THE JUS SEMPER GLOBAL ALLIANCE

JUS SEMPER NEWSLETTER

In Pursuit of the People and Planet Paradigm

Our Latest Publications on Building the New Paradigm of People and Planet

HIGHLIGHTS — **JUS SEMPER Newsletter – Summer-Fall 2022**

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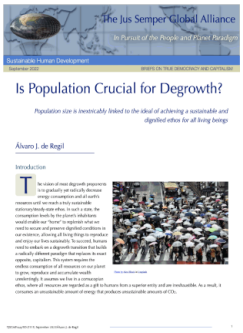

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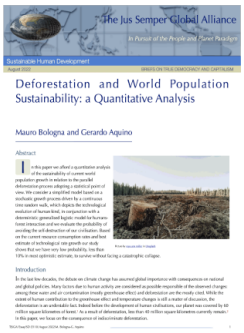

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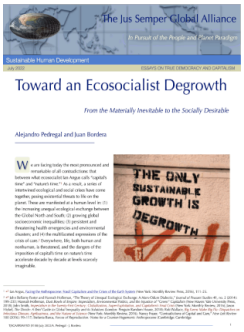

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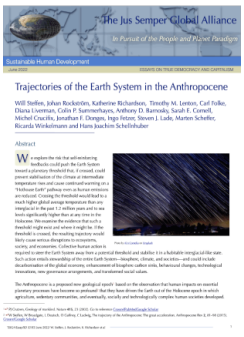

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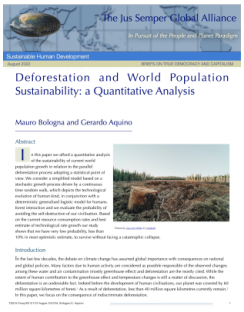

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NOTES ON TIME IS RUNNING OUT TO AVERT IRREVERSIBLE CLIMATE CATASTROPHE – *...for the social transformations necessary to avert irreversible climate catastrophe — The Editors of Monthly Review* –

Time is running out for the world to carry out the social transformations necessary to avert irreversible climate catastrophe, keeping the increase in global average temperatures below 1.5°C (or below 2°C). The most optimistic scenario currently provided by the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) describes a pathway in which the increase in temperature will not rise to 1.5°C until 2040, peaking at 1.6°C, and then falling back to 1.4°C by the end of this century. But to achieve this will require revolutionary scale transformational change in global social relations affecting the human relation to the climate and the planetary environment as a whole.

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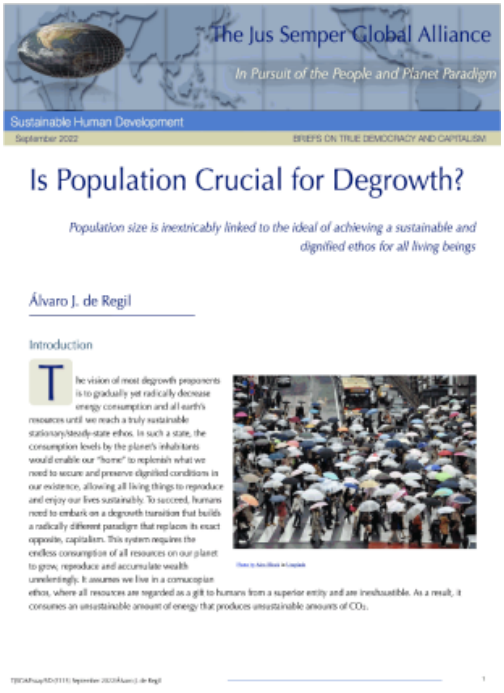
IS POPULATION CRUCIAL FOR DEGROWTH? – *Population size is inextricably linked to the ideal of achieving a sustainable and dignified ethos for all living beings. — Álvaro J. de Regil*

The vision of most degrowth proponents is to gradually yet radically decrease energy consumption and all earth's resources until we reach a truly sustainable stationary/steady-state ethos. In such a state, the consumption levels by the planet's inhabitants would enable our "home" to replenish what we need to secure and preserve dignified conditions in our existence, allowing all living things to reproduce and enjoy our lives sustainably. To succeed, humans need to embark on a degrowth transition that builds a radically different paradigm that replaces its exact opposite, capitalism.



A safe and just transition to a sustainable paradigm, which I have called Geocratia ("Government by the Earth"), since my paper on the subject of 2020, can only succeed by drastically decreasing our ecological footprint, by decreasing our consumption of energy and CO2 emissions. This inevitably entails drastically reducing our consumption of the Earth's resources. To achieve this, we must not only replace the capitalistic system of sheer production/consumption but reduce the human population, tantamount to billions of people that capitalism utilises as billions of consumer units to fulfil its nature.

Most degrowth proponents tend to avoid the population factor, many afraid of being perceived as Malthusian, which is not the case. But in the context of a genuinely democratic ethos, we must incorporate population degrowth at the core of any degrowth imaginary, for we are the preeminent source of the unsustainable consumption of our planet. If people become conscientious of the existential danger we are facing, we hope that many will opt to embark on a transition that includes as a key driver in our trajectory the gradual degrowth of population. If the majority refuse, that will always be their right. In such a case, we will have to face the consequences of significantly reducing the chances of accomplishing a safe and just transition—ecologically safe for all species and socially just for people, particularly in the Global South—to avoid the evident existential threat that we are facing.

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"NOTES ON EXTERMINISM" FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY ECOLOGY AND PEACE MOVEMENTS — *John Bellamy Foster* –

"Notes on Exterminism" for the Twenty-First-Century Ecology and Peace Movements

John Bellamy Foster

The Memorial Cenotaph at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. By Rabin Gregory - Own work, CC.

In 1980, the great English historian and Marxist theorist E. P. Thompson, author of The Making of the English Working Class and leader of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement, wrote the pathbreaking essay "Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilisation."[1] Although the world has undergone a number of significant changes since, Thompson's essay remains a useful starting point in approaching the central contradictions of our times, characterised by the planetary ecological crisis, COVID-19 pandemic, New Cold War, and current "empire of chaos"—all arising from features deeply embedded in the contemporary capitalist political economy.[2]

For Thompson, the term exterminism referred not to the extinction of life itself, since some life would remain even in the face of a global thermonuclear exchange, but rather to the tendency toward the

[1] E.P. Thompson, "Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilization," *New Left Review* 121 (1980): 3–31. Citations to this essay in the present article are taken from the slightly revised version in E. P. Thompson, *Beyond the Cold War* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 41–79. See also Edward Thompson et al., *Exterminism and the Cold War* (London: Verso, 1982); E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith, ed., *Protest and Survive* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981).

[2] Thompson, *Beyond the Cold War*, 55; Samir Amin, *Empire of Chaos* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1992).

TJSGA/Essay/SD (E106) June 2022/ John Bellamy Foster

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In 1980, the great English historian and Marxist theorist E. P. Thompson, author of The Making of the English Working Class and leader of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement, wrote the pathbreaking essay "Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilisation." Although the world has undergone a number of significant changes since, Thompson's essay remains a useful starting point in approaching the central contradictions of our times, characterised by the planetary ecological crisis, COVID-19 pandemic, New Cold War, and current "empire of chaos"—all arising from features deeply embedded in the contemporary capitalist political economy.

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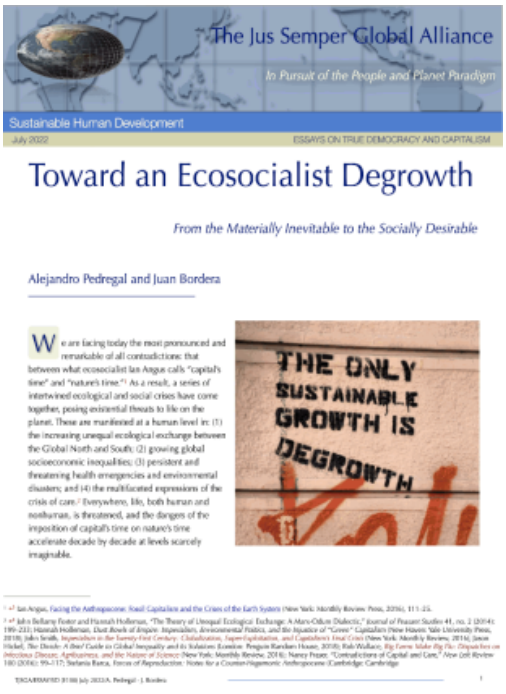
TOWARD AN ECO-SOCIALIST DEGROWTH: FROM THE MATERIALLY INEVITABLE TO THE SOCIALLY DESIRABLE — *From the Materially Inevitable to the Socially Desirable* — ***Alejandro Pedregal - Juan Bordera***



We are facing today the most pronounced and remarkable of all contradictions: that between what ecosocialist Ian Angus calls "capital's time" and "nature's time." As a result, a series of intertwined ecological and social crises have come together, posing existential threats to life on the planet. These are manifested at a human level in: (1) the increasing unequal ecological exchange between the Global North and South; (2) growing global socioeconomic inequalities; (3) persistent and threatening health emergencies and environmental disasters; and (4) the multifaceted expressions of the crisis of care. Everywhere, life, both human and nonhuman, is threatened, and the dangers of the imposition of capital's time on nature's time accelerate decade by decade at levels scarcely imaginable.

In the face of the current profound crises, social organisation and collective political action are necessary. We must activate the underlying links between climate action movements and the diverse needs and interests of those who bear the brunt of the unfolding crises. Repairing the unequal ecological An ecosocialist degrowth must be built on internationalist alliances where the periphery exchange between the Global North and Global South, between takes center stage. The political subjects and the powerful classes and the exploited and marginalised of the collectives in the North are called to humbly world, must be an inherent part of any struggle for climate assume the historical demands that the South justice. By recognising the link between the disproportionate has tirelessly and fairly made.emissions of the rich and the oppression of the poor, the core must assume that the looting of the periphery is constituent to the world's ecological disaster and confront it. Otherwise, as historian Vijay Prashad has stated, the climate justice movement "will have no legs." An ecosocialist degrowth must be built on internationalist alliances where the periphery takes center stage. The political subjects and collectives in the North are called to humbly assume the historical demands that the South has tirelessly and fairly made. Only then will we be able to look with hope not just to the future, but, above all, to the present.

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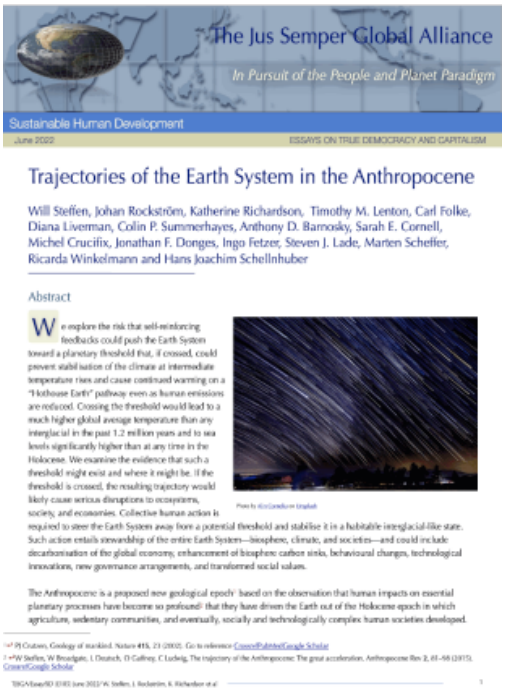
TRAJECTORIES OF THE EARTH SYSTEM IN THE ANTHROPOCENE — *Will Steffen et al*

Decisions made in the near future could influence the Earth System for tens or hundreds of thousands of years and lead to inhospitable conditions for humans and non-humans alike.

We explore the risk that self-reinforcing feedbacks could push the Earth System toward a planetary threshold that, if crossed, could prevent stabilisation of the climate at intermediate temperature rises and cause continued warming on a "Hothouse Earth" pathway even as human emissions are reduced. Crossing the threshold would lead to a much higher global average temperature than any interglacial in the past 1.2 million years and to sea levels significantly higher than at any time

in the Holocene. We examine the evidence that such a threshold might exist and where it might be. If the threshold is crossed, the resulting trajectory would likely cause serious disruptions to ecosystems, society, and economies. Collective human action is required to steer the Earth System away from a potential threshold and stabilise it in a habitable interglacial-like state. Such action entails stewardship of the entire Earth System—biosphere, climate, and societies—and could include decarbonisation of the global economy, enhancement of biosphere carbon sinks, behavioural changes, technological innovations, new governance arrangements, and transformed social values.



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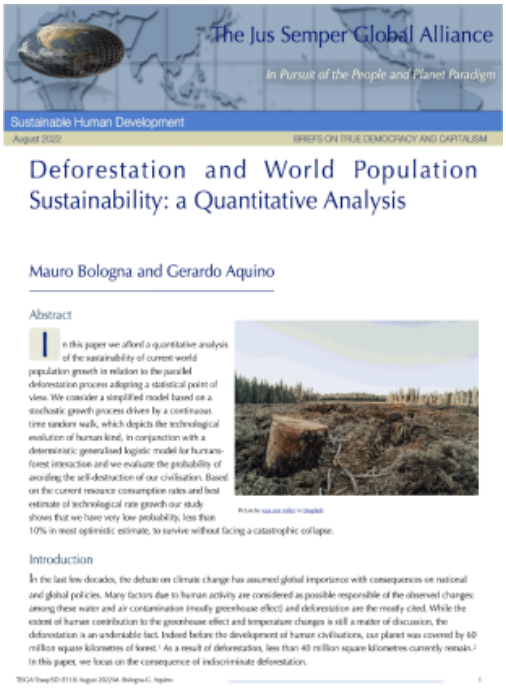
DEFORESTATION AND WORLD POPULATION SUSTAINABILITY: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS — *Mauro Bologna - Gerardo Aquino*

In this paper we afford a quantitative analysis of the sustainability of current world population growth in relation to the parallel deforestation process adopting a statistical point of view. We consider a simplified model based on a stochastic growth process driven by a continuous time random walk, which depicts the technological evolution of human kind, in conjunction with a deterministic generalised logistic model for humans-forest interaction and we evaluate the probability of avoiding the self-destruction of our civilisation. Based on the current resource consumption rates and best estimate of technological rate growth our study shows that we have very low probability, less than 10% in most optimistic estimate, to survive without facing a catastrophic collapse.



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PROVIDING DECENT LIVING WITH MINIMUM ENERGY: A GLOBAL SCENARIO — *Joel Millward-Hopkins, Julia K. Steinberger et al*

Providing Decent Living With Minimum Energy: A Global Scenario

Joel Millward-Hopkins, Julia K.Steinberger, Narasimha D. Rao, Yannick Oswald

Abstract

We find that global final energy consumption in 2050 could be reduced to the levels of the 1960s, despite a population three times larger. However, such a world requires a massive rollout of advanced technologies across all sectors, as well as radical demand-side changes to reduce consumption.

It is increasingly clear that averting ecological breakdown will require drastic changes to contemporary human society and the global economy embedded within it. On the other hand, the basic material needs of billions of people across the planet remain unmet. Here, we develop a simple, bottom-up model to estimate a practical minimal threshold for the final energy consumption required to provide decent material livings to the entire global population. We find that global final energy consumption in 2050 could be reduced to the levels of the 1960s, despite a population three times larger. However, such a world requires a massive rollout of advanced technologies across all sectors, as well as radical demand-side changes to reduce consumption – regardless of income – to levels of sufficiency. Sufficiency is, however, far more materially generous in our model than what those opposed to strong reductions in consumption often assume.

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ITUANGO DAM: AN APOLOGY FOR NECROPOLITICS IN THE PRIVATISATION OF THE CAUCA RIVER IN COLOMBIA – *Fallacies of hydroelectric power as clean energy of extractivist capitalism in the Global South* — *Nubia Barrera Silva*

The magnitude of the ecological and environmental impacts due to the effects of the hydroelectric project is of such a magnitude that emptying the canyon of the tropical dry forests with their vegetation and ecosystems produced an escalation of inconceivable ruptures in the socio-cultural systems with repercussions on the physical and mental health of its inhabitants. The result is dramatically reflected in the necropolitics led by politicians and landowning business people with private and state armies, a distinctive feature of the big land grabbers in Colombia. What is happening now is the

complete overflow of irresponsibility, improvisation, and arrogance with which these people continue to manage the course of our social imbalance. The transfer of public property has the acquiescence and direct intervention of large local companies through legally constituted institutions, strengthened by militarisation with legal troops and parastatal complements.

Beyond the borders of this world of intimacy, familiar, immediate experience, repetition, calculation, and individual mastery, another world begins, which is the exact opposite of everyday life… If the link with the land is unexpectedly broken, everyday life, one of the greatest capitals of subjectivities of the good life, vanishes. The solutions to this project's crisis proposes the technical and controlled dismantling of the dam in steps or stages, which is more economical and, above all, avoids loss of life and economic losses… Without completely demolishing the wall, reopen the Cauca river to its natural course/level and the ancestral route. The dam must be dismantled in the context of the recovery of the Cauca river, the Nutabe-campesino territory and the rest of the populations that have lived for centuries on the banks of the Cauca river until it flows into the Magdalena River.

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NATURE AS A MODE OF ACCUMULATION – *Capitalism and the Financialisation of the Earth* — *John Bellamy Foster*

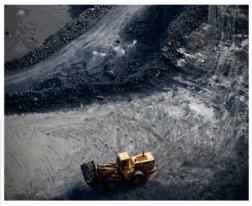
Nature as a Mode of Accumulation

Capitalism and the Financialisation of the Earth

John Bellamy Foster

The expropriation of the commons, its simplification, division, violent seizure, and transformation into private property constituted the fundamental precondition for the historical origin of industrial capitalism. What Karl Marx referred to as the original expropriation of the commons in England and in much of the world (often involving

The first references to "natural capital" and to the "earth's capital stock" arose in this same period in the work of radical and socialist political economists, who sought to defend nature and the commons against the intrusions of the market.



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the expropriation of the labourers themselves in various forms of slavery and forced labour) generated the concentrations in wealth and power that propelled the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution.[1] In the process, the entire human relation to nature was alienated and upended. As Karl Polanyi wrote in The

[1] ↩ The term *original expropriation* here is used in place of what is often mistakenly referred to as Karl Marx's notion of *primitive accumulation*. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1 (London: Penguin, 1976), 871. Marx carefully distanced himself from this concept of classical-liberal political economy by referring to "so-called primitive accumulation," since, as he insisted, this was not the case of the accumulation of capital, but rather "expropriation" of property. Moreover, the *primitive in primitive accumulation* was itself a mistranslation of what Marx, following classical political economy, referred to as *original or primary*. Capitalism prior to the British Industrial Revolution required such original expropriation to monopolise the means of production, amass start-up capital, and generate a proletarianised labour force. Yet, expropriation of landnature and thus of the means of production of the workers, as Marx himself indicated, does not stop there, and is continually replicated in the history of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism, now taking on new dimensions in the twenty-first century. For a more detailed discussion, see John Bellamy Foster, Brett Clark, and Hannah Holleman, "Capitalism and Robbery," *Monthly Review* 71, no. 7 (December 2019): 1–23. On the expropriation of the English commons, see John Bellamy Foster, Brett Clark, and Hannah Holleman, "Marx and the Commons," *Social Research* 88, no. 1 (2021): 1–30; Ian Angus, "Against Enclosure: The Commoners Fight Back," *Climate and Capitalism*, January 15, 2022.

The expropriation of the commons, its simplification, division, violent seizure, and transformation into private property constituted the fundamental precondition for the historical origin of industrial capitalism. What Karl Marx referred to as the original expropriation of the commons in England and in much of the world (often involving the expropriation of the labourers themselves in various forms of slavery and forced labour) generated the concentrations in wealth and power that propelled the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution. In the process, the entire human relation to nature was alienated and upended. As Karl Polanyi wrote in The Great Transformation, "What we call land is an element of nature inextricably interwoven with man's institutions. To isolate it and form a market for it was perhaps the weirdest of all the undertakings of our ancestors.

In order to develop a critical analysis of the current capitalist expropriation of world ecology, it is necessary to explore the concept of natural capital in the work of Marx and other early radical critics within classical political economy. It will then be possible to contrast this to current approaches in neoclassical economics, which views natural capital in purely exchange-value terms, offering this as a solution to the environmental problem. If, in Marx's analysis, the human economy existed within what he called "the universal metabolism of nature," in today's dominant neoclassical economics, according to Dieter Helm, Chairman of the UK Natural Capital Committee, "the environment is part of the economy and needs to be properly integrated into it so that growth opportunities will not be missed. Integrating the environment into the economy is hampered by the almost complete absence of proper accounting for natural assets." Here, the whole of the Earth System is conceived as a largely unincorporated "part" of the capitalist economy. In Helm's conception, the capitalist economy faces no outer boundaries but is capable of subsuming all of nature, which then simply becomes part of the overall capitalist system.

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THE PRESENT IN HISTORY, 2021 — *William K. Tabb*

In The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, Karl Marx observed that class struggle can create circumstances and relationships that make "it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part." Donald Trump can be viewed as one such grotesque mediocrity, inflated to "heroic" proportions by his reactionary followers. Unwilling to accept defeat, Trump attempted to seize power after losing the 2020 presidential election. His claim that victory was stolen from him by massive fraud, and his effort to encourage states under Republican control and his vice president to give him the office—all possible within the formal rules—set an ominous roadmap for Republican strategy in 2024.

The Present in History, 2021

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Image credit: U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders speaking with attendees at the Presidential Gun Sense Forum hosted by Everytown for Gun Safety and Moms Demand Action at the Iowa Events Center in Des Moines, Iowa (August 10, 2019). Gage Skidmore, Flickr.

Even before Trump's inauguration, he tested positive for all four measures of the litmus test for autocrats, as outlined by Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt in How Democracies Die. The measures are: (1) a readiness to curtail the civil liberties of opponents, including the media; (2) a weak commitment to democratic principles, indicated in Trump's case by his questioning of the authenticity of the electoral process and his unprecedented suggestion that he might not accept the results of the 2016 election; (3) the denial of the legitimacy of one's opponents; and (4) the toleration or encouragement of violence (they reference the Blackshirts in Italy and the Brownshirts in Germany in the early days of fascist takeovers). "Authoritarian politicians," Levitsky and Ziblatt write, "cast their rivals as criminals, subversive, unpatriotic, or a threat to national security or the existing way of life." This was seen in Trump's charges that Barack

[1] ↩ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1851; repr. Marx/Engels Internet Archive, 1995).

The job of socialists is to engage with public policy from a class perspective, informed by a Marxist understanding of contemporary capitalism, not to reform it, but to abolish it. There is support for the kind of non-reformist reforms that are needed. The Democratic Party of necessity has moved left. It is the job of the left to push it further in ways that reveal the contradictions of capitalism as a system, most importantly explaining all that must change for a Green New Deal to succeed and make the planet safe for all living things. The change required is beyond capitalism. This suggests, as Noam Chomsky does, that "Marx's old mole is right beneath the surface. If there's an opportunity to think about it, to recognise the possibility that you don't have to be subject to a master, you can run your own life, you can run your own enterprises, that keeps coming very close to the surface." The old mole of revolution is coming "very close to the surface," in a world where capitalist crises have become more frequent and the system has lost legitimacy in the eyes of so many, in which the center does not hold, and socialism or barbarism becomes a realistic choice.

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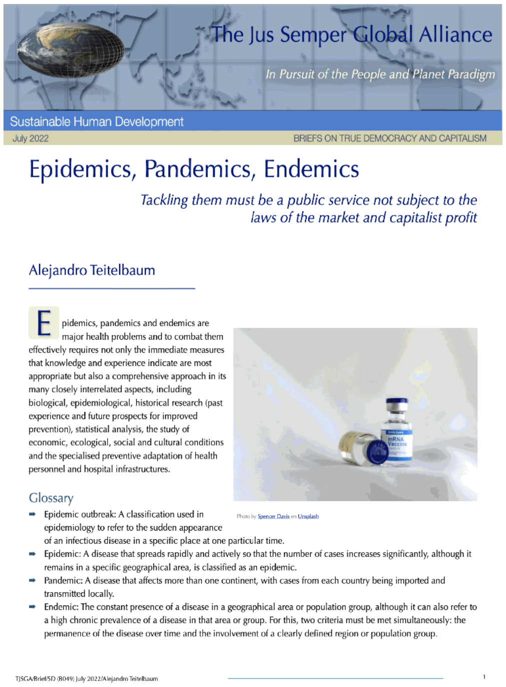
EPIDEMICS, PANDEMICS, ENDEMICS – *Tackling them must be a public service not subject to the laws of the market and capitalist profit* — ***Alejandro Teitelbaum***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Epidemics, Pandemics, Endemics

Tackling them must be a public service not subject to the laws of the market and capitalist profit

Alejandro Teitelbaum

Epidemics, pandemics and endemics are major health problems and to combat them effectively requires not only the immediate measures that knowledge and experience indicate are most appropriate but also a comprehensive approach in its many closely interrelated aspects, including biological, epidemiological, historical research (past experience and future prospects for improved prevention), statistical analysis, the study of economic, ecological, social and cultural conditions and the specialised preventive adaptation of health personnel and hospital infrastructures.

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Glossary
- Epidemic outbreak: A classification used in epidemiology to refer to the sudden appearance of an infectious disease in a specific place at one particular time.
- Epidemic: A disease that spreads rapidly and actively so that the number of cases increases significantly, although it remains in a specific geographical area, is classified as an epidemic.
- Pandemic: A disease that affects more than one continent, with cases from each country being imported and transmitted locally.
- Endemic: The constant presence of a disease in a geographical area or population group, although it can also refer to a high chronic prevalence of a disease in that area or group. For this, two criteria must be met simultaneously: the permanence of the disease over time and the involvement of a clearly defined region or population group.

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The enormous speed with which the Omicron variant is spreading on a global scale brings the issue of the so-called suspension of patents back into the spotlight to make vaccines available to the inhabitants of poor countries who have received them at a rate ten to twenty times lower than the population of rich countries. Seven million people need food aid to live, i.e. 10% of the French population, and 4 million more are vulnerable because of the crisis. This has been made possible by the policies, more or less nuanced, of the governments of the major powers and the leaders of several international organisations (European Commission and others), who have acted in concert with Big Pharma, forming a kind of illicit association or planetary mafia. In addition, vaccine manufacturers are guaranteed that much of the agreements will not be disclosed, as well as retaining intellectual property rights over the vaccines and leeway on delivery dates and prices.

Many people and institutions have been fighting for decades for inventions and discoveries aimed at improving the quality of life, in particular the health of human beings, to be recognised as the common heritage of humanity. But Big Capital, with its criminal activity for the exclusive benefit of large shareholders and with the complicity of the rulers of the major powers and other people and institutions that are faithful servants of the ruling system, continues to devastate the planet and cause the death of millions of people. They try to cover up their criminal behaviour by sending tiny quantities of vaccines to poor countries, including unserviceable consignments. They must be forced to stop profiting from selling vaccines and other medicines, which must be brought into the public domain, as must the technologies for their manufacture.

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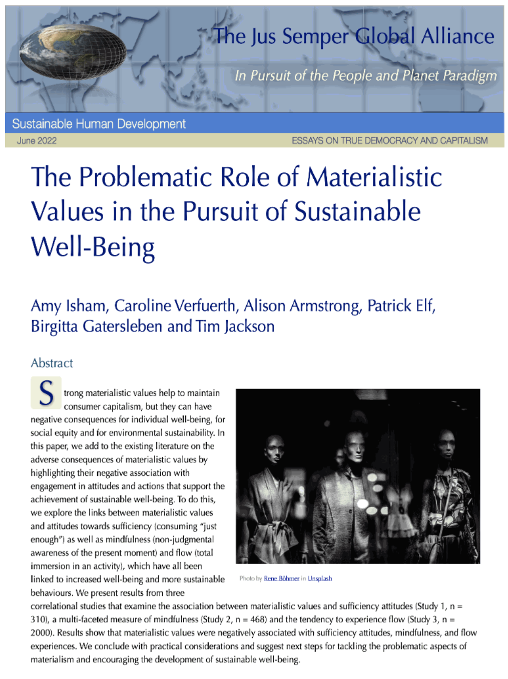
THE PROBLEMATIC ROLE OF MATERIALISTIC VALUES IN THE PURSUIT OF SUSTAINABLE WELL-BEING — ***Amy Isham et al***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The Problematic Role of Materialistic Values in the Pursuit of Sustainable Well-Being

Amy Isham, Caroline Verfuerth, Alison Armstrong, Patrick Elf, Birgitta Gatersleben and Tim Jackson

Abstract

Strong materialistic values help to maintain consumer capitalism, but they can have negative consequences for individual well-being, for social equity and for environmental sustainability. In this paper, we add to the existing literature on the adverse consequences of materialistic values by highlighting their negative association with engagement in attitudes and actions that support the achievement of sustainable well-being. To do this, we explore the links between materialistic values and attitudes towards sufficiency (consuming "just enough") as well as mindfulness (non-judgmental awareness of the present moment) and flow (total immersion in an activity), which have all been linked to increased well-being and more sustainable behaviours. We present results from three correlational studies that examine the association between materialistic values and sufficiency attitudes (Study 1, n = 310), a multi-faceted measure of mindfulness (Study 2, n = 468) and the tendency to experience flow (Study 3, n = 2000). Results show that materialistic values were negatively associated with sufficiency attitudes, mindfulness, and flow experiences. We conclude with practical considerations and suggest next steps for tackling the problematic aspects of materialism and encouraging the development of sustainable well-being.

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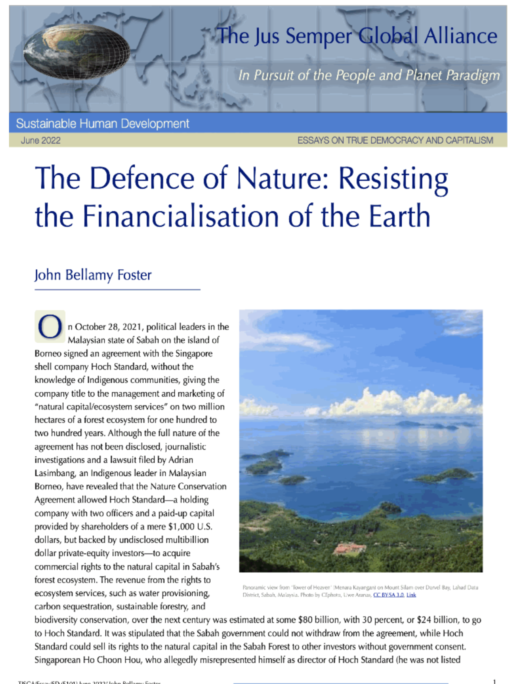
THE DEFENCE OF NATURE: RESISTING THE FINANCIALISATION OF THE EARTH — ***John Bellamy Foster***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The Defence of Nature: Resisting the Financialisation of the Earth

John Bellamy Foster

On October 28, 2021, political leaders in the Malaysian state of Sabah on the island of Borneo signed an agreement with the Singapore shell company Hoch Standard, without the knowledge of Indigenous communities, giving the company title to the management and marketing of "natural capital/ecosystem services" on two million hectares of a forest ecosystem for one hundred to two hundred years. Although the full nature of the agreement has not been disclosed, journalistic investigations and a lawsuit filed by Adrian Lasimbang, an Indigenous leader in Malaysian Borneo, have revealed that the Nature Conservation Agreement allowed Hoch Standard—a holding company with two officers and a paid-up capital provided by shareholders of a mere $1,000 U.S. dollars, but backed by undisclosed multibillion dollar private-equity investors—to acquire commercial rights to the natural capital in Sabah's forest ecosystem. The revenue from the rights to ecosystem services, such as water provisioning, carbon sequestration, sustainable forestry, and biodiversity conservation, over the next century was estimated at some $80 billion, with 30 percent, or $24 billion, to go to Hoch Standard. It was stipulated that the Sabah government could not withdraw from the agreement, while Hoch Standard could sell its rights to the natural capital in the Sabah Forest to other investors without government consent. Singaporean Ho Choon Hou, who allegedly misrepresented himself as director of Hoch Standard (he was not listed

Panoramic view from 'Tower of Heaven' (Menara Kayangan) on Mount Silam over Darvel Bay, Lahad Datu District, Sabah, Malaysia. Photo by CEphoto, Uwe Aranas, CC BY-SA 3.0, Link

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In 2016, more than fifty multinationals came together to design a framework for monetising the global ecology, using fabricated shadow pricing systems based on the capitalist market system. The report highlighted the enormous opportunities for debt "leverage" represented by "emerging natural capital markets, such as water quality trading, wetland and endangered species banking, and natural carbon sequestration." Consequently, it was imperative to "put a price on the value of nature" or, put another way, "a monetary value on what nature does for...business." The future of the capitalist economy lies in ensuring that the market pays "for ecosystem services that were previously free," which could generate new economic value for companies capable of converting natural capital securities into financial assets.

Water as a [natural] asset class will eventually become the most important physical commodity-based asset class, eclipsing oil, copper, agricultural commodities, and precious metals." In this perspective, the world's freshwater sources, which represent one of the planetary boundaries designated by natural science, will be monopolised as natural capital

by relatively few companies that will be able to charge market rents for ecosystem services.

Plans for expropriation and accumulation of natural capital by global finance are today directed primarily at the Global South... Indigenous territories cover about 24% of the earth's surface and "contain 80% of the earth's remaining healthy ecosystems and global biodiversity priority areas," making them prime targets for expropriation and conversion into marketable natural capital.

The final result, however, is to impose a system geared to economic growth and debt expansion on natural systems, which are physically limited, and where the crucial conditions are those of reproduction and sustainability. In reality, what is meant is the leveraging of the credit/debt system worldwide through the financialiation of land, with the expropriation of indigenous lands as the basis.

In the face of increasing resource scarcity and the relentless drive for natural capital, indigenous and smallholders struggle to defend their lives, their communities and their lands. In all these struggles and many others, the goal is ultimately sustainable human development, necessarily coupled with resistance to capitalism, racism, colonialism, imperialism and ecological devastation...Underlying this is the recognition that an exploitative system that places its faith in "the fetish character of capital" at the expense of all human existence and life on the planet can only lead, if unchecked, to ultimate catastrophe.

"The coming global ecological revolution" means "returning to our humanity and to our origins as good relatives" of the earth. It means rationally regulating the metabolism of human society with the universal nature of which we are an inseparable part.

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POPULATION AND THE GREAT TRANSITION — *Ian Lowe*

Addressing global environmental challenges—from biodiversity loss to climate change—can often feel like running up a down escalator: maintaining our position counts as progress, and more often than not, we are falling behind. Apart from the success of stopping depletion of the ozone layer, all other global environmental problems have been getting worse. This intractability will continue unless we address a significant, yet under acknowledged, driver of environmental degradation, namely, the size and growth of the human population. The global population has doubled over the past fifty years, from 3.8 billion in 1972 to more than 7.7 billion today, and, according to UN projections, it could reach 11 billion—triple what it was in 1972—by the end of end of the century.

If we are serious about achieving a Great Transition, we must discuss this elephant in the room. Unless we adopt just and effective approaches to stabilising the global population and its demands on natural resources, it will be impossible to achieve changes at the scale necessary for a civilised future.

Population and the Great Transition

—Opening Essay for a GTI Forum[1]

Ian Lowe

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If we are serious about achieving a Great Transition, we must discuss this elephant in the room. Unless we adopt just and effective approaches to stabilising the global population and its demands on natural resources, it will be impossible to achieve changes at the scale necessary for a civilised future. The reason is encapsulated in the master equation for assessing human impact on the environment: I = PAT, with human impact I the product of P population, A affluence, and T technology. Efforts to temper economic growth and reduce consumerism among the rich (A) and deploy more efficient and less resource-intensive technologies (T) will be offset by increases in population (P).

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1 ↩ See the forum page: https://greattransition.org/gti-forum/population-lowe

2 ↩ This claim comes from the World Scientists Second Warning to Humanity, signed by more than 14,000 scientists across 158 countries. William J. Ripple et al., "World Scientists' Warning to Humanity: A Second Notice," *Bioscience*m 67, no. 12 (2017): 1026–1028, https://doi.org/10.1093/biosci/bix125.

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NOTES ON UKRAINE (LATE MARCH 2022) — *The Editors of Monthly Review*

In light of the current events in Ukraine we have decided to make the Notes From the Editors of Monthly Review immediately available

As we write these notes in late March 2022, the war in Ukraine continues to escalate, threatening to mutate instantaneously into a global thermonuclear war, which would result in the extermination of virtually the entire population of the earth.

To get a firm grasp on the current situation in Ukraine, we must understand the central role that the United States and NATO have played in the conflict from the start, beginning in 2014 with the U.S.-engineered Maidan coup. This was followed by the breaking apart of Ukraine, during which the Russian- speaking Crimea was incorporated into Russia after obtaining the population's support in a referendum, while a civil war emerged between Kyiv, supported by the United States, and the breakaway republics in Russian-speaking Donbass in the eastern part of Ukraine, supported by Russia. Following eight years of civil war—which was again escalating in late 2021 and early 2022, with massive increases in military support and training from the United States and continued attacks by Kyiv on Donbass, in violation of the 2014 Minsk agreements—Russia entered directly into the civil war, transforming it into a full-scale war, with further horrendous results. This brought to the fore the reality that what was being played out in Ukraine was not simply a civil war between Kyiv and Donbass, which has set the stage, but rather a much larger proxy war between the United States/NATO and Russia, which has been developing for decades and lies at the root of the conflict.

Notes on Ukraine (late March 2022)

In light of the current events in Ukraine we have decided to make the Notes From the Editors for the May 2022 issue of Monthly Review immediately available. —Eds.

The Editors of Monthly Review

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As we write these notes in late March 2022, the war in Ukraine continues to escalate, threatening to mutate instantaneously into a global thermonuclear war, which would result in the extermination of virtually the entire population of the earth. The nature of the current nuclear war threat and how it has reemerged in our time is the subject of the Review of Month by John Bellamy Foster in this issue, titled "'Notes on Exterminism' for the Twenty-First-Century Ecology and Peace Movements."

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SUSTAINABILITY AND METABOLIC REVOLUTION IN THE WORKS OF HENRI LEFEBVRE — *Brian M. Napoletano et al*

Humanity's present social–ecological metabolic configuration is not sustainable, and the need for a radical transformation of society to address its metabolic rifts with the rest of nature is increasingly apparent. The work of French Marxist Henri Lefebvre, one of the few thinkers to recognise the significance of Karl Marx's theory of metabolic rift prior to its rediscovery at the end of the twentieth century, offers valuable insight into contemporary issues of sustainability. His concepts of the urban revolution, autogestión, the critique of everyday life, and total (or metabolic) revolution all relate directly to the key concerns of sustainability. Lefebvre's work embodies a vision of radical social–ecological transformation aimed at sustainable human development, in which the human metabolic interchange with the rest of nature is to be placed under substantively rational and cooperative control by all its

members, enriching everyday life. Other critical aspects of Lefebvre's work, such as his famous concept of the production of space, his temporal rhythm analysis, and his notion of the right to the city, all point to the existence of an open-ended research program directed at the core issues of sustainability in the twenty-first century.

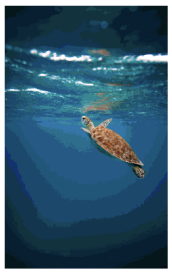
Sustainability and Metabolic Revolution in the Works of Henri Lefebvre

Brian M. Napoletano, Brett Clark, John Bellamy Foster and Pedro S. Urquijo

Abstract

Humanity's present social–ecological metabolic configuration is not sustainable, and the need for a radical transformation of society to address its metabolic rifts with the rest of nature is increasingly apparent. The work of French Marxist Henri Lefebvre, one of the few thinkers to recognise the significance of Karl Marx's theory of metabolic rift prior to its rediscovery at the end of the twentieth century, offers valuable insight into contemporary issues of sustainability. His concepts of the urban revolution, *autogestión*, the critique of everyday life, and total (or metabolic) revolution all relate directly to the key concerns of sustainability. Lefebvre's work embodies a vision of radical social–ecological transformation aimed at sustainable human development, in which the human metabolic interchange with the rest of nature is to be placed under substantively rational and cooperative control by all its members, enriching everyday life. Other critical aspects of Lefebvre's work, such as his famous concept of the production of space, his temporal *rhythmanalysis*, and his notion of the right to the city, all point to the existence of an open-ended research program directed at the core issues of sustainability in the twenty-first century.

A general consensus exists that, whatever the meaning of sustainability is, our current social–ecological metabolic configuration is not consistent with it.



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BILLIONAIRE SPACE RACE: THE ULTIMATE SYMBOL OF CAPITALISM'S FLAWED OBSESSION WITH GROWTH — *Tim Jackson*

Ever since 1972, when a team of MIT scientists published a massively influential report on the Limits to Growth, economists have been fighting about whether it's possible for the economy to expand forever. Those who believe it can, appeal to the power of technology to "decouple" economic activity from its effects on the planet. Those (like me) who believe it can't point to the limited evidence for decoupling at anything like the pace that's needed to avoid a climate emergency or prevent a catastrophic decline in biodiversity.

The growth debate often hangs on the power you attribute to technology to save us. Usually it's the technophiles arguing for infinite growth on a finite planet – sometimes putting their hopes in speculative technologies such as direct air capture or dangerous ones like nuclear power. And usually it's the sceptics arguing for a post-growth economy. But the simple division between technophiles and technophobes has never been particularly helpful. Very few growth sceptics reject technology completely. No one at all is asking humanity to return to the cave.

Billionaire Space Race: the ultimate symbol of capitalism's flawed obsession with growth

Tim Jackson

Mars ain't the kind of place to raise your kids, laments the Rocket Man in Elton John's timeless classic. In fact, it's cold as hell. But that doesn't seem to worry a new generation of space entrepreneurs intent on colonising the "final frontier" as fast as possible.

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Don't get me wrong. I'm no sullen technophobe. As lockdown projects go, Nasa's landing of the Perseverance rover on the surface of the red planet earlier this year was a hell of a blast. Watching it reminded me that I once led a high school debate defending the motion: this house believes that humanity should reach for the stars.

It must have been around the time that Caspar Weinberger was trying to persuade President Nixon not to cancel the Apollo space programme. My brothers and I had watched the monochrome triumph of the Apollo 11 landing avidly in 1969. We'd witnessed the near disaster of Apollo 13 – immortalised in a 1995 Hollywood film – when Jim Lovell (played by Tom Hanks) and two rookie astronauts narrowly escaped with their lives by using the Lunar Module as an emergency life raft. We knew it was exciting up there.

I remember later going to see Apollo 13 (the film) with a friend who wasn't born when the mission itself took place. "What did you think?" I asked as we came out of the cinema. "It was OK," said my friend. "Just not very believable."

My own research teams at the University of Surrey have been exploring the vital role of sustainable technology in transforming the economy for almost three decades now. But we've also shown how the dynamics of capitalism – in particular its relentless pursuit of productivity growth – continually push society towards materialistic goals, and undermine those parts of the economy such as care, craft and creativity, which are essential to our quality of life.

And now suddenly, along comes a group of self-confessed technology lovers finally admitting that the planet is too small for us. Yes, you were right, they imply: the Earth cannot sustain infinite growth. That's why we have to expand into space. Wait. What just happened? Did somebody move the goalposts? Something is wrong. Maybe it's me. One thing I know for sure. I'm no longer the same kid I was – the one from the debating society. This house believes that humanity should grow the fuck up.

Before it spends trillions of dollars littering its techno-junk around the solar system, this house believes that humanity should pay a little more attention to what's happening right here and now. On this planet.

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THE CONDITION OF WOMEN — *Mirta Sofía Brey de Teitelbaum*

The Condition of Women

Mirta Libertad Sofía Brey de Teitelbaum

The question of the legalisation - or decriminalisation - of voluntary abortion has a social aspect that determines an important difference between women in the middle and upper-income classes and poor women. When abortion is prohibited, middle- and upper-class women have sufficient resources to secure qualified medical care at home or abroad. In contrast, poor women have to do unskilled and sometimes unhealthy tasks, resulting in high mortality rates. Such maternal mortality rates provide one of the most glaring evidence of the particularly disadvantageous situation of poor women.

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UNICEF reports that taking all factors into account, the risk of dying from causes related to pregnancy or childbirth is at least 40 times higher in poor countries than in affluent countries and up to 150 times higher in the poorest countries. A 2016 document from the World Health Organization reads: Every day, around 830 women die worldwide from complications related to pregnancy or childbirth. In 2015, an estimated 303,000 women died during or after pregnancy and childbirth. Virtually all of these deaths occur in low-income countries, and most of them could have been prevented. ...The high number of maternal deaths in some parts of the world reflects inequities in access to health services and highlights the differences between rich and poor. Almost all (99%) maternal deaths occur in developing countries: more than half in sub-Saharan Africa and nearly a third in South Asia. More than half of maternal deaths occur in fragile settings and humanitarian crisis contexts. The maternal mortality ratio in developing countries in 2015 was 239

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The Condition of women in the second decade of the twenty-first century remains precarious in all spheres of life. From their right to choose an abortion or their right to maternity leave from their place of work to equal pay for work of equal value with respect to men or their access to many positions and responsibilities in the echelons of the private sector or as public servants, women remain systematically discriminated by a system designed to grant men permanent privileges and make women subservient to their interests and power, as it has been the case throughout history. This paper discusses the persistent precarious situation of women in the world of work, addressing many critically important issues, such as sexual harassment, labour compensation and labour legislation. The outlook is that women continue to be deliberately discriminated against, both legally and in customary employment practices.

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SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGICAL SURVIVAL: AN INTRODUCTION — *John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark*

The issue of survival can be put into the form of a fairly rigorous question: Are present ecological stresses so strong that—if not relieved—they will sufficiently degrade the ecosystem to make the earth uninhabitable by man? If the answer is yes, then human survival is indeed at stake in the environmental crisis. Obviously no serious discussion of the environmental crisis can get very far without confronting this question.
—Barry Commoner, The Closing Circle (1971)

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—Barry Commoner, The Closing Circle (1971)[1]

John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark

Climate Justice. By Laurel L. Ransavers from Canada - Climate Justice. CC BY 2.0, Link

Capitalism has brought the world to the edge of the abyss. We are rapidly approaching a planetary tipping point in the form of a climate Armageddon, threatening to make the earth unliveable for the human species, as well as innumerable other species. Such an absolute catastrophe for civilisation and the human species as a whole is still avoidable with a revolutionary-scale reconstitution of the current system of production, consumption, and energy usage, though the time in which to act is rapidly running out.[2]

Nevertheless, while it is still possible to avoid irreversible climate change through a massive transformation in the mode of production, it is no longer feasible to circumvent accelerating environmental disasters in the present century on a scale never

[1] ↩ Barry Commoner, The Closing Circle: Nature, Man & Technology (New York: Bantam, 1971), 215.

[2] ↩ This is the clear implication of the "Summary for Policymakers" of the IPCC Working Group III report on Mitigation in its Sixth Assessment Report, in the form written by scientists and reflecting the scientific consensus. However, the published version of this report, after being redacted by governments—reflecting not the scientific consensus but the governmental consensus—erased all radical social conclusions by the IPCC scientists. On this, see "Notes from the Editors on Time is Running Out," — The Jus Semper Global Alliance, June 2022.

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Nevertheless, while it is still possible to avoid irreversible climate change through a massive transformation in the mode of production, it is no longer feasible to circumvent accelerating environmental disasters in the present century on a scale never seen before in human history, endangering the lives and living conditions of billions of people. Humanity, therefore, is facing issues of ecological survival on two levels: (1) a still reversible but rapidly worsening Earth System crisis, threatening to undermine civilisation as a whole and make the planet uninhabitable for the human species, and (2) accelerating extreme weather and other ecological disasters associated with climate change that are now unavoidable in the coming decades, affecting localities and regions throughout the globe. Social mobilisation and radical social change are required if devastating near-term costs to people and communities, falling especially on the most vulnerable, are to be prevented.

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DEGROWTH IS ABOUT GLOBAL JUSTICE — *Jason Hickel*

Degrowth Is About Global Justice

An interview…

Jason Hickel

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Campaigners for degrowth have thrown into question the dogma that holds that a growing economy is always a sign of progress. In Less is More, anthropologist Jason Hickel argues that only degrowth can steer the world away from its worsening ecological crisis. We sat down with him to discuss his new book and ask what degrowth would mean for relations between the Global North and South.

Green European Journal (GE): One of the most compelling critiques of is that it is an idea for comfy Westerners with little relevance for the Global South. Less is More takes a different view, arguing that degrowth is about global justice and decolonisation. Could you explain?

Jason Hickel (JH): *Who's driving the ecological crisis? It is overwhelmingly the rich countries of the Global North: the United States, Canada, Europe, Israel, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. These countries are collectively responsible for* 92 per cent of excess emissions. *They have colonised the atmospheric commons for their own enrichment. Meanwhile the entirety of the Global South – all of Asia, Africa, Latin America – is responsible for only 8 per cent, and that's from just a small number of countries. Most countries in the Global South are still well within their fair share of the safe carbon budget and have therefore contributed nothing to the climate crisis.*

> *The ecological crisis is being driven overwhelmingly by rich countries using too many resources and too much energy.*

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THE BLOCKADE AS A DOUBLE-EDGE SWORD — *Roberto Regalado*

The blockade, which has been in existence for the entire history of the Cuban Revolution, despite brief movements toward normalisation, is a product of both U.S. criminal aggression and the Cuban Revolution itself. For the United States, as much as for Cuba, it has always been a double-edged sword, reflecting not only Washington's continuing enmity to Cuba and the enormous harm inflicted on the latter, but also the U.S. failure to bring Cuba to its knees. Given continuing Cuban resistance, the termination of the blockade, as the analysis here shows, would only be a reflection of the ongoing decline and destabilisation of U.S. empire and the enduring strength of the Cuban Revolution, a dialectical process that now implicates the fate of the entire world.

The Blockade as a Double-Edged Sword

Roberto Regalado

Notwithstanding an ongoing commitment to redouble its efforts, Cuban socialism has not taken full advantage of its own human and material resources to develop its productive forces. Cuba's achievements in research and scientific development must be justly lauded.[1] However, when it comes to agriculture, industry, and other sectors of the economy, it is a different story, one that recalls a kitchen that functions with what we call "street gas." Whenever "street gas" runs out, stoves turn off. The Cuban economy "turned off" suddenly when commercial relations, cooperation, and collaboration ceased with the Soviet Union and other Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) members. Similarly, much—but not all—of the economy "turned off" when relations were drastically curtailed with Venezuela and other members of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America, as well as with other Latin American countries governed by left and progressive parties, due to the overthrow, defeat, or outright betrayal of eight of these ten governments and the tightening of the siege against the remaining two.

The questions, then, are: Will Cuba be extended solidarity and aid from other countries or groups of countries, comparable to what it once received from the Soviet bloc and Venezuela? This time, will Cuba be capable of creating its own "biogas plant" to keep its stoves burning independently (or, at least, less dependently) of foreign sources? In the event that the blockade is lifted, would it be far-fetched to think that the United States could become our new "principal supplier," by virtue of the economic and trade relations that would develop, including mass tourism?

[1] ↩ Roberto Regalado, "El 'Triángulo de las Bermudas' por el que navega Cuba: Acumulación de problemas propios, doble filo del bloqueo y reflujo de la izquierda latinoamericana (I)," *América Latina en Movimiento*, April 13, 2021.

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MÉSZÁROS AND CHÁVEZ: THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE LLANERO — *Chris Gilbert*

Mészáros and Chávez: The Philosopher and the Llanero

Chris Gilbert

It is a strange and interesting story how the longstanding and ultimately two-way relationship between revolutionary Venezuelan politician Hugo Chávez and Hungarian intellectual István Mészáros came to exist. It is a tale of elective affinities. On one side, we have a kid who grew up in the Venezuelan llanos in a household too poor to buy tableware. As a boy living with his grandmother, the young Hugo sold candy in the streets but wanted to play baseball, inspired by a namesake pitcher (el Látigo Chávez) on the team Magallanes. He entered the armed forces hoping to become a pelotero, but soon discovered that the army offered him a school for studying politics and history, along with a privileged vantage point from which to observe the injustices and contradictions of Venezuelan society. On the other side of the story, we have Mészáros, a full generation older than the former Venezuelan president. Mészáros grew up poor in Budapest, worked with Georg Lukács, emigrated to Italy following the 1956 uprising, then moved to England, where he spent most of the rest of his life.

What made Mészáros's life so fascinating, and relevant to issues of socialist construction, was that, having seen both sides of the Cold War, he came to perceive both "real socialism" and twentieth-century capitalism as two variants of the same system. He called this the capital system. The basic commonality among most countries of both the East and the West in the twentieth century was the extraction of surplus labour from workers who did not control their own work processes. Living in England in the late 1960s and early '70s, Mészáros witnessed how the shared capital system entered

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This was still the age of "three worlds," and from the privileged position of living and working in two of them, Mészáros developed his key ideas. The most important of these was that capital was essentially a metabolic system, dependent on a vertical division of labour over which it has command. Faced with the system's crisis, what was needed was not less socialism but more! Self-managed production and the existence of substantive democracy at all levels of this alternative society were the key features of what Mészáros called the communal system. He saw it as the only viable, sustainable alternative to the capital system.

The affinities with Chávez's ideas and policies should be clear enough from this brief introduction alone. As is well-known, Chávez had a firm belief in substantive democracy as the centrepiece and mainspring of socialism; he wagered on community councils and other forms of self-organisation to emancipate the Venezuelan people ("Only the people will liberate the people," Chávez said on numerous occasions); and he opted in the end for a communal system to build socialism (echoing Mészáros's claim that not a "less socialist" but "more socialist" socialism was needed in the twenty-first century). All these features make for a striking isomorphism between the two figures, despite their widely divergent backgrounds and upbringings. As it turned out, Chávez would mobilise his followers and significant resources on a hypothesis that was in great measure based on the Hungarian philosopher's approach to the socialist transition.

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FINDING FLOW: EXPLORING THE POTENTIAL FOR SUSTAINABLE FULFILMENT — *Amy Asian and Tim Jackson*

Finding Flow: exploring the potential for sustainable fulfilment

Amy Isham and Tim Jackson

Summary

Materialistic values and lifestyles have been associated with detrimental effects on both personal and planetary health. Therefore, there is a pressing need to identify activities and lifestyles that both promote human wellbeing and protect ecological wellbeing. In this Personal View, we explore the dynamics of a psychological state known as flow, in which people are shown to experience high levels of wellbeing through involvement in challenging activities that require some level of skill, and can often involve less materially intensive activities. By synthesising the results of a series of experience sampling, survey, and experimental studies, we identify optimal activities that are shown to have low environmental costs and high levels of human wellbeing. We also confirm that materialistic values tend to undermine people's ability to experience a flow state. In seeking to understand the reasons for this negative association between materialism and flow experiences, we are drawn towards a key role for what psychologists call self-regulation. We show, in particular, that the tendency to experience a flow state can be limited when self-regulatory strength is low and when people evade rather than confront negative or undesirable thoughts and situations. We reflect on the implications of these findings for the prospect of sustainable and fulfilling lifestyles.

We confirm that materialistic values tend to undermine people's ability to experience a flow state.

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THE LONG HAITIAN REVOLUTION — *Pierre Labossiere and Margaret Prescod with Camila Valle*

The Long Haitian Revolution

Pierre Labossiere, Margaret Prescod and Camila Valle

"When history is written as it ought to be written, it is the moderation and long patience of the masses at which men will wonder, not their ferocity."

—C. L. R. James, The Black Jacobins

"The Haitian movement, though the most pivotal to the abolition of slavery in the Americas, is the most neglected—we all owe a great debt to Haitians and must pay it."

—Margaret Prescod, introduction to Selma James's Our Time Is Now

"Battle of San Domingo," also known as the "Battle for Palm Tree Hill." Credit: Januarv Suchodolski. Public Domain. Link

On July 7, 2021, the illegitimate president of Haiti Jovenel Moïse, who had led Haiti since 2017, was assassinated in an attack on his home in the outskirts of Port-au-Prince. Before his death, despite his term officially ending on February 7, 2021, Moïse was holding onto power, with support from death squads on the ground as well as the Joe Biden administration (a continuation of the Donald Trump administration policy) and United Nations. For months, Haitians came out in large protests demanding Moïse step down. At the same time, the Biden administration continued and continues to deport Haitians at alarming rates.

Ariel Henry was sworn in as the acting president of Haiti on July 20, 2021, having been chosen as the next prime minister by Moïse shortly before his assassination. The Core Group—made up of ambassadors from the United States, France, Canada, Germany, Brazil, Spain, the European Union, and representatives from the United Nations and Organization of American States—have put out a statement throwing their support behind Henry.

T&CA/Essay/SD (E093) April 2022/ P. Labossiere, M. Prescod and C. Valle 1

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Haitian authorities arrested the head of Moïse's security team as part of its probe into the assassination and issued an arrest warrant for Supreme Court Justice Windelle Coq Thélot. Colombian mercenaries have also been linked to the assassination, with the Pentagon confirming that four of the accused mercenaries had received U.S. military training at Fort Benning in Georgia. Formerly known as the School of the Americas (dubbed by critics the "School of the Assassins"), the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation at Fort Benning has been used for decades to train Latin American soldiers in combat, counterinsurgency, and counternarcotics. Since then, the judge presiding over the investigation of the assassination quit because one of the court clerks was also found dead.

On August 14, 2021, a devastating 7.2 magnitude earthquake hit Haiti. At the time of writing, the death toll has risen to around 2,200, more than 12,000 people have been injured, and over 7,000 homes have been destroyed. Many hospitals have also been damaged, with ones still operating reporting overcapacity of patients and shortages of medical supplies. Two days after the quake, Tropical Storm Grace swept into Haiti, bringing heavy rain and winds.

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TAMING GAIA 2.0: EARTH SYSTEM LAW IN THE RUPTURED ANTHROPOCENE — *Rakhyun E Kim*

Taming Gaia 2.0: Earth System Law in the Ruptured Anthropocene

Rakhyun E Kim

Abstract

If the Anthropocene is a rupture in planetary history, what does it mean for international environmental law? When the Earth System crosses irreversible tipping points and begins a forceful, nonlinear transformation into a hostile state which I call the ruptured Anthropocene, the concept of protecting the global environment from humans would lose its meaning. Not only the dichotomy between humans and nature becomes irrelevant, but the environment itself will no longer exist as an object for protection. I argue that, for international environmental law to stay relevant in the ruptured Anthropocene, it needs to shift away from its traditional focus on restoring the planetary past, and instead play an active role in the making of planetary futures. Its new purpose will need to be active planetary stewardship, whereby humans add self-awareness for deliberate self-regulation of the Earth System. Such an attempt at 'taming' the so-called Gaia 2.0 will, however, create winners and losers, and the new form of law will have to address fundamental questions of justice on a planetary scale. Building on the concept of earth system law emerging in the earth system governance literature, I draw the contours of international environmental law 2.0 for the ruptured Anthropocene and discuss the challenges of instituting active planetary stewardship.

Photo by Reid Mayer on Unsplash

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN PANDEMIC OF RACIAL CAPITALISM — *Madalitso Zililo Phiri*

South Africa's COVID-19 pandemic is one of racial capitalism, entangled with histories of imperial state formation, settler colonialism, and a hierarchical global-neoliberal public policy architecture. Racial capitalism is defined as a hierarchical political economy constituted by war, militarism, imperialism, expropriation, and super-exploitation. The racialised neoliberal-policy approach has limited state social provisioning, emphasising the primacy of markets, cost recovery, and competitive priorities in the provision of public infrastructure and services, including health care.

COVID-19 blatantly exhibited the social inequalities in South African society that have always been predicated on anti-Black racism and genocide. The trajectory is clear: revolution not reform, third world internationalism, and the rejection of reliance on the global financial architecture, the very foundations of which seek to preserve the genetic survival of white life (and white capital) above all others across the world.

The South African Pandemic of Racial Capitalism

Madalitso Zililo Phiri

South Africa's COVID-19 responses could well be seen as paradoxical if official statistics were to be confirmed. As of September 2021, the country has recorded over 84,000 COVID-19-related fatalities with fears of a fourth pandemic wave looming.[1] Juxtaposed to the global Western epicentres of the pandemic, such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Italy, this number seems disproportionately minuscule. Per capita fatalities from COVID-19 are less for South Africa than for all of the G-7 countries except Japan and Canada.

South Africa's COVID-19 pandemic is one of racial capitalism, entangled with histories of imperial state formation, settler colonialism, and a hierarchical global-neoliberal public policy architecture.

However, viewed in the context of the African continent, in which South Africa engages in a colonial-informed discourse emphasising the country's exceptionalism, what stands out is that the country has the highest number of COVID-19-related fatalities (and the highest number of deaths per capita after Tunisia). Why is it that a country that boasts one of the most sophisticated health systems on the African continent also accounts for the highest number of COVID-19 deaths?

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1 ↩ "Update on Covid-19 (Wednesday 08 September)," COVID-19 South African Online Portal, September 8, 2021.

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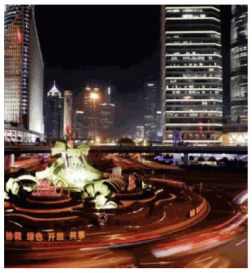
IS CHINA TRANSFORMING THE WORLD? — *Tony Andreani et al*

Is China Transforming the World?

Tony Andréani, Rémy Herrera and Zhiming Long

In the early years of the twenty-first century, China was seen by many Western capitalists as a "new El Dorado." Since it became more open to international trade (starting in the early 2000s especially) and was admitted to the World Trade Organization in December 2001, China was supposed to become a huge market accessible to investors from industrialised countries, where their multinational firms could sell a good part of their chronic overproduction. In addition, with its enormous pool of labor, both highly educated and relatively inexpensive, it was to see its role confined to that of a "workshop of the world," which allowed it, more than any other economy in the South, to supply the countries of the North with low-cost goods on a massive scale.



The popular Lujiazui area in Pudong of Shanghai highlights China's innovation and opening-up. Credit: Talat Shabbir, "CPC with Xi at core is driving global transformation," China Daily, March 29, 2021.

In most mainstream Western media, China is now presented as a threat, a conquering "empire," an "imperialist" power—even though the term imperialism is taboo when it is about the behaviour of global banking establishments, enterprises, or Western institutions. And this threat appears all the more serious as the Beijing "regime" is readily described as "dictatorial," or, in diplomatic terms, "authoritarian." Still the global hegemon, the United States is worried about the Chinese rise in strength, and their successive administrations are building the anxiety-provoking image of a China eager to supplant it and steal its leadership of the capitalist world system. Moreover, this is also the case, to some extent, albeit on a smaller scale, with the governing bodies of the European Union that realize they have become trapped in their free trade dogma.

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As a matter of fact, in commercial matters, China has indeed succeeded in crushing its main capitalist competitors on their own terms —free trade. In the North, we no longer count the headlines, editorials, and articles of the mainstream press, nor the comments, debates, and radio or television broadcasts of the big establishment channels devoted to covering the "Chinese peril," often in reference to purchases by China of various assets: land, equity investments in companies, debts, and so on—in addition to the strong presence of Chinese-made products or equipment in computer and telecommunications. Brussels, in the wake of Berlin, is alarmed by Chinese investments in the economies of Central and Eastern Europe, where everywhere one sees the hand of Beijing and its manoeuvres aimed at the division of the European Union. What could be more moving than to see Washington—after U.S. governments have subjected a good part of the Arab countries to fire and blood during the last decades, with the submissive complicity of the Europeans—worry so spontaneously about the fate of the Muslim populations of China, the Uighurs of Xinjiang in the lead? Behind it all is little serious analysis, a lot of ideological blindness, bad faith, fantasies, and a vast disinformation operation.

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CLIMATE ANXIETY IN CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR BELIEFS IN GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO CLIMATE CHANGE — *Caroline Hickman et al*

Climate change has important implications for the health and futures of children and young people, yet they have little power to limit its harm, making them vulnerable to climate anxiety. This is the first large-scale investigation of climate anxiety in children and young people globally and its relationship with perceived government response.

Climate Anxiety in Children and Young People and their Beliefs About Government Responses to Climate Change: a Global Survey

Caroline Hickman, Elizabeth Marks, Panu Pihkala, Susan Clayton, R Eric Lewandowski, Elouise E Mayall, Britt Wray, Catriona Mellor, Lise van Susteren

Summary - *Background*

Climate change has important implications for the health and futures of children and young people, yet they have little power to limit its harm, making them vulnerable to climate anxiety. This is the first large-scale investigation of climate anxiety in children and young people globally and its relationship with perceived government response.

Methods

We surveyed 10 000 children and young people (aged 16–25 years) in ten countries (Australia, Brazil, Finland, France, India, Nigeria, Philippines, Portugal, the UK, and the USA; 1000 participants per country). Invitations to complete the survey were sent via the platform Kantar between May 18 and June 7, 2021. Data were collected on participants' thoughts and feelings about climate change, and government responses to climate change. Descriptive statistics were calculated for each aspect of climate anxiety, and Pearson's correlation analysis was done to evaluate whether climate-related distress, functioning, and negative beliefs about climate change were linked to thoughts and feelings about government response.

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PLACING PEOPLE AT THE HEART OF CLIMATE ACTION — *Patrick Devine et al*

Placing People at the Heart of Climate Action

Patrick Devine-Wright, Lorraine Whitmarsh, Birgitta Gatersleben, Saffron O'Neill, Sarah Hartley, Kate Burningham, Benjamin Sovacool, Stewart Barr, Jillian Anable

Abstract

Profound societal change along with continued technical improvements will be required to meet our climate goals, as well as to improve people's quality of life and ensure thriving

The IPCC's new assessment report makes it clear that profound societal change will be needed alongside continued technical improvements to meet our climate goals, as well as to improve people's quality of life and ensure thriving economies and ecosystems. For the first time, IPCC Working Group III has a chapter dedicated to demand and social aspects.

Photo by Brian Yurasits on Unsplash

economies and ecosystems. Achieving the urgent and necessary transformations laid out in the recently published IPCC report will require placing people at the heart of climate action. Tackling climate change cannot be achieved solely through technological breakthroughs or new climate models. We must build on the strong social science knowledge base and develop a more visible, responsive and interdisciplinary-oriented social science that engages with people and is valued in its diversity by decision-makers from government, industry, civil society and law. Further, we need to design interventions that are both effective at reducing emissions and achieve wider societal goals such as wellbeing, equity, and fairness. Given that all climate solutions will involve people in one way or another, the social sciences have a vital role to play.

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TO SAVE THE PLANET FORGET ABOUT THE GLOBE — *Christopher McAteer*

A ground-breaking movement calls for the recognition of the inherent rights of nature and non-human species. This vision seeks to displace human beings from the central, privileged place they have hitherto occupied to act on the world and shape it in their interests. Rather, humans are one element in a complex, tangled web of life, whose right to exist and thrive needs to be reconciled with those of the planet's other inhabitants.

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WRITING OUR WAY TO SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIES? HOW ACADEMIC SUSTAINABILITY WRITING ENGAGES WITH CAPITALISM — *Simon Mair*

Writing our way to sustainable economies? How academic sustainability writing engages with capitalism

Simon Mair

Abstract

In this paper I explore the ways that academic sustainability writing engages with economic systems and consider the performative effects of these modes of engagement. Using capitalist realism and capitalocentrism, I define three mechanisms by which non-capitalist futures are foreclosed: 1) Actively Recreating Capitalism – where industries like advertising actively seek to recreate and reinforce capitalist values. 2) Capitalism Unseen – where capitalism is perceived as natural and synonymous with all economic forms. 3) Making a Monolith of Capitalism, where anti-capitalist writers focus so much on capitalism that they make it appear undefeatable. Examining the frequency of different terms used by academic sustainability writers when talking about economic systems, and looking at two different uses of the term 'capital' I argue that academic sustainability writers engage with and are influenced by these mechanisms in different ways. Currently, there is a substantive body of academic sustainability writing that contributes to Capitalism Unseen. However, there are also strands of work that emphasis discontinuity and change within economic systems. I argue that such work provides a model for escaping Capitalism Unseen and avoiding Making a Monolith of Capitalism.

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'THE PRESENT AS HISTORY' AND THE THEORY OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL — *John Bellamy Foster and Grzegorz Konat*

'The Present as History' and the Theory of Monopoly Capital

…An interview…

John Bellamy Foster and Grzegorz Konat

Grzegorz Konat (GK): What are the most important qualities of the monopoly capital school? What distinguishes this tradition from other currents within Marxism?

John Bellamy Foster (JBF): The most important principle of the monopoly capital tradition is that of "the present as history" (a phrase first introduced by Paul M. Sweezy, forming the title of a 1953 collection of his essays). This means that the focus is on the historical specificity that separates the various modes, stages, and phases of production and accumulation, and the application of this to the understanding of the present. The idea of the monopoly stage of capitalism first arose in Marxian theory in the early twentieth century, with Rudolf Hilferding's Finance Capital and V. I. Lenin's Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. (In the United States the most important work was the socialist economist Thorstein Veblen's Theory of Business Enterprise.) Lenin stated that "if it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism, we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism."

Oligopoly cartoon by Dave Granlund

Early theories of monopoly capitalism, though emphasising the concentration and centralisation of production, monopolistic pricing, and modern finance, did not adequately connect this to the theory of capital accumulation. For

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RE-VISITING THE OWENITES — CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL CO-OPS — *Kate Oakley*

Co-operatives as an alternative business model to solely commercial firms are a widely known concept, partly through UK supermarket experiences. But, as Kate Oakley summarises early findings from her recent project, there's much more to the practice of co-ops. Her interview study shows that the political, historical and ethical meanings attached to the idea of a co-op—and of working co-operatively—is what motivates workers and keeps them going in the long term. Institutional support, however, to maintain a co-op structure against mainstream pressure is often inadequate.

Re-visiting the Owenites—contemporary cultural co-ops

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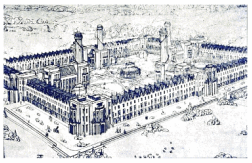
Kate Oakley

In Dundee recently to carry out some research, I was struck by a small grey plaque affixed to a wall commemorating Fanny (Frances) Wright. Wright, who later became a US citizen and is perhaps best known as an abolitionist and utopian thinker, is also described on the plaque as a 'Chartist Lecturer' and crucially 'Owenite'. The unfamiliarity of these phrases—a contemporary plaque is perhaps more likely to say 'feminist' or 'social reformer'—reinforced a theme that had frequently occurred to me over the past few months. As part of a project funded by the AHRC and Nesta,[1] I've been looking at co-ops in the cultural sectors in Scotland—interviewing artists and film-makers, theatre directors, jewellery makers and musicians—among others. I am interested in why they decided to form co-ops, what the organisational structure offers them, and whether co-ops and other collective forms of organisation can offer a counterweight to the precarity and isolation that often accompanies cultural work. But what also came through in these conversations is not just the future but the past, the



"New Harmony [in Indiana, USA] as envisioned by Robert Owen" (wiki commons).

1 ↩ www.pec.ac.uk

TJSGA/Brief/SD (B053) August 2022/Kate Oakley 1

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"WE HAVE COLONISED THE FUTURE" — *José Luis Fernández Casadevante / Nerea Morán*

Roman Krznaric / Public Philosopher, interview…

"We Have Colonised the Future"

Roman Krznaric / Public Philosopher, interview…

José Luis Fernández Casadevante 'Kois' / Nerea Morán

Roman Krznaric (Sydney, 1971) is a founding faculty member of The School of Life in London and an advisor on empathy to organisations such as Oxfam and the United Nations. Krznaric is a public philosopher who writes about the power of ideas to change society. His latest book is The Good Ancestor. How to Think Long-Term in a Short-Term World (Captain Swing, 2022). After growing up in his hometown and Hong Kong, Krznaric studied at the universities of Oxford, London and Essex, where he received his PhD in Political Sociology. He is the founder of the world's first Museum of Empathy, a research fellow at the Long Now Foundation, and a member of the Club of Rome.

Roman Krznaric, en su charla TED "Cómo ser un buen antepasado". TED.COM

(JLF-NM) Your book begins with the obvious and disturbing paradox that we are living longer and longer, while at the same time, we are thinking more and more in the short term. Our ability to project ourselves into the long term, to reflect on the future, has been eroded over the last few decades. Why do you find this change worrying?

I think it is evident to most people that we live in a tyranny of the now, the domination of the present time. This ranges from our gestures, as we look at our phones 130 times a day, to neoliberal capitalism as an ideology that advocates the now, as a way of maximising profit or growth, without valuing the long-term impacts on people and the planet.

This short-termism is that we have colonised the future, that we treat the future as a distant colonial property where we can freely offload ecological degradation and technological risk as if there were no one there.

TJSGA/Brief/SD (B052) August 2022/E. Fernández-N. Morán 1

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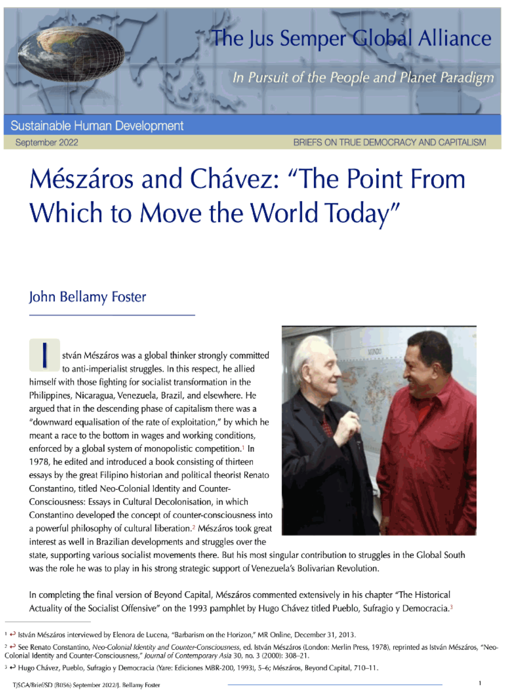
MÉSZÁROS AND CHÁVEZ: "THE POINT FROM WHICH TO MOVE THE WORLD TODAY" — *John Bellamy Foster*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September 2022 BRIEFS ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

Mészáros and Chávez: "The Point From Which to Move the World Today"

John Bellamy Foster

István Mészáros was a global thinker strongly committed to anti-imperialist struggles. In this respect, he allied himself with those fighting for socialist transformation in the Philippines, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Brazil, and elsewhere. He argued that in the descending phase of capitalism there was a "downward equalisation of the rate of exploitation," by which he meant a race to the bottom in wages and working conditions, enforced by a global system of monopolistic competition.[1] In 1978, he edited and introduced a book consisting of thirteen essays by the great Filipino historian and political theorist Renato Constantino, titled Neo-Colonial Identity and Counter-Consciousness: Essays in Cultural Decolonisation, in which Constantino developed the concept of counter-consciousness into a powerful philosophy of cultural liberation.[2] Mészáros took great interest as well in Brazilian developments and struggles over the state, supporting various socialist movements there. But his most singular contribution to struggles in the Global South was the role he was to play in his strong strategic support of Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution.

In completing the final version of Beyond Capital, Mészáros commented extensively in his chapter "The Historical Actuality of the Socialist Offensive" on the 1993 pamphlet by Hugo Chávez titled Pueblo, Sufragio y Democracia.[3]

1 ↩ István Mészáros interviewed by Elenora de Lucena, "Barbarism on the Horizon," MR Online, December 31, 2013.

2 ↩ See Renato Constantino, *Neo-Colonial Identity and Counter-Consciousness*, ed. István Mészáros (London: Merlin Press, 1978), reprinted as István Mészáros, "Neo-Colonial Identity and Counter-Consciousness," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 30, no. 3 (2000): 308–21.

3 ↩ Hugo Chávez, Pueblo, Sufragio y Democracia (Yare: Ediciones MBR-200, 1993), 5–6; Mészáros, Beyond Capital, 710–11.

TJSGA/Brief/SD (B056) September 2022/J. Bellamy Foster 1

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FINANCIAL, SPECULATIVE AND PARASITIC CAPITAL — *Alejandro Teitelbaum*

It is a crime to rob a bank, but it is a greater crime to found one. - Berthold Brecht

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September 2022 ESSAYS ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

Financial, Speculative and Parasitic Capital

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Alejandro Teitelbaum

Concern to redress the injustice caused by the unequal distribution of wealth to the point of famine and misery, and to punish those responsible, has existed since antiquity. In 386 BC, wheat traders in Athens were put on trial for buying more grain from importers than they were allowed to hoard. Lysias, pleading before the court, asked for their death penalty, saying: "When do they make the most profit? When the announcement of a catastrophe allows them to sell at a high price? They seize the wheat when it is most needed and refuse to sell it so that we will not discuss the price."[1]

Foto de Elena Mozhvilo en Unsplash

People eat little and badly. "They are crazy to swallow this!" Christophe Brusset, an agri-food industrialist, denounces. From the diversion of raw materials to the manipulation of products via controversial hygiene controls, Christophe Brusset denounces the many evils of which he has been an accomplice or mastermind behind the scenes of the food industry for twenty years. Indian

1 ↩ (Lisia, Orazioni, Frammenti, XXII (Contro i mercanti di grano), Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli; Bérgamo, Italia, 1995, p. 225).

TJSGA/Essay/SD (E118) September 2022/Alejandro Teitelbaum 1

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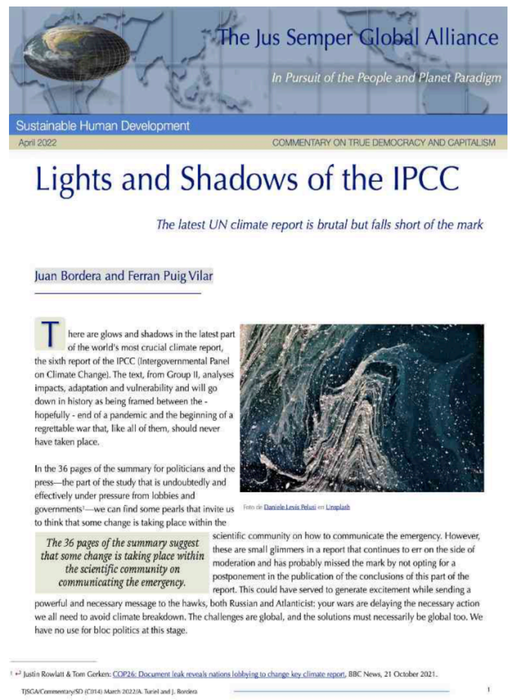
LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF THE IPCC — *Juan Bordera - Ferran Puig Vilar*

The latest UN climate report is brutal but falls short of the mark… "life on Earth can recover from major climate change… Humanity cannot."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April 2022 COMMENTARY ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

Lights and Shadows of the IPCC

The latest UN climate report is brutal but falls short of the mark

Juan Bordera and Ferran Puig Vilar

There are glows and shadows in the latest part of the world's most crucial climate report, the sixth report of the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change). The text, from Group II, analyses impacts, adaptation and vulnerability and will go down in history as being framed between the - hopefully - end of a pandemic and the beginning of a regrettable war that, like all of them, should never have taken place.

Foto de Daniele Levis Pelusi en Unsplash

In the 36 pages of the summary for politicians and the press—the part of the study that is undoubtedly and effectively under pressure from lobbies and governments[1]—we can find some pearls that invite us to think that some change is taking place within the scientific community on how to communicate the emergency. However, these are small glimmers in a report that continues to err on the side of moderation and has probably missed the mark by not opting for a postponement in the publication of the conclusions of this part of the report. This could have served to generate excitement while sending a powerful and necessary message to the hawks, both Russian and Atlanticist: your wars are delaying the necessary action we all need to avoid climate breakdown. The challenges are global, and the solutions must necessarily be global too. We have no use for bloc politics at this stage.

The 36 pages of the summary suggest that some change is taking place within the scientific community on communicating the emergency.

1 ↩ Justin Rowlatt & Tom Gerken: COP26: Document leak reveals nations lobbying to change key climate report, BBC News, 21 October 2021.

TJSGA/Commentary/SD (C014) March 2022/A. Turiel and J. Bordera 1

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The 36 pages of the summary suggest that some change is taking place within the scientific community on communicating the emergency. At last, the IPCC is intertwining the other major ecological crisis, the loss of life and biodiversity, with the climate problem.

Our culture would have to change radically to take on a model that would seek a comforting simplicity in addition to seeking cooperation. The good living, but with less material wealth.

Is this still possible? No one knows. What is clear is that it is inevitable that we will end up forcibly moving towards this type of scenario of less energy wealth. We should be preparing ourselves. Because "life on Earth can recover from major climate change... Humanity cannot."

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ON HOW 'LOBBIES' WATER DOWN THE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT CLIMATE REPORT. — *Juan Bordera et al*

The latest complete IPCC mentions the word 'degrowth' 28 times, but mentions it zero times in the summary for policy makers

On How 'Lobbies' Water Down the World's Most Important Climate Report

The latest complete IPCC mentions the word 'degrowth' 28 times, but mentions it zero times in the summary for policy makers.

J. Bordera, A. Turiel, F. Valladares, M. García Pallarés, J. de la Casa, F. Prieto, F. Puig Vilar

The dossier of shame. This report is a litany of broken climate promises. Without rapid and deep cuts in greenhouse gas emissions across all sectors, it will be impossible to avoid the climate disaster we are rapidly facing. Climate activists are sometimes portrayed as dangerous radicals, but the truly dangerous radicals are the countries that are increasing fossil fuel production. These statements - which could belong to any social movement spokesperson - are just some of the strongest statements that UN Secretary-General António Guterres has made in the wake of the official release of the latest part of the world's most crucial climate report, that of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

Photo by NOAA on Unsplash

TJSGA/Commentary/SD /C017/ March 2022/Bordera et al. 1

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BUILDING THE VISION OF A GOOD LIFE – POST GROWTH LIVING — *Jordan Fox-Besek*

Building the Vision of the Good Life

[Kate Soper, Post-Growth Living: For an Alternative Hedonism]

Jordan Fox Besek

Photo by Robert Collins on Unsplash

The crux of Kate Soper's *Post-Growth Living* is simple: we need to redefine "the good life." We need to move away from a culture that equates the good life with endless consumption and toward one that equates it with experiences that are not defined by the market. Not only is this transition ecologically

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necessary, but it will also lead to fairer, and far more pleasurable, experiences, such as Soper's desired "alternative hedonism." I am confident that this singular plea is both fecund and needed, even if, after reading, I am still not sure exactly what "alternative hedonism" actually is.

For decades, Soper has written elegantly and persuasively on feminism, continental philosophy, environmental ethics, and other topics, never ceding to a position without first interrogating it for herself. In what is likely her most well-known work, What Is Nature? Culture, Politics, and the Non-Human, Soper genuinely absorbs arguments from what she terms "nature-endorsing" approaches, typical of natural scientists who invoke the intrinsic value of "nature," and "nature-skeptical" approaches, characteristic of poststructuralist scholars who draw attention to the cultural, discursive construction of "nature," synthesizing the best of each through critique. What emerges is an understanding of socioecological relationships that is at once realist and humanist, and, most importantly, immensely useful.

TJSGA/Brief/SD /B046/ April 2022/Jordan Fox Besek 1

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"Post-Growth Living" is a book that expects its readership to be quite comfortable with the fact that we share much more with other beings than previously thought, that we should move far away from nonhuman relations built on cold calculations, and that there is a relationality of all beings. Yet it is also a book that expects its readership to recognise that relationality between things does not imply that they are one in the same. On these grounds, Soper has no truck with post-humanism. She contends that the attempt of practitioners of post-humanism to "collapse…what they see as misguided or arrogantly humanist distinctions between ourselves and other animals" should be "resisted as unhelpful to the environmental argument." This is because, she argues, nonhumans are not absolutely inseparable from us, nor do they have powers and forms of agency that uniquely define the human. To pretend we can fully absorb them into our worlds is then to deny the specificity of their own worlds. Her next critique is a bit more robust. The responsibility for ecological crises is profoundly human. Against post-humanist impulses, then, addressing ecological crises necessitates focusing on the ways we, as humans, live.

So, what does this alternative mode of human living look like? It begins with a rejection of the type of consumption on which current ideals of the good life are built, which problematically are today lodestars in the Global South as much as in the Global North. The majority of the world aspires to consume more—more cars, more fashion, more electronics, more everything—and these prima facie unsustainable aspirations are rooted in the everyday life of most of humanity, across class lines, dialectically wedding consumption to processes of production. To reify them as simply the "choices" or "desires" imposed by an all-powerful capital is to reproduce the idea that people exist only as workers or as capitalist consumers, and this is the idea that Soper is begging us to escape.

After this theoretical positioning, the bulk of the book works toward developing a vision of this alternative hedonism. The day-to-day aspects of her vision are not particularly radical, but this is likely the point. Soper's alternative world is not a profound change from our own, it is simply one in which we develop ways to better reflect on and incorporate the environmental consequences of our consumption, and, in doing so, consume far less.

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THE TIME FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS HERE — *Juan Bordera et al*

The Time for Civil Disobedience is Here

The struggles against the eco-social crisis are multiplying in Europe as we approach the point of no return. A few weeks ago, temperatures were recorded at 30 degrees above average in the Arctic and 40 degrees in the Antarctic

Juan Bordera, Agnès Delage and Fernando Valladares

In his letter "The last speech I give before I become a criminal",[1] one of the best living Danish writers, Carsten Jensen, has given us a powerful text. An enumeration will gain even more power and resonance over the years as the echo of our presumed silences reverberates irremediably in our ears. Here are a few pearls from the speech:

A group of activists cut off a street in Germany. LETZTE GENERATION

"If you think you can live as you've always lived, you're wrong.

"If you think your children will have a life like yours, you're wrong'.

"If you think the disappearance of insects won't turn empires into rubble, you're wrong.

"If you think humans can't live like rats, you're wrong.

1 Carsten Jensen: The last speech I give before I became a criminal — Extinction Rebellion, 9 May 2022.

TJSGA/Commentary/SD /C020 June 2022/I. Bordera, A. Delage and F. Valladares 1

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"If you think humans can't live like rats, you're wrong.

"If you think the planet's patience is infinite because it has endured the presence of your species for a few hundred thousand years, you're wrong.

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TIMES OF INSURRECTION — *Gustavo Duch*

Times of Insurrection

Gustavo Duch

Dear Shareholders. Thank you for attending this extraordinary meeting which, as chairman of the company, I have convened within the scope of my powers. As you will understand, due to the urgency of the meeting and its exceptional nature, the subject matter I wish to raise is grave. So please listen to my presentation in detail. I will not take up much of your time.

After almost 150 years of history, a great deal of determination and perseverance, we can say without any doubt that we have been the world's leading dairy company for more than 20 years. Today, we have production facilities on five continents, our products can be found in every shop, and we employ hundreds of thousands of people. Our slogan says, 'we serve quality protein to the whole world'. As you know, with the acquisitions and takeovers of the last five years, with no competition around us, we can now say that we are 'the company' in the industry. Now, however, I believe it is time to consider some measures to be taken, which I will enumerate below:

First, you will agree with me that the climate crisis that the planet is suffering and the citizens' awareness in this regard forces all large companies to show a stronger commitment to environmental values. Therefore, we have created some sustainable and organic product lines, focused a large part of our advertising on the sustainability story, and financed campaigns for properly recycling packaging, but these are insufficient measures. Has the time come to agree that 100% of the milk we collect from our suppliers' farms and 100% of the products we transform must come from 100% organic systems? In my opinion, yes, but I am not going to take this decision.

And as the chairman said these last words with a half-smile on his face, most thought it was all a rhetorical, even mocking exercise, typical of someone who knows he is in charge of a company of such size and power. "Now he will announce a further step in our growth by entering the meat sector," whispered the vice-president to the colleague sitting to his right. Rising to his feet, the president announced:

"Let the record show: One. From an ecological and social justice point of view, the only measure that can be taken in the context of a multinational like ours is its total closure. I rule the legal liquidation of our company. Two. After many years of presiding over this multinational, I apologise for having consciously ignored all the damage done to planet Earth, its inhabitants and those yet to come."

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FOR AN ECOSOCIALIST DEGROWTH — *Michael Löwy et al*

For an Ecosocialist Degrowth

Michael Löwy, Bengi Akbulut, Sabrina Fernandes and Giorgos Kallis

Degrowth and ecosocialism are two of the most important movements—and proposals—on the radical side of the ecological spectrum. Sure, not everyone in the degrowth community identifies as a socialist, and not everyone who is an ecosocialist is convinced by the desirability of degrowth. But one can see an increasing tendency of mutual respect and convergence. Let us try to map the large areas of agreement between us, and list some of the main arguments for an ecosocialist degrowth:

Waterloo Bridge, London. By Claude Monet. Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane. Public Domain. Link

(1) Capitalism cannot exist without growth. It needs a permanent expansion of production and consumption, accumulation of capital, maximisation of profit. This process of unlimited growth, based on the exploitation of fossil fuels since the eighteenth century, is leading to ecological catastrophe, climate change, and threatens the extinction of life on the planet. The twenty-six UN Climate Change Conferences of the last thirty years manifest the total unwillingness of the ruling elites to stop the course toward the abyss.

(2) Any true alternative to this perverse and destructive dynamic needs to be radical—that is, must deal with the roots of the problem: the capitalist system, its exploitative and extractivist dynamic, and its blind and obsessive pursuit of growth. Ecosocialist degrowth is one such alternative, in direct confrontation with capitalism and growth. Ecosocialist degrowth requires the social appropriation of the main means of (re)production and a democratic,

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UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF CORPORATE POWER — *Juan Hernández Zubizarreta / Pedro Ramiro*

To be serious about human rights implies radicalising democracy, building collective socio-economic projects, strengthening processes of social self-organisation from the grassroots and reconfiguring new spaces of counter-power at the local and global level.

Universal Declaration of the Rights of Corporate Power

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Juan Hernández Zubizarreta / Pedro Ramiro

Limits cannot be placed on private property and wealth accumulation because the legal security of contracts must be guaranteed. Still, the Spanish government has announced the seizure of a yacht from a Russian oligarch, and the German government has announced the expropriation of the Gazprom subsidiary. It has been said for two months that the energy market must be intervened. It took only a few hours to change the budget to be able to send arms for the war. It is impossible to judge Repsol in Spain for the ecological disaster caused by its oil spill in Peru. Still, the company was able to sue the Argentinean state in international courts when its subsidiary in the country was nationalised a decade ago.

Photo by Benjamin Child in Unsplash

The manager of the textile workshop in Tangiers, where 28 women workers died a year ago, has been convicted by a Moroccan court. However, the sentence makes no mention of Inditex or Mango, the companies for which the garments were made. Ukraine has every right to defend its national sovereignty against the invasion of Russian troops. In contrast, Western Sahara has to become a province of Morocco because it is the only realistic solution. Large property owners

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At the institutional level, the debates focus on the discussion of laws and norms. But in this legal dispute, all that is at stake is a question of political will; in classical terms, of power relations. Normative asymmetry, not in vain, has been the basis of neoliberal globalisation: in the face of the strength of the legal armour built to shield the "rights" of large corporations, the extreme fragility of the mechanisms for controlling their obligations. In other words, while transnational private business is continually re-regulated, the deregulation of the protection of fundamental rights continues to advance.

None of this would have been possible without the formation of a great public-private alliance between central states and transnational corporations. And the collapse of global capitalism alone will not change this state of affairs. On the contrary, the flight forward in search of lost profitability will only deepen the logic of expulsion, dispossession, violence, confinement and necropolitics. With all its cataract of global pacts and agreements in defence of human rights, international law has become a meaningless piece of paper in the face of the war unleashed by the major economic powers to try to secure their share of the spoils in the midst of the perfect storm.

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THE PACIFIC AND THUCYDIDES IN THE 'AGE OF ENERGY DESCENT' — *Juan Bordera and Antonio Turiel*

The big blocs are taking positions to maintain their hegemony in a world with fewer resources and in which the rules of the game will be different.

Although the Russian invasion of Ukraine seems to place the centre of the theatre of operations in Eastern Europe, something is happening a little further away from the spotlight, as if behind the scenes. Something vital. The shift of the world's centre of power from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. A shift that will paradoxically coincide with an increase in the potential for a large-scale military - even nuclear - conflict in an era marked by energy decline. All is well and good.
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CROCODILE THAT FALLS ASLEEP IS TURNED INTO A WALLET — *Gilberto Hernández Ortiz*

"The current crisis we are experiencing is not only economic; it is also social, systemic and planetary and is on the verge of becoming a catastrophe"

Crocodile that Falls Asleep is Turned into a Wallet

"The current crisis we are experiencing is not only economic; it is also social, systemic and planetary and is on the verge of becoming a catastrophe"

Gilberto Hernández Ortíz

And we will not be able to overcome it using the same procedures that caused it! It is idiotic that those who dominate the world want to continue to act in the same way and that our peoples remain indifferent to this situation as if nothing serious was happening. This civilisation is on the verge of collapse, and yet:

Billionaires occupy the altars, enjoy privileges in all governments, pay fewer taxes than small entrepreneurs and get richer and richer. Financial, speculative and parasitic capital outstrips productive capital. Tax havens, tax evasion, corruption, drug trafficking, organised crime and money laundering have penetrated all areas of the ruling class, increasing economic and social inequality among the population and unbalancing food production and distribution.

The middle class is disappearing even in the wealthiest countries. Unemployment is rising even in the most developed countries. Health systems are collapsing in the US, Spain, Italy and almost all of Europe. The same is happening in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru and all of Iberian America. Hundreds of thousands of productive enterprises around the world go bankrupt. The housing shortage is steadily increasing all over the world. Food is wasted in big cities, while many countries suffer from hunger. Tourism, sport, entertainment, etc. are dramatically declining. The poor are getting poorer

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And we cannot overcome it using the same procedures that caused it! It is stupid that those who dominate the world want to continue to act in the same way and that our peoples remain indifferent to this situation as if nothing serious was happening. This civilisation is on the verge of collapse, and yet: Billionaires occupy the altars, enjoy privileges in all governments, pay fewer taxes than small entrepreneurs and get richer and richer. Financial, speculative and parasitic capital outstrips productive capital. Tax havens, tax evasion, corruption, drug trafficking, organised crime and money laundering have penetrated all ruling class sectors, increasing economic and social inequalities among the population and unbalancing food production and distribution.
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THE END OF ABUNDANCE — *Antonio Turiel and Juan Bordera*

We have to decrease, but we must do it for real, distributing and delivering social justice

The End of Abundance

We have to decrease, but we must do it for real, distributing and delivering social justice

Antonio Turiel and Juan Bordera

One day you have it all, and suddenly everything changes. In Europe, the feeling is of a change of era. What yesterday seemed ridiculous today is obvious. What was impossible yesterday is now the natural thing to do. There is talk of rationing disguised as "austerity measures". Strategic companies are nationalised - in many cases to socialise losses. People are beginning to say at the highest levels that this winter will be very hard. And suddenly, in the middle of the Council of Ministers, the French president, Emmanuel Macron, puts words to this pivotal moment and, with a gesture of compunction, declares "the end of abundance".

Emmanuel Macron at the press conference after the Council of Ministers, talking about the end of abundance.

The end of abundance. Nothing less. The background to such declarations is gigantic, and the reasons for them will be revealed in a few months, but... What will millions of workers who live on the bare necessities of life think of Macron's words? Where was the abundance that we are now told has ended?

What will millions of workers who live on the bare necessities of life think of Macron's words? Where was the abundance that we are now told has ended?

For most of the working class in Western countries, real income has been steadily declining since the 1980s. The history of the European middle class in the last decades of neoliberalism and financial deregulation has been one of progressive pauperisation. One in which most of us have lost purchasing power to sustain the obscene profits of the few. And now we are told that abundance is over.

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One day you have it all, and suddenly everything changes. In Europe, the feeling is of a change of era. What yesterday seemed ridiculous today is obvious. What was impossible yesterday is now the natural thing to do. There is talk of rationing disguised as "austerity measures". Strategic companies are nationalised - in many cases to socialise losses. People are beginning to say at the highest levels that this winter will be very hard. And suddenly, in the middle of the Council of Ministers, the French president, Emmanuel Macron, puts words to this pivotal moment and, with a gesture of compunction, declares "the end of abundance".

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UKRAINE: THE CRIME OF WAR — *Alejandro Teitelbaum*

The ground and air attack on Ukraine is an international crime. Putin's claim to justify the aggression with the aim of "denazifying" Ukraine is unacceptable. Putin's use of this argument does not erase the fact that this problem exists in Ukraine, as various publications and international organisations such as Amnesty International have denounced: The Ukrainian authorities have not taken effective measures to prevent and punish acts of violence committed by "extreme right-wing" groups, which have become increasingly frequent since 2015. Victims of such violence and threats, including women, LGBTI rights activists, left-wing activists, Roma families and other individuals and groups targeted by

members of "far-right" groups, remain vulnerable to attacks, intimidation and harassment.

Ukraine: The Crime of War

Alejandro Teitelbaum

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The ground and air attack on Ukraine is an international crime. The judgement of the Nuremberg Tribunal of 30 September 1946 reads: "Unleashing a war of aggression is not only an international crime: it is the supreme international crime and differs from other war crimes only in that it contains all of them". This is so because it involves loss of life, destruction, mass exodus, famine, and other hardships. Putin's claim to justify the aggression with the aim of "denazifying" Ukraine is unacceptable.

Foto de Warren Wong en Unsplash

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The G7 countries sent a letter through their ambassadors to the Ukrainian executives to express their concern: "The G7 is concerned about extremist political movements in Ukraine, where violent actions are deeply disturbing". They asserted that these formations "attempt to usurp the role of the police", "intimidate citizens", and seek to "tarnish the reputation of the Ukrainian government".[2]

[1] Amnesty International: Ukraine: La passivité des autorités encourage l'intensification des violences de l'extrême droite, Mai 16, 2018
[2] France 24: La sombra de la extrema derecha se cierne sobre las elecciones presidenciales en Ucrania, 31 marzo 2019.

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There can be no doubt that this dramatic situation, which primarily affects all the peoples of Europe, has as its backdrop the geopolitical and trade war between the United States, China and Russia as its main protagonists. It would be preferable for the peoples of Western Europe if, in place of NATO, an instrument at the service of US strategy, the states of the European continent, from the Atlantic to the Urals, were to find a path of peaceful coexistence and global security in the context of which mutually beneficial technological and commercial exchanges could be intensified.

But this is a long road to travel, which requires that the peoples first disengage themselves from the European governments on their knees before the USA. This subjugation is partly explained by the subordination of these governments to the sector of transnational industrial and financial capital hegemonised by the United States...

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"GROWTH IS GOING TO STOP, FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER" — *Juan Bordera and Ferran Puig Vilar*

Dennis Meadows - Author of "The Limits to Growth".... interview....

"Growth is Going to Stop, for One Reason or Another"

Dennis Meadows - Author of "The Limits to Growth".... interview....

Juan Bordera – Ferran Puig Vilar

Runaway inflation. Double-digit. War. Increasingly severe energy problems. Earlier and more powerful heat waves. Arrests of scientists. Border massacres. Setbacks in women's rights at the - supposed - the peak of the Empire, taking us back 50 years... Just 50 years. Does all this have any connection? Actually, yes.

Photo provided by the interviewee.

It is 50 years since the publication of one of the most important works of the 20th century, The Limits to Growth. That report was commissioned by MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), which, as early as 1972, warned that the planet had limits and little time to face the shock against them. That is why Dennis Meadows (USA, 1942), one of the two principal authors of the study, has been giving interviews for media such as Le Monde or the Suddeutsche Zeitung. It was an honour to interview him for CTXT.

JB/FPV: On the 50th anniversary of the report's publication, one of the standard scenarios of your model is still very similar and consistent with reality; in it, you predicted that growth would come to a screeching halt around 2020. Is this what we are already experiencing? Was it a forecast or a prediction?

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Runaway inflation. Double-digit. War. Increasingly severe energy problems. Earlier and more powerful heat waves. Arrests of scientists. Border massacres. Setbacks in women's rights at the - supposed - the peak of the Empire, taking us back 50 years... Just 50 years. Does all this have any connection? Actually, yes.

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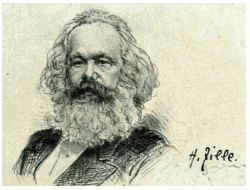
REVISITING MARX ON RACE, CAPITALISM AND REVOLUTION — *Kevin B. Anderson*

Did Karl Marx have a theory of race and capitalism? Not exactly, but he theorised on these issues over four decades and much of what he wrote still speaks to us today. At a time of global and U.S. struggles for liberation in the face of a deeply radicalised fascist threat, these writings are worth revisiting.

Revisiting Marx on Race, Capitalism, and Revolution

Kevin B. Anderson

Did Karl Marx have a theory of race and capitalism? Not exactly, but he theorised on these issues over four decades and much of what he wrote still speaks to us today. At a time of global and U.S. struggles for liberation in the face of a deeply radicalised fascist threat, these writings are worth revisiting.



Dibujo por Heinrich Zille

Marx's most important writings on race center on slavery, capitalism, and the U.S. Civil War of 1861–65. While some of these are widely known, like several key passages in the first volume of Capital, a number of his most important reflections can be found in his letters or the documents of the First International. Comprehensive compilations of his writings on the Civil War have appeared in several different collections over the years, starting with one published in 1937 under the auspices of the U.S. Communist Party. The introduction by historian Richard Morais (Richard Enmale, a transparent pseudonym evoking Frederick Engels-Marx-V. I. Lenin) evoked Popular Front themes like "the progressive forces of the nation" versus the reactionaries and stressed that "Marx supported the bourgeois republic in its struggle against the slave oligarchy." In his introduction to a recently published collection of these writings, historian Andrew Zimmerman stresses instead that, for Marx, "the Civil War was not a bourgeois revolution, but a workers' revolution carried out within a bourgeois republic that was finally undermined by that bourgeois republic."

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A final thought

Mexico City policeman chains himself to the main doors of the City Assembly in protest because his salary does not make a living wage (19 December 2006).

A living wage is, universally, the most important element in the achievement of everyone's right to a dignified life and the eradication of poverty. Relative to the social responsibility of business, a corporation or organisational entity employing people, regardless of size or trade, public or private, cannot be considered to behave in a socially responsible manner if it does not pay a living wage, regardless of how responsibly it behaves in all other areas of activity.

Just as the International Labour Organisation's Decent Work Agenda states, *the decent work concept has led to an international consensus that productive employment and decent work are key elements to achieving poverty reduction*. Yet, everything remains in the realm of rhetoric and hypocrisy, and the system, imbued in the most perverse human instincts, remains.

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