

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 2026

Fires: An ecosocial critique of flammable capitalism — (Alejandro Pedregal and Álvaro de Regil) —The author lays bare the diabolical system of capitalism and warns us that, in its frenzied pursuit of boundless greed, it is dragging us towards the final cliff of our existence. [Page 2](#)

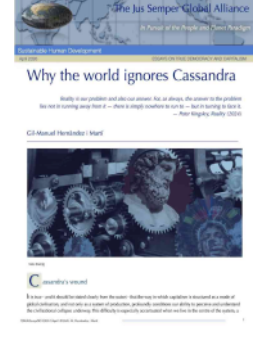
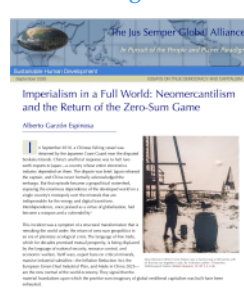
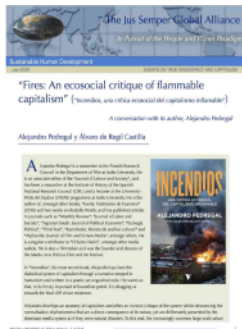
Technological Dynamics of Growth and Stability (Erald Kolasi) —We need new political and economic institutions that prioritise workers and the biosphere, as their actions affect the energy and technological dynamics that regulate the ecosphere. [Page 2](#)

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FIRES: AN ECOSOCIAL CRITIQUE OF FLAMMABLE CAPITALISM — Alejandro Pedregal and Álvaro de Regil Castilla

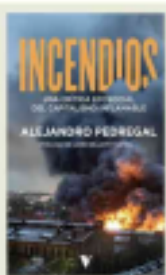


“Fires: An ecosocial critique of flammable capitalism” [“Incendios, una crítica ecosocial del capitalismo inflamable”]

A conversation with its authors, Alejandro Pedregal

Alejandro Pedregal y Álvaro de Regil Castilla

Alejandro Pedregal is a researcher at the Finnish Research Council in the Department of Film at Aalto University. He is an associate editor of the *Journal of Labour and Society**, and has been a researcher at the Institute of History of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) and a lecturer at the University-Wide Art Studies (UWAS) programme at Aalto University. He is the author of, amongst other books, *“Evelia: Testimonio de Guerrero”* (2018) and two works on Rodolfo Walsh, and has published articles in journals such as *“Monthly Review”*, *“Journal of Labor and Society”*, *“Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy”*, *“Ecología Política”*, *“Third Text”*, *“Kamchatka: Revista de análisis cultural”* and *“Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media”*, amongst other media outlets. He is also a filmmaker and was the founder and director of the Media Lens Política Film and Art Festival.



“Incendios” develops an anatomy of capitalism and offers an incisive critique of the system whilst denouncing the normalisation of phenomena that are a direct consequence of its nature, yet are deliberately presented by the dominant media system as if they were natural disasters. To this end, the increasingly common large-scale urban and rural wildfires occurring with growing frequency across all latitudes and continents serve as a perfect metaphor.

In this way, Alejandro exposes the predatory nature of capitalism at a time when Marx's theory of the ‘Metabolic Rift’ – concerning the metabolism between humanity and nature – is becoming increasingly evident and catastrophic, and is posing a grave existential threat to us. This situation, which places the sustainability of humankind and all species at great risk, must be addressed and halted with urgency. Alejandro, therefore, eloquently sets out the urgent transition we must make towards a new, planned, fair and sustainable ecosocial paradigm.

others. He is a regular contributor to **El Salto Diario**, amongst other media outlets. He is also a filmmaker and was the founder and director of the Media Lens Política Film and Art Festival. In **Incendios**, his most recent book, Alejandro lays bare the diabolical system of capitalism through a narrative steeped in humanism and written in a poetic yet anguished style. He warns us that, in its frenzy in pursuit of boundless greed, it is dragging us towards the final cliff of our existence.

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TECHNOLOGICAL DYNAMICS OF GROWTH AND STABILITY — Erald Kolasi

The ecosphere is capable of handling and assimilating a great deal of human waste and low-grade energy without getting severely destabilised.



Technological Dynamics of Growth and Stability

Erald Kolasi

How does technological change produce “economic growth”? And how does this growth alter the broader conditions in which it is embedded? These are the central questions to which this monograph responds. Responding to the modernist synthesis, growth means the expansion and diversification of useful energy forms, where useful energy can be anything from mechanical work to electricity. The AVE suggests that one of the real measures of the energy converted in a particular economy is a regime that is growth just means an increase in the AVE. The control of technology on the one hand biological systems, production methods, and institutional changes that allow human beings to convert energy from a prevailing form to another form. Nature does this through photosynthesis, and so. These things must be built and maintained from raw materials, and they must involve everything from labour power to machines and vehicles. For example, modern plants harness the sun's energy to produce electricity, so that they can be converted into electricity. For another case, natural cotton fibres that need to be spun and spun as they can be strengthened and strengthened, then the resulting threads are woven into finished articles of clothing.



The main focus in this chapter is to analyse the interaction between ecological dynamics and technological change. It would be a mistake to see technological change as being exclusively a socially immanent phenomenon, which in this context means a process that happens within human society. Societies interact with the natural world in highly complex ways, and these interactions also alter the pace and direction of technological development. The main point is that the technology of change has technological technology is an immanent and emergent feature of the natural world, the social and ecological world. Technology of change is shaped and constructed by political, economic, and social forces.

However, our current age of industrial capitalism is testing that proposition in every possible way. According to the International Energy Agency, a typical electric vehicle requires six times the mineral inputs of a conventional gas-powered vehicle. The typical onshore wind plant needs nine times more minerals than a conventional gas-fired power plant. Since 2010, every new unit of power generation has required on average 50 percent more mineral resources. But despite the impressive scale of this transition, the world is still using more energy, emitting more greenhouse gases, and setting new records in the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. That's in large part because the transition to renewables is still heavily dependent on fossil fuels, as raw minerals are mined and transported using vehicles powered by fossil fuels.

Alejandro Pedregal is a researcher at the Finnish Research Council in the Department of Film at Aalto University. He is an associate editor of the *Journal of Labour and Society**, and has been a researcher at the Institute of History of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) and a lecturer at the University-Wide Art Studies (UWAS) programme at Aalto University. He is the author of, amongst other books, *“Evelia: Testimonio de Guerrero”* (2018) and two works on Rodolfo Walsh, and has published articles in journals such as *“Monthly Review”*, *“Journal of Labor and Society”*, *“Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy”*, *“Ecología Política”*, *“Third Text”*, *“Kamchatka: Revista de análisis cultural”* and *“Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media”*, amongst other media outlets. He is also a filmmaker and was the founder and director of the Media Lens Política Film and Art Festival.

Moreover, the idea that we can do more with less is seductive, but there are several reasons why this strategy will fail over the long run, if we choose to keep pursuing it. The most fundamental reason is that nature imposes absolute physical limits on efficiency that no amount of technological progress can overcome. Aggregate efficiency gains for entire economies are almost always associated with higher levels of energy use and consumption, not less. Increases in energy efficiency are generally used to expand accumulation and production, leading to greater consumption of the very resources that the efficiency improvements were supposed to conserve. Thus, a person driving a Tesla would have produced roughly the same carbon emissions as someone driving a Honda Accord.

Most of these debates have in common that they're happening within the ideological framework of capitalist economies. The reason why elites frame the potential solutions to our common global problems as a simple matter of technological tinkering is simply because that's what would allow them to preserve their wealth and power, to preserve the status quo from which they benefit. Capitalists are the apex predators of the ruling classes, and capitalists anywhere and everywhere are masters of deception and distraction.

Given all these challenges, a renewable strategy based on the "Holy Trinity"—wind, solar, and hydro—is the most plausible and realistic path forward in the future. A radical and rapid transition toward renewable energy can and must take place, but only if it's accompanied by massive cutbacks in aggregate energy use. Electricity generation can undergo a radically quick transition toward renewables; there's no technological barrier there at all. It's purely social and political barriers that are the problem.

We need new political and economic institutions that prioritise the long-run stability of our biosphere as well as the economic concerns of workers worldwide. And to get there, we'll need to better understand the complex relationship between society, energy, and technology—that is, to understand how the actions of the social institutions that govern our lives affect the energetic and technological dynamics that are increasingly governing the global ecosphere.

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IMPERIALISM IN A FULL WORLD: NEOMERCANTILISM AND THE RETURN OF THE ZERO-SUM GAME – Alberto Garzón Espinosa

In September 2010, a Chinese fishing vessel was detained by the Japanese Coast Guard near the disputed Senkaku Islands. China's unofficial response was to halt rare-earth exports to Japan

—a country whose entire electronics industry depended on them. The dispute was brief: Japan released the captain, and China never formally acknowledged the embargo. But that episode became a geopolitical watershed, exposing the enormous dependence of the developed world on a single country's monopoly over the minerals that are indispensable for the energy and digital transitions. Interdependence, once praised as a virtue of globalisation, had become a weapon and a vulnerability.



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This incident was a symptom of a structural transformation that is remaking the world order: the return of zero-sum geopolitics in an era of planetary ecological crisis. The language of free trade, which for decades promised mutual prosperity, is being displaced by the language of national security, resource control, and economic warfare. Tariff wars, export bans on critical minerals, massive industrial subsidies—the Inflation Reduction Act, the European Green Deal Industrial Plan, and Made in China 2025—are the new normal of the world economy. They signal that the material foundations upon which the positive-sum imaginary of global neoliberal capitalism was built have been exhausted.



The Senkaku Islands, a group of small, uninhabited islands in the East China Sea, are the subject of a territorial dispute between China and Japan. The image shows a person standing on one of the islands, looking out at the sea.

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The vision of international trade as a positive-sum game—a vision that has dominated economic thought from David Ricardo to the World Trade Organization—was only possible under historically specific conditions: abundant fossil energy, colonial expropriation of resources, and the systematic externalisation of ecological costs to the periphery. As those conditions erode, the zero-sum logic of early mercantilism returns, not as an anachronism, as some liberal thinkers have argued, but as a rational response to what ecological economist Herman Daly called a “full world.” The neomercantilism of the twenty-first century, far from being a departure from imperialism, is its current shape. What follows traces the

intellectual and material genealogy of this transformation, from the mercantilist debates of seventeenth-century England to the scramble for critical minerals in the twenty-first, in order to show that the present crisis is not a rupture but a return.

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THE DESTRUCTION OF REASON AND THE RISE OF ECOFASCISM IN THE UNITED STATES – Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster



The Destruction of Reason and the Rise of Ecofascism in the United States

Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster

The planetary ecological crisis is a manifestation of the death drive of late imperialism, whereby the expanded reproduction of monopoly-finance capital depends on the destruction of the conditions of life. In this age of ecological crisis, the capitalist state has become more authoritarian, giving rise to ecofascism as a virulent manifestation of the neofascism embodied in the Donald Trump administration. In this age of ecological crisis, the capitalist state has become more authoritarian, giving rise to ecofascism as a virulent manifestation of the neofascism embodied in the Donald Trump administration. In this age of ecological crisis, the capitalist state has become more authoritarian, giving rise to ecofascism as a virulent manifestation of the neofascism embodied in the Donald Trump administration.



Neofascists in North America, Europe, and elsewhere, commemorating victims who died fighting in the anti-Fascist fight. Photo: Shutterstock.com

In 1953, in *The Destruction of Reason*, Georg Lukács indicated that irrationalism was a product of capitalism, deeply connected to the material interests of the ruling class and the imperialist stage of the global system. He explained that in opposition to Marxism, historical-materialist analysis, and revolutionary socialist movements, bourgeois philosophy (e.g., Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, Arthur

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The planetary ecological crisis is a manifestation of the death drive of late imperialism, whereby the expanded reproduction of monopoly-finance capital depends on the destruction of the conditions of life. As the absolute limits of capital are reached, generating a structural crisis, the capitalist state has become more authoritarian, giving rise to ecofascism as a virulent manifestation of the neofascism embodied in the Donald Trump administration. In this age of unreason, the ecological crisis that capital has created is fervently denied. Instead, the ecofascist response has entailed a heightened struggle for domination, resource control, hypernationalism, oppression of peoples, anti-immigration, racism, and the annihilation of ecology—all in the interest of capital accumulation. More than a mere oxymoron, ecofascism is the ecology of exterminism.

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Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson, Martin Heidegger, and Carl Schmitt) had shifted to nonscientific, antirationalist, and skeptical analyses, asserting the preeminence of the will-to-life/will-to-power, instincts, intuition, myths, and vitalistic life principles, as well as a deep social pessimism, over critical-dialectical reason. This irrationalism rendered the world meaningless, constituting a nihilism and skepticism that permeated bourgeois society, reinforcing its ideological and class domination and defending its exterminist actions. The majority of Lukács's *The Destruction of Reason* was devoted to analysing the intellectual climate that helped promote the rise of Nazi fascism in Germany; however, in the epilogue to the book, he argued that irrationalism was then ascendant in the United States, as evident in the "prevailing post-war imperialist philosophy," which was cultivating a unique form of fascism.

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THE GLOBAL STRUCTURAL CRISIS OF CAPITAL — John Bellamy Foster — *I believe that it is not given to us to speak in terms of future centuries...we have no time to waste; the challenge is to save the conditions of life on this planet, to save the human species, to change the course of history, to change the world. —Hugo Chávez*



The Global Structural Crisis of Capital

I believe that it is not given to us to speak in terms of future centuries...we have no time to waste; the challenge is to save the conditions of life on this planet, to save the human species, to change the course of history, to change the world. —Hugo Chávez

John Bellamy Foster

The notion of a "global structural crisis of capital" defining our times was first introduced by István Mészáros in the third edition of his *Marx's Theory of Alienation* in 1971, and in his Isaac Deutscher Memorial Lecture, "The Necessity of Social Control" that same year. In 1995 in *Beyond Capital*, Mészáros distinguished the emerging, epochal structural crisis of capital from the cyclical and conjunctural crises that are "capital's natural mode of existence." Today's structural crisis, he explained, has four distinctive features that distinguish it historically, separating it from primarily socio-economic dimensions:



(1) The structure is transformed, rather than restricted, to one particular sphere: the economic, financial, or commercial, or affecting life in that particular sphere of production, or applying the value that type of labour, with its specific range of skills and degree of productivity, produces.

—John Bellamy Foster, "History's Specter in the Marxist Mode: A Critique," *Journal of World History*, 19 (2018), 1–20; and "The Structural Crisis of Capital: Marx's Theory of Alienation," *Marxist Studies*, 1 (2018), 1–10.

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conjunctural crises that are "capital's natural mode of existence." Today's structural crisis, he explained, has four characteristics that distinguish it historically, focusing here primarily on its economic dimensions.

All of this signifies that the current mode of production is approaching the absolute limits of its mode of social metabolic reproduction, evident not simply in its growing economic contradictions—since production, consumption, and circulation define its internal structure—but also in every aspect of material reality. A structural crisis comes into play when not simply the "immediate limits" of the system but also its "ultimate limits" are in question, since this affects "the totality of a social complex." This is particularly evident in the environmental realm, which capital, in its pursuit of endless accumulation, treats as consisting of mere barriers that need to be overcome or dumping grounds for its waste, rather than adhering to planetary boundaries and natural laws.

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WHY THE WORLD IGNORES CASSANDRA — Gil Manuel Hernández I Martí — *Reality is our problem and also our answer. For, as always, the answer to the problem lies not in running away from it — there is simply nowhere to run to — but in turning to face it. — Peter Kingsley, Reality (2024)*



Why the world ignores Cassandra

Reality is our problem and also our answer. For, as always, the answer to the problem lies not in running away from it — there is simply nowhere to run to — but in turning to face it. — Peter Kingsley, Reality (2024)

Gil-Manuel Hernández I Martí



Why King

Cassandra's wound

It is true - and it should be stated clearly from the outset - that the way in which capitalism is structured as a mode of global civilisation, and not only as a system of production, profoundly conditions our ability to perceive and

understand the civilisational collapse underway. This difficulty is especially accentuated when we live in the centre of the system, a centre that, in order to sustain itself as such, has had to recurrently provoke partial or local collapses in the savage, backward or underdeveloped peripheries - the former colonies - today once again plundered and abandoned to their fate.

Late capitalism has become an integral machinery of symbolic, affective, and existential control: the Megachine of which Fabian Scheidler (2024) speaks, which penetrates, transforms, and regulates all dimensions of life. As we well know, it does not limit itself to exploiting labour or resources: it produces subjectivities, shapes ways of feeling, filters collective emotions and designs the frameworks of the sayable and the imaginable. It has become an ontological structure that imposes what can be perceived, what can be said, and, above all, what can be believed.

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CAN CAPITALISM BE DEFEATED? — Andrea Surbone

The musings of an ordinary man



Can capitalism be defeated?

the musings of an ordinary man

Andrea Surbone

A question that is not even rhetorical in itself - I would go so far as to call it futile: capitalism has already been defeated by the Revolutions. Why, then, pose such a futile question, and even use it as the title of this essay?

Because the subject does not concern the course and ultimate outcome of the various Revolutions, but rather the current situation, and whether or not it is conducive to a new Revolution.

Model and Revolution

Revolutions, in fact, like any other social or institutional framework, are embedded within the global context and are interrelated with it, and, above all, they are interrelated with the model within which they arise.

By "model" I mean that universal framework - or container - governed by a single rule (or very few), yet one that is insurmountable.

And the model within which humanity has lived for almost twenty thousand years is that of accumulation.

We might define it as follows: an anarchic, bottomless, as it were, within the current narrative, community based on mutual aid, with someone who, going beyond immediate and equal exchange, begins to accumulate - that is, when the struggle of food becomes linked to power and turns into accumulation; together, they set out on a path that extends right up to the present day.

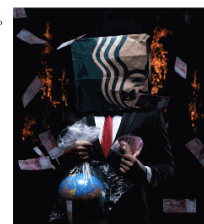


Photo by: [illegible]

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Andrea Surbone - Filoponia

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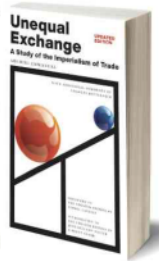
INTRODUCTION TO THE UPDATED EDITION OF ARGHIRI EMMANUEL'S 'UNEQUAL EXCHANGE' — Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster



Introduction to the Updated Edition of Arghiri Emmanuel's 'Unequal Exchange'

Brett Clark and John Bellamy Foster

Arghiri Emmanuel's *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade* was an explosive work when it was first published in French in 1969, not simply due to the depth of its critique of neoclassical economics, but even more because of the enormous challenge that it presented for Marxist economic theory itself. This incendiary reception was immediately evident in that the book incorporated an extensive debate between Emmanuel, a Greek economist, who became director of economic studies at the University of Paris-VII, and the French Marxist economist Charles Bettelheim, under whom Emmanuel had written his doctoral thesis on unequal exchange, and whose views departed sharply from those of Emmanuel. Thus, Emmanuel's *Unequal Exchange* erupted on the public scene in a storm of controversy, which was already embedded in the book and quickly extended to a wider debate that continued for years, raising the issue of the relation of the working class in the advanced capitalist economies to imperialism. The impact of *Unequal Exchange* was startling at the time, but it then declined as interest in imperialist theory ebbed in the Western left and as the reality that Emmanuel had pointed to was frequently denied. Meanwhile, the inquiry that he had initiated was taken up by others, such as the Egyptian-French economist Samir Amin, and transformed in other directions. In the twenty-first century, however, the reality of both unequal economic and unequal ecological exchange has come to be regarded as the very crux of the anti-imperialist world struggle, and interest in Emmanuel's classic work has once again skyrocketed.



1. Arghiri Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972, 2025).

ISSN 1549-0584 May 2026, Clark, J. & Foster

Arghiri Emmanuel's *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade* was an explosive work when it was first published in French in 1969, not simply due to the depth of its critique of neoclassical economics, but even more because of the enormous challenge that it presented for Marxist economic theory itself.¹ This incendiary reception was immediately evident in that the book incorporated an extensive debate between Emmanuel, a Greek economist, who became director of economic studies at the University of Paris-VII, and the French Marxist economist Charles Bettelheim, under whom Emmanuel had written his doctoral thesis on unequal exchange, and whose views departed sharply from those of Emmanuel. Thus, Emmanuel's *Unequal Exchange* erupted on the public scene in a storm of controversy, which was already embedded in the book and quickly extended to a wider debate that continued for years, raising the issue of the relation of the working class in the advanced capitalist economies to imperialism. The impact of *Unequal Exchange* was startling at the time, but it then declined as interest in imperialist theory ebbed in the Western left and as the reality that Emmanuel had pointed to was frequently denied. Meanwhile, the inquiry that he had initiated was taken up by others, such as the Egyptian-French economist Samir Amin, and transformed in other directions. In the twenty-first century, however, the reality of both unequal economic and unequal ecological exchange has come to be regarded as the very crux of the anti-imperialist world struggle, and interest in

Emmanuel's classic work has once again skyrocketed.

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THE SHALE REVOLUTION, U.S. IMPERIALISM, AND MEXICO'S ENERGY DEPENDENCE — Mateo Cossa



The Shale Revolution, U.S. Energy Imperialism, and Mexico's Dependence

Mateo Cossa

U.S. imperialism has historically hinged on its control of global fossil fuel, leveraging it as a core mechanism of

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Starting in the twenty-first century, the global dynamics of fossil energy imperialism shifted as the fracking-led "Shale Revolution" revitalized U.S. imperial ambitions, especially in the natural gas sector. Through a surge of technology-intensive extraction, the United States rapidly repositioned itself as a leading producer and global exporter, asserting a degree of energy self-sufficiency centered on natural gas. More crucially, this resurgence fortified Washington's fossil fuel-based geopolitical power. By engineering new regional dependencies and reshaping energy alliances to suit its strategic

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ANARCHISM, DEGROWTH, AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY: EXPLORING OVERLAPS AND TENSIONS — Antonio Roman-Alcalá

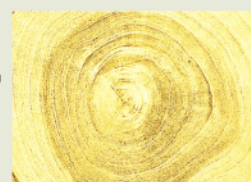


Anarchism, degrowth, and food sovereignty: exploring overlaps and tensions

Antonio Roman-Alcalá

Abstract

This paper explores how anarchist ideas and practices might be useful for goals of societal transitions to food sovereignty and degrowth—and the limits to that usefulness. It discusses how various anarchisms resonate with either concept and their associated movements, ideas, and practices, and practical implications thereof. It concludes by raising three questions for those interested in libertarian socialist approaches to degrowth and food sovereignty, asking us to consider the relative marginality of such radical frames, and the importance of robust economic and political theories to effective action.



Introduction

This paper is an attempt to advance a conversation on degrowth and food sovereignty as political projects, informed by ideas from the broad world of anarchism, but without succumbing to the tendency and pressure in left theory to advocate one position against others, to tote a political "line" in order to convert others to it. I find this a political line boring, tired, and often counterproductive. There never is, nor ever will be political certainty about what to do. There likewise never will be full or guaranteed political alignment, even among "left" or broadly anti-systemic forces—so

¹ It is best to state that many social forces opposed to capitalist growth, including many indigenous groups, do not necessarily fit conventional (European) ideological political categories.

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FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST ECOLOGICAL MODERNITY — Kai Heron, Alejandro Pedregal and Nemanja Lukić

In this paper we introduce the Journal of Labor and Society's special issue on the ecomodernist features of imperialism and argue that these concepts must be theorised in tandem. The introduction begins by showing how ecomodernism and imperialism combine in practice through the example of the Council of Foreign Relations' 'Climate Realism Initiative'. It then charts ecomodernism's emergence as a distinct theory and practice, arguing that it can take capitalist and anti-capitalist forms, both of which reproduce imperialist mechanisms of accumulation on a world scale. The paper's third section questions the anti-modernist critique of ecomodernism offered by the

concepts of extractivism and green colonialism. We then develop what we consider a more precise and rigorously anti-imperialist critique of imperialism's ecomodernist aspects before concluding with some political propositions about the necessity of what we call a 'communist ecological critique' and by summarising the special issue's contributions.



For an Anti-Imperialist Ecological Modernity

Special Issue: The Imperialist Features of Ecomodernism

Kai Heron, Alejandro Pedregal and Nemanja Lukić

Abstract

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Photo by @alejandro.pedregal

Introduction

In Spring 2023, the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR), a US-based think tank specialising in imperial foreign policy, launched its 'Climate Realism Initiative'. The initiative, or 'doctrine' as the CFR alternatively calls it with a vainglorious

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SEA LEVEL MUCH HIGHER THAN ASSUMED IN MOST COASTAL HAZARD ASSESSMENTS — Katharina Seeger - Philip S. J. Minderhoud



Sea level much higher than assumed in most coastal hazard assessments

Katharina Seeger - Philip S. J. Minderhoud

Abstract

The impacts of sea-level rise and other hazards on the coasts of the world are determined by coastal sea-level height and land elevation. Correct integration of both aspects is fundamental for reliable sea-level rise and coastal hazard impact assessments, but is often not carefully considered or properly performed. Here we show that more than 99% of the evaluated impact assessments handled sea-level and land elevation data inadequately, thereby misjudging sea level relative to coastal elevation. Based on our literature evaluation, 90% of the hazard assessments assume coastal sea levels based on geoid models, rather than using actual sea-level measurements. Our meta-analyses on global scale show that measured coastal sea level is higher than assumed in most hazard assessments (mean offsets [standard deviation] of 0.27 m [0.76 m] and 0.24 m [0.52 m] for two commonly-used geoids). Regionally, predominantly in the Indo-Pacific. Compared with geoid-based assumptions of coastal sea level, the measured values suggest that with a hypothetical 1 m of relative sea-level rise, 31–37% more land and 48–68% more people (increasing estimates to 77–132 million) would fall below sea level. Our results highlight the need for re-evaluation of existing coastal impact assessments and improvement of research community standards, with possible implications for policymakers, climate finance and coastal adaptation.



Photo by Robert Fox: https://www.pexels.com/photo/ocean-wave-in-ocean-ocean-36130312/

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POWER, CONTROL, INEQUALITY, AND DEMOCRACY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY — Jayati Ghosh



Power, Control, Inequality, and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century

Jayati Ghosh

It is a signal honour—indeed, something so precious as to be almost terrifying—to be asked to deliver a lecture in memory of Robert Heilbroner. Like so many of my generation, his book *The Worldly Philosophers* served as one of my first introductions to the ideas of economics and, since then, my reading of his many (always pithy and elegant but also profound and incisive) works has remained essential to my own education and understanding. I cannot claim to approach anything like the long historical sweep, wide breadth, and great depth of his analysis. But his example has inspired me to be ambitious, if only in terms of the questions to ask, and I can only hope that my attempt at the answers provides some marginal insights.

My questions are: What is the nature of the capitalism we are experiencing today, and how does it relate to democracy? How much of this can be traced to purely

Capitalism has always been dependent on the state, it is fundamentally antithetical to democracy, it undermines the ability of the people to express themselves freely and to have a say in all decisions that affect them. It is an evolutionary process in which the very logic of capitalism undermines democracy.

market forces, and how do these interact with power?

It is not generally considered effective to provide the punchline first, but even so, let me outline my basic answer in broad strokes. I believe that capitalism relies on—and has always relied on—the state. Yet, it is fundamentally antithetical to democracy, understood broadly not just as electoral majoritarianism but as the ability of the people in general to express themselves freely and have a voice in all decisions in which they have a stake. This is an evolutionary process in which the very logic of capitalism undermines democracy. So substantive democracy

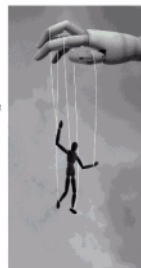


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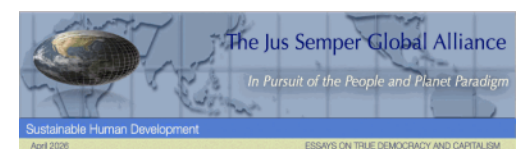
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CONFRONTING VIOLENCE: TOWARDS INTERNATIONALIST DEGROWTH — Franca Marquardt



Confronting violence: Towards an insurgent, internationalist degrowth

Franca Marquardt

Abstract

Capitalism relies on various forms of violence that create and uphold injustice and alienation. Anarchist practices—such as disobedience and occupations—challenge this status quo by resisting oppression and imagining alternatives beyond the State. While degrowth scholarship has effectively analysed global inequalities, it must further engage with these movement experiences and explore the affective dimensions of collective struggle. In this context, this article discusses how acts of solidarity during moments of State oppression serve not only as resistance but as survival strategies against systemic violence. By referring to internationalist protests in solidarity with Palestine, the article argues for an emphasis on political emotions to understand and confront global capitalist violence. In order to move beyond ideological constraints to envision a world of radical interdependence and justice, degrowth needs to become part of a global movement for liberation, based on revolutionary bonds and collective self-defence.

Introduction

In the summer of 2024, the Palestine solidarity bloc at Berlin's Dyer March and the internationalist Queer Pride were violently attacked by the police, part of an intensifying crackdown on pro-Palestine activism in Germany. While such protests have long faced criminalisation, repression has escalated dramatically since the genocide conducted by the Israeli State in Gaza starting in October 2023. This shift is closely tied to the construction of memory culture in German society and its alignment with Zionism, which has contributed to increasing violence against dissenting voices

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POPULAR POWER IN BRAZIL: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM INDIGENOUS, AFRICAN, AND PEASANT HISTORIES OF COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE — Roberta Traspadini



Popular Power in Brazil: What Can We Learn from Indigenous, African, and Peasant Histories of Collective Resistance?

Roberta Traspadini

And I say: the oppressed never ask who the oppressed are because they know. State ministers, mine or factory owners never say they are oppressed. Do you think they are part of the concept of the oppressed that I use in Pedagogy of the Oppressed? Who belongs to the concept of the oppressed that I use? They are the oppressed classes. —Paulo Freire

This article analyses land struggles as a constituent element of Latin American and Caribbean popular history, with a particular focus on Brazil. It examines Indigenous, peasant, and Quilombola (maroon) resistance, and attempts to address a central question: What lessons do these groups' histories of resistance offer us for current struggles, and how do they inform the construction of popular power in the twenty-first century?



Our fundamental premise is that Indigenous, peasant, and Quilombola resistance is a defining element of the class struggle in Brazil. Recovering this history in its full complexity remains challenging, due to how colonial violence has

¹ ² In this article, the term popular refers to the broad working class. For more discussion of the term and the conditions of the working class's most superexploited, oppressed, and segregated segments, see Roberta Traspadini, "Anarchia Latina ou o popular: Reflexões iniciais," *Revista Brasileira de Sociologia* 36 (June 2022): 96–119; João Martins Barreto, *Os semens do revólver: Condições, cultura e hegemonia (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1987)*; and Paulo Freire, "Tudo começa em Brasília," *Ano 1* *Publicação Econômica de Reforma Teológica* 16, no. 16: 1–7 (1987).

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MATERIALISTIC LIFESTYLES AS FACILITATORS OF ENVIRONMENTAL VIOLENCE — Amy Isham



Materialistic Lifestyles as Facilitators of Environmental Violence

Amy Isham

Can Flow Experiences Offer an Antidote?

Summary

In societies that rely on the economic framework of consumer capitalism, materialistic values, whereby individuals place high importance on acquiring money and material goods to improve well-being and status, tend to be rife. Materialistic values, however, negatively impact human health and well-being. One way in which they do this is by facilitating environmental degradation. Psychological research demonstrates that strong materialistic values can directly lead to lower levels of physical and mental health. In contrast to the problems presented by materialistic values and lifestyles, flow experiences, whereby people are completely immersed in an activity, may offer a means of limiting environmental violence and enhancing human well-being. The benefits of flow for well-being are well documented within the field of positive psychology. Further, research is beginning to show that flow may be able to support sustainable outcomes by occurring in activities with low environmental costs and encouraging stronger well-transcendent values. This chapter reviews the evidence to show that materialistic values support environmental violence before considering how flow experiences can offer an antidote that would allow us to reduce environmental violence and to live better and more sustainably. In doing so, practical recommendations are made for how to encourage flow experiences across society.



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DEGROWTH AND THE ANARCHA-FEMINIST POLITICS OF MUTUAL AID HERBALISMS: LANDED RELATIONS OF CARE, SOLIDARITY AND RESPONSIBILITY — K. Michelle Glowa

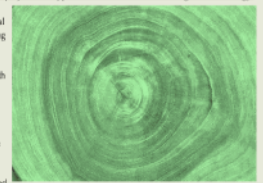


Degrowth and the anarchy-feminist politics of mutual aid herbalisms: Landed relations of care, solidarity and responsibility

K. Michelle Glowa

Abstract

This article explores herbal mutual aid projects and approaches to better understand degrowth as strategy towards radical abundance centring care and social reproduction. Herbal mutual aid contributes to degrowth by strengthening analysis of the commons via communising care and unsettling dominant property relations by inviting new forms of being with land. This paper explores the ethics and practices of mutual aid herbalists and herbalism projects as contributions to existing critical conversations on transformative care communising (Dengler & Lang, 2022; Federici, 2019; Woody et al., 2021). I draw on decolonial concepts of solidarity and interrelationality to understand how friendship, joy, and care create the basis for lived politics in, against, and beyond contemporary propriety relations to land. Anarcha-feminist values of autonomy, mutual aid, and solidarity underlie many approaches to mutual aid herbalism, and this article contributes to the expanding literature analysing the connections between anarchic practices and degrowth values and strategies. Through analysis of articles, podcasts, zines, conversations, interviews, and my personal participation in herbal mutual aid and gardening projects, I examine the work of practitioners creating decommodified and autonomous health solutions and advocating for greater respect for human-plant interrelationality through land-defence, gardening, and socioecological transformation. The everyday practices of mutual aid herbalism remind us of the relevance of anarcha-feminist practice and theories beyond niche activist communities and help address how degrowth solutions can spread from below.



ESSAYS ON TRUE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

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HOW MUCH DOES IT COST TO LIVE A DIGNIFIED LIFE IN MEXICO?— *Carlos Jiménez Bandala, Christian Gael Quiroz, Jamnia Joarib Laynez Palomeque*



How much does it cost to live a dignified life in Mexico?

—Follow-up to the 2019–2024 Well-being Basket Survey. Regional Comparison

Carlos Jiménez Bandala, Christian Gael Quiroz, Jamnia Joarib Laynez Palomeque

Abstract

Measuring the purchasing power of wages involves a complex process: constructing a median consumption basket that approximates a dignified standard of living and tracking it over time to analyse inflationary impacts on impoverishment (loss of purchasing power). This article examines price changes for components of the Wellbeing Basket—developed since 2019 by the International Observatory for Living Wages—now including a regional comparison between Mexico City and Cancún, Quintana Roo (the country's most important tourist destination). The basket comprises three components to cover food, non-food, and food preparation needs under a dignity-centred framework. Using a basket methodology adjusted to real consumption patterns, data from the first post-neoliberal administration (2019–2024) are compared. Results reveal a sustained rise in the basket's cost, with significant regional disparities, underscoring the need for public policies that transcend subsistence frameworks and advocate for regionally differentiated minimum wages.



Picture by Helena Lopez on Unsplash.

Introduction

Many economic policy efforts aimed at reducing inequality focus on redistributing household income so that the poorest deciles can afford at least a basic consumption basket that ensures subsistence (Gajdos et al., 2023). Therefore, consistently measuring the cost of such a basket becomes essential. However, this also raises preliminary challenges regarding the construction and definition of the basket's component elements. In this regard, the

adjusted to real consumption patterns, data from the first post-neoliberal administration (2019–2024) are compared. Results reveal a sustained rise in the basket's cost, with significant regional disparities, underscoring the need for public policies that transcend subsistence frameworks and advocate for regionally differentiated minimum wages.

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GLOBAL SOUTH STRUGGLES FOR SOCIALISM AND THE WORKERS' SIDE OF MARXISM — *Chris Gilbert*



Global South Struggles for Socialism and the Workers' Side of Marxism

Chris Gilbert

Any theory should be adjusted when it conflicts with or diverges from salient features of reality, and Marxism is no exception. Among the best-known problems of this kind for the Marxist tradition is how the theory (at least in its initial formulation) seemed to indicate that socialist revolutions should happen mostly in the core countries of the capitalist system, but over the past century and a half they have happened almost exclusively in the periphery. In the first location—call it the Global North—one finds a sizeable industrial proletariat and highly developed productive forces. These are the key material conditions that the theory holds to be conducive to socialist revolution. However, the class struggle has tended to be less fierce there, and workers' horizons generally have not included abolishing the existing capitalist order and moving toward socialism. In fact, the theory and practice of social democracy has most often been the limit of worker consciousness in the Northern context. By contrast, in the periphery of the system, or the Global South, where there did not appear to exist the conditions for socialism—neither a sizeable industrial proletariat nor highly developed productive forces—socialist ideas have often been embraced by the masses. Moreover, the class struggle has repeatedly exploded into dramatic revolutions and rebellions that, even if their first goal is the overthrowing of imperial-colonial domination, also take on a socialist character and, in most cases have communism as a strategic goal. These include the revolutions in China, Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Burkina Faso, and Venezuela, to name only the best-known ones. Even the Russian Revolution of October 1917 took place far from the world's capitalist centers at that time and was coeval with a process of national liberation.



Image from GIP - Mexico

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This fact has generated a paradoxical situation that should lead us to re-examine our theoretical apparatus for missing mediations that would explain both the nature and the possibility of the socialist-oriented projects. It is one thing that peoples of the Global South have continually rebelled against the imperialist and colonial order, which systematically denies them both sovereignty and dignity. Yet it is another matter—one that also needs accounting for—that they have frequently taken steps toward socialism, that is, collective, all-round emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

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DEPOWERING GROWTH: WHAT CAN DEGROWTH LEARN FROM INSURGENT ENERGY MOVEMENTS? — *Nishikant Shreey*



Depowering Growth: What can degrowth learn from insurgent energy movements?

Nishikant Shreey

Abstract

There exists in the current degrowth literature a fairly widespread understanding that the core mechanism of capitalism entails extractivist, productivist, and accumulatory drives, and is thus incompatible with degrowth. It is important now to build on that understanding and develop a deeper and more nuanced analysis of the specificities of that mechanism and critically to interrogate the underlying social relationships so that we can effectively evaluate and critique proposed degrowth pathways, particularly with regard to their interaction with the dynamics of social power. Only once we understand these relationships and the systemic incentives they create can we begin to develop grounded strategies for achieving a societal trajectory of just and equitable degrowth. To that end, this paper has three components. First, I present an anarchist analysis of the growth imperative and its connections to capitalism, the state, and hierarchical forms of social organization. Building on this analysis, I then argue for the necessity of non-state and anarchic approaches to degrowth. Secondly, in order to begin to concretise this analysis, I draw on existing research, as well as my own experience as an energy justice and energy democracy organizer, to put forward a hypothesis of how and why a transition to anarchic energy formations could serve as an effective impetus for broader systemic degrowth. Finally, using this hypothesis as a jumping off point, I highlight several critical research questions and attempt to tie them into a more cohesive research agenda.



Image from GIP - Mexico

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THE WORLD WANTS TO ADVANCE TO SOCIALISM — Vijay Prashad



The World Wants to Advance to Socialism

Vijay Prashad

The refashioned liberals and social democrats are back. They have positioned themselves as the saviours of the world; they act as Reason to the unreasonableness of neo-fascism. This is possible because their forbearers have collapsed in the puddle of neoliberalism and technocracy, and because their adversaries now present themselves as the howling wolves of the extreme right. The refashioned liberals and social democrats are like zombies, the reanimated corpse of a dead liberalism.¹



"The Vision of the Future Confronting the Chaos of Capitalism" (1910) by Vincent van Gogh. Photo by Ben Suterland via Wikimedia Commons, Creative Commons License 2.0.

These refashioned liberals and social democrats have a point. Their immediate predecessors had taken their liberal tradition and exhausted it in the fires of austerity and debt. From the British Labour Party to the Indian Congress Party, the old liberals and social democrats in the West and the anticolonial freedom fronts in the Global South bowed down when the Soviet Union collapsed and began to conform to four realities of their own making:

- (1) That capitalism is eternal.
- (2) That the neoliberal policy framework (capitalism let loose) is inevitable, even if it creates extreme inequality and does not advance social goals.
- (3) That the most that can be done by us is to improve society by ameliorating certain specific social hierarchies (such as those around race, gender, and sexuality).

¹ "The essence of the critique of the far right of a special type and of neo-fascism is drawn from the International Institute for Social Research, 'The Future Concept of Politics and the Challenges Facing the Left: A Conceptual Analysis of Politics in the North Atlantic, October 1981, December 1982, and International, San Francisco on the Far Right of a Special Type: The Third World Newsletter (2016, August 15, 2024), [https://international.org](#)."

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present themselves as the howling wolves of the extreme right. The refashioned liberals and social democrats are like zombies, the reanimated corpse of a dead liberalism. These refashioned liberals and social democrats have a point. Their immediate predecessors had taken their liberal tradition and exhausted it in the fires of austerity and debt.

As the old liberals tied themselves openly to the austerity-debt agenda of neoliberal policy, they refashioned themselves as technocrats and began to style themselves as the sole arbiters of what in popular opinion was acceptable to their technocratic vision. This acceptance by liberals of the gripping pain of austerity and the rejection of its critique allowed the extreme right to cloak itself as the people's representatives and strike a populist tone through the ugly rhetoric of anti-immigration and "anti-woke," but marrying it with their incoherent criticisms of the economic system. The extreme right emerged largely on the coattails of liberal surrender to neoliberalism. But the extreme right has not broken with the general outlines of neoliberal policy. It replicates it alongside a harsh social agenda. Despite all the talk of economic nationalism, the extreme right does not have an original economic agenda.

It is not as if refashioned liberals and social democrats are so eager to build mass movements and to abjure state power. They believe that state power can be won through the ballot box in liberal democracies and that this can be done by disassociating themselves fundamentally from the aim of socialism, from the history of socialism, and from the actual experience of socialist state projects. But that would be a hollow state power, because it would mean taking office without power, without building the movements and political organisations that come with a mass base that is gripped with clarity, confidence, and an appetite to realise full human dignity. The class struggle remains the central battlefield to The world wants to advance to socialism.

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ASSESSING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR DEGROWTH: SURVEY-BASED EXPERIMENTAL AND PREDICTIVE STUDIES — Dario Krpan, Frédéric Basso, Jason E. Hickel, Giorgos Kallis

Degrowth argues that high-income economies should reduce harmful production and prioritise wellbeing. Although degrowth is increasingly seen as essential to tackling climate change, the extent of public support for this economic approach remains unclear. In this study, we aimed to investigate public support for the full degrowth proposal in the UK and USA—high-income, growth-oriented nations with substantial climate responsibility and political resistance to degrowth. Our objectives were to distinguish support for the proposal itself from

perceptions of the degrowth label and to examine the role of participants' individual differences.



Assessing public support for degrowth: survey-based experimental and predictive studies

Dario Krpan, Frédéric Basso, Jason E. Hickel, Giorgos Kallis

Summary - Background

Degrowth argues that high-income economies should reduce harmful production and prioritise wellbeing. Although degrowth is increasingly seen as essential to tackling climate change, the extent of public support for this economic approach remains unclear. In this study, we aimed to investigate public support for the full degrowth proposal in the UK and USA—high-income, growth-oriented nations with substantial climate responsibility and political resistance to degrowth. Our objectives were to distinguish support for the proposal itself from perceptions of the degrowth label and to examine the role of participants' individual differences.



Photo by Nick van der Linde

Methods

Our objectives were examined in two studies, Study 1 and Study 2, administered online via Qualtrics. For both studies, participants in the USA and UK were recruited via Prolific (an online pool of participants) to be representative of the respective populations in age, gender, and ethnicity. Participants had to pass several attention and quality checks to qualify for analyses. Study 1 used a within-subjects design whereby all participants stated their support for the full degrowth proposal (summarising the key ideas, practices, and goals of degrowth) without any label and for eight economic approaches presented by label only (i.e. degrowth, ecodemism, ecosocialism, green capitalism, green

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THE FETISHISM OF AI — John Bellamy Foster



The Fetishism of AI

John Bellamy Foster

The United States today is witnessing a new era of concentration and centralisation of monopoly-finance capital marked by the artificial intelligence (AI) boom. S&P Global economists estimate that "80% of the increase in final private domestic demand" in the United States in the first half of 2025 was attributable to spending on "data centres



Data Center Infrastructure in the United States, 2025. By OCE/National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL). Data center infrastructure in the United States, 2025. Public Domain, USA.

Microsoft, Amazon Web Services, Alphabet/Google and Meta plan to spend \$650 billion in 2026. By comparison, "the largest US-based automakers, construction equipment manufacturers, railroads, defence contractors, wireless carriers, parcel delivery outfits, along with ExxonMobil Corp., Intel Corp., Walmart Inc., and the spin-off progeny of General Electric—21 companies—are projected to spend a combined \$180 billion in 2026."

the fingers of one hand. These firms are commonly referred to in the industry as "hyperscalers," standing for the mega-corporations that dominate cloud computing. Ranked according to data-center investment in early 2026, they include Microsoft, Amazon Web Services, Google (Alphabet), and Meta, making up "the Great Four of AI." These giant monopolistic entities are also all among the top five U.S. corporations, measured by market value. (Nvidia, the largest firm by market valuation at the beginning of 2026, is not itself a leader in cloud computing, but instead monopolises 80 to 90 percent of GPU/supercomputer chips.) According to Bloomberg, Microsoft, Amazon Web Services, Alphabet/Google, and Meta, had a combined capital spending of \$150 billion in 2022 and \$360 billion in 2025, while they plan to spend \$650 billion in 2026. By comparison, "the largest US-based automakers, construction equipment manufacturers, railroads, defence contractors, wireless carriers, parcel delivery outfits, along with ExxonMobil Corp.,

¹ Paul Griesmuller and Sebastian Riedel, "How Data Centres and AI Are Becoming a New Engine of Growth," World Economic Forum, December 17, 2025. See also Nick Lichfield, "Without Data Centres GDP Growth was 0.1% in the First Half of 2025," Harvard Economic Says, Fortune, October 7, 2025.

² Kate Crawford, *Mining Empire: Power, Politics, and the Planetary Control of Artificial Intelligence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2025), 28.

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spending on “data centres and related high-tech capital expenditures. Microsoft, Amazon Web Services, Alphabet/Google and Meta plan to spend \$650 billion in 2026. By comparison, “the largest US-based automakers, construction equipment manufacturers, railroads, defence contractors, wireless carriers, parcel delivery outfits, along with ExxonMobil Corp., Intel Corp., Walmart Inc., and the spun-off progeny of General Electric—21 companies—are projected to spend a combined \$180 billion in 2026.”

But «The Great Houses of AI are divided against themselves and cannot stand. They rely for their very existence on an increasingly centralised, coercive, and corrupt class-based capitalist state (and cultural) apparatus, constituting an overall logic that—if allowed to continue—will be nothing less than catastrophic. If humanity is to flourish, the forces and relations of production must be revolutionised together, along with the development of human capacities, creating a world of sustainable human development. This requires the formation under socialism of a true “whole-process democracy” informed by the general intellect, in which “the associated producers govern the human metabolism with nature in a rational way...accomplishing it with the least expenditure of energy and in conditions most appropriate for their human nature.»

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ENGELS'S DIALECTICS OF NATURE AND MARXIST ECOLOGY — *Chen Yiwen*



Engels's Dialectics of Nature and Marxist Ecology

Chen Yiwen

A century has passed since the first publication of Frederick Engels's *Dialectics of Nature* in 1925. Despite being an unfinished manuscript, it reveals Engels's ambitious vision of integrating scientific achievements with dialectical thought, also reflected in his *Anti-Dühring*, published in 1878. While *Dialectics of Nature* has long been a subject of both debate and acclaim in broader academic circles, within environmental theory, it has traditionally faced little challenge, often being regarded as a key manifestation of Engels's ecology. In recent years, however, the publication of Karl Marx's excerpt notebooks in the new Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA2) has refocused scholarly inquiry, and as Marx's ecology gains increasing attention, criticisms of Engels have unexpectedly surfaced. Notably, Japanese scholar Kohei Saito has offered in-depth interpretations of Marx's ecological perspective, even going so far as to portray Marx, exaggeratedly, as a proponent of degrowth. At the same time, he emphasises what he calls the “subtle but decisive theoretical differences between Marx and Engels,” arguing that the root of this divergence lies in Engels's dialectics of nature. In Saito's view, Engels's dialectics of nature represents a worldview centred on uncovering the objective laws of external nature. This framework, he contends, prevents Engels from fully grasping Marx's concept of metabolic rift and its ecological-critical significance, and leads Engels to develop an apocalyptic notion of the “revenge of nature.”



A famous early photograph of Frederick Engels. By unknown artist. (1) Public Domain, (2)

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GREEN FUNHOUSES: A CRITIQUE OF THE CRITIQUE OF ECO-MODERNISM — *Max Ajl*



Green Funhouses: A Critique of the Critique of Eco-Modernism

Special Issue: *The Imperialist Features of Ecomodernism*

Max Ajl

Abstract

This paper critiques two dominant articulations of contemporary core green thought—Northern eco-modernism and degrowth/post-development—arguing they form a mirrored, constricting dichotomy. It contends that despite their apparent opposition, both perspectives share critical blind spots: they reject a global class analysis, dismiss the imperative of sovereign industrialization and national liberation in the periphery, fail to seriously think through technology, and inadequately engage with the sociological reality of imperialism. Consequently, they obscure an alternative historical tradition of Third World Marxist thought. This overlooked current advocated not for a rejection of modernity or development, but for a bespoke, sovereign path. It embraced a tempered engagement with technology and industrialisation to fulfil basic needs, integrating ecological concerns with anti-imperialism and sovereign national development.

Introduction

It became increasingly commonplace within northern intellectual chatter to contrast two tendencies within green thought. One, eco-modernism: social and ecological problems can be resolved through redistribution, adoption of, and investment in the same technologies trumpeted by the capitalist class, and growth, defined as an increase in the

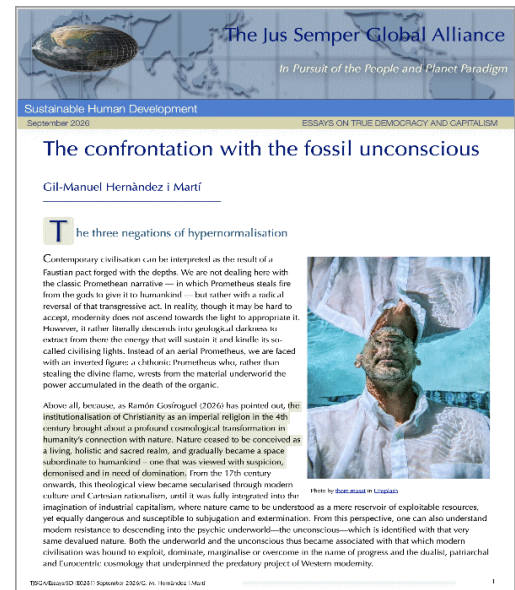


Photo by Marco Cavallini/Minden i Utopia

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THE CONFRONTATION WITH THE FOSSIL UNCONSCIOUS — *Gil Manuel Hernández i Martí*



The confrontation with the fossil unconscious

Gil-Manuel Hernández i Martí

The three negations of hypernormalisation

Contemporary civilisation can be interpreted as the result of a Faustian pact forged with the depths. We are not dealing here with the classic Promethean narrative — in which Prometheus steals fire from the gods to give it to humankind — but rather with a radical reversal of that transgressive act. In reality, though it may be hard to accept, modernity does not ascend towards the light to appropriate it. However, it rather literally descends into geological darkness to extract from there the energy that will sustain it and kindle its so-called civilising lights. Instead of an aerial Prometheus, we are faced with an inverted figure: a chthonic Prometheus who, rather than stealing the divine flame, wrests from the material underworld the power accumulated in the death of the organic.

Above all, because, as Ramón Grosfoguel (2026) has pointed out, the institutionalisation of Christianity as an imperial religion in the 4th century brought about a profound cosmological transformation in humanity's connection with nature. Nature ceased to be conceived as a living, holistic and sacred realm, and gradually became a space subordinate to humankind — one that was viewed with suspicion, domesticated and in need of domination. From the 17th century onwards, this theological view became secularised through modern culture and Cartesian rationalism, until it was fully integrated into the imagination of industrial capitalism, where nature came to be understood as a mere reservoir of exploitable resources, yet equally dangerous and susceptible to subjugation and extermination. From this perspective, one can also understand modern resistance to descending into the psychic underworld—the unconscious—which is identified with that very same devalued nature. Both the underworld and the unconscious thus became associated with that which modern civilisation was bound to exploit, domesticate, marginalise or overcome in the name of progress and the dualist, patriarchal and Eurocentric cosmology that underpinned the predatory project of Western modernity.

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All in all, the central theme of our reflection is to transpose the material process of drilling and exploiting the geological underworld onto the symbolic plane of a genuine confrontation between modern civilisation and what we have here termed the ‘fossil unconscious’. From this perspective, the extraction of fossil fuels is not merely a technical operation aimed at mobilising energy resources accumulated over millions of years, but also an incursion into a profound realm of reality whose implications transcend the purely economic or material.

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IS A GREEN AND JUST AI POSSIBLE?— Florent Marcellesi



Is a Green and Just AI Possible?

Florent Marcellesi

World leaders and private investors are scrambling for a place in the AI gold rush. The arrival of China's DeepSeek has shaken US dominance in the industry, and the EU is trying to catch up while containing the risk of unchecked technological change. But if AI is to deliver on its promise of an ecological and socially just revolution, its current model needs fundamental rethinking.

Today, the favourite metaphor of the Western reactionary and denialist international elite is the chainaw. But what if this mechanical tool took a technological leap and was hatched or controlled by Artificial Intelligence (AI)? In an uncertain and unstable world where the liberal and climate sceptical chainaw of Donald Trump, Javier Milei or Viktor Orbán are practically allied with the “tech bros” oligarchs of Silicon Valley, this question is central to the future of our democracies and the planet.

And it is not a novel question either. Throughout history, new information technologies have posed complex challenges for Homo sapiens. For example, did the invention of radio and television bring about a democratic and social improvement? As it turns out, they have been used for both democratic and totalitarian purposes. Take, for instance, Radio Londres, which broadcast during the French resistance to the German occupation of the Second World War, or, more recently, Lénin Rénard's Nazi propaganda films. As Yuval Noah Harari rightly reminds us, “Information isn't truth. Its main task is to connect rather than represent, and information networks throughout history have often privileged order over truth. (...) More information, ironically, can sometimes result in more which hurts.”¹ He warned, there are precedents.



Photo by Google DeepMind in Unsplash

¹ Yuval Noah Harari (2024), *Nexus. A Brief History of Information Networks from the Stone Age to 1A*, Fern Press, p. 400, 22

TSCAR670-081115, April 2024/Florent Marcellesi

World leaders and private investors are scrambling for a place in the AI gold rush. The arrival of China's DeepSeek has shaken US dominance in the industry, and the EU is trying to catch up while containing the risk of unchecked technological change. But if AI is to deliver on its promise of an ecological and socially just revolution, its current model needs fundamental rethinking

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CAN NATURE BE OUR LIFELINE IN TIMES OF CRISIS? — Esther Oliver — *Fragmented intelligence destroys any possibility of understanding and reflection. Unable to grasp the context and the planetary complex, blind intelligence becomes unconscious and irresponsible. It has become deadly.*

— *The Challenge of Globality*, Edgar Morin, 1993



Can nature be our lifeline in times of crisis?

Esther Oliver

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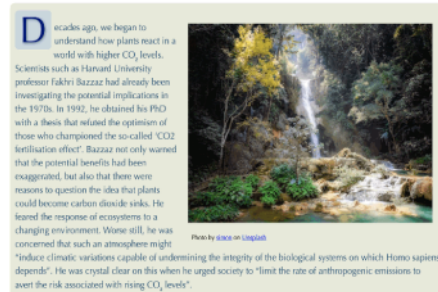


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Decades ago, we began to understand how plants react in a world with higher CO₂ levels. Scientists such as Harvard University professor Fakhri Bazzaz had already been investigating the potential implications in the 1970s. In 1992, he obtained his PhD with a thesis that refuted the optimism of those who championed the so-called ‘CO₂ fertilisation effect’. Bazzaz not only warned that the potential benefits had been exaggerated, but also that there were reasons to question the idea that plants could become carbon dioxide sinks. He feared the response of ecosystems to a changing environment. Worse still, he was concerned that such an atmosphere might “induce climatic variations capable of undermining the integrity of the biological systems on which Homo sapiens depend”. He was crystal clear on this when he urged society to “limit the rate of anthropogenic emissions to avert the risk associated with rising CO₂ levels”.

undermining the integrity of the biological systems on which Homo sapiens depends”. He was crystal clear on this when he urged society to “limit the rate of anthropogenic emissions to avert the risk associated with rising CO₂ levels”.

Learning the theory has been of little use to us. Now, not only is it essential to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions, but we must also significantly increase non-technological carbon capture. Take note: miracles do not exist!! Carbon capture and sequestration through technology will do little to mitigate the problem and will come too late. Even those who favour geoengineering ultimately acknowledge that the best course of action is to cut emissions now. Only nature could save us, but we have made its situation much worse in recent years.

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“DO WE WANT TO DESTROY THE PLANET JUST TO PRODUCE CHEAP AI-GENERATED ILLUSTRATIONS?” — Elena de Sus



“Do we want to destroy the planet just to produce cheap AI-generated illustrations?”

Elena de Sus

Wim Vanderbauwhede is a professor of Computer Science at the University of Glasgow, where he leads the Sustainable and Low-Carbon Computing research group.

He has written about the high energy consumption of large generative AI models such as ChatGPT, whose expansion, as currently envisaged, he believes “we cannot afford”. Recently, he has expressed scepticism about the idea that advances in efficiency could lead to a reduction in emissions from this industry.



Photo by Steve Johnson in Unsplash

He speaks to CNET via video call.

He researches energy-efficient computing. How did you become interested in this topic?
I have been aware of climate change for a long time. After all, this is nothing new. I was born in Belgium, and while living there, I volunteered for an environmental organisation. In my academic career, I have focused on improving the efficiency of computers. But it has long been known that improving the efficiency of something usually makes it cheaper, so demand increases and, as demand rises, carbon emissions rise, not fall. The entire history of the industrial Revolution has been a story of improving efficiency. The increase in the efficiency of the steam engine led us to burn vast amounts of coal. Computers are, literally, millions of times more efficient than they were in the 1930s or 1940s. But that has made their use ubiquitous. So total emissions from computing have grown despite all the efficiency improvements.

I felt torn between my work on efficiency and my desire to contribute to sustainability in a broader sense. A few years ago, I had the opportunity to launch a new research initiative in the department where I work, with the support of the head of department, and that is how the Sustainable and Low-Carbon Computing group came into

TSCAR670-081115, June 2024/Elena de Sus

Wim Vanderbauwhede is a professor of Computer Science at the University of Glasgow, where he leads the Sustainable and Low-Carbon Computing research group. He has written about the high-energy consumption of large generative AI models such as ChatGPT, whose expansion, as currently envisaged, he believes “we cannot afford”. Recently, he has expressed scepticism about the idea that advances in efficiency could lead to a reduction in emissions from this industry. We interview him.

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ECOMODERNISM, GREEN GROWTH AND THE IMPERIAL ARRANGEMENT (JASON HICKEL) — Jason Hickel



Ecomodernism, Green Growth and the Imperial Arrangement

Special Issue: The Imperialist Features of Ecomodernism

Jason Hickel

Ecomodernism is, in its dominant articulation, a capitalist position. It is meant to appeal to those who wish to maintain the current structure of the economy while making it compatible with ecology (Kallis and Bliss 2019). Toward this end, it proceeds from the premise—either explicit or tacit, inasmuch as no alternative arrangement is advanced—that production and distribution should remain owned and controlled by capital, and therefore driven by the imperatives of profit maximisation, growth and accumulation.

As world-system scholars have demonstrated, one of the key features of capitalism is that it requires an imperial arrangement (Wallerstein 2004; Patnaik and Patnaik 2021). Capital accumulation needs an ever-increasing flow of labour and resources as inputs to production, which must be obtained at the cheapest possible price. This process entails very severe social and ecological contradictions, and cannot be sustained for long within a bounded economy. Capital accumulation in the core therefore requires a periphery from which it can obtain a steady supply of cheap inputs, and suppress rebellions with as much force as necessary, in order to maintain profits.



Photo by SAMY PRODIGERRE on Pexels

This core-periphery dynamic has shaped the world economy for the past 500 years. During the colonial period, core states intervened to shift production in the periphery away from sovereign development to supply exports to the core on unfavourable terms. In the “post-colonial” era, they have sought to organise peripheral production in subordinate positions within global commodity

TSCA/BrW/2021/18 June 2024/Jason Hickel

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The green transition ultimately cannot be left in the hands of capital. It will require substantial public finance, public works, industrial policy and planning in order to build out necessary renewable energy capacity, as well as to undertake other low-profit or zero-profit activities such as expanding public transit, insulating buildings, and regenerating ecosystems. Furthermore, increasing these activities cannot be done while national productive capacities are already maxed out by capitalist production. It will necessarily require scaling down less-necessary production, to liberate labour, engineers, resources etc to be remobilised for this purpose. Here too, this is not something that can be achieved within capitalism. Capital will not voluntarily scale down profitable forms of production. In other words, on all fronts, the transition will require reclaiming control over production from capital and aligning it with democratically ratified objectives.

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CÉSAR RENDUELES: “WE ARE EXPERIENCING THE DARK SIDE OF A FRIENDLY SILICON VALLEY” — Irene G. Rubio - Palo Elorduy — Redes Vacías (Empty Networks) is the latest book by this sociologist, who has observed the rapid shift we have undergone from an enthusiastic view of technology to the current climate of cyber-pessimism.



César Rendueles: “We are experiencing the dark side of a friendly Silicon Valley”

Redes Vacías (Empty Networks) is the latest book by this sociologist, who has observed the rapid shift we have undergone from an enthusiastic view of technology to the current climate of cyber-pessimism.

Irene G. Rubio - Palo Elorduy

Thirteen years ago, César Rendueles (Girona, 1975) enjoyed a fleeting publishing success. *Sociofobia* (Capitán Swing, 2013) outlined the extent of the defeat of emancipatory movements and the inability to find solutions to that defeat. The pages of *Sociofobia* already contained critiques of cyber-utopianism, the belief, in vogue at the time, that technology-mediated politics was a panacea; that, through technical solutions, it was possible to ‘hack’ the system, as they said back then, and escape from that endless defeat. Several years later, *Redes vacías: Tecnología catastrófica y el fin de la democracia* (Empty Networks. Catastrophic Technology and the End of Democracy - Anagrama, 2026), the latest book by this CSIC researcher, revisits the questions about technology present in *Sociofobia*. The starting point, however, bears witness to the sharp turn that much of society has taken from being dazzled by the possibilities of technology and social media to the current cyber-catastrophism. Despite their different approaches, both works delve deeper into Rendueles’s work in identifying what makes us feel powerless, that we cannot change anything around us, and counteract it.

What has happened to make us go, in such a short space of time, from an optimistic belief in the revolutionary power of social media to viewing it as one of the main threats to democracy? It is incredible how quickly it has happened. During the pandemic, there was a massive digital deluge, particularly in the field of education. Screens and devices were introduced everywhere with the promise that they would improve

TSCA/BrW/2021/20 July 2024/I.G. Rubio - P. Elorduy



César Rendueles during his talk at Wikimania 2013 - La Habana, CC BY-SA 4.0 by via Wikimedia Commons

DEBT AS A TOOL OF DOMINATION: THE IMF'S NEW LOAN AND ARGENTINA'S SUBORDINATION TO GLOBAL CAPITAL — (David Barkin and Juan E. Santarcángelo)



Debt as a Tool of Domination: The IMF's New Loan and Argentina's Subordination to Global Capital

David Barkin and Juan E. Santarcángelo

As we reported in our 2024 Monthly Review article on the International Monetary Fund's history in Latin America, countries receiving financial support from the IMF have been systematically transformed into dependent subjects of international capital markets.¹ In practice, this has meant that they have been obliged to reorganise their institutional structures and to unravel or dilute whatever protections were in place for workers in the industrial and service sectors, the informal sector, and farmers. It also led to the undermining of the quality and availability of medical services and the weakening of pension systems. Educational institutions are also early targets of these financial agreements. In Latin America, this is frequently accompanied by a systematic intensification of discrimination against Indigenous peoples and the outright theft of their territories.

In contrast to Mexico, where an attractive progressive candidate mobilised substantial popular support for a dramatic turn in national politics in the 2018 presidential election, a cumulative disenchantment with the ability of progressive political coalitions to respond effectively to the profound inherited economic problems facing Argentina created the conditions for an overtly liberal (in the nineteenth-century meaning of the concept) candidate to win the presidential election in 2023. Javier Milei has become the “wunderkind” of international liberal sectors and much of the transnational capitalist community, who laud his rapid promulgation of reforms that promise a rapid restoration of the financial prospects of the wealthiest sectors of society.

¹ David Barkin and Juan Santarcángelo, “The IMF and Class Struggle in Latin America: Unraveling the Role of the IMF” Monthly Review 76, no. 1 (May 2024): 49-60. TSCA/BrW/2021/19 July 2024/David Barkin & Juan Santarcángelo

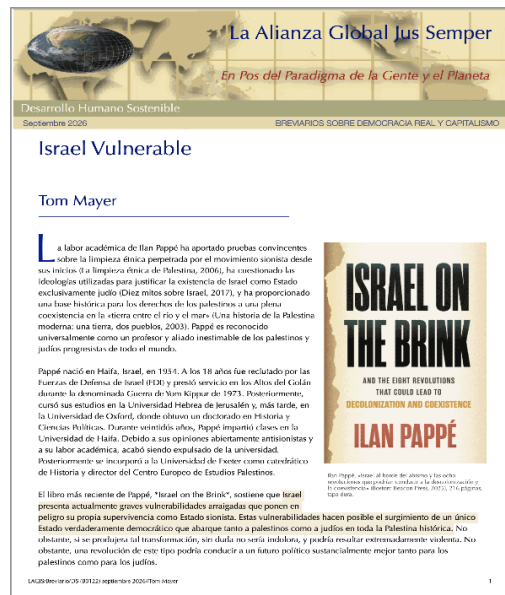
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institutional and economic reforms that promise a rapid restoration of the financial prospects of the wealthiest sectors of society.

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VULNERABLE ISRAEL — Tom Mayer



La labor académica de Ilan Pappé ha aportado pruebas convincentes sobre la limpieza étnica perpetrada por el movimiento sionista desde sus inicios (La limpieza étnica de Palestina, 2006), ha cuestionado las ideologías utilizadas para justificar la existencia de Israel como Estado exclusivamente judío (Diez mitos sobre Israel, 2017), y ha proporcionado una base histórica para los derechos de los palestinos a una plena coexistencia en la «tierra entre el río y el mar» (Una historia de la Palestina moderna: una tierra, dos pueblos, 2003). Pappé es reconocido universalmente como un profesor y aliado inestimable de los palestinos y judíos progresistas de todo el mundo.

El libro más reciente de Pappé, *Israel on the Brink*, sostiene que Israel presenta actualmente graves vulnerabilidades arraigadas que ponen en peligro su propia supervivencia como Estado sionista. Estas vulnerabilidades hacen posible el surgimiento de un único Estado verdaderamente democrático que abarque tanto a palestinos como a judíos en toda la Palestina histórica. No obstante, si se produjera tal transformación, sin duda no sería indolora, y podría resultar extremadamente violenta. No obstante, una revolución de este tipo podría conducir a un futuro político sustancialmente mejor tanto para los palestinos como para los judíos.

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TEN PER CENT OF THE ENERGY IS NOT ENOUGH (PART 1) – Carlos de Castro



Ten per cent of the energy is not enough (Part 1)

Carlos de Castro

A colleague from the Petrocentrales group recently reminded us that Antonio Turiel often cites the figure – taken from research by Julia Steinberger's team – that estimates we could live well – and more sustainably – on just 10 per cent of the energy and materials we consume today.

The first thing to note is that these studies relate exclusively to energy. It is then worth clarifying whether this 10 per cent of current consumption refers to the global total, extrapolated to the projected population of over 9 billion people, or to 10 per cent of the average consumption of the richest countries. For this 10 per cent to be consistent with recent literature, it must necessarily refer to the average citizen of countries such as the US or Australia; it would be more like a reduction to 20 per cent if we consider the average European or Japanese citizen. Even so, this would only be valid if we disregarded the indirect energy consumption footprint – that is, without taking into account, for example, the implications of relocating the most energy-intensive sectors that manufacture the products we enjoy here to China.

One must always keep a very close eye on the figures, but above all on the feedback effects that are not factored into those figures. In one of my key papers summarising the topic of energy potential – which paints an optimistic picture precisely because I do not feedback the consequences into the figures – I reach the following conclusions:

The techno-sustainable potential for net final energy in optimistic scenarios ranges from 26–56 per cent of current energy consumption. The higher scenarios tend to underestimate ecological and social constraints, as well as those related to minerals and the energy return on investment (EROI). They are therefore less sustainable than the

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TEN PER CENT OF ENERGY IS NOT ENOUGH (PART 2): WEAK VERSUS STRONG DEGROWTH – Carlos de Castro

In this new text, as well as addressing some of the issues raised in the extensive comments made by readers on the first one, I have a third objective: to add a 'note added in proof' to

highlight the idea of a problem –now a historical one–namely the tendency of capitalism to co-opt critical thinking about the system. This is done in such a way that it makes it its own without having to budge from its position. That is to say, a sort of Red Queen (a character from Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There) who runs only to stay in the same place.



Ten per cent of energy is not enough (Part 2): Weak versus strong degrowth

Carlos de Castro

My previous article '10 per cent of energy is not enough?' had just two objectives:

1. I wanted to show that a reduction in energy consumption that is sustainable for the second half of the 21st century leads to average per capita and global levels that are even lower than those indicated by studies published under so-called 'post-growth' or 'degrowth' scenarios. I based my argument on another article of mine, a synthesis of research and publications spanning more than a decade and a half, focusing – though not exclusively – on energy, and carried out in collaboration with my research group, GEEDS, at the University of Valladolid. In it, I state that the scenario I propose is not realistic but optimistic; yet, even so, it yields a techno-sustainable potential of around 25 per cent of the final energy we currently use.

2. I wanted to show why even that 25 per cent is unrealistic and, therefore, why all scenarios that propose higher figures are unrealistic, given the difficulties, barriers and lack of feedback at various levels that have not been taken into account in the analyses, scenarios or models. Ultimately, the collapse of this civilisation is obvious – or at least it should be to anyone who dynamically, with feedback, takes sufficient real-world variables and trends into account. A collapse that would begin before 2040 in my view, it has already begun! and which was inevitable (see my other articles in this magazine, which date back several years). In my view, if scenarios are not devised with this in mind, one is off to a bad start and, at best – and this should always be the case – they are only useful for ruling out, and never for affirming, possibilities on paper. That is to say, they lack any scientific basis or realism whatsoever if used to assert anything. The scientific method sets limits: it never asserts truths and, if it does, it must acknowledge them and qualify them with a 'perhaps'. I cannot travel faster than the speed of light, which does not mean that I might be able to travel at 299,000 km/s in the year Z.

TECNA/Revista/08/11/2011/Agosto 2010/Carlos de Castro

And this is a problem because, in this way, one never reaches (or rather: has ever managed to reach) the radicalism necessary to prevent collapse. In other words, this co-optation is one of the forces that have been driving us towards collapse for some time. Furthermore, it causes us to waste time and drain our resources when responding to that collapse (rather than preventing it). In my view, some of the comments in the first article—particularly the open and extensive discussion of how to respond to the crisis of civilisation by pitting bottom-up strategies against top-down ones—relate to the difficulty of updating our mental models (I will try to explain this later).

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REFUTING THE HOLLOW NOTION OF THE POLYCRISIS — The Editors of Monthly Review — Why the structural crisis of capitalism is all-encompassing

It is a commonplace that, in the first quarter of the 21st century, the world is facing multiple, multifaceted crises that threaten the entire global civilisation and the very future of humanity. The disorder of the contemporary world is so pervasive that the dominant ideology has opted for a single word to describe it: 'polycrisis'. However, anyone who wants to understand what the 'polycrisis' is and where it comes from — beyond merely representing intertwined and accelerating crises, each with

its own causes but now interlinked — inevitably hits a blank wall. The same is true when the question of concrete solutions to this global polycrisis is raised: no solutions are offered. In fact, the emptiness of the concept of 'polycrisis' is not accidental but intentional, and it is to this that the concept owes its paramount importance within the prevailing ideology.



Refuting the hollow notion of the polycrisis

Why capitalism's structural crisis is all-encompassing

The Editors of Monthly Review

It is a commonplace that the world in the first quarter of the twenty-first century is facing multiple, multifaceted crises, threatening all world civilisation and the future of humanity itself. So omnipresent is the contemporary world disorder that received ideology has settled on a single word to describe it: "polycrisis." The origin of this concept is credited to French social theorist Edgar Morin (together with Anne Brigitte Kern) in 1999, and it has been strongly promoted in recent years by Columbia University historian Adam Tooze. In 2023–2025, international organisations such as the World Economic Forum, the World Bank, and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) issued reports referring to polycrisis as the principal challenge of our times.



Photo by Johannes Andersson on Unsplash

However, anyone who wants to know what polycrisis is and where it comes from—beyond representing intersecting and accelerated crises, each with their own separate causes, but today interlocking—inevitably runs up against a blank wall.

The vacuousness of the concept of polycrisis is not accidental, but, intentional.

This is equally the case when the question of concrete solutions to this overarching polycrisis is raised: no solutions are offered. In fact, the vacuousness of the concept of polycrisis is not accidental, but, intentional, to which the concept owes its primary importance in received ideology. In Morin and Kern's book, *HomeLand Earth*, polycrisis was introduced as a category designed to negate the notion that it was possible "to single out a number one problem to which all others would be subordinated," or even to construct a hierarchy of critical problems in the world. Rather, the numerous crises that make up the polycrisis are seen as coming at us from all directions, while none of these individual crises is more important than any other. Capitalism is largely absent in Morin's reactionary *Cold War/Post Cold War* frame. If there is a singular problem in his perspective, it is "technoscience," which, however, is conceived so broadly that it defines all of modern civilisation and every aspect of our existence so that there is no escape (except into the realm of the "spirit," which he refers to as the "first resistance") (Edgar Morin and Anne Brigitte Kern).

TRJGACCommentary02-03106 April 2020/Eds.M.R.

The OECD addresses the polycrisis in its 2025 report on fragile states. In it, we are told that 'the growing prevalence of polycrises – a confluence of global challenges – disproportionately affects conflict-affected countries, which already face significant vulnerabilities' and bear 'the brunt of cascading crises'. This, we are told, requires a 'paradigm shift' in which the analysis does not focus on fragility versus stability, but rather on locating positions within a dynamic 'spectrum of fragility' and promoting relative 'resilience' as a response. What is missing here is any hint of genuine social theory and social analysis. Capitalism, in general, is neither mentioned nor linked to such polycrises, although 'authoritarian capitalism' and 'clientelist capitalism' are regarded as problems.

By contrast, the fundamental explanations for the overarching economic, social and ecological crises are to be found in contemporary Marxist analysis. It is to these analyses of the structural crisis of *Capital*, explored in every issue of *MR* over the last sixty years or more, and not to empty notions such as the 'polycrisis', that we must turn today if humanity is to carry out the revolutionary reconstitution of society as a whole, which is an absolute necessity in the 21st century.

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CLIMATE CHAOS IS ALREADY HERE: IRAN PLANS TO RELOCATE ITS CAPITAL AND ICELAND'S EXISTENCE IS THREATENED — *Andrés Actis* — *Without a political horizon of eliminating fossil fuels and with a target of +1.5°C dead, climate scientists are calling for societal adaptation not only to extreme events but also to 'tipping points', the potential destabilisation of the major systems that regulate the global climate. Iceland has taken the first step.*

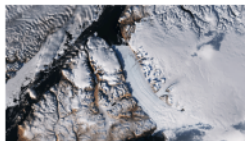


Climate chaos is already here: Iran plans to relocate its capital and Iceland's existence is threatened

Without a political horizon of eliminating fossil fuels and with a target of +1.5°C dead, climate scientists are calling for societal adaptation not only to extreme events but also to 'tipping points', the potential destabilisation of the major systems that regulate the global climate. Iceland has taken the first step.

Andrés Actis

Overshadowed by COP30, Iceland's announcement went largely unnoticed, generating little political or media attention. The Minister of Environment, Energy and Climate confirmed that the possible collapse of the AMOC, one of the key ocean currents in regulating the global climate, is already an "existential threat" to the country. This risk will now be addressed as a "national security issue." "This is the first time that a specific climate-related phenomenon has been formally presented to the National Security Council as a potential existential threat," he admitted to the local press.



This image of the Þrengslakvísl glacier in southwest Iceland was captured by the Copernicus Sentinel-1 mission on 16 September 2022. © ESA/ Copernicus Sentinel-1 Copernicus Sentinel-1 20220916, processed by ESA, CC-BY-SA, 0.0.0.0

The Progressive Party-led government has begun to assess what research is needed to address this threat and what disaster preparedness policies the new climate reality demands. "Our resilience is at stake," admitted minister Jóhann Þór Jóhannsson in making the announcement. His portfolio includes a paper on the consequences and impacts of halting the Atlantic Meridional Overturning Circulation (AMOC), which, according to all scientific evidence, is slowing down due to global warming.

TRJGACCommentary02-03106 April 2020/Andrés Actis

Overshadowed by COP30, Iceland's announcement went largely unnoticed and attracted little political or media attention. The country's Minister for the Environment, Energy and Climate confirmed that the potential collapse of the AMOC – one of the ocean currents fundamental to regulating the global climate – is already an "existential threat" to the country, and that from now on this risk will be treated as a "matter of national security". "This is the first time that a specific climate-related phenomenon has been formally presented to the National Security Council as a potential existential threat," he told the local press.

With the (renewed) triumph of fossil capital at the climate summit in Belém — a declaration containing no mention whatsoever of phasing out the fuels that are heating the planet — Johan Rockström, director of the Potsdam Institute, and James Dyke, deputy director of the Institute for Global Systems at the University of Exeter—two further internationally renowned scientists—wrote an article entitled "The world has lost the climate bet: it now faces a new and dangerous reality".

However, the "new reality" also brings another danger: the tipping points of Earth's major regulatory systems, such as the AMOC, the

Amazon rainforest, and the ice sheets of Greenland and West Antarctica, among others. "This translates into existential risks for billions of people. Not in the distant future, but in the coming years, in the event of extreme weather events, and in the coming decades, in the event of tipping points", warn these two researchers.

In Tehran, Iran's capital, the effects of climate change are already being felt. The city is suffering from an almost chronic drought, one of the worst in living memory. The lack of rain – five years without any precipitation – is not only devastating agriculture and causing a food crisis; it is creating a humanitarian catastrophe of such magnitude that it has led the country's president, Masoud Pezeshkian, to consider evacuating the city.

In his latest public statement, the president acknowledged that if the drought continues beyond the end of the year, it will be necessary to "ration water" in Tehran – a measure that may prove insufficient. "Even if we ration it and it still hasn't rained by then, we'll run out of water." While Pezeshkian issued this warning, his vice-president, Shima Ansari, was in Belém, alongside other oil-producing nations, agreeing on a strategy to boycott the phasing out of fossil fuels.

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WHAT'S WRONG WITH DEGROWTH? NOTHING — *Giorgos Kallis*



What's wrong with degrowth? Nothing

Giorgos Kallis

Degrowth gone wrong!

These days everyone seems to think degrowth is heading the wrong way.

Serge Latouche and the journal *Décroissance*

lament the English word 'degrowth' and academic 'degrowth studies', which they view as a contraction economics that betrays décroissance's critique of economic reason. Some in this blog worry degrowth is becoming too centralist and socialist, and others, too prefabricated without real claims to power.

Then comes Clive Spash to tip it all off with a long list of 'what is wrong with degrowth'. Degrowth, Spash argues, is becoming indistinguishable from eco-socialism (thanks to Jason Hickel). Degrowth is reproducing growth mindsets with adjectives like "thriving", "prospering" or "flourishing" (Tim Jackson and Kate Raworth to blame here). Degrowth is watered down by affixing with post-growth (Jackson), doughnut economics (Raworth), and the steady state (Tim Parrique). Dan O'Neill, approaches not critical of capitalism and approving of growth, if up to a limit. Despite the hand-drawn crust – sorry, boundary – of these approaches, Spash is also worried that degrowth denies the existence of limits, copying up to climate deniers (thanks to none other than yours truly).

Now, I have also my litany of ideas I wish degrowth had not left behind (*anti-utilitarianism, gift economics and especially, depense*), defined as we have to urgent questions of policy, strategy and 'what is to be done'. But I will spare you my grievances for a future article. My point here is that degrowth has not gone 'wrong', because there was never ever a moment when degrowth was 'right'.

From the very beginning when I, along with the Barcelona crew, encountered degrowth, back in the first conference in Paris, in 2008, degrowth was a potpourri, in the good sense of the term. Different ideas, epistemological and theoretical

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Has degrowth gone astray? Lately, everyone seems to think that degrowth is heading in the wrong direction. Serge Latouche and the journal *Décroissance* take issue with the English term 'degrowth' and 'academic studies on degrowth', which they regard as a contraction of the economy that betrays décroissance's critique of economic rationality. Some on this blog fear that degrowth is

becoming too centralist and socialist, while others fear it is becoming too 'prefigurative' and makes no real claims to power.

The problem is that many believe there is a problem, and for them the problem is that degrowth is not moving in the direction they would prefer. We should propose policies that appeal to left-wing politicians and the mainstream electorate; no, wait, we should stay on the sidelines of the corridors of power and be the change we wish to see. We should form a political party and plot to seize power — no, wait, we should call for the sabotage of fossil-fuel infrastructure, occupy houses and live differently in the cracks between the system. We should model how a degrowth scenario might unfold and what political interventions might drive it — no, wait, we should deconstruct economic reasoning and conduct ethnographic studies of the people who are already living differently.

What if, instead, we all relaxed and appreciated the plurality of political and exploratory paths that degrowth opens up? What if we set aside our egos and lived with the productive conflicts that difference gives rise to? What if we accepted that, just as with our arch-enemy, growth, there will also be different theories of degrowth and different political proposals for achieving it?

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RESCINDING THE ENDANGERMENT FINDING OF GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS — *The Editors of Monthly Review*



Rescinding the Endangerment Finding of Greenhouse Gas Emissions

The New Trump/MAGA Ecofascism

The Editors of Monthly Review

Although a global process of environmental reform was initiated almost thirty years ago by the Kyoto Protocol, leading to the establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions has been woefully inadequate, with most states failing to live up to their initial, all-too-limited promises on curtailing emissions. The world is rapidly approaching tipping points that spell irreversible and catastrophic climate change, while extreme weather events are proliferating around the world. Science tells us that a massive transformation of the productive system in the world needs to be effected. Yet the current reality is that we are not seeing the necessary turn from ecological reform to ecological revolution, but rather the rise of ecological reaction.

This is especially the case in the United States and the rest of the Western world, where the active abandonment of all previous attempts to carry out an energy transition and to keep fossil fuels in the ground is now taking place, along with the elimination of environmental regulations. This represents the rise to dominance of economic forces based in high tech or AI capital, the fossil fuel industry, and monopoly finance, for which the accumulation of energy is seen as the key to both the accumulation of capital and worldwide AI dominance (integrated with the New Cold War on China). The new commanding forces of production and control are visible in the massive new data centers, with their insatiable demand for energy and water, and in the rise of a new neofascist state, mobilising the most reactionary sectors of the population to hold the society hostage.



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with the Kyoto Protocol, which led to the creation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions have, regrettably, been insufficient. Most states have failed to fulfil their initial — already far too limited — pledges to reduce emissions. The world is rapidly approaching tipping points that portend irreversible and catastrophic climate change, whilst extreme weather events are proliferating across the globe. Science tells us that a massive transformation of the global production system is necessary. However, the current reality is that we are not witnessing the necessary shift from ecological reform to ecological revolution, but rather the rise of ecological reaction.

This is particularly true in the United States and the rest of the Western world, where we are currently witnessing the complete abandonment of all previous attempts to bring about an energy transition and keep fossil fuels in the ground, alongside the dismantling of environmental regulations.

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FOOD INSECURITY IS ON THE RISE AS THE WAR CONTINUES — *Fernando Valladares / Marta Rivera Ferre*

Stripping agriculture of its primary function of feeding people could have unintended consequences for humanity. The battle is between treating food as a commodity or from a human rights perspective.



Food insecurity is on the rise as the war continues

Stripping agriculture of its primary function of feeding people could have unintended consequences for humanity. The battle is between treating food as a commodity or from a human rights perspective.

Fernando Valladares / Marta Rivera Ferre

The global food conundrum does not lie in a shortage of calories but in the flawed architecture of a system that conflates nourishment with mere commercial logic. Christoph Müller argues that although food insecurity is a by-product of dysfunctional political and economic systems in which access to food depends on purchasing power rather than actual availability, agricultural research has fallen into a productivity trap centred on increasing the quantity of food produced. This has allowed hunger to be used as a moral shield on a global scale, thereby circumventing environmental regulations and sidestepping the necessary redistribution of wealth. According to Müller, demanding that agriculture solve hunger without addressing the underlying socio-economic problems has diverted scientific attention away from critical sustainability challenges. Therefore, given agriculture's inability to end hunger, Christoph Müller issues a challenge: to free agriculture from its historical mandate of food security so that the sector can finally address the climate emergency and biodiversity issues without the burden of producing artificially cheap food. The proposal is to transfer responsibility for food security



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TSCACCommentary/2023/07/20/August 2023/ Valladares - M. Rivera Ferre

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political and economic systems where access to food depends on purchasing power rather than actual availability, agricultural research has fallen into a productivity trap centred on how to increase the quantity of food produced. This has allowed hunger to be used as a moral shield at a global level, thereby circumventing environmental regulations and sidestepping the necessary redistribution of wealth.

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BEFORE THE RAINS COME — *Antonio Turiel / Juan Bordera / Irene Calvé*

80 per cent of oil wells and 90 per cent of gas wells have already passed their peak production. If we do not develop an alternative, the decline of capitalism could drag us into the most utter barbarism.



Before the rains come

80 per cent of oil wells and 90 per cent of gas wells have already passed their peak production. If we do not develop an alternative, the decline of capitalism could drag us into the most utter barbarism

Antonio Turiel / Juan Bordera / Irene Calvé

The United States and Israel have embarked on a military campaign in Iran with an uncertain future, which is set to drag the rest of the world along with them. The world may never be the same again.

Faced with an existential threat for which it had already been preparing for decades — almost as long as Netanyahu has been warning that Iran was 'just weeks away from becoming a threat to the free world' — the Iranian regime has reacted forcefully, sinking where it knows it will hurt Western imperialism and its supporters the most: oil, natural gas and global trade — in short, the global oligarchy.

These days we hear high-minded commentary from analysts who saw little or nothing of this coming, and who explain to us the consequences for the global economy of the closure of the Strait of Hormuz or the rise in the price of a barrel of oil, which is likely to reach a hundred dollars shortly. But few of them are concerned about the suffering of the people dying in these bombings, or of those in the United States or Israel who cannot make ends meet. Nor are they concerned about what lies ahead for the vast majority of Spaniards.

For this very reason, we felt it necessary to write this reflection on the stark and simple reality we are set to face in the coming times, and why it is essential to consider how to protect ordinary people from the deluge that is coming. On how to shelter ourselves from the looming disaster. Now, before the rains come.

In September 2023, the International Energy Agency published a highly revealing report on what to expect regarding oil and gas production over the coming years. Eighty per cent of oil wells and 90 per cent of gas wells have already passed their peak production. Every year, around 3,000 million barrels of oil are discovered in new

TSCACCommentary/2023/07/20/September 2023/Turiel, Bordera, Calvé

The United States and Israel have embarked on a military campaign in Iran with an uncertain future, which is set to drag the rest of the world along with them. The world may never be the same again. Faced with an existential threat for

which it had already been preparing for decades – almost as long as Netanyahu has been warning that Iran was ‘just weeks away from posing a threat to the free world’ – the Iranian regime has reacted forcefully, striking where it knows it hurts Western imperialism and its supporters the most: oil, natural gas and global trade – in short, the global oligarchy.

As the problem becomes more structural, more serious difficulties will begin to arise in the countries of the North. It is not that there will be nothing at all: it is that there will be less than we were accustomed to consuming. The first rationing measures will have to be imposed, presumably by the sacrosanct market – in other words, those who cannot pay will be left out. These measures will attempt to present themselves as technical in nature, whilst in fact they are highly political, as we discussed previously.

Turning to the future: there will be a shortage of fuel for vehicles and for agricultural and industrial machinery. There will be more power cuts. There will be a shortage of spare parts, and sometimes entire machines. If you recall the disruption to the supply chain caused by the pandemic and the war in Ukraine, just wait and see how it holds up now.

We must renaturalise as many areas as possible, to build up our water and thermal resilience in the face of increasing and accelerating climate chaos – and perhaps also because one day we may discover that beneath the tarmac there was no beach sand, as the naive once thought, but rather arable land.

We must do all this and much more besides. And we must do it now, because time is running out and the longer we delay, the worse off we'll be. We must stop wasting time on technophile daydreams, which are nothing more than mental onanism – very comfortable and even comforting – to avoid acknowledging that capitalism, in its imperialist phase, has entered a stage of decay and that, unless we build an organised alternative, its decline may drag us into the most utter barbarism.

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POLITICAL ALTERNATION VERSUS SOVEREIGNTY — Iramis R. Rosique Cárdenas — *If Iberian America fails to forge even a minimal consensus on its very existence, it will continue to be the theatre for other powers' power struggles or, at best, a storehouse of raw materials for the North*

In Mexico, the debate has recently been dominated by the scandal surrounding alleged CIA agents who were operating on Mexican territory without the federal government's consent, but in collaboration with the

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Chihuahua state government, led by the National Action Party (PAN). It might appear to be a strictly bilateral matter between the United States and Mexico, or even an internal conflict between the federal government and one of the states. However, it reveals a trend that has been gaining momentum in Latin American politics in recent years.



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Political alternation versus sovereignty

If Iberian America fails to forge even a minimal consensus on its very existence, it will continue to be the theatre for other powers' power struggles or, at best, a storehouse of raw materials for the North.

Iramis R. Rosique Cárdenas

In Mexico, the debate has recently been dominated by the scandal surrounding alleged CIA agents who were operating on Mexican territory without the federal government's consent, but in collaboration with the Chihuahua state government, led by the National Action Party (PAN). It might appear to be a strictly bilateral matter between the United States and Mexico, or even an internal conflict between the federal government and one of the states. However, it reveals a trend that has been gaining momentum in Latin American politics in recent years.

National sovereignty and the interests of the nation-state have ceased to be a constant, a cross-party value, in most countries south of the Rio Grande, and have instead become an ideological variable. In the case of Mexican politics, which has always been characterised by a pragmatic national consensus, as early as November 2025 we witnessed, during the so-called 'Generation Z' march organised by the right, calls for military intervention by Donald Trump's government. If we look further south on the map, we will find examples of similar attitudes and agendas, both amongst opposition parties and within established governments.

It would therefore appear that foreign policy, rather than disputes over economic policy, redistribution or the family, is emerging as the defining feature of the Iberian American right. And the constant element of that defining feature is unconditional alignment with Washington. This is particularly true of the current administration, which, for its part, exerts an enormous gravitational pull and regards certain regional political forces as its strategic allies.

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All this poses a serious problem for regional prosperity. This inability to reach a compromise on national development – and regional integration, which is a key factor in that – leads to a perpetual cycle of restarting, in which the national project is not built, but rather drawn up and scrapped according to the ideological whims of the ballot box. Today, Party X wins and invests in extracting a valuable mineral, but tomorrow Party Y replaces it and hands that resource over to foreign (American) capital. And all of this is normalised and sanctified under the guise of liberal democracy.

Thus, whilst South-East Asia, for example, is strengthening itself as a bloc (ASEAN) to negotiate with China, the US or any other power, Iberian America is disintegrating. Every time a country changes political alignment, it leaves one bloc and forms another ideological mini-bloc that lasts four years. The effectiveness of regional mechanisms such as the OAS, CELAC, or MERCOSUR ultimately depends on the continent's dominant ideological alignment. The sacrosanct alternation of power, in reality, becomes a mechanism for regional fragmentation. If Iberian America fails to secure a minimum consensus on its own existence, it will remain the stage for external power games or, at best, the North's storehouse of raw materials. In the current geopolitical realignment of the world, and of the hemisphere, electoralism may well become a smokescreen concealing a new form of colonial relationship. The dispute, then, is not strictly ideological—between the left and the right—but rather between forces that pursue a national project for sovereign development and those

that view their respective countries, at best, as pawns to be exploited for personal gain.

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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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