

**A
PEOPLE'S
CLIMATE
PLAN FOR
NEW YORK
CITY**



**CLIMATE
ACTION
LAB**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

2 LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

3 ABOUT THIS PAMPHLET

**4 EXTREME CITY, JUST TRANSITION:
LANDSCAPES OF CLIMATE ACTION IN NYC**

12 POPULAR PLANNING: THE PLAN IS THE PROCESS

**16 ARENAS OF STRUGGLE IN CLIMATE PLANNING:
ENERGY, FOOD, WASTE, HOUSING**

**22 ARTS, CLIMATE JUSTICE, AND CULTURAL
INSTITUTIONS**

**26 THE CITY AFTER CLIMATE CHANGE:
Q & A WITH VANESSA KEITH**

**29 ACTIVATING CUNY AS AN INFRASTRUCTURE FOR
POPULAR CLIMATE PLANNING**

**30 SPECULATIVE DEMANDS FOR A PEOPLE'S CLIMATE
PLAN, NYC**

**32 AN ECOSOCIALIST GREEN NEW DEAL:
GUIDING PRINCIPLES**

35 ORGANIZATIONS & BIBLIOGRAPHY

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The meetings of the Climate Action Lab (CAL) took place at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, located on the island of so-called Manhattan. This place-name is a distorted settler-appropriation of the Lenape name Manahatta. CAL acknowledges that CUNY as a “public” educational institution stands on occupied Indigenous land, expropriated from the Lenape by European colonizers beginning in the early 17th century. This protracted process of dispossession lies at the origins of New York City as a hub of global capitalist accumulation, and it coincides with the forced arrival of enslaved African people on this land. Stolen land, stolen labor, and stolen lives form the foundations of this city. From the beginning, this foundational violence has been met with militant resistance and practices of liberation.

CAL acknowledges that settler-colonialism is not a one-time event sealed in the past, but an ongoing structure that underpins contemporary racial capitalism, white supremacy, and ecological

devastation. We stand in solidarity with the Lenape people—here and in the diaspora—and all those fighting for the return of Indigenous lands, waters, and air in the face of settler complicity, state repression, and corporate violence. In so-called New York and beyond, Indigenous communities—including those arriving in this city from beyond the colonial boundaries of the settler state—have been on the frontlines of struggle against border imperialism, gentrification and climate crisis.

Any discussion of popular climate planning in this city must begin with an acknowledgement of—and a commitment to dismantle—the contemporary dynamics of settler-colonialism. In their concentrations of land, infrastructure, resources, and visibility, universities—especially those animated by nominally progressive “public” missions such as CUNY—have a responsibility when it comes to the imperatives of climate justice, reparations, and Indigenous land restoration. ■

ABOUT THIS PAMPHLET

This is a living document. We are releasing the first version today, September 20, 2019, in solidarity with the week of Climate Strike actions that will be taking place in New York and across the world. This pamphlet emerges from the work of the Climate Action Lab at the Graduate Center, CUNY. It crystallizes a year-long series of workshops during the Fall of 2018 and Spring of 2019 with activists, researchers, and artists intended to reimagine climate politics through the lens of the city as both the frontline impact zone and the potential source of grassroots alternatives informed by the principles of climate justice.

Inspired in particular by Aurash Khawarзад's Upper Manhattan Project (which in turn has its roots in the 2015 WE ACT for Environmental Justice's Northern Manhattan Climate Action Plan), this pamphlet aims to promote ongoing conversation, organizing, and speculation about popular climate planning at a city-wide scale in New York.

New York is an exemplary “extreme city” in its globe-girdling finance sector, its outside contributions to climate crisis, its inequalities of race and class, and the uneven distribution of climate risk amongst its populations and neighborhoods. But the city also reflects the vibrancy of its many communities, the immense diversity of cultural traditions that enliven these communities, and the militant responses to oppression born in these locations—both in the past and today.

Devised in a spirit of militant cooperative research at the juncture between the public university and urban social movements, this pamphlet is not aimed at putting forward a single programmatic plan for the city—hence the question mark at the end of the title, intended to signal an ethos of both critical interrogation and radical imagination. Instead, it provides a snapshot of our work over the past year and its underlying principles in the hope that it can function as a vehicle for sharing research, developing questions, proposing ideas, and building relationships that could in turn contribute to a city-wide process for generating a People's Climate Plan. Any discussion of a People's Climate Action Plan must confront the following key question: who or what is the People? We take up this question in more depth in “Popular Planning” (p. 12-13), and, on page 29, we propose a future role for the CUNY system as a potential infrastructural support for a city-wide popular climate action planning process in the coming years. **We welcome feedback on this document at climateactionlab@gmail.com, and please save the date for a city-wide assembly devoted to popular climate planning on Saturday, November 16th, at the People's Forum, 320, West 37th, NYC. ■**

Climate Action Lab was developed with support from the Andrew W. Mellon Seminar on Public Engagement and Collaborative Research at the Center for the Humanities at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. We are immensely grateful for their staff for all the help they provided.

EXTREME CITY, JUST TRANSITION: LANDSCAPES OF CLIMATE ACTION IN NEW YORK CITY

THINGS ARE HEATING UP. THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE WARNED LAST AUTUMN THAT THE WORLD MUST DRASTICALLY LOWER CARBON EMISSIONS IN THE SPAN OF JUST OVER A DECADE OR RISK CATASTROPHE.

As the planet nears critical environmental tipping points, the capitalist system that is pushing us towards apocalypse is itself in crisis, generating obscene wealth for the 1% and increasing misery and discontent for the rest of us.

But opposition to this ecocidal agenda is mounting. Frontline communities around the world, including Indigenous people, urban and rural environmental justice organizations, and progressive labor unions, have raised compelling demands for a Just Transition taking place at multiple scales and forms.

Cities, especially in the global North, are integral to the climate crisis, both in their massive amounts of carbon output, and, in many cases, their vulnerability to extreme weather events. Like responsibility for emissions, climate vulnerability in cities is distributed unevenly, exacerbating longstanding patterns of precarity and dispossession along lines of race, class, and gender. New York City exemplifies the logic of “extreme cities,” which came to a head with Hurricane Sandy in 2012.

Since Hurricane Sandy, several trajectories of action to address climate crisis in New York City have been advanced by governmental and nongovernmental actors. In 2015, for example, the De Blasio administration released OneNYC, a strategic climate plan designed to address the shortcomings of Bloomberg’s earlier PlanNYC. While asserting the need for urban climate policy to address economic inequalities, OneNYC failed to aggressively address the power of the real-estate industry. It thus presented the grim prospect of a “green” city from which its working-class population has been evicted. Despite the profusion of gleaming LEED-certified skyscrapers designed by starchitects, urban elites have failed to articulate compelling visions of genuinely just and sustainable cities. As in New York, mayors of other cities in the U.S. and other countries have issued a series of high-profile green urban plans, but these plans have exacerbated rather than stemmed gentrification and other forms of inequality. Rezoning and displacement continue apace, even under self-proclaimed progressive leadership.

At the same time, the post-Sandy landscape of New York City has seen gathering forces of popular resistance and political inventiveness. In the immediate aftermath of the storm, Occupy Sandy, a grassroots infrastructure of mutual aid and disaster relief stepped into the void of the shamefully unprepared

city government. In 2014, hundreds of groups from around the city, the country, and the world assembled in Manhattan for the People’s Climate March (PCM). Based in decades of environmental justice work by grassroots community groups, the PCM was informed by the principles of the nation-wide Climate Justice Alliance, and, at a local scale, the New York City Environmental Justice Alliance, comprised of groups like Uprose, El Puente, and Community Voices Heard.

During this period, New York has been an intensive hub for organizing, research, art, and action around climate justice. A climate justice framework insists that any efforts to address the planetary crisis of global warming must start not with the generic idea of the Anthropocene—which holds an empty, universal idea of “humanity” responsible for the crisis—but rather with a political and economic analysis of the uneven distribution of both carbon emissions and climate vulnerability along lines of race, class, gender, and geography. Climate justice sees capitalism, and the imbrication of capitalism with settler-colonialism, slavery, neo-imperialism, and white supremacy as the historical backdrop and driving force of climate change. Therefore, it calls for climate activism to be intertwined with struggles against these broader forces, insisting that the de-carbonization of the economy must also involve the decolonization of land, water, and air following the lead of Indigenous struggles, as well as an embrace of reparations as advanced by the Black liberation movement in the United States and Third World solidarity networks around the world.

With this horizon in mind, anti-capitalist social centers like Mayday Space, Woodbine, and the People’s Forum have joined the landscape of community spaces and local organizations in recent years. Students, artists, journalists, and mediamakers have joined with direct action organizers in mobilizing against pipelines, standing in solidarity with Indigenous struggles at Standing Rock and elsewhere, keeping the pressure on elected officials at city, state, and national levels, and targeting institutions like universities, museums, and pension funds for climate divestment. Meanwhile, scholars, planners, and architects have collaborated with grassroots groups in envisioning radically democratic plans for climate mitigation and resilience. The yearly reports of the New York City Environmental Justice Alliance have provided in-depth policy analyses and prescriptions. WE-ACT’s Upper Manhattan Plan (2015) prefigured in thrilling detail what a locally accountable plan might look like for a highly climate-vulnerable area of the city—not only in terms of a participatory democratic planning process, but also by aggregating concrete ideas that are already being realized piecemeal in neighborhoods around the city for retrofitting the urban landscape and redistributing resources: from community-controlled farms and waste-systems, to emergency hubs and cooling stations, to autonomous solar energy grids and collectively owned green housing complexes

grounded in the decommodification of urban land.

Over the past year, a number of new forces and actors have joined the milieu of climate justice, synergizing with the post-Sandy developments in New York City noted above. First, we have seen the emergence of an unabashedly eco-socialist political formation around calls for a Green New Deal (GND). Less a single policy than an ideologically contested horizon for reorienting the economy away from fossil-fuel capitalism and toward social redistribution and racial justice, the Green New Deal has become a point of reference for activists and policymakers at the urban level. Helping to animate the GND horizon has been not only the charismatic leadership of elected figures like Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, but also the mass-membership of the Democratic Socialists of America and the youth campaigners of Sunrise Movement. A primary concern raised by these important political developments is the inability for fundamentally different solutions to be included in the mainstream policy discourse around climate crisis. Hitherto, climate action at a governmental level has only been entertained when there is a market mechanism that can justify its existence. The wager of the Green New Deal, at least in its most promising eco-socialist iterations, is that governmental action can aggressively redirect public resources and policy instruments towards a massive divestment from fossil fuel companies and infrastructures, and towards a project of socio-economic reconstruction that is just, equitable, and sustainable. In principle, this could also include the public seizure, abolition, and/or repurposing of climate-destroying corporations and industries altogether.

In the midst of debates around the Green New Deal, it is imperative to keep in mind the cautionary tales that come with the original New Deal, which in the name of top-down planning and national progress often brought with it racialized forms of exclusion and displacement and indeed set the foundations for the unlimited capitalist growth of the post-war era. Without falling into cynical resignation, one only need consider the massive extraction economies and global infrastructures involved in many green technology components to realize the scale of the challenge in reversing the historical legacies of the fossil-fuel era. With these contradictory legacies in mind, Red Nation has proposed what it calls the Red Deal, a radical supplement to eco-socialist iterations of the GND. As Nick Estes has noted, the emergence of the GND itself was deeply energized by the Standing Rock encampment of 2016, even though Indigenous voices have been marginalized in mainstream coverage of the GND over the past year. As we read in the founding announcement of the Red Deal, “It’s not the “Red New Deal” because it’s

the same ‘Old Deal’—the fulfillment of treaty rights, land restoration, sovereignty, self-determination, decolonization, and liberation. Ours is the oldest class struggle in the Americas; centuries-long resistance for a world in which many worlds fit. Indigenous peoples are best suited to lead this important movement. But it must come from the ground-up.” Estes also emphasizes that the Red Deal is an abolitionist framework, connecting the principles of climate justice to struggles against police, prisons, and the U.S. settler-colonial border regime, the latter of which is systematically directed at migrant people (many of whom are Indigenous) fleeing land theft, state violence, and climate-related displacement.

In June, the New York City Council passed its own version of a “Green New Deal” entitled the Climate Mobilization Act. It is a package of bills whose centerpiece is requiring large buildings to retrofit in order to cut their emissions beginning in 2024, with a goal of reducing overall emissions by 80% by 2050, in the process stimulating the creation of green jobs. While it is a groundbreaking piece of legislation, the Climate Mobilization Act is, in other ways, limited in its ambitions. It calls for the scrapping of the Williams Pipeline, but only proposes a “feasibility study” for closing the city’s 23 gas- and oil-fueled power plants and replacing them with renewable sources and storage facilities. It exempts small buildings from investment-intensive upgrades that landlords would likely use to justify rent hikes, but does not call for a massive investment in sustainable public housing, a universal rent freeze, or the de-commodification (let alone decolonization) of land.

Most recently, and after years of dithering, the New York State Legislature passed the Climate and Community Protection Act (CCPA). One of the world’s most ambitious climate plans, the CCPA pledges to eliminate net greenhouse gas emissions entirely by 2050. The challenge is daunting: New York only managed to cut its emissions 8 percent from 1990 to 2015. It now not only has to shift all electricity to clean power, but to cope with growing emissions from transportation and other sectors. To comply with the CCPA, thousands of buildings across the state will have to be retrofitted: this promises to bring much-needed, well-paying employment to many state residents. Further, the passage of the CCPA coincided with another significant policy breakthrough grounded in years of grassroots organizing—the Housing Stability and Tenant Protection Act, a package of laws expanding rent regulation, rent stabilization, and anti-eviction protections that deals a significant blow to the otherwise unchecked, predatory power of the real estate industry state-wide, potentially opening political space for the housing justice movement to advance universal rent control, public

housing, land trusts, and other measures that could align with an eco-socialist urban agenda in the long term. While the CCPA and the city’s Climate Mobilization Act do not offer a comprehensive plan to address the full array of factors and forces contributing to environmental injustice, taken together (and with the momentum of the recent, if partial, victory against the powers of what Sam Stein calls the “real-estate state”) they provide tangible points of reference in imagining what a Peoples’ Climate Plan for New York City might entail.

As these important policy developments were being advanced, the spring of 2019 also saw a spectrum of direct actions deployed by new climate activist groups, ranging from the Climate Strike school walk-outs of March 15th to the wild array of tactics used by Extinction Rebellion in the UK and New York. Indeed, in June, 70 Extinction Rebellion protesters were arrested in front of the New York Times building (one of the largest mass arrests in New York since Occupy Wall Street), followed a few days later by the declaration by the New York City Council of a “climate emergency” echoing that issued by the British parliament earlier in the spring. While exciting in its energy and boldness, the explosion onto the scene of climate action by Extinction Rebellion has been haunted by long-standing questions in the history of environmentalism concerning the whiteness of its composition and its invocation of “extinction” as a universal existential challenge to humanity as a whole. As the principles of climate justice insist, without decentering whiteness, addressing the ongoing legacies of enslavement and colonization, and centering the project of reparations, environmental activism itself can become a force of injustice.

The Climate Action Lab intervened in the quickly shifting terrain of environmental struggles in New York City and beyond by convening a series of workshops that sought to jump-start radically interdisciplinary conversations and initiatives. Our idea was not just to survey the landscape of contemporary direct action and grassroots policy-advocacy in the city but to begin to create a model for a potential popular climate planning process. A key element of the project was to link academic research on cutting-edge climate action with activist interventions driven by a deep commitment to egalitarian frameworks of environmental and climate justice. In addition, the Climate Action Lab enriched these conversations by drawing on the imaginative openings and speculative resources of contemporary practitioners of the environmental humanities and visual arts. Our goal was to explore what a climate politics oriented around popular sovereignty and limitless possibility might look like. In other words, we sought to find resources of hope in a time of climate emergency. ■

Pages 10-11, Left to Right (Clockwise)

1. People's Climate March, New York City, September 14, 2014 (image: Robert Van Waarden/Survival Media)
2. NYC Stands With Standing Rock demonstration, Grand Central Station, New York City, November 1, 2016 (image: Michael Nigro)
3. Cecil Corbin-Mark of WE ACT for Environmental Justice speaks at a news conference about Solar Uptown Now (SUN) community solar campaign, Harlem, December 5, 2018 (image: Craig Ruttle)
4. People's Climate Art Build for Global Climate Strike, Thomas Greene Playground, Brooklyn, September 15, 2019.

The remains of the Rockaways boardwalk in the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy, Rockaway Beach, Queens, November 2012
(John Huntington/Shutterstock)





POPULAR PLANNING: THE PLAN IS THE PROCESS

NOTORIOUSLY, NEW YORK CITY HAS NEVER HAD A COMPREHENSIVE, LET ALONE DEMOCRATIC, CITY PLANNING PROCESS.

Since its origins as a settler-colony founded on land theft, genocide and slavery, the shape and structure of the city has been primarily dictated by the interests of real estate and corporations, exemplified by the Commissioners Plan of 1811 (which laid out the Manhattan grid), the various Regional Planning Association plans issued since the 1920s (which variously helped to facilitate the processes of deindustrialization, Urban Renewal, and gentrification) and, more recently, the developer-friendly plans of Bloomberg and De Blasio aiming to combine capitalist growth with ecological sustainability and resiliency. However, since the late 1960's a counter-movement of community-based planning has percolated at the grassroots neighborhood level, one informed by principles of popular participation, economic democracy, community control of land, space, and resources, and environmental justice. Community-based planning emphasizes the constitutive process of building local power, but has continuously confronted the question of how locally driven plans might be practically implemented in the face of unresponsive urban political machinery and ever-deepening corporate enclosure of the city. In recent years, political formations such as Cooperation Jackson in Mississippi, the radical municipalism movement in Spain, and South Bronx Unite have suggested ways in which local neighborhood projects can be woven into broader eco-socialist movements capable of wresting influence over urban territory from both capitalists and unaccountable technocrats, working inside and outside the system at the same time.

Here are some questions to consider as we imagine a People's Climate Plan: Who or what is the People? What would be the processes and forums through which the popular forces would organize themselves for such a plan at a city-wide level, beyond the limited and often corrupt mechanisms of actually existing electoral politics—and the notoriously toothless format of the local community board? In a planning process, who is at the table? Who guides the process, how, and on what basis of legitimacy? How are communities developing their own institutions of climate resilience autonomously from official structures, even while making claims for accountability and justice upon the latter?

Some key constituent principles of a city-wide People's Climate Planning process would include:

- **ENGAGING WITH LOCAL COMMUNITY MOBILIZATIONS.** This includes the key role of NGOs like those comprising the NYC Environmental Justice Alliance, but also an acknowledgement of the pitfalls that can sometimes

accompany the concentration of power and leadership in the so-called “nonprofit industrial complex.” A popular planning process that mobilizes communities would include creative workshops that draw on local knowledge and needs while also providing participants with the technical and scientific knowledge necessary to make informed decisions about their collective future.

- **ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK GROUNDED IN JUSTICE-CLIMATE, ENVIRONMENTAL, AND SOCIAL.** The climate crisis is also a crisis of class, race, and gender, and any solutions proposed must be able to address multiple, intersectional problems at once. We must acknowledge that radical changes in land development practices are needed before justice for communities can be achieved. This means embracing the projects of Indigenous land restitution, reparations for slavery and its ongoing legacies, as well as community land defense by black, brown, and Indigenous communities in the crosshairs of gentrification and displacement. Climate justice requires shifts in urban policy that enable grassroots community control of land and other resources, as well as a leading role for community stakeholders in any development decisions whatsoever.
- **PURSUING SUBSTANTIAL INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT.** Community plans, if they are to be effective in terms of securing needed external support for their efforts, in some cases have to speak to the powerful in the language of power—without compromising their autonomy, integrity, and accountability. To garner support for long-term adaptation and mitigation efforts, communities must often engage with the state in its various forms and scales, including municipal government and federal disaster-relief organizations, to take just two examples. This means that popular plans need to be based on abundant data and research, including the centrality of community-based knowledge.
- **EMPLOYING IMAGINATIVE DESIGN.** There are all sorts of creative solutions to the climate emergency on offer from designers. The most forward-thinking of these challenge nature-urban binaries by seeking environmentally sensitive and nimble solutions to climate change-based threats. The best of these design solutions also seek to rectify long-standing social inequalities. The point is to use the crisis as an opportunity for innovation and intersectional justice-based solutions.
- **EMBRACING A LOCAL-GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE.** Knowledge and solutions for the community should be based on detailed local knowledge, while also drawing on global examples of radical urban solutions to climate crisis. A good example of this is the proliferation of solar coops in NYC, an innovation that diminishes urban carbon emissions, makes communities more resilient by providing autonomy from the increasingly fragile electric grid, and generates jobs and income for economically disadvantaged

communities. Solar coops in NYC are drawing on examples and paradigms established in US cities such as Detroit and in countries from Germany to Costa Rica where the transition to renewable energy is well advanced.

- **PRESENTING SYSTEMATIC AND PUBLICLY AVAILABLE ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS FOR THE ENTIRE CITY:** Metrics would include: temperatures and air quality; sea level rise and precipitation; biodiversity; agriculture; economic analysis of income, wealth inequality, and land ownership; and other indicators of social oppression such as unemployment and incarceration rates.
- **CULTIVATING PLANNING HUBS ACROSS THE CITY WITH PHYSICAL MODELS, CLIMATE CHANGE SIMULATIONS, AND OTHER INTERACTIVE TOOLS FOR COMMUNITY PLANNING,** partnering with local organizations, social centers, schools, union halls, art spaces, and, when viable, city agencies. As outlined on the back cover of this pamphlet, the CUNY system could provide an important infrastructural support for this network of hubs. ■

On the following page, we reproduce a detail of the We-Act for Environmental Justice Northern Manhattan Climate Plan from 2015, which was the result of an intensive popular planning process. 2500 copies were distributed in Upper Manhattan, and it has been a crucial point of reference for any discussion of climate planning in New York City. Design by Aurash Khawarзад and Mateo Fernandez-Muro. More information is available at www.aakpress.com.

PLAN FOR RESILIENCE TO CLIMATE CHANGE

Coastal Protection

Coastal areas are in need of green infrastructure that provides ecosystem and flood protections. NYC is currently implementing a coastal protection project worth \$3.7 billion and has released its first-ever comprehensive coastal protection plan, A Stronger, More Resilient New York. The plan seeks to deepen public participation in waterfront restoration and protection by expanding the Waterfront Management Advisory Board and includes pledges to

undertake feasibility studies for construction and restoration of flood-prone areas. DEP has also spent over \$40 million to-date on wetlands restoration and other coastal protections. What remains to be seen is the extent to which developments will encompass community-based plans or be leveraged to gentrify waterfront areas.

Networked technology controls energy usage and monitors environmental conditions.

Community Land Trusts (CLT)

Organizing property ownership through a CLT is one way to preserve affordable housing by removing properties from the speculative market. CLTs also allow participants to collectively use space for local agriculture, energy production, recreation, and even social services such as childcare. Such shared governance structures can help rebuild the commons in terms of how we use space/resources.



Cooperatively Owned Housing

The City plans to create and/or preserve 200,000 units of affordable housing between 2015 and 2025. This will be done by maximizing use of City-owned land, mandating inclusionary zoning, and providing tax incentives to developers, among other things. However, many are skeptical that these efforts will provide the necessary amount of housing at truly affordable prices (particularly for vulnerable populations such as the homeless, criminalized populations, the elderly, etc.). Therefore, new cooperative homeownership mechanisms such as community land trusts must be explored.

Social Hubs

Community meeting spaces are crucial to support ongoing planning efforts, as they are necessary for local organizations to host educational programs, hold meetings, produce materials, use for storage, etc. Having a local hub open for community use can support centralized planning and production activities while remaining grounded in local needs and capacities.

Multipurpose Infrastructure

New design guidelines should be implemented so that waterfronts promote industrial activities while remaining accessible to the public. This can be done through constructing green spaces that both mitigate flood damage and support water-based transportation should be constructed. These spaces are also important for cooling the urban heat island and supporting physical activity, local agriculture, and more.



The North River Sewage Treatment Plant is in the floodplain



Design for Pedestrians + Bicyclists

OneNYC calls for a bike lanes in areas "with limited bike infrastructure". This includes bike lanes on the Harlem River bridges and on other auto-oriented streets. The City's privately-owned bikeshare service, CitiBike, should be expanded to encompass Uptown areas, while taking on a more public nature. For example, equipments should be manufactured locally.

NO LONGER EMPTY



Water conservation systems

Tech Incubator

By working with universities, public agencies, community organizations and members of the "maker" community, a tech incubator can be built to help local activists and entrepreneurs develop socially responsible products, such as improved software for running green technologies. OneNYC plans to support "Clean Tech" industries by creating an Advanced Manufacturing Network that will provide affordable workspaces, business support services and workforce training programs. NYCEDC has also funded several business incubators, including one that focuses on renewable energy.

Space for Social Services

Flexible space within residential buildings can be used for social services such as childcare and healthcare, as a meeting space for local groups, and for other activities that can build social cohesion while allowing more freedom for working class people to pursue employment and engage in other forms of social reproduction.

Cooperatively Owned Microgrids

Both the City and state government have called for an expansion of distributed generation (DG) technology, including wind, solar, and geothermal. This plan supports the implementation of DG in the form of microgrids that are deployed in vulnerable areas and/or are managed by local stakeholders. The City is currently undertaking a microgrid feasibility study and removing policy roadblocks to

microgrid construction by working with ConEd and the Public

Service Corps to revise "ConEd's standby tariffs to lessen economic impediments to DG". Microgrids provide multiple benefits, including reliable power when the main grid experiences a blackout, reductions in energy costs, more control for residents over their own energy consumption, and employment opportunities.



NYC Finance

The Riverside Church



Community Bank

Financial services should be provided by local institutions connected with the community. Locally-run finance can shift the focus of banks away from their short-term profit, towards long-term investment in infrastructure, development of small businesses, and other much-needed investments in shared resources that will benefit the community.

Places of Worship

Churches, mosques, synagogues, and other religious institutions provide flexible spaces for community planning and emergency services, while conveying important climate-related messages through religious practices. Many churches, urged on by Pope Francis, are joining the struggle for climate justice.

Urban Agriculture

Local agriculture is an integral component of climate resiliency, as it helps build communities' self-reliance while reducing the massive petro-chemical footprint of existing industrialized food systems. The City plans to increase its number of community gardens by partnering with schools, helping gardeners sell

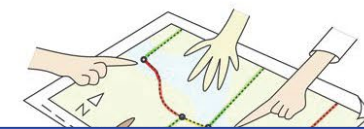
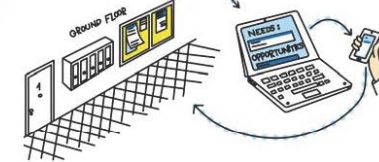
their produce at farm stands, and supporting urban farms through the multiagency Building Healthy Communities Initiative. NYCHA's Gardening and Greening program is also working to expand accessibility to community gardens. Our partners, such as the Corbin Hill Food Project, are deeply engaged with these issues and are mapping out an effective model for a sustainable food system in Northern Manhattan.

Participatory Budgeting

In April 2015, over 51,000 NYC residents voted on how to allocate \$32 million to various locally-developed capital projects across 24 NYC Council Districts. Participatory Budgeting is a clear example of how residents can be made to engage directly with governance systems to tailor policy to their needs. Given the level of site specificity essential to effectively address climate change issues, PB should be expanded to encompass more of the City's budget, green projects, and longer-term investments.



Residents have communications systems, including digital and analog alternatives, to coordinate emergency response.



ARENAS OF STRUGGLE IN CLIMATE PLANNING

ENERGY

THE SCIENCE IS CLEAR: WE NEED TO KEEP FOSSIL FUELS IN THE GROUND TO AVOID CATASTROPHIC CLIMATE CHANGE.

The IPCC report on keeping global warming at 1.5°C – published the same month that the Climate Action Lab met to discuss urban energy policy – declared that preventing runaway global warming will require “far-reaching transitions in energy, land, and industrial systems” for which there is “no documented historic precedent.”

Cities must be part of this transition. They consume over two-thirds of the world’s energy and account for more than 70 percent of global CO2 emissions. High-impact cities are major contributors to national carbon footprints in the world’s highest-emitting countries. For example, New York City was responsible for 52 million metric tons of greenhouse gas emissions in 2016, making it the U.S.’s highest emitter.

Yet New York’s emissions were down 15 percent from 2005, despite increasing population and economic activity. In addition, per capita emissions in NYC are only a third of the national average. Despite its increasing decrepitude, NYC’s public transportation infrastructure and dense housing make it a paradigm of green living in a country where most cities are characterized by energy-hogging suburban sprawl.

The Climate Action Lab heard from activists and artists who are on the frontlines of struggles for decarbonization and energy democracy. For these visitors, transitioning away from planet-killing fossil fuels doesn’t entail simply shifting to renewables such as solar energy and wind power. Crucially, it also involves decentralizing and democratizing control over energy systems so that communities can make their own decisions about how power is generated and who benefits from the economic proceeds of such generation.

In his talk, photographer, writer, and activist Subhankar Banerjee highlighted the extent to which the Trump regime’s narrative of American energy dominance is directly impacting areas all around the world, reaching the Arctic, where Indigenous peoples and the animal populations on which they depend are menaced by rapidly accelerating climate breakdown. Groups like Defend the Sacred are fighting petrocapi-talism on steroids in the Arctic, indicating that energy transition inevitably involves an ongoing fight for decolonization. How can we reverse enduring forms of dispossession of Indigenous peoples and challenge colonial ideologies of human exceptionalism that represent humans as domineering over other species and forms of life?

Tying these issues of decolonization and energy to NYC, Kartik Amarnath of the New York City-Environmental Justice Alliance outlined the geography of inequality in NYC, with particular emphasis on waterfront industrial zones that have historically harbored toxic industry as well as concentrations of racialized poverty. Today these parts of the city are subjected to rapid gentrification as well as “energy shortfall,” meaning that they lack the infrastructure needed to provide electricity to protect people during periods of severe cold or heat. Amarnath emphasized that NYC-EJA is fighting for community ownership of energy resources, which involves not simply the democratization of energy assets and infrastructures but also access to well-paying jobs for communities of color.

As the energy transition moves forward, it is imperative that the build-out of renewable energy infrastructures does not repeat and cement historical inequalities. ■

FOOD

FOOD IS INEXTRICABLY INTERTWINED WITH THE INEQUALITIES THAT FISSURE CITIES LIKE NEW YORK. STRUGGLES OVER FOOD IN THE CITY, THEREFORE, INTERSECT WITH CLIMATE JUSTICE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE MORE BROADLY.

Food systems begin with growing and harvesting food; processing, packaging and transporting; marketing and distribution; and finally, consumption and waste. Inequities between geographic locations and the social determinants of health (economic and social conditions) produce unequal access to healthy foods. The people most affected by food inequalities are part of communities of color who live in underserved neighborhoods in the city.

Citizens of New York and other cities face injustices related to the growth of food deserts and food insecurity. Food deserts are areas providing little to no access to affordable fresh food, while food security describes a state of inconsistent or unreliable access to a healthful amount of nutritious food. Works such as *Swale* by artist Mary Mattingly draw attention to issues of what food justice activist Karen Washington calls food apartheid in NYC.

Climate Action Lab heard from two local activist organizations that aim to disrupt the economic and health inequalities that capitalist systems of food production and distribution produce.

Red Hook Farms (formerly Added Value) in Red Hook, Brooklyn, was founded in 2001. It is a two-site urban farm project devoted to youth empowerment, community engagement, and movement-building on the one hand, and the provision of healthy, affordable food to the neighborhood on the other. Red Hook is a post-industrial, majority people-of-color waterfront neighborhood, in which a large proportion of the

residents live in public housing developments, and suffer from, among other things, food-desert conditions - despite the presence of luxury food retailers like Whole Foods. It is also a front-line of land speculation, and is undergoing a massive wave of gentrification and luxury construction.

South Bronx Unite is a long-term environmental justice organization operating on the peninsula of the South Bronx, which encompasses the neighborhoods of Mott Haven, Port Morris, and Hunts Point. The hyper-concentration of dangerous and polluting industries in the Bronx includes waste transfer stations, fossil fuel plants, heating oil facilities, and major hubs of the regional food-shipping system such as the Hunts Point Market, and most recently, the gigantic Fresh Direct facility on publicly owned land, with a subsidy of 150 million dollars from the state—a development that has added some 1000 new diesel truck-trips to the streets per day, severely contributing to the already chronic air pollution of this so-called "Asthma Alley."

Climate Action Lab also heard from the artist Marina Zurkow, who organizes participatory workshops in which attendees imagine "picnics of the future" based on constrained local agricultural resources. Zurkow's work encourages participants to engage in collective dialogue about the climate crisis and the most elemental energy process on which life depends: eating.

Struggles over food systems and against food apartheid in New York City are the ultimate intersectional struggles, drawing together fights over sustenance, culture, bodies, land, habitation, and community. Thinking about food justice thus opens up some of the most fundamental questions of contemporary urban sustainability. ■

WASTE

NEW YORK CITY GENERATES 14 MILLION TONS OF TRASH EACH YEAR, YET THE CITY'S WASTE PROCESSING SYSTEMS ARE INVISIBLE AND UNKNOWN TO MOST PEOPLE.

In 2015, NYC unveiled an ambitious goal of generating Zero Waste by 2030. But by 2018 the city was only diverting 20 percent of its waste from landfills, well below the 35 percent national average cited by the Environmental Protection Agency. Progress toward Zero Waste will only come if NYC gets better at separating out valuable substances like organic waste, and helps citizens and businesses decrease the amount of trash they generate.

Climate Action Lab engaged with initiatives working to transform the two separate waste systems—one private and one public—in NYC, from the inefficient and dangerous policies of private trash collection companies to redistributing food waste to be eaten or made into community-based compost, effectively transforming waste into fertile soil.

Trash collection in New York City is inefficient and unjustly managed. All commercial waste management is handled by private companies with no regulation to ensure their drivers' or clients' needs are considered. Due to the lack of regulation, drivers cover geographically illogical routes under extreme time pressure, leading to unsafe driving and excessive pollution.

New York Lawyers for Public Interest's reform plan Transform Don't Trash NYC aims to reduce truck traffic and pollution caused by route inefficiencies and ensure more comfortable work lives for the majority Black and Latinx workers of the commercial waste management industry. As Justin Wood from NYLPI argues, the current waste system is ineffective and irrational; the current system also means long hours for the drivers, which leads to fatigue driving as well as a large expenditure of diesel oil. Transform Don't Trash NYC will help ensure that low-income neighborhoods are not unfairly targeted by waste transfer businesses, given that a historical overabundance of waste hauling in these overburdened communities has led to dangerous truck traffic, abysmal air quality, disproportionately high asthma rates, and noise pollution.



Image: BK Rot

Climate Action Lab also heard from Sandy Nurse, one of the co-founders of BK Rot. This bike-powered food waste hauling and composting service is grounded in environmental justice communities in Brooklyn, and aims to create good local jobs, to provide composting options in working class neighborhoods, and to help generate the healthy soil needed by urban food justice and food sovereignty movements. Nurse told CAL that efforts like BK Rot face significant challenges, including finding affordable space in rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods and navigating a city bureaucracy more interested in giving land to elite developers than grassroots composters. BK Rot's success in the face of these challenges offers hope that solutions to the city's waste can be part of much broader victories for social and environmental justice.

Lastly, artist/activist Brooke Singer discussed a project she conducted in Madrid that sought to connect edible food waste gathered from local merchants and restaurants with hungry people. Singer's ExcessNYC, a cargo bike with a "bodega-style" food display on the front and a pedal-powered compost tumbler on the back extended the Madrid project by collecting and redistributing edible food while also accepting inedible food for recycling as compost. The final project Singer presented, Carbon Sponge, tests various urban soils to determine the capacity of urban soils to sequester carbon, a vital question given the fact that soil is the world's second most important retainer of carbon.

At present, cities like New York are monuments to orgiastic consumption and shocking dearth. Transforming cities will hinge on making them regenerative of the land on which they reside and the people who inhabit them. Figuring out how to use rather than discard the massive flows of waste produced by our cities in order to improve the lives of all citizens will be a key part of this transformation. ■

HOUSING

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE URBAN CLIMATE JUSTICE WITHOUT CONSIDERING HOUSING.

Over the last few decades, urban real estate has become one of the primary places where the 1 percent have stashed the booty they have accumulated as a result of the imposition of neoliberal capitalism. Although the rich require the working class to cook their meals, clean their floors, and care for their children, it has become increasingly difficult for ordinary people to live in cities.

Unlike most other major cities around the world, NYC has never drafted a formal plan for urban development. Instead, development has proceeded based only on the superficially neutral, technocratic dictates of zoning regulations first introduced in the early 20th century. As a result, NYC is the most segregated city in the country. The coup against democratic governance of the city during the fiscal crisis of the 1970s hasn't helped, but, beyond that, rezoning is a major way in which mayors circumvent established forms of democratic governance like the City Council.

Mayor Bloomberg was a particular offender here, rezoning up to a third of the city. De Blasio has continued this tradition, if not quite as massively as Bloomberg. In response to demands by the Civil Rights movement, NYC created community boards, which were supposed to give residents a voice in zoning and land-use decisions. The community boards drew up many popular plans for

egalitarian development in the city since the 1970s. Few of them were realized.

Today, after decades of turbo-capitalism, 44 percent of all New York households are rent-burdened (meaning they pay more than 30 percent of income toward rent), and more than half of these households pay more than 50 percent of their income toward rent.

Given the cost of housing in NYC, low-income residents - who are disproportionately people of color - are constrained to live in some of the most ecologically toxic parts of the city. Visitors to the Climate Action Lab emphasized the way in which race, class, and environmental inequities are layered on top of one another as a result. Communities of color and low-income communities in New York have historically been situated in places zoned for heavy industrial use. These areas are disproportionately overlaid by five factors: 1) toxic industries; 2) concentrations of racialized poverty; 3) flood vulnerability; 4) heat vulnerability; 5) gentrification and displacement.

CAL invited two activists to discuss housing and climate action in NYC. Our first invitee, Sandy Nurse is co-founder of May Day Space, a radical community space in a church in Brooklyn. Sandy presented on activist efforts to build and protect neighborhood institutions. As she pointed out, official city climate resiliency efforts like Bloomberg's PlaNYC don't include plans for how to do climate mitigation work. Sandy and her comrades consequently focused on community-based mitigation efforts in a city where all land is hyper-commodified, including not just the forms of social networking facilitated through May Day Space but also BK Rot, a community-based composting service by bike run by young people of color in Brooklyn.

According to Nurse, radical community-based movements face a host of challenges in NYC. Gaining access to land for community-led development and use is daunting, since the city is run by mega-capital. The onus for experimenting and piloting ideas is on under-resourced groups. The struggle to maintain autonomy is a constant, nagging concern since May Day Space doesn't have legal tenure, a situation that limits the types of activities they can do. Underneath all of these issues is the challenge of engaging vulnerable communities and building anti-oppressive systems in the context of a city run by hyper-capitalism. For

Sandy, the successes of May Day Space and BK Rot came as a result of figuring out ways to put effective political pressure on local governance systems - rather than by expecting those systems to be responsive to popular needs.

Our second invitee was activist and political theorist Gianpaolo Baiocchi, head of the Urban Democracy Lab at NYU. Gianpaolo talked about his experience working with movements like Right to the City, for which he wrote the report *Communities Over Commodities: People-Driven Alternatives to an Unjust Housing System* (2018). In his presentation to CAL, Gianpaolo discussed his recent research and writing, which looks at examples of movements for popular sovereignty in the context of the so-called Pink Tide - a wave of leftist governments over the last couple of decades in Latin America. For Baiocchi, popular sovereignty occurs when the oppressed in a society make up the center of a political community that is egalitarian, democratic, open, and that exercises meaningful control over its collective fate. Looking at the successes (and recent defeats) of these movements, Gianpaolo argued for a theory of popular sovereignty inside-outside-and alongside institutions. That is, our imagination of popular sovereignty should not be limited to the organs of representative democracy, whether on the national scale or the municipal level. Instead, social movements such as unions, anti-racist organizations like the Movement for Black Lives, or environmental justice movements must engage with existing institutions in full recognition that these institutions were not constituted to advance the issues important to them. But instead of concluding that existing institutions are for elites and abandoning this terrain, Gianpaolo argued that the Left in Latin America had engaged in important experiments with building popular sovereignty alongside institutions while also engaging with them and seeking to transform them so that they would be more responsive to popular needs and aspirations. We should, Gianpaolo argued, have a maximalist idea of what democracy can be: we need to avoid thinking in limited means. When we think about climate change, we inevitably start with demands that seem totally unreasonable in the context of the present arrangements of power. If we start by being reasonable, Gianpaolo suggested, we're going to be just where we are rather than where we need to be.

In the realm of housing, a major movement document in recent years that takes up a radical municipalist approach that could also inform a People's Climate Plan is the

People's Housing Plan, released in October 2016 by a coalition of grassroots groups NYC Not For Sale. While it resonates with the important victory of the 2019 Housing Stability and Tenant Protection, it also points far beyond it to what amounts to a decommodification of land and housing altogether. The text of that document reads as follows.

PREAMBLE: The People's Housing Plan is a way for grassroots organizations, artists and activists to change the conversation about housing in New York City, moving beyond the policy goals of established nonprofit organizations and political parties. By signing on to this platform, we commit to integrating it into our work and coordinating with others to advocate for it. Organizations and individuals can support the plan's five points using an array of tactics, including petitions, speaking events, publications, street art, protests, disruptions, rent strikes, occupations, and more.

1. *End homelessness in New York City. Immediate housing for all homeless people through new construction or seizure of vacant "warehoused" properties. Citywide moratorium on evictions.*
2. *Universal rent control. Apply rent control laws to all rental properties in New York City. Institute an immediate rent freeze, and phased rollback of rents to 20% of tenant income.*
3. *Transfer distressed buildings to tenant ownership. Transfer properties using the 7A receivership process or eminent domain. Tenant ownership in the form of cooperatives, mutual housing associations, or community land trusts.*
4. *Repair and expand high-quality public housing. Full funding for the NYC Housing Authority (NYCHA) and full repairs and enhancements for all NYCHA properties. Begin construction of new, high quality public housing with community centers and art spaces. Provide free language services for all NYCHA residents.*
5. *Democratize development. Institute direct election of community boards with veto power over development decisions. Expand public input into the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure (ULURP). Moratorium on upzoning until these reforms are completed. place the project of climate divestment/reinvestment in a radical new light. ■*



Right to the City Alliance contingent, People's Climate March, New York City, September 21, 2014 (Image: Susan Melkisetian/Creative Commons)

ARTS, CLIMATE JUSTICE, AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Pages 24-25, Left to Right (Clockwise)

1. The Natural History Museum/Not An Alternative, exhibit at the American Alliance of Museums imagining displays at the American Museum of Natural History "depicted several hundred years into a dystopian future." April 29, 2015 (image: Natural History Museum)
2. Ariana Davis and Ahilapala Rands from the Interislands Collective speak in front of the Rapanui's Hoa Hakananai'a, during To BP or Not to BP?'s Stolen Goods Tour, British Museum, December 10, 2018 (image: Diana More/To BP or Not to BP?)
3. Decolonize This Place, assembly at Whitney Museum to demand the removal of Safariland CEO Warren Kanders, December 10, 2018 (image: @nycDSAantiwar)
4. To BP or Not to BP? Stolen Goods Tour, British Museum; May 4, 2017 (image: Martin al-Ashouti/To Be or Not to BP?)

OVER THE PAST DECADE, ARTISTS OF ALL KINDS HAVE PLAYED A CRUCIAL ROLE IN ADVANCING THE PROJECT OF CLIMATE JUSTICE IN NEW YORK CITY AND BEYOND.

Far from simply making discrete works "about" climate change intended for presentation on the walls of a gallery, the screen of a cinema, or the pages of a book within official circuits of distribution, artists—poets, storytellers, musicians, designers, painters, sculptors, performers, photographers, filmmakers, architects, and various combinations thereof—have embedded their work directly in the ecosystems of the city and practices of experimental urban research, popular education, and overall cultures of movement-building. From designing posters, banners, and websites to choreographing direct actions and mediagenic photo-ops, to facilitating organizing processes, establishing social centers, and envisioning alternative economies, to proposing speculative imaginaries of climate fiction and anti-capitalist urban futures, artists have broken the aesthetico-political deadlock identified by Frederic Jameson in his famous diagnosis of postmodern culture: "It is easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism."

During its year-long series of workshops, the Climate Action Lab hosted a number of artists, each working in different aesthetic, affective, and practical registers. Subhankar Banerjee discussed his move from amateur landscape photographer to climate activist, emphasizing the ways in which his acute photographic attention to the crisis signs of climate change in the "near north" of the Arctic became a gateway into grassroots educational and solidarity work with Indigenous climate justice campaigns against fossil-fuel extractivism in Alaska and New Mexico. Marina Zurkow outlined participatory culinary experiments taking as their horizon "geological deep time" of species extinction and adaptation. She highlighted goat, jellyfish, and seaweed as sustainable nutritional resources in a speculative post-carbon world weaned from extractive agricultural industries. Brooke Singer presented on the arts of waste management, land remediation, and urban food systems, including the cultivation of new carbon-absorbing soil formations with scientists at Brooklyn College that could be scaled up across the city to provide a major ecological service to the city overall. Alicia Grullón discussed her art-pedagogical work with high school students aiming to draw forth critical insights from popular visual culture about climate crisis, in turn linking them to the intersection of global warming with narratives of displacement, dispossession, and state violence. Grullón also shared her work on the People's Cultural Plan, a visionary document released by artists and activists in 2017, intended as a radical supplement to the

official NYC Cultural Plan, aiming to highlight racial, economic, and environmental justice in the allocation of city resources to the artistic sector, including a framework for advancing de-gentrification and urban commoning, and community-based land-use rather than culture-led "redevelopment." Vanessa Keith shared research from her volume *2100: A Dystopian Utopia/The City After Climate Change*, which reimagines the tasks of contemporary urban design and architecture in light of dramatic scientific projections about the conditions of city life in the coming decades, as seas rise and extreme weather events become more frequent. Dio Ganhdih articulated the link between the militant expressive traditions of hip-hop culture and Indigenous decolonization work from the Mohawk Nation to the Bay Area, emphasizing her identity as "a time traveller, but most certainly an earthling indigenous to Turtle Island," connecting intergenerational histories, struggles, and futures.

In thinking about the relation of art to a potential People's Climate Plan, it is also important to note that in recent years, artists and activists have turned their sights on major cultural institutions as targets of fossil-fuel divestment. Liberate Tate in the United Kingdom successfully forced the Tate Modern to break its ties with British Petroleum in 2016. Following this example, campaigns in New York led by scientists in alliance with the the cunningly named collective Natural History Museum (an iteration of the group Not An Alternative) have forced the resignation of the Koch Brothers from the board of the American Museum of Natural History, and energies have been gathering for a big push around Lincoln Center and the Metropolitan Museum for their Koch connections as well. In New York, such work has not, thus far, explicitly connected fossil fuel divestment to a broader critique of museums as settler-colonial institutions founded in imperial plunder and oligarchic accumulation. But the Natural History Museum collective has advanced this connection elsewhere beyond New York in projects like *Kwel' Hoy!: Many Struggles, One Front*, realized in collaboration with the Lummi Nation; and an important precedent has been set in England with the Stolen Goods counter-tours at the British Museum organized by To BP or Not to BP?, where demands for divestment, reparations, and repatriation are brought into alignment. Such work resonates with campaigns for the decolonization of museums in New York like the Brooklyn Museum and the Whitney by the group Decolonize This Place, whose demands for deep institutional unsettling could place the project of climate divestment/reinvestment in a radical new light. Beyond extricating themselves from toxic philanthropy such as that of the Kochs—and working to align themselves with zero-emissions goals in their own physical operations— museums and other cultural institutions could become hubs in a People's Climate Plan infrastructure as part of their decolonization processes, beginning with the imperative of Indigenous land restoration. ■



THE CITY AFTER CLIMATE CHANGE

Q & A WITH VANESSA KEITH

New York-based architect Vanessa Keith was one of the presenters at the Climate Action Lab, where she discussed her book *2100: A Dystopian Utopia* (UR Books, 2017). After her visit, she engaged in the following exchange with Climate Action Lab concerning the central ideas and interventions of her book.



Vanessa Keith / StudioTEKA, from *2100: A Dystopian Utopian - The City After Climate Change* "In New York City, Historic brownstones have been modernized and adapted for vertical density and integrated with wind-belt facades and green roofs."

Your book *2100: A Dystopian Utopia* speculates about what cities will look like 80 years from now. How does your work depart from other future-building efforts such those produced regularly by, say, Hollywood movies or the United Nation's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change?

When we started the research for the book we decided that it would be an important aspect of the work to portray, in a very visual and visceral way, what some of these potential future places could actually look like some 80 years from now. We wanted to catapult the reader into this new reality and have it seem as immediate and real as possible, and therefore also achievable.

Make no mistake, however, this is not a future that any of us want. What we are presenting is a dystopian utopia. But imagining humanity able to collectively roll up our sleeves, rise to the challenges we face, and design our way out of this mess is something that we just hadn't seen done elsewhere. So there was a void to fill.

We also wanted our strategies to be based on solid research and implemented across the world in a wide range of sites all facing very different challenges. There are a lot of dry scientific papers and doomsday apocalyptic blockbusters already, and none of them seem to be touching the public imagination sufficiently to spur the kind of massive paradigm shift that is really necessary at this point. We felt that in order to encourage people to make that shift, we needed to present a future that is something that we can envision as being believable, achievable, positive, and something worth collectively striving towards, otherwise people will just give up or stay in a state of denial. That is not something that any of us can afford at this point.

How does your disciplinary orientation in architecture and urban planning shape your intervention in imagining urban futures? What does the book *2100* do that other versions of the urban future do not?

As architects and planners we are given sites, programs, and problems that we respond to with imagined potential futures which are then made manifest. This process of problem-imagination-realization is something that we do over and over again on a daily basis. The work for the book was just, in a way, a much larger site, and a very different time frame!

In our work as architects, we bridge multiple areas of expertise across disciplines, ensuring that everything is synchronized and functions efficiently. All the professional consultants and specialized trades on a project each have their own area of expertise and critical role to play. But the architect is the coordinator, the generalist who is able to see the overall big picture and make decisions that take into consideration the best strategy for the project as a whole.

2100: A Dystopian Utopia takes this same approach. We looked across a wide range of sources in doing the initial research for the project, and took into consideration a myriad of factors influencing human, animal, and ecosystemic wellbeing. What would make the best type of environment in each particular place, given future projections? Could we envision a future that fused the urban with the natural world into a seamless, integrated system? Could it be possible to reconsider the role of waste, of energy, of how the economy functions, how we live and work, in order to bring the human and natural worlds back into a more balanced and reciprocal relationship? These are some of the questions the book asks and answers.

Your book assumes that most cities in the planet's middle latitudes will be abandoned by 2100. How does this assumption challenge dominant ideas of the urban future today? Is this a worst-case scenario? How do you imagine this abandonment will happen? Will only the rich be able to move, leaving poor people stranded in increasingly storm-threatened and economically worthless coastal real estate? What role do you imagine the state playing in planned migration away from imperiled cities in middle latitudes?

The dominant idea about the urban future today appears to be founded upon the notion of seemingly limitless economic growth. But our use of the planet's resources has already outstripped the Earth's ability to renew itself. Our coastal areas are increasingly vulnerable. And yet, real estate investment in vulnerable places like New York and Miami seems to be heating up even faster than the planet. Our notion of what progress means, our relationship to energy and how it is generated and used, and the way in which goods are produced, shipped, stored, used, and (quickly) disposed of, all need to be seriously reconsidered.

What the book portrays is a world in which we have hyper-dense megacities, small outpost settlements, and wilderness. Cities are walkable, energy is renewable, and every inch of the built environment is used in multiple ways for everything from food cultivation, to energy generation, to providing a habitat for wild birds. The speculative timeline section of the book shows some of the ways in which this might come to pass as the planet warms and experiences greater impacts from climate change. For instance, we imagine that the 2030s could see Phoenix's population decrease by 4 million, and agricultural production cut by half in California's Central Valley due to extended drought and salt contamination from hurricanes. This in turn could spur a public works campaign aimed at relocating people away from desert and coastal cities, and a boom in the American Midwest.

By the 2050s, with 2 degrees of warming, the U.S. may find itself brokering a deal with Canada to allow 100 million U.S. citizens to emigrate in exchange for the rights to an electric grid set up in the Mojave Desert as well as property and natural resources

in the American Southwest. By the 2070s, with 3 degrees of warming, Fairbanks, Alaska could easily have a population of more than 6 million. By the 2080s, Siberia may have become the world's largest economy. By the 2090s, with 4 degrees of warming, the New York City metro area's population will likely have dwindled to less than a million and great swaths of the American West, Central and South America and western India could be without water supply.

The above may well be a best-case scenario, as it involves gradual shifts in population based on individual preference or incentives, and peaceful exchanges of resources in exchange for migration, rather than war, chaos, and famine. The above scenario, or hopefully better, could be our future if we plan. If we start designing for climate change now by developing technologies and techniques aimed at limiting, or even rolling back, its negative effects, we may be able to stop short of the 4-degree world the book presents. If we do not, we may end up creating a 7- or 8-degree world for future generations. That is why our choices now are so important, as we are at a critical juncture that will determine the future of the planet for generations to come.

In the U.S., engineering has traditionally sought to build firm boundaries between human habitation and natural features such as rivers and other bodies of water. How does your work seek to challenge this longstanding approach? To what extent would you say that architecture and urban design in general are moving in this direction.

Among architects and urban designers there has definitely been a shift away from the thought that we can just build higher walls and elevate everything to handle flooding. And having only a sea wall or a levee to protect from flooding is a very risky strategy, given the kind of weather patterns we can expect with increased warming. If one method fails, we need a backup plan. In the book's case study for New York, for example, we present a strategy that is layered, rather than having a singular line of defense. And it deploys the use of soft edges, rather than hard ones. A storm surge barrier sits at the mouth of the Gowanus Canal, where it meets Upper New York Bay. This will be closed in the event of a storm. However, in the event that it is breached, there are other protective layers further upstream. Inflatable secondary barriers are deployed along the banks of the canal, and sponge islands just off the shoreline function as artificial mangroves to blunt the force of the waves. The park surrounding the canal, which has both recreational and energy-generating functions, is designed to funnel and collect water in designated areas, away from valuable buildings and infrastructure. Beneath the surface of the water, tidal turbines act to generate renewable energy from waves that have been slowed enough by our layered strategy that this valuable resource can be harvested. How much energy is present in these storms? If we could tap even a small fraction of that power and store it, we could run the world for a very long time.

What are the most exciting design solutions that your book presents? To what extent does the challenge of urban inequality in the face of climate change shape your work? How does this social challenge catalyze novel design solutions?

One of the things that was so energizing about working on 2100 was finding out about all of the fantastic research and development being done on ways to adapt to the climate crisis. There's an incredible array of technologies and techniques out there. Dew collectors that capture drinking water from the air, photobioreactors that produce energy from micro-algae, developments in carbon capture where one small unit can sequester up to a ton of CO2 per day, carbon capture trees that can absorb 90,000 tons of CO2 from the atmosphere, artificial photosynthesis as a renewable and carbon neutral source of transportation energy, windbelts the size of a cellphone that can generate renewable energy inexpensively, the list goes on and on. I emerged from this project very optimistic about our ability to rise to the challenge. More examples like the ones just listed can be found in the Tech Appendix at the back of the book, as well as being incorporated into our design solutions for each of the 14 case study cities.

The future we are envisioning is one in which we as a planet have come together to do what is in the best interest of humankind and the natural world: to live within our collective means without overtaxing or overburdening natural systems. We looked at patterns of density and did some calculations based upon projected population growth by the year 2100, and the amount of available land suitable for stable human settlements and agriculture. Given that the vast middle band of the world at 4 degrees of warming will be besieged by hurricanes and other patterns such as extreme droughts, forest fires and devastating floods, there's a very urgent need for more innovative strategies. Generating renewable energy takes up a lot of space. So why not make all of the surfaces of the city, all of our buildings, streets and infrastructure, sites for generating energy? Could kinetic energy also be harvested from our own physical movement? How about acoustical, piezoelectric or thermal energy capture? If food is grown near where it is consumed, we no longer need to expend resources shipping it from the hinterland where it is farmed to the places where it's consumed. If we each take a little less space for ourselves individually, we can pool our resources and have the collective amenities that can make a new kind of urban life that integrates more with natural systems than is seen in the cities of today.

The book does not envision a world of haves and have-nots because, put quite simply, unless we come together to share the earth's resources more equitably, we're not going to make it. So this is a chance, and it may be our last one, to change for the better. I believe that the tools we need are out there. We can transform our societies into more just and equitable ones, reframe our relationship with the natural world, and stop far short of the 4-degree world that the book presents. We just have to act. ■

ACTIVATING CUNY AS AN INFRASTRUCTURE FOR POPULAR CLIMATE PLANNING

As climate justice struggles unfold in coming years at the intersection of grassroots movements and various scales of urban and state governance, the City University of New York (CUNY) system could play a major role as a networked platform for a People's Climate Plan process. Below is a proposal for leveraging CUNY's vast resources, and developing partnerships with New Yorkers across every borough, to facilitate collective action on our climate change struggles. It would involve a systematic assessment of every neighborhood of New York City based on a process, criteria, and set of indicators that seek to develop and implement effective, radical climate action, including the democratization of the planning process and resources needed to implement comprehensive change. Doing so will make in-depth research and planning tools publicly available, in useable ways, in order to support action that is strategically guided towards environmental justice and resilience. In addition, this proposal for CUNY could interface with the ongoing build-out of NYC's Participatory Budgeting initiative, and the city council's Civic Engagement Commission, which has made climate resiliency a core concern.

Made up of 20 campuses spread out across the five boroughs, the CUNY system already comprises:

- **Vast amounts of publicly owned land, space, technology, and equipment**
- **Dense socio-ecological connections to local neighborhoods and landscapes**
- **The accumulated history, knowledge, skill, and labor of thousands of professors, staff, and students, including an extraordinary concentration of union members and eco-socialists**

CUNY campuses could be activated and networked through the establishment of interdisciplinary People's Climate Plan hubs, constituting a form of what historian and activist Jeremy Brecher has called "dual power." The idea here is to develop institutions grounded in popular sovereignty that might eventually take over from the ones that continue to perpetuate inequality and climate emergency today. These could encompass:

- **A basic People's Climate Plan curriculum that could be adapted to departmental and local specifications involving physical sciences, social sciences, humanities, and arts**

- **An assessment of CUNY social networks and physical infrastructure that could be leveraged for People's Climate Planning, including shared indoor spaces, social hub incubators, affinity courses, vacant lots, empty rooftops, etc.**
- **A systematic assessment of climate risks and solutions for every neighborhood in New York City, with the support of students, faculty, and other partners. Risks would be measured against a common set of indicators and would provide publicly available information for community-based action. The model of Participatory Action Research developed at CUNY could form a template for these efforts at community outreach.**
- **Collaborative engagements with local organizations and community stakeholders in the development of climate plans and actions**
- **Practical experiments with existing campus resources for energy, food, waste, disaster preparedness**
- **Concerted efforts for interdisciplinary engagement across programs within the CUNY network**
- **CUNY-wide climate planning media infrastructure (website, listserve, social media)**
- **An annual report concerning progress on implementing a community sustainability vision**
- **Periodic CUNY-wide eco-socialist assemblies**
- **Immediate implementation of a specialized course focusing on CUNY infrastructure and popular climate change planning**

SPECULATIVE DEMANDS FOR A PEOPLE'S CLIMATE PLAN, NYC

What would a set of radical demands for city-wide climate action look like? As we outlined in the section on “Landscapes of Climate Action,” in recent years activists in New York have advanced some very forward-thinking proposals for moving the city forward to deal with the climate emergency and, in tandem, to address problems of social inequality in the city that make poor communities particularly vulnerable to the climate emergency. It is impossible to say exactly what demands would emerge from a series of people’s forums on climate action: the demands would result from the process, which would involve local workshops to discuss community needs as well as research clusters analyzing best practices in other cities around the world. Research clusters might be anchored in academic institutions such as CUNY but should clearly include interested members of local communities.

While demands would emerge from a process driven by models of popular sovereignty, such goals would be informed by - and would generate solidarity with - initiatives being advanced elsewhere. Here are some possible goals collected during the course of the Climate Action Lab that such people’s forums might consider.

ENERGY

In relation to energy, there must be a rapid transition to 100% renewable energy by 2050, with clearly demarcated stages in order to monitor the transition process. Among the related goals, the following demands might be considered:

- municipalize and democratize energy generation, distribution, and consumption using new smart grid technologies – in public hands;
- support solar cooperatives on an urban scale with funding from city-, state-, and federal sources;
- provide logistical support to community-based renewable energy co-ops such as Sunset Park Solar;
- establish a public financial bank to fund rapid energy transition.

TRANSPORTATION

In the transportation sector, New York City is extremely fortunate to inherit a well-developed public transportation infrastructure as well as the dense housing to support this infrastructure. But this system is shaped by geographies of inequality, with social inequalities wired into the system so that traffic flows are directed towards areas where wealthier white folks live and work while working class Black and Brown communities are underserved or disconnected entirely. Moreover, years of under-funding have left this infrastructure in threadbare condition. A program for reviving public transportation in the city would thus include rebuilding and augmentation of existing public transit infrastructure, and downsizing of automobile-based infrastructures. More specific demands might include:

- full refurbishment and upgrading of the subway system by 2030, including improving accessibility (more elevators, ramps, platform seating, etc.);
- reestablishing city control of public transportation;
- providing free transit for all city residents on subways and buses; a rapid transition to E-buses, with full electrification by 2030;

- proliferation of rapid transit buses linking outer boroughs to Manhattan and to one another;
- introduction of new public transit options like electric trams along key thoroughfares throughout the city, with the aim of improving access in underserved communities rather than gentrifying communities;
- pedestrianization of at least 50% of the city by 2050.

WASTE

Although many urbanites do not think about it much, waste is one of the key elements in establishing urban resiliency. Despite ambitious goals on this front, NYC has not made substantial progress in recent years. In order to move from an unsustainable one-way model to a regenerative city model, NYC must make the following changes:

- shift to 90% waste diversion (from landfills) by 2030;
- establish community-based recycling of organic waste;
- fully phase out all consumer plastics;
- establish a rational system of commercial waste collection, with equitable distribution of transfer stations.

HOUSING

Buildings emit roughly 70% of all carbon in the city. But addressing building-based carbon emissions must go hand-in-hand with addressing the increasingly chronic crisis of housing in NYC. Genuine solutions to the housing crisis thus must emphasize quality social housing for the majority. Among the measures which might be advanced on this front:

- See demands of the People’s Housing Plan formulated by NYC Not For Sale (see page 21 of this pamphlet): end homelessness in New York; universal rent control; transfer distressed buildings to tenant ownership; repair and expand high-quality public housing; democratize development
- expand NYC’s Climate Mobilization Act to mandate caps on climate pollution from all buildings;
- fund retrofitting programs to climate-proof city buildings;
- pass legislation to ensure that owners do not pass costs on to renters;
- build at least 200,000 zero-emission public houses outside the city’s FEMA-designated flood zones;
- freeze rents;
- impose “community land contribution” on all large real estate interests in order to generate funds for much-needed social housing in the city;
- use proceeds thus generated to buy out big real estate companies and make housing public;
- construct community social hubs throughout the city for climate emergencies (both slow and fast)

CARBON ABSORPTION

Although cities are often represented as the antithesis of nature, they have an important role to play in absorbing carbon. Indeed, cities can be oases of natural and social biodiversity that play an important role in mitigating (rather than exacerbating) climate change.

- introduce green roofs on all city buildings, followed by all new buildings in city, and then by all buildings in general;
- divert all currently empty city land not slated for housing to community agriculture;
- reconstitute all historic wetlands surrounding the city, creating carbon-absorbing storm buffers in all low-lying waterfront zones in the city;
- plant 10 million trees throughout the city to diminish urban heat zone, absorb carbon, and harbor wildlife.

ECONOMIC DEMOCRATIZATION

Finally, solving the climate crisis means solving the crisis of urban inequality and dispossession. This means that any potential Green New Deal for NYC should be based on the following considerations:

- It should generate well-paying jobs for the urban working class and frontline communities;
- It should be funded through steep tax increases on large corporations and wealthy individuals;
- A just transition fund should be generated through a municipal banking system;
- Anti-democratic institutions like the Port Authority should be unbundled and their revenue streams should be requisitioned to urban climate action;
- Destructive forms of contemporary development such as the proliferation of privately owned and/or autonomous E-vehicles, “sustainable” skyscrapers for the uber-rich, etc. should be shut down or redirected.

LAND

Community land trusts have emerged in recent years as a tactic for de-commodifying urban land by removing it from the market and placing it under community control. At the same time, land restoration is central to Indigenous resurgence, highlighting the fact that New York City stands on occupied ancestral territory of the Lenape. In the course of a potential People’s Climate Plan, Indigenous leadership around climate justice demands in general and land in particular would be a crucial condition for any process, including long-standing organizations like the American Indian Community House. As discussed in the introduction to this document, land restoration is at the heart of The Red Nation’s call for a Red Deal that unsettles and radicalizes the Green New Deal. ■

AN ECOSOCIALIST GREEN NEW DEAL: GUIDING PRINCIPLES

PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 28, 2019

Humankind has reached a moment of existential crisis. Human activity is causing disastrous climate disruption and Earth's sixth mass extinction event, triggering critical losses of biodiversity. We are already locked in for global warming that will have catastrophic effects, and we are on a slippery path to our own extinction. The 2018 Special Report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) warns unequivocally that "without societal transformation and rapid implementation of ambitious greenhouse gas reduction measures, pathways to limiting warming to 1.5°C and achieving sustainable development will be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to achieve."

Yet, the crisis we face exceeds ecological breakdown. Deepening inequality, suppressed democracy, precarious jobs, racial and gendered violence, border hostility, and endless wars make up the terrain on which climate destabilization will be unleashed. The most vulnerable members of society will be hit hardest, first, and suffer most.

We must solve the climate crisis and the inequality crisis together. Climate remedies in the context of austerity will produce a popular backlash, as we see in the yellow vest protests against a fuel tax. Corporations profiting from fossil extraction have long worked to turn workers against environmentalists, claiming that clean energy would be a job killer. But working class and poor people's quality of life, gravely threatened by climate disruption, would greatly improve in a just transition. Because corporate capitalism rewards extraction to concentrate wealth, it must be replaced by a sustainable economy. A Green New Deal can begin the transition from exploitative capitalism to democratic ecological socialism.

The urgency and scale of the crisis we face demand solutions that meet the magnitude of this moment.

The ineffectual gradualism and corporate obedience demonstrated by the U.S. government's climate response has proven to be a dead-end for humanity. We need rapid, systemic transformation that heals the stratification of wealth and power while putting decarbonization and justice at the forefront.

We need a Green New Deal. We demand a Green New Deal, and we demand that it serve people and planet—not profit.

For too long, our livelihoods have been undermined by the pursuit of profit. Land expropriation, mass murder, and slavery on a vast scale built the great fortunes, the markets in cotton and industrial goods, and the system of finance and extraction that are with us today. Their legacy is plain to see. People are starving while we throw away food. Buildings are empty while people sleep on the streets. Working class communities, especially those of color, are being poisoned by polluting industries that are wrecking the climate, all for the sake of making the rich richer.

We can no longer allow our lives and liberation to be undermined by an extractive system that uproots wealth from nature, communities, workers, and vulnerable peoples, while imposing onto them all of the costs. We will no longer allow corporate monopolies and their political servants to control the resources we need and the outcome of our lives. We demand justice and power for The People to determine our future—a future that belongs to everyone living and yet to live.

Future generations are entitled to a beautiful planet with a vibrant natural world that can sustain a good life for all people. Creating a fully ecological society will require a revolutionary transformation to replace the capitalist social order based on exploitation and oppression with a new society based on cooperation, equity, and justice. A Green New Deal must serve as a bridge toward this future. To that end, we support the resolutions introduced by Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in the House and Sen. Ed Markey

in the Senate while recognizing that they are conversation starters—not complete and adequate blueprints. Their proposals are facing fierce opposition from corporate politicians and nervous ridicule from Wall Street pundits, but the opportunity to campaign for a radical and effective Green New Deal remains in our hands. Comments by the Climate Justice Alliance and the Indigenous Environmental Network advance the vision of what a Green New Deal rooted in a truly just transition should look like.

The radical Green New Deal we need will not be introduced in a single bill or resolution—it can only emerge from the grass-roots struggles of working people and social movements. Together with our allies, we can organize a powerful multi-faceted movement to catalyze the major left turn in American politics and massive structural changes that are necessary to ensure climate justice and human survival.

Because we see the fight for the climate as a struggle against capitalism itself and the myriad forms of oppression which sustain it, we propose to organize within Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and without around the following guiding principles for a radical Green New Deal:

1 Decarbonize the economy fully by 2030. We need to set a more ambitious timeframe than the IPCC 1.5°C pathways suggest because of the United States' historical responsibility for carbon pollution, because highly industrialized societies have the greatest capacity to rapidly reduce emissions and afford the shift from endless fossil-fueled growth to regenerative systems, and because faster decarbonization will give us the greatest chance of avoiding more catastrophic climate tipping points. We must mobilize all carbon-intensive sectors of the economy to eliminate greenhouse gas emissions at the source, and to scale up processes that safely and naturally draw down and remove excess carbon from the atmosphere—not as market-based "offsets" for ongoing emissions, but to begin restoring a safe climate for all.

2 Democratize control over major energy systems and resources. Nationalize fossil fuel producers to phase them out as quickly as necessary—no new fossil fuel projects can be authorized or built. Socialize fossil-dependent industries so that they can be scaled back or transformed to fossil-free processes. Establish public ownership of utilities and the electric grid, and support energy cooperatives and community solar and wind projects for democratic control of the shift to 100% renewable energy. Shift from monoculture and factory farms to diversified agroecology. Expand municipal and state public banks, finance community land trusts, and end water privatization. Reinvest in and expand national parks; vastly expand national forests, grasslands, and wildlife preserves to enable natural carbon capture; and preserve public lands

for future generations. Encourage replacement of individually-owned vehicles and short-haul air travel with expanded regional and high-speed electric rail, free public transit, shared vehicles, bicycles and other non-fossil-fuel modes of transportation in ways that benefit disadvantaged communities. The future is a public good, not a private luxury.

3 Center the working class in a just transition to an economy of societal and ecological care. Guarantee a job with union wages and benefits to everyone who wants one by creating millions of public sector jobs and funding massive direct investments to build decarbonized infrastructure in critical sectors like renewable energy, regenerative agriculture, soil and ecosystem restoration, environmental impact mitigation, and climate adaptation while also expanding support for low-carbon care sectors like healthcare, education, and domestic work. Empower workers with stronger labor protections and rights to collectively organize. Promote worker-owned and worker-controlled cooperatives and enterprises at all levels of the economy. Ensure workers' democratic control over the use of technological innovation and automation at work. Reduce the work week and guarantee substantial, paid parental leave and vacation time for all workers.

4 Decommodify survival by guaranteeing living wages, healthcare, childcare, housing, food, water, energy, public transit, a healthy environment, and other necessities for all. Ensure market forces do not displace frontline and working class communities from their neighborhoods by implementing universal rent control, and work cooperatively with communities in the line of climatic danger to relocate to safer grounds. Make college education free so everyone has access to learning skills that may better facilitate the rapid transition of society. Ensure land and resources are prioritized for building resilient communities and ecosystems for the many, not the few.

5 Reinvent our communities to serve people and planet, not profit. Facilitate the creation of neighborhood transition councils as hubs of distribution, education, participatory planning, and democratic decision-making. Prioritize funding for projects that build community health and wealth, beginning with working class, racialized, and Indigenous communities that are on the frontlines of the climate crisis and collective struggles for environmental justice. Decriminalize, decarcerate, and demilitarize spaces across all areas of society. Legally and materially empower communities to meet human needs in ways that redress social and environmental injustices, including economic, racial, colonial, and gender-based oppression. Work within cities, towns, and rural communities to provide better and more sustainable lives through improved land use, sprawl repair,

and support for household and neighborhood downshifting. Fund targeted cleanup efforts to address environmental injustices and meet a demand of clean air, water, and soil for all. Help communities plan resilience and prepare for climate shocks, material shortages, and other consequences of blowing past planetary boundaries.

6 Demilitarize, decolonize, and strive for a future of international solidarity and cooperation. Enact policies and join in treaties to meet the existential threat of climate change and abandon the doomed strategy of global military domination. United States treaty commitments must account for our historical responsibility for the largest total and per capita greenhouse gas emissions, which will drive climate change for generations to come. Build consensus throughout the Global North for decarbonization targets that greatly outpace those of less industrialized countries, which have contributed the least to and will suffer the most from global warming. Welcome refugees, share life-saving technologies freely, and provide mitigation and adaptation resources requested by peoples in the Global South to whom we are materially and energetically indebted. Recognize the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples, with rights to free, prior, and informed consent before activities that will affect their territory or environment. Accept the decisions of Indigenous communities regarding the construction of future green infrastructure projects that impact their lands and the living beings they support. Remove United States military presence, influence, and occupation around the world; end military aid and arms exports; and demilitarize our borders.

7 Redistribute resources from the worst polluters with just and progressive taxes on the rich, on big corporations, and on dirty industry, as well as by diverting funds away from policing, prisons, and our government's bloated military budget, which have nothing to do with defense of people living within American borders and everything to do with maintaining imperial dominance over other nations and capitalist control of the world's resources. United States monetary policy has financed endless wars and wealth extraction by elites for long enough—it's time to use it to fund the transformation we need.

These guiding principles are just a beginning, not an endpoint, for DSA's engagement in the campaign for a Green New Deal. We agree with the call of CJA to develop a Green New Deal process that is transparent, inclusive, and democratic. We must warn all politicians that we will not accept a watered-down Green New Deal that they exploit as a mere electoral slogan. They will either fight for the radical Green New Deal that emerges from our coalition or be exposed as collaborators with the ecocidal elite who have no concern for our future.

Our role is to help build a militant mass working-class movement that is powerful enough to secure human flourishing for all beyond the critical next decades, not just survival for some. Together, we can break the power of capitalists and guarantee the regeneration of a vibrant natural world that is home for humanity—and all forms of life—for many generations to come. ■

ORGANIZATIONS & PROJECTS

The Upper Manhattan Project: uppermanhattanproject.org
American Indian Community House aich.org
Indigenous Environmental Network: ienearth.org
The Red Nation: therednation.org
Climate Justice Alliance: climatejusticealliance.org
New York City Environmental Justice Alliance: nyc-eja.org
South Bronx Unite: southbronxunite.org
WE ACT for Environmental Justice: weact.org
Uprose: uprose.org
Community Voices Heard: cvhaction.org
Red Hook Farms: added-value.org
BK Rot: bkrot.org
Mayday Space: maydayspace.org
Cooperation Jackson: cooperationjackson.org
Sunrise Movement: sunrisemovement.org
Democratic Socialists of America: dsausa.org
Extinction Rebellion: rebellion.earth
Planners Network: plannersnetwork.org
1882 Woodbine: woodbine.website
Decolonize This Place: decolonizethisplace.org
People's Housing Plan: nycnot4sale.org
People's Cultural Plan: peoplesculturalplan.org

Back cover image:
"Global Climate Strike" by Josh MacPhee

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aurash Khawarзад, ed. *The Upper Manhattan Project* (AKK Press, 2018)
Ashley Dawson, *Extreme Cities: The Peril and Promise of Urban Life in the Age of Climate Change* (Verso, 2018)
Vanessa Keith, et al. *2100: A Dystopian Utopia/The City After Climate Change* (UR 2017)
Jeremy Brecher, *Against Doom: A Manual for Climate Insurgency* (PM Press, 2017)
New York City Environmental Justice Alliance, *Midway to 2030: Building Equity and Resiliency for a Just Transition* (nyc-eja.org, April 2018)
"Getting to Zero: Special Issue on the Green New Deal," *In These Times*, April 22, 2019
Jaskiran Dhillon and Nick Estes, eds. *Standing With Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement* (University of Minnesota Press, 2019)
Nick Estes, "A Red Deal," *Jacobin*, August 6, 2019
Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As Long as Grass Grows: The Indigenous Fight For Environmental Justice, From Colonization to Standing Rock* (Beacon Press, 2019)
Kali Akuno and Ajamu Nangwaya, eds. *Jackson Rising: The Struggle for Economic Democracy and Black Self-Determination in Jackson, Mississippi* (Daraja Press, 2017)
It's Eco-Socialism or Death: An Interview with Kali Akuno," *Jacobin* (February 2019)
Sam Stein, *Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State* (Verso, 2019)
Tom Angotti and Sylvia Morse, eds. *Zoned Out: Race, Displacement, and City Planning in New York City* (UR, 2016)
TJ Demos, *Against the Anthropocene: Visual Culture and Environment Today* (Sternberg, 2018)
Yates McKee, *Strike Art: Contemporary Art and the Post-Occupy Condition* (Verso, 2016)
Anjum Mubarak Asharia, "Take a Walk With Dio Ganhdih," *Mask* (April 2016)
The People's Cultural Plan, "How to Address the Shortcomings of New York City's Official Cultural Plan," *Hyperallergic* (September 21, 2017)
Shellyne Rodriguez, "How the Bronx Was Branded," *New Inquiry* (January 2019)
Nitasha Dhillon, "On Decolonize This Place," *Artleaks Gazette* (April 2019)
MTL Collective, "From Institutional Critique to Institutional Liberation: A Decolonial Perspective on the Crises of Contemporary Art," *October 165* (Summer 2018)



**GLOBAL
CLIMATE
STRIKE**

9/20-27, 2019