

In Pursuit of the People and Planet Paradigm

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PROVOKING AWARENESS AND ACTION FOR GEOCRATIA — Álvaro J. de Regil —

Activating revolutionary movements for new ecosocial contracts for Geocratia, a vision for building the People and Planet and not the market paradigm.



Provoking Awareness and Action for Geocratia

Activating revolutionary movements for new ecosocial contracts for Geocratia, a vision for building the People and Planet and not the market paradigm

Álvaro J. de Regil

Contrary to the dominant narrative, we do not live in democratic but in utterly unsustainable marketocratic societies. Governments are merely agents implementing and protecting societal structures, providing the best conditions for maximising capital accumulation demanded by financial markets. This requires the unrelenting production and consumption of resources, stark labour exploitation, and sheer wealth inequality, with growth deemed the overriding indicator of progress. Such narrative addresses the ecological crisis through "green capitalism", which deliberately makes people believe we only need to transition from fossil to renewable energy without altering the structures of capitalism and our consumeristic lifestyles. This way, unrelenting economic growth and its inherent consumerism remain the indicators of progress. This has caused a planetary rift, taking us into an unsustainable trajectory where the



Photo by: [illegible]

odds we will face planetary catastrophes and putting the existence of life at monumental risk in the next twenty years are likely unless we veer fast against it. I argue we can only achieve enjoyable and sustainable lives by drastically decreasing our ecological footprint. This requires replacing capitalism with the new paradigm of Geocratia or "government by the Earth", where we reorganise societies to build a new ecocentric edifice centred on caring for our planet. To accomplish this, we must build a revolutionary movement from the base to circumvent the traditional political structures of party systems and legislative bodies to strike on the system to force governments to pact new geocratic ecosocial contracts. Here, I describe how it can be done.

Download the full document here!

THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL ON RURAL AGRICULTURE, ENERGY TRANSITION AND NEO-COLONIAL COLLAPSES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH —

Nubia Barrera Silva — *A predatory energy transition with neo-colonial collapses in the Global South are increasing the planetary rift and the end of life as we know it.*

The European Green Pact aims to address the economic contradictions between agribusiness and the declining primary sector, which are causing irreparable damage and fracturing nature. We also analyse the double standard of the Deforestation-Free Supply Chain Law, one clearly evident in the EU and the other, hidden, and extra-territorial, in the Brazilian Amazon. Added to this is the unlimited demand for the extraction, production, and consumption of strategic materials of geopolitical interest. In contrast, the EU deliberately ignores the limited storage capacity of mines in peripheral countries of the Southern Cone, the Sahel Belt and the rising hegemonic power of China. The energy transition, under the Ukrainian and other ongoing wars in the planetary geography, increases the exponential demand of the periodic table of minerals for security, defence, arms purchases and endless wars. Not yet enough, investments in climate mitigation have been directed towards NATO interests. This has

led to an increase in eco-environmental cascades, especially in Southern Europe, plus another continental threat of global reach, the approaching breakdown of the AMOC Current under the indifference of EU politicians and rulers.



The European Green Deal on rural agriculture, energy transition and neo-colonial collapses in the Global South

Nubia Barrera Silva

Abstract

The European Green Pact aims to address the economic contradictions between agribusiness and the declining primary sector, which are causing irreparable damage and fracturing nature. We also analyse the double standard of the Deforestation-Free Supply Chain Law, one clearly evident in the EU and the other, hidden, and extra-territorial, in the Brazilian Amazon. Added to this is the unlimited demand for the extraction, production, and consumption of strategic materials of geopolitical interest. In contrast, the EU deliberately ignores the limited storage capacity of mines in peripheral countries of the Southern Cone, the Sahel Belt and the rising hegemonic power of China. The energy transition, under the Ukrainian and other ongoing wars in the planetary geography, increases the exponential demand of the periodic table of minerals for security, defence, arms purchases and endless wars. Not yet enough, investments in climate mitigation have been directed towards NATO interests. This has led to an increase in eco-environmental cascades, especially in Southern Europe, plus another continental threat of global reach, the approaching breakdown of the AMOC Current under the indifference of EU politicians and rulers.



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TSD/Alamy/121044 January 2025 Nubia Barrera Silva

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WHAT DO I FEEL IN THE FACE OF THE CLIMATE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CRISIS: TERROR, PANIC, LONELINESS...

— **Ornela De Gasperin Quintero** — *We have now brought the planet to climatic conditions never witnessed by us or our prehistoric relatives.*

I watch the videos - the ones that arrive because the worst tragedies are not even covered by the press of droughts, hurricanes, storms, floods, and famines. I consider it an obligation to see them. If I am not the victim, I must at least know and empathise with the suffering of others, as I have asked men to do and to try to understand patriarchy: 'even if you don't change it, try to feel what we feel, understand our rage'. Now it is my turn, from the privilege of the security I still have, to feel

what the victims of the climate and economic impacts detonated by the capitalist system feel. I can't help but panic about what will probably happen to me and to my loved ones. Turning on the water tap, flushing the toilet, and knowing that I am on the side of privilege and that privilege is going to end if the trajectory continues on the course we are on now, accelerating towards the abyss. To be so certain of the catastrophic trajectory we are on, to have the solutions, and to fail to change course. I never had panic attacks until I understood the trajectory we are on.



What do I feel in the face of the climate, economic and social crisis: terror, panic, loneliness...

Omela De Gasperin Quintero

Terror and panic

I watch the videos - the ones that arrive because the worst tragedies are not even covered by the press - of droughts, hurricanes, storms, floods, and famines. I consider it an obligation to see them. If I am not the victims, I must at least listen and empathize with the suffering of others, as I have asked men to do and to try to understand patriarchy, "even if you don't change it, try to feel what we feel, understand our rage." Now it is my turn, from the privilege of the security I still have, to feel what the victims of the climate and economic impacts detonated by the capitalist system feel. I can't help but panic about what will probably happen to me and to my loved ones. Turning on the water tap, flushing the toilet, and knowing that I am on the side of privilege and that privilege is going to end if the trajectory continues on the course we are on now, accelerating towards the abyss. To be so certain of the catastrophic trajectory we are on, to have the solutions, and to fail to change course. I never had panic attacks until I understood the trajectory we are on.



10/2022 - 12/2022

Loneliness

All my life, I have had mentors to whom I can turn for advice, support, and opinion. I have been fortunate to work under the guidance of humane and intelligent people whom I respect and admire. And I have always sought opinions. However, in this unprecedented situation, with an uncertain but undoubtedly catastrophic future if the trajectory is not changed, I have no one to turn to for what to do and how to act because no one in the history of humanity has been here before. The word loneliness does not begin to describe what I feel. However, if I appreciate anything, it is the

TSCACommentary#103081 February 2022/20 Omela De Gasperin

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EARTH BEYOND SIX OF NINE PLANETARY BOUNDARIES — (Katherine Richardson, Will Steffen, Johan Rockström, et al) — Life is now outside the safe operating space for humans and non-humans, for we have already transgressed six of nine planetary boundaries necessary for life. WE ARE AT GREAT EXISTENTIAL RISK!

The planetary boundaries framework update finds that six of the nine boundaries are transgressed, suggesting that Earth is now well outside of the safe operating space for humanity. Ocean acidification is close to being breached, while aerosol loading regionally exceeds the boundary. Stratospheric ozone levels have slightly recovered. The transgression level has increased for all boundaries earlier identified as overstepped. As primary production drives Earth system biosphere functions, human appropriation of net primary production is proposed as a control variable for functional biosphere integrity. This boundary is also transgressed. Earth system modelling of different levels of the transgression of the climate and land system change boundaries

illustrates that these anthropogenic impacts on Earth system must be considered in a systemic context.

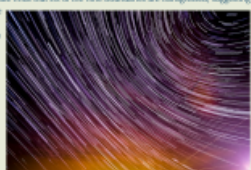


Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries

Katherine Richardson, Will Steffen, Johan Rockström, et al

Abstract

The planetary boundaries framework update finds that six of the nine boundaries are transgressed, suggesting that Earth is now well outside of the safe operating space for humanity. Ocean acidification is close to being breached, while aerosol loading regionally exceeds the boundary. Stratospheric ozone levels have slightly recovered. The transgression level has increased for all boundaries earlier identified as overstepped. As primary production drives Earth system biosphere functions, human appropriation of net primary production is proposed as a control variable for functional biosphere integrity. This boundary is also transgressed. Earth system modelling of different levels of the transgression of the climate and land system change boundaries illustrates that these anthropogenic impacts on Earth system must be considered in a systemic context.



Introduction

The planetary boundaries framework (1, 2) draws upon Earth system science (3). It identifies nine processes that are critical for maintaining the stability and resilience of Earth systems as a whole. All are presently heavily perturbed by

TSCACommentary#103078 January 2022/26 Richardson, et al

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THE ECOLOGICAL RIFT IN THE ANTHROPOCENE — (John Bellamy Foster, Fabio Querido, Maria Orlanda Pinassi and Michael Löwy) — An interview with John Bellamy Foster on ecology, ecological imperialism and potential solutions to the ongoing planetary crisis.



The Ecological Rift in the Anthropocene

John Bellamy Foster, Fabio Querido, Maria Orlanda Pinassi and Michael Löwy

Fabio Querido, Maria Orlanda Pinassi, and Michael Löwy: To start, tell us a little about your childhood and youth: You were born in Seattle, right?

John Bellamy Foster: Yes, I was born in Seattle, Washington. When I was one year old, my family moved to a lumber town, Raymond, Washington, where my father was a schoolteacher. In Raymond, there was a Western red cedar shingles plant, owned by Weyerhaeuser, which emitted plicatic acid, which is a well-known cause of asthma, in the dust from the plant. I developed chronic asthma, together with my two sisters. When I was five, we moved to Fircrest, Washington, a suburb outside of Tacoma. At the time, Tacoma was one of the most polluted cities in the United States, due to a smelter giving off toxic emissions and to pulp and paper mills.

When I was six, my younger sister, age three, had a severe asthma attack and was rushed to the hospital and died that night. A couple of weeks later, I had a severe asthma attack, and I too was rushed to the hospital and nearly died. I was in the hospital for two weeks on that occasion, spending considerable time in an oxygen tent. I had to be fed intravenously through my foot and have my foot in the air.

Afterward, I was prescribed so many steroids that my weight doubled. Standing up I could not see my feet. I was not allowed to go outside to the hospital and had to have a private toilet. When I was seven, I was sent away from my parents to the children's asthma home in Denver where I stayed for more than two years.

In the meantime, my father had a mental breakdown and was placed in a Veteran's Administration hospital where he was given electric shock treatment. My mother took up selling Avon cosmetics door to door in Tacoma to provide some income for the family. Her district was the poorest in Tacoma and she took me along sometimes because she said she wanted me to see how people could live with dignity and generosity while in utter poverty. We ourselves lived for years below the poverty line, with my father unemployed for large stretches or selling encyclopedias door to door. However,

TSCACommentary#103076 February 2022/6 Foster et al

Whatever solutions there are to the present planetary crisis must, in historical-materialist terms, arise from concrete social formations, on

the basis of which the new revolutionary transformations will take place. What is common to all such strategies is a focus on a path to sustainable human development in which capital accumulation is no longer the determinant force in society. The very definition of socialism in the twenty-first century is that of a society of ecological sustainability and substantive equality. Here too we find the conditions for the maximisation of freedom in general.

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ADVANCING THE WELFARE OF PEOPLE AND THE PLANET WITH A COMMON AGENDA FOR REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE, POPULATION, AND THE ENVIRONMENT — (J. Joseph Speidel and Jane N. O'Sullivan) — Human demands are depleting the natural resources essential for life.



Advancing the Welfare of People and the Planet with a Common Agenda for Reproductive Justice, Population, and the Environment

J. Joseph Speidel and Jane N. O'Sullivan¹

Abstract

Driven by increasing consumption and population numbers, human demands are depleting natural resources essential to support human life, causing damage to crop lands, fresh water supplies, fisheries, and forests, and driving climate change. Within this century, world population could increase by as little as 15% or by more than 50%, depending largely on how we respond. We must face the challenge of accommodating these additional people at the same time as virtually eliminating the use of fossil fuels and other activities that generate greenhouse gases, reversing environmental degradation and supporting improved living standards for billions of impoverished people. The response to this challenge is handicapped by a lack of common understanding and an integrated agenda among those contributing to the response. This report offers a strategy to protect natural systems and improve welfare through expansion of reproductive justice, a concept that includes family planning, reproductive health, and gender equity, and preservation of the environment and climate.



Photo by Roberto Pineda-Celis, Banquet on Uniphil

¹ See all authors and their contributions and affiliations at end of article.

TSCACommentary#103076 October 2024/26 Speidel - J. N. O'Sullivan

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IMPERIALISM IN THE INDO-PACIFIC — AN INTRODUCTION — (John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark) —



Imperialism in the Indo-Pacific—An Introduction

John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark

Indo-Pacific is a term with a long history within the imperialist lexicon. It originated in the writings of Karl Haushofer, the leading German geopolitical theorist, in his 1924 *Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean* and numerous other works.¹ Haushofer was a German military attaché in Japan in 1908–1909, and traveled widely in East Asia. As a result of these experiences, he was to emerge as a major geopolitical analyst. He served as a brigade commander in the First World War, rising to the rank of major general by the war's end. Rudolf Hess, who had been Haushofer's aide-de-camp and later his student, was one of his chief disciples. In 1920, Hess joined the Nazi Party. Following the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, when Adolf Hitler and Hess were confined to the prison in the Fortresses of Landsberg, Haushofer instructed both of them in geopolitics, while Hitler dictated Mein Kampf to Hess. A decade later, when Hitler came to power in Germany, Hess was appointed Deputy Führer of the Nazi Party. A special professorship in defence geography was created for Haushofer at the University of Munich.²



The designation of the Indo-Pacific as a geopolitical region arose in Haushofer's global imperial strategy, aimed at carving out a new "third region" (similar to Pan-America under U.S. hegemony) in the Far East, to be led by Germany.

¹ Karl Ernst Haushofer, *Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean* (Lewisohn, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002).

² Ernest Whitney, "Haushofer: The Geopolitical," in *Modernism and Modern Strategy*, ed. Edward Meade Earl (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 384–411; Ernest Whitney, *The German Struggle of World Conquest* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942), 70–76; Hilger H. Henning, *The Demise of Geopolitics: How Karl Haushofer "Educated" Hitler and Hess* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016); John Bellamy Foster, "The New Geopolitics of Empire," *Monthly Review* 57, no. 1 (January 2006), 2–4. Whitney's work indicates that Hess was an "aide-de-camp" to Haushofer, but this is not present in other accounts. Whitney, "Haushofer: The Geopolitical," 408.

TSCA/Vasey/SD 602111 February 2025/3. B. Foster & Clark

As the highly respected international relations scholar David C. Kang has argued in *American Grand Strategy and East Asian Security in the Twenty-First Century* (2017) and other works, there has been a general decline in military expenditures as a share of GDP in the largest East Asian states over the last couple of decades. Taking the eleven largest states, it has dropped to roughly half of what it was two and half decades before, declining from an average 3.35 percent in 1990 to an average of 1.8 percent in 2015—a trend that has continued. This objectively points toward a sense of increasing, rather than decreasing, national security in the region. It is this climate of peace that the United States is threatening to disturb, not for the sake of East Asia but aimed at the preservation at all costs of its preeminence as a world power.

C. Wright Mills famously said, "the immediate cause of World War III is the preparation of it." The United States, facing the demise of its global hegemonic imperialism, is not only preparing for a Third World War; it is actively provoking it. There are signs, however, that a mass anti-imperialist movement is again

emerging in the United States and in the other countries of the imperial core of the capitalist world economy, beginning with the Free Palestine movement in response to Israel's genocidal war in Gaza supported by Washington. The world movement today must be anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, antiwar, and ecological. Since the alternative is global exterminism, it is a struggle that only humanity can win.

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JUST POPULATION POLICIES FOR AN OVERPOPULATED WORLD — Philip Cafaro



Just population policies for an overpopulated world

Philip Cafaro

After three decades of neglect, environmentalists are waking back up to the need to limit human numbers. But like Rip Van Winkle, we find that the world changed while we were asleep. There are now billions more people, hundreds of millions of new members in the global middle class, and elevated consumption among the wealthy. Meanwhile the planet has grown warmer, more polluted, tamer and more depauperate. This article specifies what just population policies look like for an overpopulated world: one where most national populations must decrease significantly to create sustainable societies, and where failure to do so threatens environmental disaster for humans and the rest of life on Earth. It argues that governments in both underdeveloped and overdeveloped countries should encourage and enable one-child families and discourage larger ones, striking a proper balance between reproductive rights and reproductive responsibilities.

Human rights concerns loom large in population policy discussions. On the one hand, opponents of family planning efforts often point to human rights abuses, such as forced abortions under China's one child policy, to justify their opposition. Others who may approve of family planning argue that government programs that speak too enthusiastically about the environmental or social benefits of reducing population growth, or that set specific targets to reduce fertility, are prone to such abuses. From this perspective, the main human rights concern is that population policies not force people to have fewer children than they want to have, or punish them if they have more than the state wants.

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EARTH SYSTEM BOUNDARIES AND EARTH SYSTEM JUSTICE: SHARING THE ECOSPACE — (Joyeeta Gupta et al)

The literature on planetary and Earth system boundaries calls on humans to live within those boundaries. Sharing such limited ecospace raises questions of justice. Global environmental assessments and scholarship are increasingly paying attention to justice issues, yet inadequately define how to share the limited ecospace. Against this background we ask: how can global environmental assessments' concerns for justice be enhanced through an Earth system justice framework that guides how the global community could share limited ecospace? Based on an analysis of how justice concerns are addressed in the Assessment of Assessments and global environmental change projects, we build an Earth system justice framework that discusses how ecospace can be shared fairly through the setting of Earth system boundaries and the provision of minimum resource needs for all, and how this can be achieved through an equitable redistribution of resources, rights, and responsibilities focused on addressing inequality, overconsumption, and harmful accumulation.



Earth system boundaries and Earth system justice: sharing the ecospace

Joyeeta Gupta et al¹

Abstract

The literature on planetary and Earth system boundaries calls on humans to live within those boundaries. Sharing such limited ecospace raises questions of justice. Global environmental assessments and scholarship are increasingly paying attention to justice issues, yet inadequately define how to share the limited ecospace. Against this background we ask: how can global environmental assessments' concerns for justice be enhanced through an Earth system justice framework that guides how the global community could share limited ecospace? Based on an analysis of how justice concerns are addressed in the Assessment of Assessments and global environmental change projects, we build an Earth system justice framework that discusses how ecospace can be shared fairly through the setting of Earth system boundaries and the provision of minimum resource needs for all, and how this can be achieved through an equitable redistribution of resources, rights, and responsibilities focused on addressing inequality, overconsumption, and harmful accumulation.



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¹ See all authors and their contributions and affiliations at end of article.

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DEMOGRAPHIC DELUSIONS: WORLD POPULATION GROWTH IS EXCEEDING MOST PROJECTIONS AND JEOPARDISING SCENARIOS FOR SUSTAINABLE FUTURE — Jane N. O'Sullivan

The size of the world's population has profound implications for demand for food, energy and resources, land use change and greenhouse gas emissions. This study examines why most population projections have underestimated world population growth, and the implications for actions required to achieve sustainable societies. The main determinant of future population is family size choices. Population projections by different research



Demographic Delusions: World Population Growth Is Exceeding Most Projections and Jeopardising Scenarios for Sustainable Futures

Jane N. O'Sullivan

Abstract

The size of the world's population has profound implications for demand for food, energy and resources, land use change and greenhouse gas emissions. This study examines why most population projections have underestimated world population growth, and the implications for actions required to achieve sustainable societies. The main determinant of future population is family size choices. Population projections by different research groups embed different assumptions about drivers of fertility decline. The common assumptions that fertility decline is driven by economic betterment, urbanisation or education levels are not well supported in historical evidence. In contrast, voluntary family planning provision and promotion achieved rapid fertility decline, even in poor, rural and illiterate communities. Projections based on education and income as drivers of fertility decline ignore the reverse causation, that lowering fertility through family planning interventions enabled economic advancement and improved women's education access. In recent decades, support for family planning has waned, and global fertility decline has decelerated as a result. Projections calibrated across the decades of strong family planning support have not acknowledged this change and are consequently underestimating global population growth. Scenarios used to model sustainable futures have used overly optimistic population projections while ignoring these outcomes will happen without targeted measures to bring them about. Unless political will is rapidly restored for voluntary family planning programs, the global population will almost certainly exceed 10 billion, rendering sustainable food security and a safe climate unachievable.



Photo by Nick Rattazzi on Unsplash

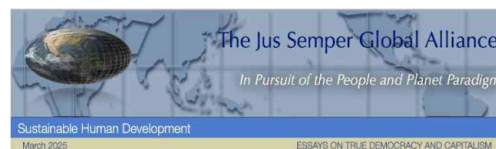
groups embed different assumptions about drivers of fertility decline. The common assumptions that fertility decline is driven by economic betterment, urbanisation or education levels are not well supported in historical evidence. In contrast, voluntary family planning provision and promotion achieved rapid fertility decline, even in poor, rural and illiterate communities. Projections based on education and income as drivers of fertility decline ignore the reverse causation, that lowering fertility through family planning interventions enabled economic advancement and improved women's education access. In recent decades, support for family planning has waned, and global fertility decline has decelerated as a result. Projections calibrated across the decades of strong family planning support have not acknowledged this change and are consequently underestimating global population growth. Scenarios used to model sustainable futures have used overly optimistic population projections while ignoring these outcomes will happen without targeted measures to bring them about. Unless political will is rapidly restored for voluntary family planning programs, the global population will almost certainly exceed 10 billion, rendering sustainable food security and a safe climate unachievable.

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THE NEW COLD WAR ON CHINA — John Bellamy Foster



The New Cold War on China

John Bellamy Foster

On March 24, 2021, a high-profile article proclaiming "There Will Not Be a New Cold War" appeared in Foreign Affairs, the flagship publication of the Council on Foreign Relations, the principal think tank for U.S. grand strategy. The author, Thomas Christensen, a professor of international affairs at Columbia

"the Trump administration basically declared a cold war on China." But, no New Cold War would actually materialise, since Washington with Biden could not see an aggressive power but one interested in economic competition. University and former deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs in the George W. Bush administration, went so far as to acknowledge that "the [Donald] Trump administration basically declared a cold war on China." Nevertheless, no New Cold War, Christensen optimistically indicated, would actually materialise, since Washington under Joe Biden would presumably back away from Trump's extreme policies toward China given its "vital position in the global value chain." Beijing could not be seen as an aggressive power in ideological or geopolitical terms, but was simply interested in economic competition.

Yet, what Christensen's analysis excluded was any mention of the imperialist world system, which is now threatened by China's seemingly inexorable rise and pursuit of its own distinctive sovereign project. In this respect, the Trump administration's prosecution of a New Cold War on China was no anomaly, but rather the



Beijing has continually sought to deliver the services and meet the needs of the new Cold War that many are predicting. Credit: "US-China competition on land combatation" China Daily website, 27 October 2020

¹ = Thomas J. Christensen, "There Will Not Be a New Cold War," Foreign Affairs, March 24, 2021. On the Council on Foreign Relations and the Biden administration, see Lawrence H. Shoup, "The Council on Foreign Relations: The Biden Team, and Key Policy Outcomes," Monthly Review 73, no. 1 (May 2020): 1-21.

² = Christensen, "There Will Not Be a New Cold War." Most of Christensen's arguments rely on the unspoken assumption that a New Cold War would take exactly the same form as the old Cold War. This is of course a misstatement. History does not repeat itself in that way.

³ = For a persuasive depiction of the growing imperialist order, see Ching-Fu and Lu-Binlin, "Five Characteristics of Neoliberalism," Monthly Review 73, no. 1 (May 2021): 22-38.

On March 24, 2021, a high-profile article proclaiming "There Will Not Be a New Cold War" appeared in Foreign Affairs, the flagship publication of the Council on Foreign Relations, the principal think tank for U.S. grand strategy. The author, Thomas Christensen, a professor of international affairs at Columbia University and former deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs in the George W. Bush administration, went so far as to acknowledge that "the [Donald] Trump administration basically declared a cold war on China." Nevertheless, no New Cold War, Christensen optimistically indicated, would actually materialise, since Washington under Joe Biden would presumably back away from Trump's extreme policies toward China given its "vital position in the global value chain." Beijing could not be seen as an aggressive power in ideological or geopolitical terms, but was simply interested in economic competition.

Yet, what Christensen's analysis excluded was any mention of the imperialist world system, crowned by U.S. hegemony, which is now threatened by China's seemingly inexorable rise and pursuit of its own distinctive sovereign project. In this respect, the Trump administration's prosecution of a New Cold War on China was no anomaly, but rather the

inevitable U.S. response to China's rise and the end of Washington's unipolar moment. Just as the United States declared the interest of maintaining that same imperial hegemony.

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EINSTEIN'S "WHY SOCIALISM?" AND 'MONTHLY REVIEW': A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION — John Bellamy Foster



Einstein's "Why Socialism?" and 'Monthly Review': A Historical Introduction

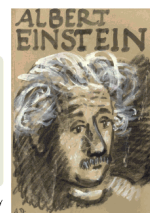
John Bellamy Foster

A Spring 1949 memorandum in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's "Albert Einstein File," part of the FBI's Vault of documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, states:

Advised [by an agent in the field that] in April 1949, a circular was distributed in the Nashua, New Hampshire area, announcing a new magazine entitled "Monthly Review," an independent Socialist magazine. The first issue was dated to come out as the May 1949 edition. The first issue would contain articles by Albert Einstein — "Why Socialism?"; Paul M. Sweezy — "Recent Development[s] in American capitalism"; Otto Nathan — "Transition to Socialism in Poland"; Leo Huberman — "Socialism and American Labor".... Re: New York report, dated 3-15-51 Espionage-CH.¹

The rest of the message is blacked out. Another memorandum that immediately follows in the FBI's Einstein file, and which is similarly redacted, reads:

Advised the New York Office that the "Monthly Review" 66 Barrow Street, New York City, self-proclaimed "an independent Socialist magazine" made its initial appearance in May of 1949. The first issue contained articles by Albert Einstein and others. This [investigative] report stated further that a study of the articles contained in a background check of the editors and contributors revealed that this magazine was Communist inspired and followed the approved Communist Party line.... New York report, dated 1-30-50; Re: Internal Security.²



Albert Einstein (1879-1955), chemical and nuclear physicist, was an important part of the mid-twentieth century American intellectual tradition along with other leading artists such as Jackson Pollock, Robert Rauschenberg, Philip Guston, and Richard Serra. He is the permanent collection of the Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, the Museum of Modern Art, the Brooklyn Museum, the White House, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Library of Congress, and the Smithsonian Institution.

¹ = Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Albert Einstein, Part 8 of 14 (originally numbered 6 of 9) in.d.1, 45 (11002), vault.bis.gov; Fred Jerome, The Einstein File (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 114-15.

² = Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Albert Einstein, Part 8 of 14 (originally numbered 6 of 9) in.d.1, 46 (11003); Fred Jerome, The Einstein File (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 114-15.

TFC/Amay/07/08/1949 October 2024/8 Foster

A Spring 1949 memorandum in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's "Albert Einstein File," part of the FBI's Vault of documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, states: *Advised [by an agent in the field that] in April 1949, a circular was distributed in the Nashua, New Hampshire area, announcing a new magazine entitled "Monthly Review," "an independent Socialist magazine." The first issue was dated to come out as the May 1949 edition. The first issue would contain articles by Albert Einstein—"Why Socialism?"; Paul M. Sweezy—"Recent Development[s] in American capitalism"; Otto Nathan—"Transition to Socialism in Poland"; Leo Huberman—"Socialism and American Labor".... Re: New York report, dated 3-15-51 Espionage-CH.*

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Albert Einstein, the world's most famous theoretical physicist and its most celebrated scientist, had fled Germany upon Adolf Hitler's rise, immigrating to the United States in 1933, where he became a citizen in 1940. Yet, for J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, Einstein remained a dangerous and Un-American figure, threatening the internal security of the United States by his very presence in the country. His publication in 1949 of an article titled "Why Socialism?" for the new periodical Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine was thus viewed by the FBI as a direct confirmation of his strong "Communist sympathies."

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THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, THE ISRAEL LOBBY, AND THE WAR ON GAZA — Laurence H. Shoup



The Council on Foreign Relations, the Israel Lobby, and the War on Gaza

Laurence H. Shoup

For many decades, there has been a continuing dialogue about U.S. military, financial, and diplomatic support for Zionist Israel. However, even in the progressive and left media there has been a lack of discussion of the lesser known political and economic forces that have enabled this support. One key, but often ignored, source has been the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the think tank of monopoly-finance capital, also known as Wall Street's think tank.

The CFR is the world's most powerful private organisation. It is the ultimate networking, socialising, strategic planning, consensus-forming, and foreign policy lobbying institution of the dominant sector of the U.S. capitalist class. As a think tank and policy center, it is the most important U.S. locus of the deep state exerting influence behind the scenes. In the United States, it mainly focuses on directing the federal government, but has power in many areas of life in the United States, such as elite universities, finance capitalist firms, other think tanks, nonprofits, Congress, top corporations, and the mainstream media. While some of its activities are semisecret, for members only, much of what it does can be revealed by perusing its website; reading its journal, Foreign Affairs; examining its annual reports; and following the activities of its members and leaders.



Cartoon made: "Measuring agreement by buying them."

¹ Laurence H. Shoup and William Winter, Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972); Laurence H. Shoup, "Wall Street's Think Tank: The Council on Foreign Relations and the Empire of Neoliberal Globalization, 1970-2019" (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2019); Laurence H. Shoup, "Council on Foreign Relations and United States Imperialism," in The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism, vol. 1, Imperialism: New and Old (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

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MARX AND ENGELS AS POLYGLOTS — Kaan Kangal



Marx and Engels as Polyglots

Kaan Kangal

Karl Marx's 1852 work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* opens with the famous remark that men "make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please." He goes on to argue that whatever happens in the present time arises from and is a reaction to a political past. Recollecting and interpreting the past for present purposes requires a language. Such a language is not naturally given but needs to be socially constructed. What is more, its vocabulary and grammar stem from linguistic legacies of past ideologies. Marx draws in this regard an analogy, comparing acquisition of a political language with mastering a natural language: "a beginner who has learnt a new language always translates it back into his mother tongue, but he has assimilated the spirit of the new language and can freely express himself in it only when he finds his way in it without recalling the old and forgets his native tongue in the use of the new."¹



Notes by Marx on Italian grammar. Image credit: Kaan Kangal.

These lines were expressive of Marx's theoretical investments in and intellectual sensibilities to the fabric of any ideological language. A master of political prose himself, Marx was well aware of the fact that any proper grasp of bourgeois societies requires a close attention to how social, economic, and political affairs are theoretically depicted, politically propagated, and linguistically articulated according to certain class interests.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 11 (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 103.
² Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 104.
TSCA/ISS/SD 00000 December 2024/Kaan Kangal

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Edward Aveling recollected that Engels's home was frequently visited by a large number of socialists from many countries: "Engels could converse with all of them in their own language. Like [Karl] Marx, he spoke and wrote German, French, and English perfectly; nearly as perfectly in Italian, Spanish, Danish, and also read, and could get along with Russian, Polish, and Romanian, not to mention such trivialities as Latin and Greek."

For Marx and Engels, fluency in reading, writing, listening, or speaking seems to have never been a goal for its own sake. Keen interest in various languages, yes, but always as part of a scientific purpose and political commitment. Socialist internationalism required, and, to some extent, still requires polyglottery.

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COLLECTIVE CAPABILITIES FOR ORGANISATIONAL DEMOCRACY: THE CASE OF MUTUAL SOCIAL ENTERPRISES — (Ian Vickers, Fergus Lyon, Leandro Sepulveda)



Collective Capabilities for Organisational Democracy: The Case of Mutual Social Enterprises

Ian Vickers, Fergus Lyon, Leandro Sepulveda

Abstract

Democratic forms of enterprise and economic governance are needed to help address urgent societal challenges where hierarchical decision-making and governance approaches are clearly failing. There is insufficient understanding, however, of the capabilities needed by enterprises to implement and sustain organisational democracy in pressurised operational contexts. We focus on the role of collective capabilities, which arise from interactions between individuals to create collaboration and collective benefits. Interview evidence from 12 mutual social enterprises – organisations that trade with a social purpose – is used to explore the learning processes that underpin the generation of collective capabilities for organisational democracy. The analysis leads us to a theoretical model of collective capabilities development that responds to three fundamental areas of challenge: (i) Adaptive design of governance structures and processes; (ii) Balance 'bottom-up' democracy with 'top-down' stewardship control; (iii) Embedding, extending and revitalising democracy, by supporting the voice, capabilities and confidence of workers and users to participate in collaborative governance; and (iv) Fostering deliberative learning, to navigate tensions and conflict between plural perspectives and achieve collective aims. In concluding, we reflect on some institutional and cultural barriers to organisational democracy and the case for more concerted policy action to realise its potential as a crucial component of economic democracy.



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THE DREAM OF A THING: REFOUNDING THE ECONOMY OF A VENEZUELAN COMMUNE — *Chris Gilbert* — *The world has long had the dream of a thing of which it only needs to become conscious for it to possess in reality. —Karl Marx to Arnold Ruge, 1843.*



The Dream of a Thing: Refounding the Economy of a Venezuelan Commune

The world has long had the dream of a thing of which it only needs to become conscious for it to possess in reality.
—Karl Marx to Arnold Ruge, 1843

Chris Gilbert

Probably the most famous saying of José Carlos Mariátegui, often seen as the founder of Latin American Marxism, is that, on our continent, socialism should be “not a copy or imitation but rather a heroic creation.”¹ Hugo Chávez liked to quote this phrase, using it in relation to the communal project that he was promoting in Venezuela, which he said was also a heroic creation. At least on one occasion, the late president brought Mariátegui’s phrase into dialogue with Mao Zedong’s claim that the people’s commune in China was to be “a creation of the masses.”² Chávez’s use of

Chávez saw that what was needed was a difficult but necessary collective effort of the masses that would involve their engaging in iterative experimentation—investigation, participation, and action—in building socialism.

Mariátegui’s phrase broke with tradition. Over the years, the statement has generally been appealed to with emphasis on the essentially negative part of it (“not a copy or imitation”), but Chávez gave equal weight to the latter part, which focused on the construction of new social relations as a popular, constitutive act. He was surely right to do so. For what would



Entrance to El Mutual Commune, image credit: Chris Gilbert

¹ “Mariátegui’s actual wording in “No queremos, ciertamente, que el socialismo sea en América copia y copia. Debe ser creación heroica.” However, it is often simplified as “No copia ni copia sino creación heroica.” (Not a copy or imitation, but a heroic construction). José Carlos Mariátegui, “Asomiento y balance,” in *Ideología y política y otros escritos* (Caracas: El Puma y la Rana, 2010), 271–72.

² “Mao Zedong’s famous line,” 17 September 6, 2009, www.marxists.org/indochina/mao.htm.

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NAVIGATING DESIRES BEYOND GROWTH — (Joshua Hurtado Hurtado and Jason Glynos) — *The critical role of fantasy in degrowth’s environmental politics and prefigurative ethics.*



Navigating desires beyond growth: the critical role of fantasy in degrowth’s environmental politics and prefigurative ethics

Joshua Hurtado Hurtado and Jason Glynos

Abstract

As a critical environmental political project, the degrowth movement contests the hegemony of economic growth. Much scholarship has sought to unpack degrowth’s proposals to reduce matter and energy throughput and to promote socio-ecological justice, democracy and wellbeing. Few studies, however, examine how the movement sustains itself. In this article, therefore, we explore the role fantasy plays in the movement’s emergence and sustenance. We draw on semi-structured interviews and officially-disseminated documents to examine the discourse of degrowth through a Critical Fantasy Studies lens, arguing that fantasies structure supporters’ desires and sustain the energy lying behind their environmental politics and actions. We suggest that the fantasy of ‘mutual dependence and care’, in particular, affectively fortifies their efforts to contest economic growth’s hegemonic norms and, in doing so, bolsters degrowth’s distributed modes of political action while also allowing its members to cultivate a prefigurative ethics of engagement.



Photo by Shyler King on Unsplash

Introduction

The ideas and movement of ‘degrowth’ have made decisive inroads into policy-making circles, the mainstream media, and academia, as evidenced by events like the 2023 Beyond Growth Conference in Brussels. Degrowth acquires counter-hegemonic significance against the background of the dominant growth paradigm, which underpins the policies of international organisations like the OECD and the United Nations, and also shapes European climate adaptation policies (Remling 2018, Hickel and Kallis 2020). Demaria et al. (2013) recount how, in the 1970s, intellectuals like André Gorz and Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen first attached the French word for degrowth, *Décroissance*, to ideas that

TJG&F&S&D-00206 January 2025/1 Mariátegui: Cifuentes

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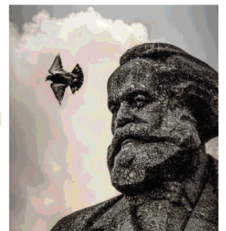
WAS KARL MARX A DEGROWTH COMMUNIST? — *Brian M. Napoletano*



Was Karl Marx a Degrowth Communist?

Brian M. Napoletano

In a recent issue of *Monthly Review*, Michael Löwy observed that the last few years have witnessed “a growing coming together of ecosocialism and degrowth: each side has been appropriating the arguments of the other, and the proposal of an ‘ecosocialist degrowth’ has begun to be adopted as a common ground.”¹ The rationale behind this convergence is relatively straightforward. On the one hand, a central tenet of ecosocialism has been that any viable socialist project will need to pursue ecological sustainability and substantive equality as two interdependent parts of a dialectical unity.² In the context of the twenty-first century, this entails reducing the global social metabolism’s total material and energy throughput while satisfying universal social needs. This in turn requires bringing about a convergence between different regions and social segments through reductions in the profligate waste propping up the capitalist system, redistribution of social wealth and decision-making, the free dissemination of ecological knowledge and socially beneficial technological innovations, and operationalisation of principles of self-determination and *autogestion*.³ On the other hand, advocates of degrowth have increasingly recognised that any attempt to break with the fixation on economic growth and establish an alternate, more equitable conception of social wealth requires a decisive break with capital accumulation as the ordering principle of society, and therefore a viable alternative to the capitalist mode of social metabolic control. The resultant convergence,



Monument to Karl Marx in front of the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow (October 13, 2019). Image credit: Joonas (Flickr)

¹ Michael Löwy, “Nine Theses on Ecosocialist Degrowth,” *Monthly Review* 75, no. 3 (2023): 136.

² Iván Mészáros, *The Challenge and Limits of Historical Time* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2008).

³ John Bellamy Foster, “Planned Degrowth: Ecosocialism and Sustainable Human Development—An Introduction,” in *The Jus Semper Global Alliance*, September 2023; Brian M. Napoletano, Pedro S. Urquiza, Brett Clark, and John Bellamy Foster, “Seven (Leftist) Conceptions of Nature-Society in the Revolutionary Project of Autogestion,” *Dialogues in Human Geography* 13, no. 3 (2023): 433–52; Brian M. Napoletano, Brett Clark, John Bellamy Foster, and Pedro S. Urquiza, “Sustainability and Metabolic Revolution in the Works of Henri Lefebvre,” *World* 1, no. 1 (2020): 305–16.

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hand, advocates of degrowth have increasingly recognised that any attempt to break with the fixation on economic growth and establish an alternate, more equitable conception of social wealth requires a decisive break with capital accumulation as the ordering principle of society, and therefore a viable alternative to the capitalist mode of social metabolic control. The resultant convergence, ecosocialist degrowth, indicates two important correctives to widespread misconceptions. On the ecosocialist side, the degrowth modifier indicates a conscious, planned project of metabolic restoration, while on the degrowth side, the ecosocialist modifier points to a transformative project rather than a simple, one-sided negation of growth.

It is in the context of this convergence that the English-language translation of Kohei Saito's Japanese bestseller, *Capital in the Anthropocene*, has just been published as *Slow Down: The Degrowth Manifesto*. This comes more than a year after the publication of the English translation of Marx in the *Anthropocene*, which—confusingly—was originally published in Japanese after *Capital in the Anthropocene*. Marx in the *Anthropocene* has been described as an “academic text,” and is aimed at Marxists, whereas *Slow Down* targets a broader audience, selling over five hundred thousand copies in Japan alone. The two books largely overlap in their general argument for what Saito has dubbed “degrowth communism,” but aspects of his argument that are mentioned only briefly in one book sometimes receive fuller treatment in the other. For instance, Marx in the *Anthropocene* offers virtually no discussion of how degrowth communism might emerge from existing social struggles and movements, leaving the issue of transition virtually untouched. *Slow Down*, in contrast, identifies a handful of movements that prefigure or point to aspects of degrowth communism, including municipalism (his primary source of inspiration), rebellions by care workers, Buen Vivir, and food sovereignty. Citing the well-known 3.5 percent rule of Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan that helped inspire Extinction Rebellion, he argues that only a small part of the population needs to “rise up sincerely and nonviolently to bring about a major change to society.” Saito suggests that this number could easily be met by the kinds of movements he mentions together with “people sincerely concerned with climate change and passionately committed to fighting it.”

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PLANETARY JUSTICE: A SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF AN EMERGING DISCOURSE — (Agni Kalfagianni, Stefan Pedersen and Dimitris Stevis)

Justice concerns have been central to contemporary social and ecological debates for decades but have only recently made inroads



Planetary justice: a systematic analysis of an emerging discourse

Agni Kalfagianni, Stefan Pedersen and Dimitris Stevis

Abstract

Justice concerns have been central to contemporary social and ecological debates for decades but have only recently made inroads into the Earth system centric discourses on the Anthropocene and planetary boundaries. Our focus here is the emerging discourse on planetary justice which has aimed to be a corrective to this lacuna. Our goals in this paper are to delineate the general parameters and novel contributions of planetary justice while also recognising the emergent variability within this discourse. In order to accomplish these goals we analyse the discourse through three interrelated analytical themes: First, how approaches to planetary justice envision scope across different human practices and categories of humanity and nature. Second, how they envision scale across space and time. Third, how they envision the ecosocial purpose of planetary justice.



Photo by Tamasz Borsos on Unsplash

Introduction

Justice concerns have been central to contemporary social and ecological debates for decades (e.g. Freytag 1993, Low and Gleeson 1998). But only recently have such concerns made inroads into the Earth system centric discourses on the

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OVERCONFIDENCE IN CLIMATE OVERSHOOT — (Carl-Friedrich Schleussner et al)

Global emission reduction efforts continue to be insufficient to meet the temperature goal of the Paris Agreement. This makes the systematic exploration of so-called overshoot pathways that temporarily exceed a targeted global warming limit before drawing temperatures back down to safer levels a priority for science and policy. Here we show that global and regional climate change and associated risks after an overshoot are different from a world that avoids it. We find that achieving declining global temperatures can limit long-term climate risks compared with a mere stabilisation of global warming, including for sea-level rise and cryosphere changes. However, the possibility that global warming could be reversed many decades into the future might be of limited relevance for adaptation planning today.

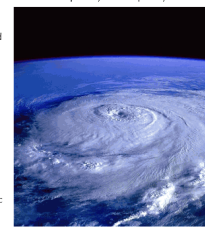


Overconfidence in climate overshoot

Carl-Friedrich Schleussner et al¹

Abstract

Global emission reduction efforts continue to be insufficient to meet the temperature goal of the Paris Agreement. This makes the systematic exploration of so-called overshoot pathways that temporarily exceed a targeted global warming limit before drawing temperatures back down to safer levels a priority for science and policy.^{1,2,3,4,5} Here we show that global and regional climate change and associated risks after an overshoot are different from a world that avoids it. We find that achieving declining global temperatures can limit long-term climate risks compared with a mere stabilisation of global warming, including for sea-level rise and cryosphere changes. However, the possibility that global warming could be reversed many decades into the future might be of limited relevance for adaptation planning today. Temperature reversal could be undercut by strong Earth-system feedbacks resulting in high near-term and continuous long-term warming.^{6,7} To hedge and protect against high-risk outcomes, we identify the geophysical need for a preventive carbon dioxide removal capacity of several hundred gigatonnes. Yet, technical, economic and sustainability considerations may limit the realisation of carbon dioxide removal deployment at such scales.^{8,9} Therefore, we cannot be confident that temperature decline after overshoot is achievable within the timescales expected today. Only rapid near-term emission reductions are effective in reducing climate risks.



575031-44-0022 | Hurricane Ileana, Gulf of Mexico September 1983 Image Source and Analysis: Laboratory, NOAA/Climate Space Center, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hurricane_Ileana.jpg

Main

The possibility of surpassing and subsequently returning below dangerous levels of global warming has been a topic of discussion for decades¹⁰ with large-scale carbon dioxide removal (CDR) identified early on as playing an important part

¹ See all authors and their contributions and affiliations at end of article.

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Temperature reversal could be undercut by strong Earth-system feedbacks resulting in high near-term and continuous long-term warming^{6,7}. To hedge and protect against high-risk outcomes, we identify the geophysical need for a preventive carbon dioxide removal capacity of several hundred gigatonnes. Yet, technical, economic and sustainability considerations may limit the realisation of carbon dioxide removal deployment at such scales. Therefore, we cannot be confident that temperature decline after overshoot is achievable within the timescales expected today. Only rapid near-term emission reductions are effective in reducing climate risks.

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NET-ZERO AND THE CHINA CHALLENGE: DECARBONISATION AMID GREAT POWER COMPETITION IN THE INDO-PACIFIC — (Julie de los Reyes and Jewellord Nem Singh)

With tensions mounting between the United States and China, the Indo-Pacific is thrust once again into the geopolitical spotlight. On April 11, 2024, the first trilateral summit between the United States, the Philippines, and Japan purportedly took place in response to China's growing military presence in the region.

For many Global South countries, the inability of the United States, Japan, and allied countries to match what China has achieved underscores the glaring failure of the liberal international order to address pressing social and environmental issues. Countries across Africa, Latin America, and Asia increasingly are taking



TAIWAN: AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST PERSPECTIVE — Qiao Collective



Taiwan: An Anti-Imperialist Perspective

Qiao Collective

In the Western imagination, Taiwan exists as little more than a staging ground for ideological war with the People's Republic of China (PRC)—a crossroads of democracy versus authoritarianism, Western values versus Chinese backwardness, and free market capitalism versus closed-door communism. Yet for centuries, the island of Taiwan has played a rich and pivotal role in broader Chinese history. Located just one hundred miles from the mainland's southeastern coast, Taiwan was linked to the mainland through migration, trade, language, and culture long before European and Japanese colonisers seized on its strategic location as a launchpad for economic and military forays against China at large. Today, this history continues as U.S. imperialism positions Taiwan as an ideological and military base for its new Cold War against China.¹

Taiwan's separation from the Chinese mainland began in 1895, when the Qing government was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan after its defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War. While Japan's surrender at the end of the Second World War legally restored Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan, the Chinese Civil War and the global Cold War once again rendered Taiwan an instrument for imperial ambitions against China. For the ascendant postwar United States, the 1949 establishment of the PRC under the Communist Party of China (CPC) marked the "loss of China"—a blow only partially recouped by propping up the Chiang Kai-shek government in Taiwan as "Free China." In 1950, as the United States waged war



Qiao Collective is a grassroots media collective of diaspora Chinese writers, artists, and researchers devoted to challenging imperialism.

¹ A note on terminology: Since 1949, the de facto governing authority over the islands of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu has retained the official name "Republic of China" or "ROC." For the sake of clarity and consistency, we adhere to this usage throughout this article. However, this does not imply recognition of the ROC's claim to legitimacy as a continuation of the pre-1949 government of both mainland China and Taiwan. Official statements from PRC officials and media typically refer to the "Taiwan authorities," while the pro-independence camp and mainstream Western media usually refer to this de facto state entity simply as "Taiwan"—barring its historical and current formulations like "precursor of Taiwan," "flag of Taiwan," and so on. In non-governmental contexts we use the common demonym "Taiwanese" for people residing on the island and raised in Taiwan, and for entities based there.

TSCA#us92 00210 March 2025/Qiao Collective



Community-Based Adaptation to Climate Change: Core Issues and Implications for Practical Implementations

Tom Selje, Lena Anna Schmid and Boris Heinz

Abstract

According to current forecasts, global heating is likely to exceed 2.8 °C by the end of this century. This makes substantial adaptation measures necessary to secure a broad basis for livelihood provision and the conservation of biodiversity. While the implementation of top-down and technocratic adaptation efforts predominates, related adaptation shortcomings of a socio-economic and ecological nature are becoming more and more apparent. Community-based adaptation (CBA), with its participatory, inclusive and needs-based bottom-up approach, offers a promising and powerful alternative. This article uses a semi-systematic literature review approach to screen the current literature and identify core issues of CBA. Linking communality, locality, multidimensionality, power imbalances, transformative potential, localisation, the triad of adaptation metrics and nature-based adaptation to corresponding potential actions for practical implementations provides a more holistic conceptualisation and broadens the horizons for further learning, research and improved applications.



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CRISIS OR COLLAPSE? OVERSHOOT AND DEGROWTH — Asier Arias — *The Energy Agency estimates that the green transition will require a seven-fold increase in rare earths, a 19-fold increase in nickel, a 21-fold increase in cobalt and a 42-fold increase in lithium mining over two decades.*

The delicate juncture of the Earth system has been described as a crisis or a set of crises: 'ecological crisis', 'climate crisis', 'biodiversity crisis'. Our ecosocial situation has also been described as a crisis.

I will, therefore, return to these notions - crisis, collapse - after devoting a few lines to trying to explain and help us understand. I will outline an overview of our ecological situation - shall we avoid the ambiguity between 'ecological' and 'ecosocial' (Riechmann, 2023) - by focusing on three of its central elements: the climatic symptom of our ecological overshoot,

Net-Zero and the China Challenge: Decarbonisation amid Great Power Competition in the Indo-Pacific

Julie de los Reyes and Jewellord Nem Singh

With tensions mounting between the United States and China, the Indo-Pacific is thrust once again into the geopolitical spotlight. On April 11, 2024, the first trilateral summit between the United States, the Philippines, and Japan purportedly took place in response to China's growing military

A key pillar of the new security engagement is energy cooperation, focusing on shared interests in securing supply chains for critical minerals, renewable energy projects, and clean technologies.

presence in the region. The summit—billed as the first many—is meant to signal a united front against any threats to stability in the region, with the United States pledging "ironclad" support for its Pacific allies. Although military defence cooperation figured high on the agenda, a key pillar of the new security engagement is energy cooperation, focusing on shared interests in securing supply chains for critical minerals, renewable energy projects, and clean technologies.

As the global impetus for decarbonisation accelerates, the strategic importance of the region has risen as a supplier of raw materials critical to transition and as a vast destination market for low-carbon technologies. In this article, we examine how decarbonisation is driving key players to reconsider strategic priorities, alliances, and re-engagements, focusing in particular on the energy underpinnings of the U.S.-China rivalry and how this plays out in the Indo-Pacific. We argue that the material foundations of this rivalry now encompass a much broader set of resources and technologies than before, generating new patterns of dependence and interdependence between regional powers and emerging resource frontiers. U.S. re-engagement in the region is part of a broader strategy to contain China by leveraging U.S. military capabilities to control key trade routes while locking in economic partnerships on critical minerals, clean energy

TSCA#us92 00210 March 2025/de los Reyes & Nem Singh

a more pragmatic relationship with the Chinese state and capital to meet their energy needs and deliver on climate pledges. African governments have welcomed Chinese aid and loans, given their loose political conditionalities compared to traditional international financial lenders. Although these partnerships are naturally not without problems, China has provided an alternative avenue to pursue development and growth. Nevertheless, in a carbon-constrained world, China is itself hard-pressed to provide a credible alternative. Although its state-led development model has delivered breakthrough technological advancements, its approach has also been marred by its fair share of ethical and environmental problems. Internally, this success also came at a cost, manifesting in severe environmental degradation and social inequality. Despite its new, greener offerings, China will have to show leadership at unwinding the fossil fuel buildup that it has partially enabled.

The solutions will require a collective approach that takes seriously, above all, the sheer urgency of the climate crisis. In practical terms, this will require finding ways to build a constructive relationship between the United States and China. For the United States and its allies, this may mean accepting China as an inevitable partner in facilitating the worldwide adoption of low-carbon technologies, and more broadly, in solving the climate crisis, despite the challenge posed to U.S. hegemony. This is, of course, no easy task. But as the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy puts it: "no country [should] withhold progress on existential transnational issues because of bilateral differences.

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COMMUNITY-BASED ADAPTATION TO CLIMATE CHANGE: CORE ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATIONS — (Tom Selje, Lena Anna Schmid and Boris Heinz)

According to current forecasts, global heating is likely to exceed 2.8 °C by the end of this century. This makes substantial adaptation measures necessary to secure a broad basis for livelihood provision and the conservation of biodiversity. While the implementation of top-down and technocratic adaptation efforts predominates, related adaptation shortcomings of a socio-economic and ecological nature are



Crisis or collapse? Overshoot and degrowth

The Energy Agency estimates that the green transition will require a seven-fold increase in rare earths, a 19-fold increase in nickel, a 21-fold increase in cobalt and a 42-fold increase in lithium mining over two decades.

Asier Arias

The delicate juncture of the Earth system has been described as a crisis or a set of crises: 'ecological crisis', 'climate crisis', 'biodiversity crisis'. Our ecological situation has also been described as a crisis. In recent months, a controversy has arisen in Spanish environmentalism that contrasts this crisis notion with 'collapse'. Some of those involved in this controversy have suggested it would be time to jump 'from truth to emotion', to mobilise politically, recruiting affection rather than examining reasons. However, it is not just on anyone that political mobilisation is likely to be achieved by different means. Not all means may lead to the same kind of mobilisation, and I think there is every reason to insist on the reasons.¹



Photo by David Chaffin - Pixabay

¹ When faced with these extremes, I tend to think of Susan Chernsky. It's explicitly enlightened affiliation, his expressed intention to use emotion aside in his political activities, his monstrous hunger of 'merely' factual analysis—all of these we must parallel with the question of whether there has been any other figure who has had a greater impact on the political education of the last couple of generations. If we wanted to get rhetorical, we could counter the rationalism of his legacy with the lowest affectivity of the new fascist spurs.

TJSGA/BriefsSD (0807) November 2024/Asier Arias

that of the sixth mass extinction and, finally, the main material source of each of the symptoms, namely the fossil potlatch that is now coming to an end (Santiago Muñoz, 2018: 64). I will try to avoid the usual 'carbon tunnel vision' (Escrivá, 2021; 2023) that equates 'ecological crisis' with 'climate change'.

The answer to the dilemma between crisis and collapse could, in the end, consist in the conjunction between the incontrovertible diagnosis of severe ecological overshoot and the urgent need for degrowth - to avoid, hopefully, that it is the consequences of overshoot that forces traumatic degrowth.

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THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT'S FIGHT FOR ADAPTATION – Stella Levantesi

The climate movement has traditionally seen adaptation as the fig leaf of climate inaction. But local communities, civil society, and activist groups around the world are now pressuring governments to include adaptation alongside mitigation measures. Is this shift a positive step in the fight for climate justice?

Legal efforts to ensure states adopt environmental and climate adaptation measures are increasing globally. Neither mitigation nor adaptation alone will be sufficient to combat the challenges posed by climate chaos and the destruction of ecosystems. "There are going to be impacts from climate change that we can't mitigate and we can't adapt to, and there will be losses and damages. This really raises the questions of where is that money going to come from, and who should it come from, and how do we get it where it needs to go," Kuhl says.

Climate advocates and experts are convinced climate action must include both adaptation and mitigation measures. This means recognising the challenges of both and promoting action to address them.



The Climate Movement's Fight for Adaptation

Stella Levantesi

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Legal efforts to ensure states adopt environmental and climate adaptation measures are increasing globally. Victims of recurring landslides in Uganda, for instance, have challenged the government's lack of climate adaptation strategies, while the Supreme Court of Pakistan has upheld a decision barring the construction of cement plants in environmentally vulnerable areas. It's part of what Fizza Zaidi, Research Associate for the Climate Change Programme at the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) in New Delhi, calls a growing "push for adaptation within climate litigation".

In another case in Pakistan, in which a farmer sued the government for failing to abide by its own climate change policies, the Court highlighted the country's vulnerability to extreme weather events in particular. "Recognising the limited capacity of developing countries to adapt, the court saw climate justice as a means through which courts can help build adaptive capacity and climate resilience," explains Zaidi.

Calls for adaptation aren't only happening within courts. Recent COP climate conferences have been crucial forums in which civil society organisations, communities, and activists have voiced urgent demands for adaptation implementation and loss and damage funds.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT: FROM RADICALISM TO COMPLACENCY – Bilbo Bassattera



The evolution of the climate movement: from radicalism to complacency

It is worrying to note that a large part of the environmental militancy seems to be more focused on maintaining the few privileges it possesses

Bilbo Bassattera

In 2018, the publication of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's IPCC Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5°C marked a turning point in the climate movement. This report warned of the catastrophic consequences of global warming and urged the international community to take radical action. This call to action triggered an unprecedented wave of mobilisation, giving rise to a new generation of movements that not only put the climate crisis at the centre of the institutional and social debate but also intervened it with other struggles such as labour, decolonial, feminist and anti-speciesist.

Over time, however, the initial enthusiasm for these movements has waned. What began as a radical challenge to the hegemonic powers has been transformed into a series of initiatives more oriented towards complacency and group therapy. In many cases, organisations seem content to engage in protests that are more akin to marketing campaigns aimed at recruiting new activists than a real challenge to the status quo.



The facade of the Congress stained with Indignado-coloured water after a protest by Roberto Cervetto / CTXT

TJSGA/BriefsSD (0804) January 2025/Bilbo Bassattera

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NARRATING THE AMAZON — Paolo Pecere

As the largest tropical forest and one of the biggest carbon sinks in the world, the Amazon plays an indispensable role in keeping our planet habitable. Although the threat facing the Amazon region is well-known, it is hard to truly grasp the severity of the situation through scientific facts alone. Inter-cultural exchanges and discarding longstanding colonial perspectives can help bridge that gap.



Narrating the Amazon

Paolo Pecere

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The theatrical production Antigone in the Amazon by Swiss director Milo Rau is both a presentation of Sophocles' tragedy and the story of its adaptation in Brazil with Indigenous actors. This doubling of elements is reflected by an experiential doubling: European actors perform part of the action on stage, while scenes set in the Amazon are pre-recorded and projected onto a screen, which the actors introduce and comment upon. Antigone's death scene is seen twice, once live and once on video.

In narrating the myth of Antigone, Milo Rau also incorporates a recent historical event: the 1995 massacre of Eldorado do Carajás in the northern Brazilian state of Pará, when the police killed 19 demonstrators from the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (Landless Workers Movement, MST). One of the movement's banners hangs above the entrance to the theatre stalls during the performance.

The story of the MST workers who were killed after occupying a private ranch is very different from that of Antigone, who defied the laws of the city of Thebes by burying her brother Polynices, found guilty of attacking the city. Both, however, concern the conflict between civil order and legal principles, which they bring into question. The transposition of this Ancient Greek play to a different geographical and historical context consequently highlights its current political

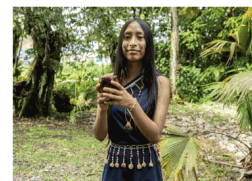


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'THE SEA CAN BE A SUBJECT OF LAW BECAUSE IT IS ALIVE' — Miguel Ángel Ortega Lucas



'The sea can be a subject of law because it is alive'

Miguel Ángel Ortega Lucas

They were called 'the five crazy women', although there were eight women and three men. The latter were jurists. The five women were, according to the protagonist of this conversation, 'the five unconditional' - not versed in law, but intimately affected by the facts - who supported from the beginning, from its embryonic stage in the coastal town of Los Alcázares (Murcia), the Popular Legislative Initiative that sought to endow the Mar Menor with its own legal personality. Eight founding lunatics made up the Promoting Commission of this law, designed after the environmental collapse that the Mar Menor suffered in October 2019. This is a legal challenge that had Teresa Vicente (Lorca, 1962), lawyer and professor of Philosophy of Law at the University of Murcia, as its compass, rudder and figurehead until its approval and implementation in the autumn of 2022.



Photo by Josep Balaguer on Unsplash

These eight people understood, just like Vicente that an environment such as the Mar Menor, the largest saltwater lagoon in Europe, a natural treasure of the Region of Murcia, ravaged for decades by financial interests and political neglect, also has rights. A revolutionary stance that has raised variable storms on different fronts, but which continues to win battles. The aforementioned madness was shared by more than 600,000 citizens who signed their names to make the Mar Menor the first natural environment with legal personality in Europe. A milestone that has attracted the attention of half the world, that has given ideas to inhabitants of places like Venice interested in new ways of preserving their home, and that led Teresa Vicente to receive, just a few months ago, the prestigious

TSGACCommentarySD IC302 March 2025NA, A. Ortega Lucas

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JUJUY BURNS: POSTCARDS OF A REBELLION AGAINST LITHIUM PLUNDERING — Josefina L. Martínez — *Dozens of pickets block the roads in Jujuy, northern Argentina. The protest brings together communities in defence of their territories, the teachers' struggle for wages and the rage of young people against government repression.*

If Josep Borrell recently said that Europe was a 'garden' and the rest of the world a 'jungle', Ursula Von Der Leyen, in the same spirit of conquest, considers the 'lithium triangle' (northern Chile, Bolivia and Argentina) as a strategic area for the imperial coffers. On her recent tour of Latin America, the EU

07/04/25

representative focused on the new 'white gold', as lithium is known. It is an essential mineral for producing electric batteries, such as those used in mobile phones and electric cars. Behind the European 'green transition' lies a brutal plunder, the destruction of the natural commons and the plundering of entire peoples. However, against all resignation, the last word has not been spoken because there is resistance and rebellion in the streets.



Jujuy burns: postcards of a rebellion against lithium plundering

Dozens of pickets block the roads in Jujuy, northern Argentina. The protest brings together communities in defence of their territories, the teachers' struggle for wages and the rage of young people against government repression.

Josefina L. Martínez

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Headbook at the entrance to Susques, Jujuy. The picket prevents access to the lithium mining companies. / La Jugueta Diario

Amid extreme cold in the Puna region and the Quebrada de Humahuaca, the picket lines of the native communities are supported by teachers and health workers. On the roadside, they have set up tents to spend the night and sanitary 'posts'. The videos have gone viral on social networks. Kolla, Quechua, and other women from other communities are moving with courage. The miners arrive chanting: 'Free or dead, never slaves'. Students open the university's doors to those who have travelled to the provincial capital. Teachers have been on strike

TSGACCommentarySD IC307 October 2024Josefina L. Martínez

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MARX AND PROMETHEANISM — Toby Terrar — The Editors of Monthly Review



Marx and Prometheanism

The Editors of Monthly Review

The term Promethean, referring in this context to extreme productivism, first entered into the ecological debate as a censure aimed almost entirely at Karl Marx. It was adopted as a form of condemnation by first-stage ecosocialists in the 1980s and '90s, who sought to graft standard liberal Green theory onto Marxism, while jettisoning what were then widely presumed to be Marx's anti-ecological views. However, the Promethean myth with respect to Marx was to be subjected to a sustained attack, commencing twenty-five years ago, in the work of second-stage ecosocialists, represented by Paul Burkett's Marx and Nature (Haymarket, 1999) and John Bellamy Foster's "Marx's Theory of Metabolic Rift" (American Journal of Sociology 105, no. 2 [September 1999])—followed soon after by Foster's Marx's Ecology (Monthly Review Press, 2000). Here it was understood that the outlook of classical historical materialism was not that of the promotion of production for its own sake—much less accumulation for its own sake—but rather the creation of a society of sustainable human development controlled by the associated producers. The key analytical basis of this recovery of the classical historical-materialist ecological critique was Marx's theory of metabolic rift.

On the basis of the recovery of Marx's deep-seated ecological critique, ecosocialism has made major advances over the last quarter-century. One notable work, in this respect, was Robert Saito's Karl Marx's Ecosocialism (Monthly Review Press, 2017), which brought additional evidence to bear on the critique of the Promethean myth and on the development of Marx's theory of metabolic rift. The result was the emergence of powerful ecological Marxist assessments of the contemporary planetary crisis provided by a host of thinkers, including such notable figures as Ian Angus, Jacopo Nicola Bergamo, Maurizio Betancourt, Brett Clark, Rebecca Clausen, Sean Crowen, Peter Dickens, Martin Engeson, Michael Friedman, Nicolas Graham, Hannah Holliman, Michael A. Lebowitz, Stefano Longo, Fred Magdoff, Andreas Malm, Brian M. Napolitano, Ariel Salleh, Famonn Slater, Carlos Soriano, Pedro Urquijo, Rob Wallace, Del Weston, Victor Wallis, Richard York, and many others too numerous to name.

TSGACCommentarySD IC376 November 2024Toby Terrar



Photo by David Hidy on Unsplash. Prometheus, Prometheism and Unsettled Natural Systems in History

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"THE MOST TERRIBLE CONSEQUENCE OF MONOCULTURE IS HOW IT CAMOUFLAGES ITSELF IN A FALSE LANDSCAPE" — Esther Peñas



"The most terrible consequence of monoculture is how it camouflages itself in a false landscape"

Esther Peñas

El vasto territorio (Caja negra), winner of the Santiago Municipal Prize for Literature in 2022, is a novel that denounces the effects and implications of deforestation, the consequences of environmental destruction in a specific area of the planet (Chile) and how these ravages lead to a deterioration of affection and life in common. Interwoven with the subject of the narrative, its plot, and how it is told, with a series of footnotes that build up an unfolding of the main plot growing with the ductility of mushrooms, crossed by a sovereign lyricism that gives way to police, horror, scientific, tones... We talked with its author, Simón López Trujillo (Santiago, 1994).



Photo: Instagram / @EstherPeñas

Before going into detail with the appearance of the fungus, how does the industrial deforestation that marks your life affect the inhabitants of these places you describe?

The novel is set in Curanilahue (a commune in southern Chile, near Concepción) for several reasons. First, because that place, which today has more than ninety percent of its surface covered with pine and eucalyptus trees, is an example of how large forestry companies affect the territories where they are inserted, producing environmental devastation and impoverishment of the area. But also because these large companies make even their own workers precarious, often normalising labor deregulation and anti-union practices. In fact, the novel is dedicated to Rodrigo Cisterna for that reason. He was a forestry worker and union leader killed by police officers on May 3, 2007, in the context of a takeover of the Horcones plant, on the outskirts of Curanilahue, in which the workers were demanding minimum conditions for their employment: an end to subcontracting, wage readjustment, among other basic issues. I was interested in setting the

TSGACCommentarySD IC374 October 2024Esther Peñas

El Vasto Territorio (Caja negra), winner of the Santiago Municipal Prize for Literature in 2022, is a novel that denounces the effects and implications of deforestation, the consequences of environmental destruction in a specific area of the planet (Chile) and how these ravages lead to a deterioration of affection and life in common. Interwoven with the subject of the

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FAST FASHION, KILLER FASHION — Ornela De Gasperin Quintero



Fast fashion, killer fashion

Ornela De Gasperin Quintero

Fast fashion is emblematic of the irrationality of the dogmas of the current economic system, of the extractivist economic model that rules the world, and of the exploitation of the Global South (or the economic periphery) by the Global North (or the economic centre)—all for the immediate but suicidal long-term benefit of capital.



Photo by the Sloop on Unsplash

Science has defined certain biological, climatic and physical axes whose limits should not be transgressed to keep humanity in a safe zone (the planetary boundaries). Of these nine axes, we are transgressing six, pushing humanity out of our safe place (Rockström et al., 2023).¹ One of these six limits is climate change. The climate crisis is currently displacing around 30 million people per year and current climate projections place us at very high risk, with a level of global warming that may exceed the adaptive capacity of human societies (Kemp et al., 2022; Steel, Desloches, & Mintz-Woo, 2022). The United Nation's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) assesses that, without radical changes, between 3.3 and 3.6 billion people will be living in highly vulnerable places to climate change by the year 2100.

According to the IPCC's sixth and latest report, the transformations needed to combat the climate crisis are 'fundamental changes in the way our societies function, including changes in values, in political and economic systems, and in power relations.'² However, despite the unequivocal scientific consensus on the anthropogenic causes of the climate crisis for

¹ ² Richardson, K., Snelson, W., Lucchi, W., Bendish, J., Cornwell, S.E., Dierges, J.F., Diklik, M., Fettes, L., Bala, G., Van Blyk, W. and Frouin, G., 2023. Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries. *Science Advances*, 9(37), p.ead82458.

² IPCC. Sixth Assessment Report: *ESG 6: What is a Climate Resilient Development and how do we pursue it?*

TSGA Commentary/SD 63087/1 November 2024/Oriola De Gasperin

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Fast fashion appears to democratise consumption through low cost, but this low financial cost to the consumer hides a high human, environmental and ethical cost. The actual cost of fast fashion is enormous, from the excessive use of natural resources to the exploitation of labour on the global periphery, and it is currently borne by the planet and vulnerable communities.

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IT'S ALL ABOUT MONEY AND ANXIETY

— José Heinz — *Workers who identify with millionaires and YouTubers who teach how to make easy money: capitalism shapes our desires. Mark Fisher tried to break with such common sense.*



It's all about money and anxiety

Workers who identify with millionaires and YouTubers who teach how to make easy money: capitalism shapes our desires. Mark Fisher tried to break with such common sense.

José Heinz

In one of her strips, Mafalda walks along the pavement behind two adults in suits and briefcases heading towards a high-end car. On the way, she hears one of them say to her: -Change the world! Ha, things of youth. I had those ideas when I was a teenager, too.

The men leave in the car, and Mafalda runs to her friends (Felipe, Manolito, Miguelito) to warn them:

-Let's be boys! It turns out that if you don't hurry to change the world, it's the world that changes you!

Quino's creation exposes the generational clash between an idealistic youth, a defender of revolutionary ideas, and the capitalist man, who was able to insert himself into that system and accept and defend it because it offers him comfort and security. Out of the picture are those expelled by that same system or those who, even inside, are at the bottom, the majority group of people exploited by those who managed to reach the top or were born there.

What for many still represents an injustice, a widening gap, is the default world of the last decades: capitalism not only proved its robustness as an economic and social system but also as a status culture measured in terms of aspiration and consumption. In addition to the failures of socialist experiments in the second half of the twentieth century, some of which are still in an agonising state, capitalism stands as a kind of common sense organiser of modern societies. It is very difficult to think outside it.

TSGA Commentary/SD 63078 December 2024/José Heinz

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THE LAND DEFENDER'S CALL — Tara Houska



The Land Defender's Call

Tara Houska

Protests against extractive projects, whether ridiculed or violently quashed, are critical defences of nature and wellbeing, both under attack from global corporations, oligarchs, and complicit governments. Indigenous peoples give voice to the change in vision necessary for a stronger position in challenging times.

Laughter and the buzz of conversation drift across the United States Capitol concrete steps. The sun is shining brightly as an antipipeline protest song picks up voices.

One by one, the folks with interlocked arms are walked off by a single police officer as onlookers cheer. Citations are issued, demonstrators rejoin the crowd. New friendships and connections are made. After the banners are rolled up, the crowd disperses to their evening plans.

Two thousand miles away, next to a giant steel pipe cutting through the forest, the same protest song tries to pick up steam. It is quickly replaced by confused shouting and pained voices. Indigenous protestors and allies are being maced and tackled to the ground by police in riot gear. Private security guards hired by the pipeline company surround the group and chat with officers in a waiting paddy wagon.

Those in cable ties will spend days or weeks in a cell, facing charges ranging from simple trespass to domestic terrorism. The story is in the local media, then the national news. Elected officials pick up their phones to discuss the pipeline. A state environmental justice committee is created. A proposed domestic conservation policy gains another sponsor. And the pipeline keeps barreling through the forest.

TSGA Commentary/SD 63079 December 2024/Tara Houska

The protests against extractive projects, whether ridiculed or violently quashed, are critical defences of nature and wellbeing, both under attack from global corporations, oligarchs, and complicit governments. Indigenous peoples give voice to the change in vision necessary for a stronger position in challenging times.

Laughter and the buzz of conversation drift across the United States Capitol concrete steps. The sun is shining brightly as an antipipeline protest song picks up voices. One by one, the folks with interlocked arms are walked off by a single police officer as onlookers cheer. Citations are issued, demonstrators rejoin the crowd. New friendships and connections are made. After the banners are rolled up, the crowd disperses to their evening plans.

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In my experience as a land defender calling out from some of the last beautiful, healthy places under siege by endless greed, I've found bravery and selflessness to be a source of inspiration for people all over the world living through the bleakness of climate science and overwhelming existentialism. I've found standing collectively and physically with the Earth to be a pathway to directly reframing the narrative of the world we can envisage while providing a glimpse of

reconnection through an act of love. Some direct actions lay bare the weakness of destroyers, bound by the same physicalities as we all are. I cannot adequately convey the eyes of a person who has stopped a multi-national industry from its planet-killing for a few hours, for a few days, for a few months or even years. It is power. It is empowerment. It is reclamation. Our Mother needs us, with all our empathy and rejection of the disconnection killing us all. I hope more of us realise our hearts and our humility are just as critical as our minds when we choose to stay or go.

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'THE ENERGY TRANSITION HAS NOT YET BEGUN' – Hervé Kempf with Jean-Baptiste Fressoz — Jean-Baptiste Fressoz, historian of technology, science and the environment.



'The energy transition has not yet begun'

Jean-Baptiste Fressoz, historian of technology, science and the environment

Hervé Kempf with Jean-Baptiste Fressoz

Jean-Baptiste Fressoz (France, 1977) is a historian of science, technology and the environment and professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He has just published *Sans Transition. Une Nouvelle Histoire de L'énergie* ('Without Transition. A New History of Energy'). He is also the author, with Christophe Bonneuil, of *The Anthropocene Event: Earth, History and Us* (Points Histoire) and *The Joyful Apocalypse. A History of Technological Risk* (Seuil).



Jean-Baptiste Fressoz, historian of technology, science and the environment in Paris in December. (p. Martin Ochoa (Reporters))

In your opinion, the energy transition is not happening. What is the problem?

The transition is the idea that we will change our energy system in 30 or 40 years to deal with the climate crisis. But if we look at it historically, we see how scientifically biased this notion has been. For example, We did not transition from wood to coal during the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution was not a transition; it was a vast material expansion.

In 1900, England, a very large mining country, consumed 4.5 million m3 of wood per year for use as props in mine galleries. In the 1750s, the English were burning 3.6 million m3. Thus, to extract coal alone, the English used more wood in 1900 than they burnt in 1750. So oil has not replaced coal!

TSGA/CommentarySD IC0803 March 2023/Hervé Kempf

On Jean-Baptiste Fressoz (France, 1977) is a historian of science, technology and the environment and professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He has just published *Sans Transition. Une Nouvelle Histoire de L'énergie* ('Without Transition. A New History of Energy'). He is also the author, with Christophe Bonneuil, of *The Anthropocene Event: Earth, History and Us* (Points Histoire) and *The Joyful Apocalypse. A History of Technological Risk* (Seuil).

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'HATE-FUELLED NATIONALISM IS A PARTNER OF CORPORATE NEOLIBERALISM' — Pablo Castaño / Adrià Rodríguez — Interview with Vandana Shiva - Ecofeminist Activist.



'Hate-fuelled nationalism is a partner of corporate neoliberalism'

Interview with Vandana Shiva - Ecofeminist Activist

Pablo Castaño / Adrià Rodríguez

Vandana Shiva (Dehradun, 1952) is one of our time's most recognised ecofeminist activists and intellectuals. A doctor in quantum physics, she was one of the founders of the World Social Forum, a pioneer in opening up the debate on agroecology and seed control, and the author of more than 15 books. Since 1987, she has been the head of the agroecological farm and seed bank Navdanya in northern India and helps to organise peasant struggles all over the world.



La física y activista ecologista Vandana Shiva durante la entrevista. / Adrià Rodríguez

CTXT meets Shiva in the old industrial area of Fabra i Coats in Barcelona, where she has come to participate in the Fira Lateral de Barcelona, a meeting of critical publishers. There, the Indian activist and intellectual engages in a conversation with Yayo Herrero in front of an audience of around 700 people.

You share a diagnosis of the ecological crisis with Yayo Herrero. How would you describe it? The first element in understanding the ecological crisis is that it is being caused by unlimited extraction. This happens because corporate and colonial rights have been granted and are rewarded with absolute power. Presenting extractive activity as progress hides exploitation, hides the violation of the self-organisation of systems.

TSGA/CommentarySD IC0803 March 2023/P. Castaño / A. Rodríguez

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A final thought



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

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

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

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