urban development; the reproduction of racial and colonial wastelands; and "landgrabs" by old and new imperial powers in the South. The scope and scale of these brute inequalities have focused unprecedented attention on two cornerstones of Marxist theory: primitive accumulation and the relation between expropriation and exploitation.

The reappraisals of so-called primitive accumulation highlight the limitations of classical Marxist readings that treat it as a historically prior stage in the development of capitalism (land enclosures, slavery, Indigenous genocide and removal, colonial conquest and plunder) in which the use of extra-economic force to separate people from the means of production and subsistence is superseded in "mature" capitalism by the "the silent compulsion of economic relations [that] sets the seal on the domination of the capitalist over the worker."[21] Working largely from Marx's changing accounts of originary accumulation or Rosa Luxemburg's study of force as a permanent and intrinsic feature of capitalism that is repeatedly activated as accumulation is extended to the entire world, these accounts reframe primitive accumulation as an "inherent-continuous" element of capitalist processes.[22] These reformulations bring the work into closer alignment with scholarship on slavery and colonialism in Black, Indigenous, and postcolonial studies, which have long identified the enduring salience of extra-economic coercion in historical and contemporary capitalism.[23] As Samir Amin notes, "Whenever the capitalist mode of production enters into relations with pre-capitalist modes of production, and subjects these to itself, transfers of value take place from the pre-capitalist to the capitalist formations, as a result of the mechanisms of *primitive accumulation*. . . . It is these forms of primitive accumulation, modified but persistent, to the advantage of the centre, that form the domain of the theory of accumulation on a world scale."[24] Crucially, recent reassessments in Marxism, like Robinson's prior work, have hinged on a move away from Eurocentric models of capitalist development and toward "the colonial relation of dispossession as a co-foundational feature of our understanding of and critical engagement with capitalism."[25]

Among the most comprehensive efforts to rethink the relationship between capitalism and violence is Onur Ulas Ince's study of "capital-positing violence" and "capital-preserving violence." As a preliminary step,

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ince insists that understanding primitive accumulation requires that "the analytic aperture is widened to capture global networks of production and exchange as the historical condition of capitalism, which in turn entails abandoning the nation-state for the 'colonial empire' as the politico-legal unit of analysis." This scalar shift brings into view the otherwise obscured interdependence between slave and free labor that underwrote industrial capitalism as well as the racialized and gendered divisions between waged, disposable, unpaid, and unfree labor structuring the current international division of labor. Ince defines *capital-positing violence* as the brutal force used to separate people from their means of production and to dispossess them. This wholesale expropriation and expulsion of communities occurs when capitalism forcibly incorporates noncapitalist social forms to its logic of accumulation. By contrast, capital-preserving violence is less overt and hides beneath the silent compulsion of economic relations. Exercised primarily in quotidian forms through the law of the market, "capital-preserving violence, as the institutionalization of coercion *within* capitalism, thus encompasses not only the domain of law but a whole panoply of infra-legal administrative techniques of micro-coercion, both public and private, necessary for the reconstitution of 'capital-positing labor' from one day to the next."[26] Nevertheless, despite their outward difference, Ince insists that the two modalities of violence are interlinked and aimed at creating and maintaining the institutional and normative conditions for accumulation.

Black scholars, Indigenous scholars, feminist scholars, and scholars of color have vitally reframed current debates by underscoring the centrality and notable neglect of social reproduction and ecology in Marxist reconsiderations of expropriation. These sites of expropriation are not generally perceived as such because they are associated with the unpaid reproductive and social labor of women and natives and the extraction and commodification of natural resources and capacities in racial and gendered spaces marked as underdeveloped or unproductive. Nevertheless, along with expropriated labor, they form the disavowed foundation of processes of capitalism.

More to the point, the discounted value of racialized and gendered bodies, capacities, resources, and geographies is not accidental but is actively produced both economically and epistemologically. As Jennifer Morgan, Alys Weinbaum, Carole Boyce Davies, Sarah Haley, Erik McDuffie, and Marisa Fuentes argue in their respective scholarship, the development of racial capitalism has depended not only on Black women's labor and Black

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

women's activism but also on the archival erasure of Black women's physical, intellectual, and resistance work.[27] The erasure of those who labor in the service of social reproduction is crucial to the workings of colonial racial capitalism.[28] Archival erasure naturalizes the devaluation of marginalized populations, the work they do, and the places they live, which not only keeps wages low and unlivable but also keeps resource-rich land exploitable and unprotected. Concurrently, this disavowal is also reinscribed in false dichotomies and hierarchies within analyses of political-economic processes that focus on paid, "productive" work at the expense of those whose work is arbitrarily considered "reproductive." Such archival erasures and theoretical elisions obfuscate the racialized and gendered nature of contemporary forms of unfree labor. As Ellie Gore and Genevieve LaBaron remind us, "Understanding women's unfree labour requires a broad understanding of social reproduction as embodied and enacted at individual and household levels, and the ways in which these are tied to processes of value production. . . . Understanding how and why women become vulnerable to unfree labor in global supply chains requires us to centralise dynamics of social oppression and social reproduction—not simply labour exploitation in economistic terms."[29] What links the distinct sites of expropriated labor in the peripheries and the core, of the unpaid and underpaid labor of social reproduction, and of low-cost food, energy, and raw materials is that they serve as sites where "capital, science, and empire . . . succeed in releasing new sources of free or low-cost human and extra-human natures for capital." These sites, vital to the incessant capitalist quest for and production of "cheap natures," sustain accumulation by driving down costs and providing fixes for periodic crises.[30] They are key sites of expropriation because they are thinly protected by contractual obligations; differentially devalued by racial and colonial legacies of conquest, plunder, dispossession, and genocide; and disadvantaged through their low position on a Eurocentric animacy hierarchy.

For Macarena Gómez-Barris, these key sites of expropriation exist in what she refers to as the "extractive zone." This is where colonial racial capitalists actively and violently exploit and destroy social and ecological life as well as the Indigenous, queer, and feminist epistemologies that value relationality, land, plants, animals, and humans. As she writes, "The 'extractive zone' names the violence that capitalism does to reduce, constrain, and convert life into commodities, as well as the epistemological violence of training our academic vision to reduce life to systems." In addition to "mega-extractive projects, such as large dams and mines," extractive capitalism, according to

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Gómez-Barris, is expanded through "prisons and security regimes."[31] Prisons, according to Gilmore, are extractive because "prisons enable money to move because of the enforced *inactivity* of people locked in them. It means people extracted from communities, and people returned to communities but not entitled to be of them, enable the circulation of money on rapid cycles. What's extracted from the extracted is *the* resource of life—time."[32] The racial and colonial logics, mechanisms, and procedures of the carceral state not only create "surplus" populations but also confine and criminalize the histories, relationships, and knowledges that challenge the common sense of exploitability and disposability. As Melamed points out, "We need a more apposite language and a better way to think about capital as a system of expropriating violence on collective life itself."[33] Incarceration extracts time, the resource of life, and it extracts and criminalizes knowledge, the resource of communities with long histories of struggle and resistance. For this reason, it is important to work against the devaluation and erasure of Indigenous, Black radical, and subaltern epistemologies because the destruction of these worldviews is vital to the reproduction of colonial racial capitalism precisely because they offer alternatives that have always existed. Indigenous, decolonial, and Black radical critiques consider colonization, racialization, and capitalism as coevolving and co-constitutive; as Minneapolis-based poet Douglas Kearney observed in the days following George Floyd's murder by police, class is critical to analyses of power and access within systems of privilege, but it is "more fluid than perceived race. Police don't check your credit rating before they shoot, club, rough-ride, or strangle your life away because, you see, they already know what they think you're worth."[34]

It is no accident that the extractive violences of colonial racial capitalism target those people and *places* that are most vulnerable to devaluation and criminalization. As Gómez-Barris writes, "It is often in the heart of resource-rich territories that Indigenous peoples exist in complex tension with extractive capitalism and land defense. In these geographies, Indigenous peoples often multiply rather than reduce life possibilities, protecting land and each other at often extremely high personal and communal cost."[35] Hence, examining how racialized and gendered people whose labor is considered unfree, reproductive, unproductive, or nonproductive are devalued, exploited, disavowed, contained, criminalized, incarcerated, and dispossessed requires examining how land itself is reduced to only a property relation. To counter this academic tendency, it is necessary to attend to land as the site of expropriation, dispossession, and extraction

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

as well as to apprehend land as the often unnamed but vital actor that is always exceeding and resisting the violence of colonial racial capitalism.

The framework of colonial racial capitalism centers land not only as the site of expropriation and the place that social relations are enacted but also as the unnamed actor that sometimes ostensibly but often invisibly facilitates, mediates, and influences our social relations to state agents, one another, the places we live, and the nonhuman lives and entities all around us. It matters whether land is perceived as life, as private property, as terra nullius, or as waste because such perceptions determine whether the land—as well as its life, all the lives it sustains, and all the worldviews that value it—is worthy of protection or vulnerable to extraction, expropriation, violence, and dispossession. At the same time, we want to emphasize that we need to see land beyond a property formation because if land is seen only as owned or as not yet owned rather than as a relation, an actor, or kin, then land, as well as all those the land sustains, will always be misunderstood as valuable only in economic terms—as something to be extracted from, possessed, exploited, damaged, owned, used, and abused. We consider land relationally and, in so doing, assert as a grounding assumption that land has its own capacities for agency, vitality, care, and consent that should be respected and protected. Therefore, we need to examine our relationships and responsibilities to land beyond its potential to be parceled, enclosed, dispossessed, owned, and circulated as property.

Racism and colonialism naturalize not just brutal economic inequalities but also the legal and extralegal violences and killings that come from making dehumanization and devaluation seem endemic to impoverished places and/or a product of people's choices rather than as central to regimes of accumulation. Thus, the framework of colonial racial capitalism is well suited to grappling with the centrality of dispossession to the reproduction of capitalist relations when it focuses on those peoples and places that are recurring targets of capital-positing violence or where the boundary between capital-positing and capital-preserving violence is weak and permeable. This raises a number of crucial questions that lie at the heart of the chapters in this collection. When do resistances to capital's endless drive for accumulation pose such a substantial threat as to unleash the direct force held in check "in the ordinary run of things"?[36] More importantly, which sites and populations bear the brunt of capital-positing violence at specific historical moments? How does this violence operate, and how can it be resisted?

To address these questions through the framework of colonial racial capitalism requires thinking about how the racial and colonial are enmeshed.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

This approach also entails disregarding the structural separation of economy from the ostensibly noneconomic realm of social reproduction/kinship and ecology to examine their deep interconnections. Finally, colonial racial capitalism as a framework recenters Indigenous and settler colonial critique within what is often taken for granted within Marxist analyses: who labors and is made to labor (and who is presumed not to) in the presence and function of land in all its settler dispropriative and counter-resistance registers as relation, as kin, as prior possession, as property, and as the constitutive and literal theft of ground upon which colonial and racial relations are enacted, policed, surveilled, speculated, and monetized. The presumptions about land and labor bifurcated between Indigeneity and Blackness, we argue, also compel the driving common sense and taken-for-grantedness of racial capitalist critiques.

The framework of colonial racial capitalism counters the separation of exchange, exploitation, and expropriation in dominant social theory. It not only thematizes the structural interdependence of these three arenas; it also offers a systemic analysis of the excesses of capitalist violence that have and continue to target marginalized racial groups and peripheral spaces and populations. In doing so, it offers a more expansive and complex understanding of capitalist violence encompassing spectacular forms of violence such as genocide, occupation, and removal, and the slower violence of the destruction of collective knowledges, resources, languages, relationships, and capacities. The chapters in this volume analyze the interconnections among colonialism, racism, and capitalism from the conquest period of "war capitalism" in the Americas, through industrial capitalism, to contemporary financial capitalism.[37] The various chapters cover both settler colonialism in North America (Barker, Goldstein, Harris, Day, Cacho and Melamed, Pulido) and franchise colonialism in Africa, Asia, and Puerto Rico (Hoang, LeBrón, Jefferson, Day), exploring the logics, mechanisms, and structures of Indigenous dispossession, conquest, and slavery in the New World and the repressive and extractive modes of occupation, resource control, and underdevelopment of colonial territories.

Importantly, the chapters do not solely offer a negative critique, taking seriously Ruth Wilson Gilmore's guidance to go beyond reciting the horrors of capitalism to improvising resistance and rehearsing freedom for the future. To become "good readers" requires divining possibilities for different futures in the call of political movements and the expressive forms of art (Barker, LeBrón, Cacho and Melamed, Harris, Day, Pulido) and then putting this knowledge into action. Many of the essays channel dynamically

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

substantive traditions of radical thought in Black, Latinx, Indigenous, Asian American, and decolonial studies toward addressing the challenges of the present. They resurrect and redescribe Indigenous and racial histories, epistemologies, and struggles that have been systematically occluded, erased, or distorted in dominant accounts. They recover and reveal refugia of resistance, delineating the values, practices, and ontologies through which Indigenous, enslaved, and colonized peoples define relationships to one another, to purposeful activity, to sustenance, and to the Earth.

Structure of the Book

We have organized the volume into four sections: "Accumulation," "Administration," "Aesthetics," and "Rehearsing for the Future." These sections are not conceived as autonomous and separate but as intertwined. Notably, many of the chapters could easily fit within two or even three sections because capital accumulation often relies on administrative procedures to abstract and obscure violence, and certain forms of art making are explicitly imagined and designed to counter the violences of capitalist exploitation and expropriation, as well as the legal and extralegal coercion that upholds extractive capitalisms. In other words, the chapters chosen to represent each section best highlight the specific organizing concepts, but they also work cross-sectionally to illuminate the interaction among capitalist accumulation, its law- and rule-making processes, and artistic acts of contestation and rememory.

The first section, "Accumulation," documents the persistence of so-called primitive accumulation in Indigenous histories of land theft, removal, and allotment (Barker); in the interconnected histories of Indigenous dispossession through adoption, foster care, and inheritance laws and Black subordination through heirs' property laws after Reconstruction (Goldstein); and in Black dispossession through debt and forced labor after slavery, which was modeled on earlier systems of Indian debt peonage (Harris). Working through Indigenous and Black history from the eighteenth century to the present, these chapters show how colonial relations of dispossession and servitude are inextricably linked to the processes and institutions of capital accumulation. They also reveal how Indigenous and Black dispossession beyond the land/labor divide was enabled and justified by a liberal legal system that covers over the violent illiberal origins of colonial racial capitalism.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The second section looks at administration as a dominant form of colonial racial capitalist power in the neoliberal present, clarifying a shift from lawmaking power to "the rule-making and rule-enforcing mode of governance" as state bureaucracies become more complex.[38] These chapters home in on the infra-legal mechanisms of rules, rights, and procedures used by states and institutions in the North and the South to manage racial difference and colonial legacies of uneven development in a time of neoliberal globalization. The chapters uncover telling differences in the use of administrative power, from the opacity of rules strategically used by Vietnamese state officials to parlay with Western and Chinese investors to the abstraction and purported objectivity of smart governance algorithms used for property valuation and waste management to the "transparent" police procedures employed by the US administrative state to justify the killing and criminalization of Black, Indigenous, gender-nonconforming, and other marginalized communities (Hoang, Cacho, Melamed, Lebrón, and Jefferson).

The third section, "Aesthetics," contrasts the archival erasure of racial and colonial dispossessive violence in official commemorations and its recollection in counter-hegemonic visual art. In focusing on how visual culture represents the nexus of military, technological, and economic violence in contexts of conquest and occupation, this section examines how the aesthetic can be marshaled by states to inculcate "colonial unknowing" and also be mobilized in decolonial visions to "reverse, displace, and seize the apparatus of value-coding."[39] This section centers artistic visions of land and ecology in memorial sites, murals, sculptures, dioramas, and photographs showing how, on the one hand, settler colonial and imperial commemorations project landscapes improved by development and technological modernization and, on the other hand, how oppositional art represents the making of wastelands and the extirpation of Indigenous and Native peoples as its necessary and brutal condition (Day, Pulido).

The concluding section, "Rehearsing for the Future," takes the form of a conversation between Michael Dawson and Ruth Wilson Gilmore in which they reflect on their trajectories as scholars and activists and discuss strategies for challenging racial capitalism now.

The first section considers the persistence of history in the present as the chapters pull back from contemporary flash points—the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement, the court challenges to the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA), the Flint water crisis, and the subprime loan crisis—to locate events in the long duration of settler colonial capitalist expansion. All three

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

chapters in the opening section, Joanne Barker's "The Corporation and the Tribe," Alyosha Goldstein's "'In the Constant Flux of Its Incessant Renewal': The Social Reproduction of Racial Capitalism and Settler Colonial Entitlement," and Cheryl I. Harris's "The Racial Alchemy of Debt: Dispossession and Accumulation in Afterlives of Slavery," analyze foundational legal rulings and policies through which the US government expropriated and manipulated the land, labor, and kinship ties of Indigenous and Black communities to support capitalist development and white settlement. Barker's chapter powerfully illustrates this dynamic, tracing the concurrent evolution of the legal definitions of the "corporation" and the "tribe" between 1790 and 1887 to reveal how the courts stripped away Indian trade rights and sovereignty over land, resources, and capacities in service of white settlement and corporate interests. The steady expansion of corporate status and rights at the same time that Indian sovereignty was being systematically undermined worked "to establish and protect imperialist social relations and conditions . . . between powerful financial interests, both government and corporate, and Indigenous peoples." Barker documents the massive loss of land, life, and lifeways that followed, revealing dispossession as a world-historical reorientation to the nomos of capital. This legal history, distinct from but connected to the struggles of other oppressed racial groups, holds lessons for later generations struggling against capitalism. Specifically, Barker notes that movements like OWS, which bracket the centrality of Indigenous territorial-based claims to sovereignty in their pursuit of economic justice, can offer only partial remedies rather than radical transformation.

Alyosha Goldstein's chapter picks up where Barker's legal history ends, with the 1887 General Allotment Act, but he shifts the focus of analysis to social reproduction. His chapter shows how policies of adoption, foster care, and inheritance served as instruments of ongoing Native dispossession. Specifically, he explores how the notion of filius nullius ("nobody's child"), enacted in a range of child-removal policies, works in tandem with terra nullius, implemented through federal policies for Indian removal, allotment, termination, and relocation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The dynamic and shifting policies encouraged the adoption of Native children by non-Native parents and thereby "insinuate[d] settler futurity over and against Indigenous life and relations." Adoption policies worked in concert with laws of inheritance to dispossess Native people and Blacks through the fractionation of Native landed property in the post-Allotment period (1887–1934) and through the partition of heirs'

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

property that disproportionately affected Blacks after Reconstruction. Both mechanisms "simultaneously advance a particular normative relation to ownership while holding the possibility of possession itself in abeyance and presuming the inevitability of loss as part of their instantiation." The violence that the chapter traces reaches through time, enacting its dispossessive force across generations as it shifts shape from a strategy of war to a civilizing strategy of uplift. Crucially, social reproduction and ecology, both often analytically sequestered from the economic because of their presumptively "natural" functions, capacities, and resources, are revealed in this chapter as paradigmatic sites of what Rob Nixon calls "slow violence" (see also Day).[40] The slow violence of laws restructuring kinship relations and inheritance dispossess marginalized groups of the resources and relationships on which their future depends while making their continued impoverishment appear to be endemic to the communities themselves rather than to external forces.

Cheryl I. Harris's "The Racial Alchemy of Debt: Dispossession and Accumulation in Afterlives of Slavery" traces how racial dispossession by debt has structured social relations and political economy in the afterlives of slavery. Whereas debt is formally race-neutral, Harris argues, it operates as a form of "racial alchemy" that obscures racially differentiated processes and burdens and abstracts systemic racial violence. Furthermore, both historically and contemporaneously, debt has turned racial subordination into a commodity that can be bought, sold, and speculated on. She analyzes this recurring pattern of dispossession through debt in its early form as Indigenous debt peonage and later in coerced labor systems such as convict leasing and chain gangs, tracing the changing forms of this extractive infrastructure across different carceral regimes up to the recent subprime mortgage and the Flint water crisis. Indian debt peonage, she argues, was intimately related to systems of coerced labor applied to Blacks. The settler colonial project of Indigenous land dispossession prepared the way for the cash-crop economies worked by enslaved and coerced Black labor. Debt peonage circumvented the formal abolition of Indian slavery and vagrancy laws aimed at disciplining Indian labor and created a template for the laws and work contracts imposed on Blacks after slavery. Abolition ended the value of Black people as chattel, but the imposition of Black Codes across the South and the system of convict leasing and the later chain gangs "transformed freed people into assets yet again, 'propertizing' and assigning value to Black bodies by virtue of their indebtedness." These systems were "implemented through formally color-blind laws and a ruthlessly targeted

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

system of racialized administration." She concludes by examining how the Flint water crisis illustrates how neoliberalism not only dispossesses racial collectivities but can recycle what is devalued as throwaway or waste land by monetizing it. Harris's discussion of the centrality of the carceral state to racial capitalist and colonial extraction is taken up in the next section by Cacho and Melamed and by LeBrón, and the analysis of the accumulative strategies of wastelanding is further explored in the chapters by Jefferson and Day.

The chapters in the second section—Kimberly Kay Hoang's "In Search of the Next El Dorado: Mining for Capital in a Frontier Market with Colonial Legacies," Lisa Marie Cacho and Jodi Melamed's "'Don't Arrest Me, Arrest the Police': Policing as the Street Administration of Colonial Racial Capitalist Orders," Marisol LeBrón's "Policing Solidarity: Race, Violence, and the University of Puerto Rico," and Brian Jordan Jefferson's "Programming Colonial Racial Capitalism: Encoding Human Value in Smart Cities"—all focus on administration as a dominant vector of capital-preserving violence today. The chapters in the first section focus on lawmaking as a key mechanism of primitive accumulation or capital-positing violence, while the chapters that examine contemporary neoliberal capitalism broaden the frame to encompass the law and a whole array of administrative techniques.

In their recent work, Jodi Melamed and Chandan Reddy identify the importance of administrative power in contemporary capitalism, noting that it is the means through which racial violence becomes an "open secret" as violence takes the guise of routine calculations and everyday procedures that appear transparent and race-neutral. They specify three mechanisms through which administered racial violence and colonial power operate: (1) police procedures, (2) a liberal rights regime centered on accumulation rather than freedom, and (3) geo-economic strategies of command and control materialized in logistical operations.

The first chapter in this section illuminates administrative power within the context of the regional asymmetries of global financialization by looking at foreign direct investment flows into Vietnam, an emerging market economy in socialist transition, imagined by Western investors through a colonial prism as the "next El Dorado." The chapter provides us a detailed example of what Gómez-Barris has identified as a "mega-extractive project"; such projects, she explains, are "one of today's central modes of perpetuating racial capitalism in the Global South."[41] Using an extended case method, Hoang examines the face-off between the Vietnamese government and Western foreign investors over control of Vietranium (pseudonym)

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

mining, a highly protected nationalistic sector of the economy. Woven into both parties' conflicting accounts of a failed $150 million investment venture is the gap between the white fantasy of a "lucrative new frontier" for investment and the political reality of Vietnam's paradoxically weak yet opaque legal and administrative regime that lures foreign investors in for quick profits but thwarts their efforts to obtain them. The chapter maps the complicated and unstable trialectics of Vietnamese negotiations with Western and Chinese capital, each marked by distinct histories of colonial domination. Hoang offers us a detailed account of how transnational capitalists move money across national borders and how a postcolonial, socialist nation-state both encourages and resists foreign investors' efforts to extract the nation's natural resources. She argues that the defeat of Western foreign investors by a country with a weak legal system and limited technological expertise appears counterintuitive but on closer scrutiny exposes the inadequacies of colonizer/colonized and center/periphery binaries prevalent in postcolonial studies. With the rise of East and Southeast Asian economies and the regional dominance of inter-Asian capital flows (in the wake of US President Donald Trump's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership), Hoang suggests that new paradigms are needed to grapple with the reconfiguration of postcoloniality, sovereignty, and nationalism in countries like Vietnam. In the "Vietranium" project, the government allowed Western investors to assume risk in raising capital and testing for the profitability of mining operations, then used arcane tax laws to push them out of the country once they "struck gold." But what, Hoang asks, are the implications of the government's reassertion of sovereignty over its natural resources when the wealthy local officials and entrepreneurs who profit from it are not a nationalist vanguard but a transnational global elite?

In their chapter, Lisa Marie Cacho and Jodi Melamed examine policing as an administrative power that deploys violence work (including killing with impunity) in real time to criminalize, disqualify, and sort people for capitalist care or capitalist destruction, in order to fabricate and maintain specific relations of colonial racial capitalist accumulation in specific geographies. Seeing police work in this way allows us to understand the demands that have emerged from Black, Indigenous, gender-nonconforming, and other racialized and asset-stripped communities in the wake of George Floyd's killing—both the demand to defend oneself from police violence and live and the demand to defend others from the precarity, premature death, and economic violence of counterinsurgency policing—as revolutionary, profoundly loving, and breathtakingly insubordinate. Cacho and Melamed

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

argue that to identify the weaknesses that colonial racial capitalist policing administers, we have to rethink liberalism writ large (private property, separation of powers, law) as a capitalist worlding praxis that relies on organized violence to realize—to make real—its terms of order. Policing must target the enlivening of Black, Indigenous, and people of color when such enlivening targets the stability of colonial racial capitalist modes of accumulation. Using examples of uprisings in the city that settlers named Milwaukee, Cacho and Melamed examine how acts of rebellion from communities that love themselves more than they fear the police, such as unity fires, marches, and a block-party protest in front of the city jail, defeat acts of policing as the street administration of colonial racial capitalism and, in the process, offer alternative ways of living, being, and relating to one another.

Marisol LeBrón also examines police procedures in her analysis of the university administration's deployment of police and private security forces to repress student strikes at the University of Puerto Rico. The strike, a direct challenge to the administration's moves to privatize the flagship campus, offers a striking example of a tipping point at which capital-preserving violence, to which the largely middle- and upper-class students on the flagship campus had been exposed till then, morphs suddenly into capital-positing violence typically reserved for poor and racially marginalized communities. LeBrón's essay focuses on the state's and university administration's responses to the fraught coalitions forged between the student movement and racially and economically marginalized Puerto Ricans during two university strikes. The difficulty that strikers had in maintaining a broader anticapitalist agenda across race and class lines in the face of police violence foregrounds the challenge for students and their supporters in reading the structural relationship between violence and capitalism and formulating a sustainable response to it. LeBrón draws complicated lessons from the strike, pointing to utopian moments of solidarity that emerged when students and security guards embraced and shook hands, but also to the diversion of the second strike from anticapitalist demands to containment of police violence as the coalition expanded. Although the two goals were inherently connected in the minds of many student activists, they became disarticulated as the violence against protesters intensified. Perhaps the twisting course of the strikes and their shifting solidarities, which importantly outlasted the strike and had "lasting transformational effects" on many of those involved, exemplify the potential and difficulty of seeing the link between violence and capitalism in the administrative regimes

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

of financial capitalism. In "Open Secret," Melamed provides a penetrating description of police procedures as "the visible hand of the market," a recognition that undergirds Cacho and Melamed's and LeBrón's chapters, both of which point to the importance of police violence as a key site of study and struggle.[42]

Brian Jordan Jefferson's chapter, "Programming Colonial Racial Capitalism," analyzes how racial and spatial value is encoded in smart city governance through administrative software. In contrast to the overt if routinized violence of police repression, the colonial racial violence of smart technologies is abstracted, opaque, and remote. Smart governance optimizes administrative efficiency and economic growth, thereby reinforcing existing racial and colonial practices of human and geographical valuation, devaluation, expendability, and waste (see also Day). Jefferson analyzes two types of software, one used for property assessment and the other for waste management. If the former administers "the economic values of landscapes," the latter administers "how pollutable they are." The comparison between the two types of software connects the spheres of exchange and ecology to expose how algorithms routinize and rationalize racial and geographical devaluation, as well as ecological and human degradation and destruction. Ironically, as Jefferson notes, both technologies are promoted as "neutral scientifically based" solutions that remedy racially discriminatory decisions rooted in subjective bias. In this way, computerized administration enables "the extension of market control into minority communities inside wealthier Western countries and across economically liberalizing areas of the global South." Such administrative software supports operations on a global scale but delivers lethal violence in localities through operations that are harder to track and resist. The global explosion of property-assessment technology facilitates the subsumption of the cadastral systems of postcolonial countries into global finance markets, whereas waste-management technology enables logistical operations that generate differential "spatial profiles in ways that naturalize the logics of the market and contribute to 'group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death.'" Jefferson points to the urgent need for an "algorithmic abolitionist thinking" that can grapple with the violence of smart urbanization. Indeed, he argues, within these emergent modes of racial colonial governance, built on hierarchies of global space, new possibilities for coalition building between the various devalued populations can emerge.

The third section ("Aesthetics") features two essays, Iyko Day's "Nuclear Antipolitics and the Queer Art of Logistical Failure" and Laura

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Pulido's "Erasing Empire: Remembering the Mexican-American War in Los Angeles," which explore the historical erasure of settler colonialism and racial capitalism in public commemoration of two important military events: the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in August 1945 and the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). The century separating the two events shows the recurrence of extra-economic coercion and dispossession in US capitalist development. Yet the liberal ideology of market freedom and democracy requires the disavowal of the deep reliance on lethal force to establish and expand capitalist rule. Both Day and Pulido show how the devastation inflicted by these wars is "aestheticized and anaesthetized" in collective history and memory. These essays explore the various forms of "colonial unknowing" perpetuated by official histories of the Mexican-American War and the Hiroshima bombing.

Iyko Day argues that the global cultural memory of Hiroshima as a cautionary tale of the excesses of technoscientific modernity, espoused in different forms by the US and Japanese state, transmutes the historical exploitation of nuclear modernity into universal stories of suffering that obscure their respective imperial pasts. In contrast to the spectacular violence of the Hiroshima bombing that has preoccupied cultural memory, Day turns to visual representations of nuclear wastelands where radioactive minerals are mined and toxic waste disposed, reading them as the unregarded sites of the slow violence of military and economic domination. From the vantage point of these devastated nuclear wastelands, many of which lie on Indigenous lands and in the global South, "the antipolitical frame of technopolitics reveals the coordinated expansion and technological intensification of imperial state power that is secured through its simultaneous *depoliticization*" (see also Harris and Jefferson on wastelanding). These "radioactive nonsites of nuclear modernity," she argues, locate Hiroshima "in a history of colonial capitalism rooted in energy extraction, from coal and oil to uranium." Day takes up these questions through an analysis of the sculptures in Hiroshima-based artist Takahiro Iwasaki's *Out of Disorder* series. In his table dioramas, Iwasaki uses found materials to represent the energy landscapes of Hiroshima as a literal wasteland. He composes his sculptures from discarded commodities such as toothbrushes, kimonos, and towels, exposing through the arrangement of this human detritus the failure of use values in capitalism and the disruption of capitalist temporality and the commodity form. Thus, Day concludes, Iwasaki's works offer "alternative insights on energy infrastructures in the shadow of nuclear modernity."

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Laura Pulido examines how the transition from Mexican to US rule is envisioned and narrated in historical sites and landscapes commemorating the Mexican-American War. She describes how the sites commemorating the US government's seizure of a quarter-million square miles of territory recast the violence of conquest through romantic visions of a bucolic Spanish past that gave way to modernizing US rule. Of two sites that were important battlefields, she notes that the weaponry of domination—cannons and guns—is showcased in decontextualized tributes to their technological sophistication while "the violence of the war is largely evacuated." The Fort Moore Pioneer Memorial lauds the US battalions, pioneers, and Anglo-American settlers as the primary agents responsible for "the evolution of the region from US conquest to the 1950s, when the sculpture was completed." The bas-relief sculpture of pioneers, wagons, cows, houses, and trees provide paeans to modernization, heteropatriarchy, land development, and property ownership and overwrite the violent dispossession and displacement of Indigenous people and Mexicans. To offer a counter-vision of the Mexican-American War, Pulido examines the visual aesthetics of *Tree of Califas*, which is featured in the underground train stop of the Metropolitan Transit Authority adjacent to the Campo de Cahuenga site. Highlighting the Mexican/Chicanx and Indigenous perspective, the mural embeds the Mexican-American War in the violent transition from Spanish conquest to US conquest. Rather than erasing empire, the installation locates the war in the framework of "inter-imperiality," highlighting and connecting Indigenous dispossession and Mexican racialization between two imperial regimes.[43] The Mexican-American War marks not an entry into capitalist modernity but the recurrence of imperial violence on land seized by multiple empires.

The final section of the book, "Rehearsing for the Future," centers a conversation between Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Michael Dawson that is both a reflection on their careers as legendary scholar-activists and a primer on the work still needed to seize the future away from the structures of dispossessive racial capitalism. As scholar activists who were at the forefront of shaping and cohering racial capitalism as a vitally necessary response to the on-the-ground and on-the-ropes revolutionary movements in California and Chicago that, as Dawson says, "were trying to understand the intersection of white supremacy and capitalism in the United States," Gilmore and Dawson constellate some of the driving forces that centered racial theory within political economy as a way to understand the imperative nows of the present. With remembrances of and stories about Cedric Robinson

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

and Clyde Woods, critiques of the reformist Left, and thoughts on reinvigorating the stakes in understanding that all capitalism is racial, Dawson and Gilmore provide the counternarratives and time lines through which to reimagine how the basic institutions of family, education, work, and care might radically transform away from carcerality, debt peonage, and violence and toward the grassroots collectivities and solidarities that emerge beyond the continual rehearsing and circulation of white supremacist horror on social media.

The year 2020 and the days, months, and year(s) to come may be unprecedented, as many activists, pundits, politicians, and scholars have already said—with the simultaneity of a global pandemic; economic, financial, infrastructural, and housing crises; anti-Black police brutality; social unrest and uprising; authoritarianism; ecological catastrophes; and the competing forces of incarceration, eviction, homelessness, and the vested interests of white supremacy and settler colonialism structuring the logics of access—and we are only just beginning to understand the forces of repression and transformation that have shaped the futures to come. What we can see already is that the logistics of production, policing, health care, and livability are intricately entangled with the structures of property, profit, and security that have been the cornerstones of anti-Black settler colonialism, imperialism, and white supremacy. Incarcerating social-justice workers and anticolonial laborers extracts energy, passion, life, time, knowledge, history, and theory from communities, trying to force interruptions and disruptions in their respective and collective struggles. But this also happens when we lock away the lives of those with less spectacular and less honorable backgrounds as if the complex, difficult choices they made under trying circumstances nullify everything they can offer to their communities and erase all their future brilliant ideas so desperately needed in this society. Resisting itself becomes criminalized and the frame and excuse for death-dealing regimes. In this way, we are all recruited to affirm the logic of colonial racial capitalism by disavowing those whom the carceral state and the authoritarian state have deemed guilty and undeserving. Colonial racial capitalism not only exploits, destroys, extracts, and devalues labor and land but also damages relationships, communities, and the alternative visions and futures that we need to build better lifeworlds. We believe that the chapters included in this collection provide some of the critical tools and frameworks needed to build toward those better lifeworlds that arise from the simultaneous struggles for decolonization and abolition.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

NOTES

1. Kelley, "Foreword," xiv. The term *racial capitalism* was used in a pamphlet, *Foreign Investment and the Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa*, by white South African Marxists Martin Legassick and David Hemson. They were part of a larger group of South African thinkers and activists who used the term to analyze the distinctive nexus of white supremacy, imperialism, and capitalism in apartheid South Africa.

2. Kelley, "Foreword," xiv. See also Milkman, "Apartheid, Economic Growth"; Hudson, "Racial Capitalism"; Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid*; Kundnani, "What Is Racial Capitalism?"; Burden-Stelly, Hudson, and Pierre, "Racial Capitalism, Black Liberation."

3. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 26; Gilmore, "What is the 'Racial'?"

4. Dussel, "Eurocentrism and Modernity," 67.

5. Ferreira da Silva, "Globality," 36.

6. Ferreira da Silva, "Globality," 34.

7. Nast, "'Race' and the Bio(necro)polis," 1458.

8. Prashad, *Poorer Nations*, 10.

9. Jodi A. Byrd, "Indigenomicon," Zoom talk, Digital Democracies Institute, Simon Fraser University, May 5, 2021.

10. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 12.

11. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7. Coulthard addresses several critiques of "primitive accumulation," among them that Marx and Marxists have narrated primitive accumulation in ways that read the violent dispossession of colonized Indigenous peoples and their lands as a finished moment in the history of modern capitalism, necessary to erect the contemporary relations of exploitation that separate the waged worker from the means of production. This incorrect premise, Coulthard explains, comes from Marx's writings that described primitive accumulation as "the accumulation of capital through violent state dispossession resulting in proletarianization" (10). As Coulthard and others remind us, Indigenous people have also always been laborers and Indigenous dispossession is still ongoing.

12. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 13.

13. Nichols, *Theft Is Property!*, 8, 31, 9.

14. Some scholars, such as Nancy Fraser, see primitive accumulation as always violent because they connect it to racialized expropriation, but as Coulthard reminds us, this is not necessarily the case: state dispossession also works through strategies of accommodation and recognition. Challenges to stagist readings of primitive accumulation have also been made by scholars in Black studies, such as Nikhil Pal

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Singh, who critiques the relegation of slavery to a precapitalist or noncapitalist era in Marxist thought.

15. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 13.

16. Coulthard, "Colonialism of the Present."

17. Reddy, "Is Justice a Process or an Outcome?"

18. Melamed, "Racial Capitalism," 77.

19. Barker, "Corporation and the Tribe," 265.

20. See Dawson, "Hidden in Plain Sight"; De Angelis, "Marx's Theory of Primitive Accumulation"; Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*; Federici, "Debt Crisis"; Fraser, "Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism"; Fraser, "Legitimation Crisis?"; Hall, "Primitive Accumulation"; Harvey, *New Imperialism*; Ince, "Between Equal Rights"; Ince, *Colonial Capitalism*; Nichols, "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation"; Nichols, *Theft Is Property!*; Sassen, *Expulsions*; Sassen, "Savage Sorting"; and Singh, "On Race, Violence, and So-Called Primitive Accumulation."

21. Marx, *Capital*, 899–900.

22. Luxemburg, *Accumulation of Capital*, 364–66, 370–76, 452–54; De Angelis, "Marx's Theory of Primitive Accumulation," 5.

23. See Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale*; Banaji, *Theory as History*; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*; Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*; Guha, *Elementary Aspects*; Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*; Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*; Sanyal, *Rethinking Capitalist Development*; and Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery.*

24. Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, 3.

25. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 14.

26. Ince, "Between Equal Rights," 9, 16–18, 19.

27. Davies, *Left of Karl Marx*; Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*; Haley, *No Mercy Here*; McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom*; Morgan, *Reproduction and Gender*; Weinbaum, *Afterlife of Reproductive Slavery*.

28. Hong, *Ruptures of American Capital*, xxiv.

29. Gore and LaBaron, "Using Social Reproduction Theory," 563.

30. Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life*, 53.

31. Gómez-Barris, *Extractive Zone*, xvi, xix, xvii.

32. Gilmore, "Abolition Geography," 227.

33. Melamed, "Racial Capitalism," 78.

34. Kearney, "Dear Editor—."

35. Gómez-Barris, *Extractive Zone*, xix.

36. Marx, *Capital*, 899.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

37. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*, xv.

38. Melamed and Reddy, "Using Liberal Rights."

39. Vimalassery, Pegues, and Goldstein, "On Colonial Unknowing," 1042; Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, 63.

40. Nixon, *Slow Violence*, 2.

41. Gómez-Barris, *Extractive Zone*, xvii.

42. Melamed, "Open Secret."

43. Doyle, "Inter-imperiality," 159.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amin, Samir. *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.

Banaji, Jairus. *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2010.

Barker, Joanne. "The Corporation and the Tribe." *American Indian Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2015): 243–70.

Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015.

Burden-Stelly, Cherisse, Peter James Hudson, and Jemima Pierre. "Racial Capitalism, Black Liberation, and South Africa." *Black Agenda Report*, December 16, 2020. https://blackagendareport.com/racial-capitalism-black-liberation-and-south-africa.

Clarno, Andy. *Neoliberal Apartheid: Palestine, Israel and South Africa after 1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Coulthard, Glen Sean. "The Colonialism of the Present." Interview by Andrew Bard Epstein. *Jacobin*, January 13, 2015. www.jacobinmag.com/2015/01/indigenous-left-glen-coulthard-interview.

Coulthard, Glen Sean. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Davies, Carole Boyce. *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Dawson, Michael C. "Hidden in Plain Sight: A Note on Legitimation Crises and the Racial Order." *Critical Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 143–61.

De Angelis, Massimo. "Marx's Theory of Primitive Accumulation: A Suggested Reinterpretation." University of East London, Department of Economics, Working Paper 29, May 2000.

Doyle, Laura. "Inter-imperiality: Dialectics in a Postcolonial World History." *Interventions* 16, no. 2 (2014): 159–96.

Dussel, Enrique. "Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures)." *boundary* 2 20, no 3 (Autumn 1993): 65–76.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Federici, Silvia. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Autonomedia, 2004.
Federici, Silvia. "The Debt Crisis, Africa and the New Enclosures." In *Midnight Oil: Work, Energy, War, 1973–1992*, edited by Midnight Notes Collective. New York: Autonomedia. 1992.
Ferreira da Silva, Denise. "Globality." *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 33–38.
Fraser, Nancy. "Expropriation and Exploitation in Racialized Capitalism: A Reply to Michael Dawson." *Critical Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 163–78.
Fraser, Nancy. "Legitimation Crisis? On the Political Contradictions of Financialized Capitalism." *Critical Historical Studies* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 157–89.
Fuentes, Marisa J. *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence." In *Futures of Black Radicalism*, edited by Gaye Theresa Johnson and Alex Lubin, 225–40. New York: Verso, 2017.
Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "What Is the 'Racial' in Racial Capitalism? Magic, Partition, Politics." Keynote lecture presented at the Unit for Criticism and Interpretive Theory Conference on Racial Capitalism, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, March 29, 2019.
Gómez-Barris, Macarena. *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologies and Decolonial Perspectives*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.
Gore, Ellie, and Genevieve LaBaron. "Using Social Reproduction Theory to Understand Unfree Labour." *Capital and Class* 43, no. 4 (2019): 561–80.
Guha, Ranajit. *Dominance without Hegemony*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
Guha, Ranajit. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.
Haley, Sarah. *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.
Hall, Derek. "Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession and the Global Land Grab." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 9 (2013): 1582–1604.
Harvey, David. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Hong, Grace Kyungwon. *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.
Hudson, Peter James. "Racial Capitalism and the Dark Proletariat." *Boston Review*, February 20, 2018. http://bostonreview.net/forum/remake-world-slavery-racial-capitalism-and-justice/peter-james-hudson-racial-capitalism-and.
Ince, Onur Ulas. "Between Equal Rights: Primitive Accumulation and Capital's Violence." *Political Theory* (2017): 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591717748420.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ince, Onur Ulas. *Colonial Capitalism and the Dilemmas of Liberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Kearney, Douglas. "Dear Editor—: An Open Letter from Douglas Kearney." *Cave Canem: A Home for Black Poetry*. https://cavecanempoets.org/an-open-letter-from-douglas-kearney.

Kelley, Robin D. G. "Foreword: Why *Black Marxism*, Why Now?" In Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 3rd ed., xi–xxxiv. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

Kundnani, Arun. "What Is Racial Capitalism?" October 23, 2020. www.kundnani.org/what-is-racial-capitalism.

Legassick, Martin, and David Hemson. *Foreign Investment and the Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa. Johannesburg: Foreign Investment in South Africa—A Discussion Series*, no. 2, 1976.

Luxemburg, Rosa. *The Accumulation of Capital*. London: Routledge, 1951 (1913).

Marx, Karl. *Capital*. New York: Penguin, 1976 (1867).

McDuffie, Erik. *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

Melamed, Jodi. "The Open Secret of Racial Capitalism." Lecture presented for the Unit for Criticism and Interpretive Theory Modern Critical Theory Lecture Series, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, March 27, 2018.

Melamed, Jodi. "Racial Capitalism." *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2015): 76–85.

Melamed, Jodi, and Chandan Reddy. "Using Liberal Rights to Enforce Racial Capitalism." *Items*, May 29, 2019. https://items.ssrc.org/race-capitalism/using-liberal-rights-to-enforce-racial-capitalism.

Milkman, Ruth. "Apartheid, Economic Growth, and US Foreign Policy in South Africa." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 22 (1977): 45–100.

Mintz, Sidney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin, 1986.

Moore, Jason. *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Accumulation and the Ecology of Capital*. London: Verso, 2015.

Morgan, Jennifer L. *Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Nast, Heidi J. "'Race' and the Bio(necro)polis." *Antipode* 43, no. 5 (November 2011): 1457–64.

Nichols, Robert. "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation." *Radical Philosophy* 194 (2015): 18–28.

Nichols, Robert. *Theft Is Property! Dispossession and Critical Theory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020.

Nixon, Rob. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Prashad, Vijay. *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South*. New York: Verso, 2012.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Reddy, Chandan. "Is Justice a Process or an Outcome?" Accessed May 30, 2021. https://bambitchell.henryart.org/is-justice-a-process-or-an-outcome/chandan-reddy.

Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. 3rd ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Overture, 1972.

Sanyal, Kalyan. *Rethinking Capitalist Development: Primitive Accumulation, Governmentality, and Post-colonial Capitalism*. New Delhi: Routledge, 2007.

Sassen, Saskia. *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Sassen, Saskia. "A Savage Sorting of Winners and Losers: Contemporary Versions of Primitive Accumulation." *Globalizations* 7 (2010): 23–50.

Singh, Nikhil Pal. "On Race, Violence, and So-Called Primitive Accumulation." *Social Text* 34, no. 3 (2016): 27–50.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Vimalassery, Manu, Juliana Hu Pegues, and Alyosha Goldstein. "Introduction: On Colonial Unknowing." *Theory and Event* 19, no. 4 (2016): 1042–54.

Weinbaum, Alys Eve. *The Afterlife of Reproductive Slavery: Biocapitalism and Black Feminism's Philosophy of History*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.

Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS