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FIGHT THE FIRE

ECOSOCIALIST MAGAZINE



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fight the fire

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editorial note



The project of a magazine such as this one has long been in the making. Many of us have been involved in organizing encounters and conferences on Ecosocialism, while at the same time taking on to the streets, the marches, the blockades and direct actions at the core of the climate justice movement.

The objective of this magazine is clear: to provide an ecosocialist framework to the climate justice movement. The revolutionary subject of an ecosocialist revolution, the one that we need in order to prevent climate breakdown, is this powerful movement. Yet, a lot of work needs to be done. A revolution will not simply happen, it will be organized, planned, and done, or it will never happen.

The editorial board of **Fight the Fire - Ecosocialist Magazine**, comprised of militants in various social movements around the world assumes the commitment of providing insights for the movement and for ecosocialists around the world. We also commit to keep on reflecting

on the tactics and strategies followed by social movements all around the world - including the ones in which we participate -, not in a sectarian way, but as a critical assessment on how close we are of achieving a victory, that is, of blocking climate chaos.

We assume our debt and commitment to the International Ecosocialist Encounters which many of us have participated in and helped organize in past years. They have become a meeting point for ecosocialists and allies and they need to continue.

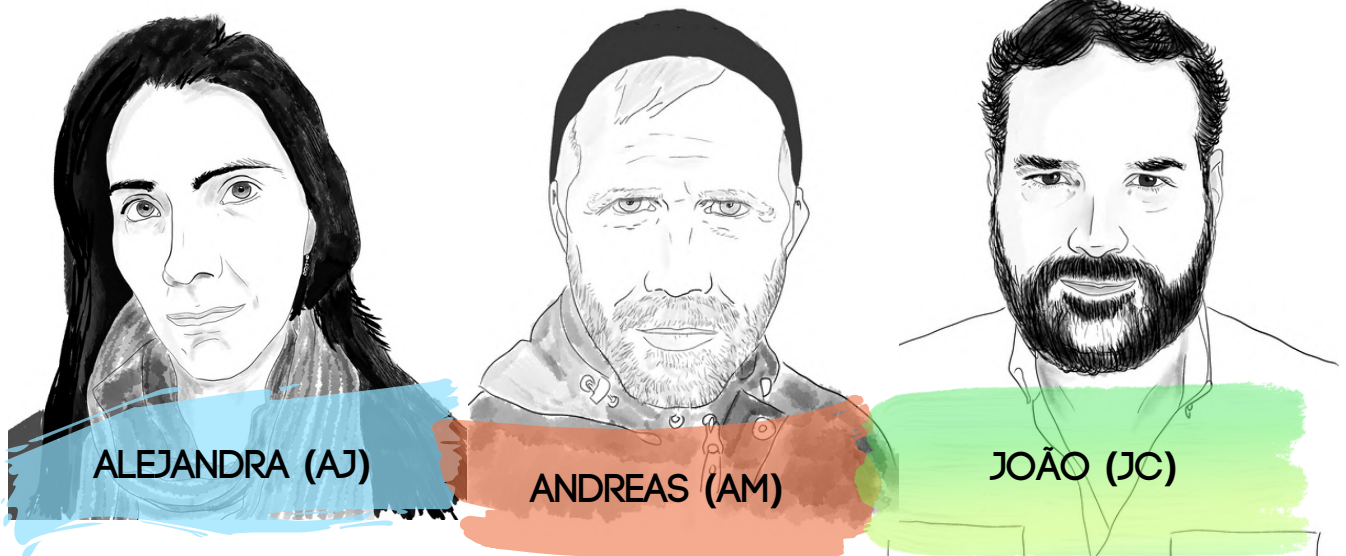
Our first number comes from within, from the hands of our own editorial board, as a first glimpse on where we come from and where we're aiming at. It is a Revolution.

Today is the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. A massive heatwave scorches dozens of countries, burning forests and crops, while a war rages in Eastern Europe. This is the time in which we are alive. It is the time to act.

João Camargo

Ecosocialism in a radicalizing climate justice movement

A three-way debate between Alejandra Jiménez,
Andreas Malm and João Camargo



JC: This is going to be our first debate in the Fight the Fire Ecosocialist magazine. The idea of the Ecosocialist magazine is to bring ecosocialist perspectives into the climate justice movement. This is important because some of the existing flaws in the movement, in its projects, in its program, often also relate to ambiguity in terms of political aims, in terms of tactics, and the possibility of having non hegemonical political perspective

taking root in this movement.

We are in the board of the magazine. My name is João Camargo, I'm a researcher at the University of Lisbon and I'm an activist in the climate justice movement in Portugal, in Climáximo. Alejandra Jiménez is an activist in the antifracking coalition in Mexico. Andreas Malm is an associate professor of human ecology at the University of Lund, in Sweden.

I'm going to just kick it off: how do you think that the climate justice movement could benefit from an ecosocialist component that is highly effective?

AJ: I think that in this context of climate emergency and of extractivisms, it is very important to have a perspective from ecosocialism, thinking precisely that inequality has increased, colonialism has increased and the situation isn't only about environmental problems that are aggravating. There's an increase in social inequality and other structural problems that were never solved, in particular the control from the Global North, extractivism, colonialism, racism, patriarchy. These issues seem to be disarticulated from the environmental discussion, from the discussions that are happening in the context of the climate emergency.

So, I think it is very important that we are discussing these issues, that we don't leave the discussion on these terms. There are guilty people, these people are in the Global North, and at the expense of their privilege, the South is suffering most of the problems of the climate emergency. So it is important that we keep looking at these from the viewpoint of justice, also from the viewpoint of what is happening in the South, the movements that are acting in the South. The struggle for the climate had a recent strong impetus in Europe, in

the Global North. But for centuries, first peoples have done a very important work to protect the ecosystems and its exactly in this possibility of recuperating the technologies, the knowledge from the first peoples that we may find many responses.

AM: So, from my horizon, I would say that clearly the climate movement is undergoing a process of radicalization in at least two different respects. And I'm thinking about the Global North. One is tactical. So you see an escalation, most recently with Just Stop Oil, today stepping up from blockades to actually destroying gas stations or sabotaging equipment at gas stations. So this is in line with the general trend towards more confrontational tactics. The other trend, I would say, is an ideological radicalization that you see both with XR (Extinction Rebellion) and its various offshoots and with Fridays for the Future, the two linchpins of the mobilizations that happened in 2019. With Fridays for the Future, the rhetoric is taking on

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more anticapitalist vibes or sound bites or buzzwords. The most recent strike was launched under the hashtag #PlanetNonprofit, I believe, or something of that kind.

The role here for an explicitly ecosocialist current, however it's organized would, to me, to my mind, particularly be in the ideological sphere. So, of course you could envision ecococialists being a kind of vanguard for tactical escalation. But I would say that the main role might be in formulating and pulling out the implicit logic of an anticapitalist position in the climate movement and making it more coherent, fully fledged as a program, as an idea about how to confront dominant capitalist class interests. So, an ideological pole of attraction for the radical part of the climate movement, that would presumably play a big role as the movement undergoes further radicalization.

JC: I think, in very practical terms, what is required to have the necessary cuts in emissions means a massive destruction of capital, capital which is today counted by governments and the biggest companies in history as something which is already theirs. The movement needs to act to destroy this capital. So, this 50% cut, or something around about that, in this decade, means effectively the biggest revolution in history. So to think about it as something that does not need to

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ANDREAS MALM

shake society to its very core is very naive.

I'm not saying that ecosocialism already provides all the answers for this. I don't think it does. It gives out some interesting perspectives that need to be developed. And I think they need to be developed within and reflecting the radicalization of the movement.

Capitalism now is not a defect, it is structure, it is doing exactly what it is built for. It is working perfectly in its own terms. There is this minor issue of the existence of people, species, communities, everything, but there's no mistake here.

Obviously a massive part of society and a big part of the movement still think that this is a mishap, an accident, and not what capitalism was actually built for. I think this is shifting quickly and what ecosocialism can bring is a revolutionary theory. One of the big issues not only with the climate justice movement, but with movement for the

last 30 years is lack of a theory of what a revolution is. We are still based on revolutionary theories that are one hundred years old, about what tactics work, strikes and protests work.

The current theories are very much influenced by the current forms of power. That power points us towards a means of actually never achieving any effective revolution. Changing this is a major task if we plan to bring in an ecosocialist perspective. And it is something that needs to be built in practice with movements actually doing things all around the world.

Obviously, one of the issues that Alejandra raised is very important, the issue of reparation, and also the issue of acknowledgement, because resistance to this type of “development” is a constant in history, and specially by the people most affected by it. In the Global South, obviously, and also in the Global North. Capitalist development was always a conscious choice, everyone was very much aware of what was happening and of the effects, and they are still aware of that. So solving this can never happen through a mediation process with those who are actually doing the destruction.

One of the things that presents us with a problem is what is the connection of such a theory of ecosocialism with the

current existing state system. States are a fact. They exist everywhere. But I'd like to raise the issue of nationalization, because in a few contexts, the issue of nationalization is presented as a solution. In some contexts I believe it might be a solution, but it is not an unequivocal solution or a one-size-fits-all.

In particular, I would say, Portugal had a revolution in 1974. That revolution nationalized the banking system, the energy sector, fuels, everything, but this also shifted in the last 50 years.

But in Mexico, per example, the biggest oil company, which is also one of the biggest oil companies in the world, PEMEX, is a public company, owned by the State. So I would like to kick off the second round with this issue of power. Can the current power, the current institutions be the platform used by the movement or by a part of the movement to usher in this revolution?

AJ: In Mexico, nationalization was a driver for development, but for development in western terms. So this development meant the destruction and extermination of many people and the erasing of many traditions, of the identity of many communities. So, doing a balance, I would say that it wasn't a good thing for Mexico, which is a diverse country, culturally diverse, ecologically diverse. The impact of

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JOÃO CAMARGO


nationalism and the narrative about development also impacted ecologic diversity.

I think this formula of capitalism with the State and patriarchy is exactly one of the basic requisites for us to face this struggle, the climate emergency. Capitalism is always together with the State, so we need to leave the narrative of the State, we need to leave this logic of demanding from the State that it responds in face of this catastrophe, and we need to articulate from the ground up. We can't wait for states to come save us because we know, and in this moment with even greater clarity, that states work in alliance and serve the great capitalists and the great corporations.

It is indispensable for us to identify very clearly that to maintain the climate struggle, the climate movements, we can't do it through the state, because it works hand in hand with capital. And I say this from a feminist perspective – it's important to identify that state and capital are also hand in hand with the patriarchy. They are crunched together.

It is indispensable that we identify that to struggle for the climate that there's a part of this triad that is the patriarchy. There are differentiated impacts on women, beyond just living these differentiated impacts, as women are the first lines of battle. It is important to recognize this.

So, I come back to where we can find answers and I think that women have been able to preserve some of the answers



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ALEJANDRA JIMÉNEZ

that existed since before capitalism, when land use, the relationship with nature was much closer and that this was lost with capitalism. Women hold a lot of baggage of important knowledges that were preserved. For me, these are aspects that tell us that it is not with the state that we will find the answers, that we need to go beyond the logic of the state, of the narrative of the state, and of the nation, of nations.

I would like to resume what I wanted to say about Pemex and Mexico. Here we can see that with this new government, that presents itself as left wing, that has shown us that it follows the same logic of capital. It is implementing projects that paint themselves as “projects in service to the people”, but that are only projects that will benefit great capitalists. They present these under a logic of “energy sovereignty”, of nationalism, but they only benefit great capitalists. So here there's a risk of capitalism 'eating' social movements, struggles, even the Left itself.

It is very important for us to know this, to understand this: how did capitalism eat the Left's discourse? I think I have a lot to do with the ability that capitalism had of changing, of adapting well. We should be very critical about how the Left, how socialism wasn't able to adapt to this. We need to know very well how capitalism has this capability of adaptation, of eating everything in its path, mimicking all the social movements it finds.

In Mexico, this happened with the new government that calls itself left wing, that presents itself as being on the side of the people. We see that those suffering the most with the decisions of the government are the people themselves, the first peoples, over whom “development” projects are being undertaken today, despite being contrary to their will, to their life plans. They are going over their heads, without consulting them, disregarding their demands that these projects not be implemented, all of this under threats, that also extend to activists and the defenders of the territories.



So, to me we have to be careful with how these new capitalisms mimic, how they devour the Left in discourse and in action, and also in our strategies of action, that are frequently mimicked, adapted by capitalism itself for its own interests. And here ecologism and ecosocialism are also at risk, as we are coexisting with them and are at risk of being absorbed by capital. I think a key issue is the monetary system, because at the end of the day, we are all under the logic of money and its a logic that heavily dominates and that is cherished as something almost sacred. We need to strongly attack this.

AM: Yeah, so as I see it, a demand for socialization, or nationalization, or expropriation, or whatever we're word you want to use is not a demand that puts any kind of trust in the existing state to do things for us. I mean, when, the revolutionary workers movement in Europe demanded nationalization or socialization 100 years ago, that was an obvious conflict with existing states. Today, there is no state, if you look at Europe, or for that matter, Canada, or Australia, or the US, any of the advanced capitalist countries, that would on its own accord move to take over private energy companies, oil, gas and coal companies. So it's a demand that runs against the thrust of government policy in all of these countries.

Now, I will repeat what I said at the debate

in Glasgow here: I don't see nationalization, obviously, as a panacea as a magic bullet as something that will by definition, solve this problem, obviously, because we have so many state owned oil and gas and coal companies around the world that are just as destructive as any other. But what is an absolute prerequisite for progress is that you establish public control over energy systems. Of course, you can imagine remote controlling private companies, by some other means, then taking them over outright and making them public property. But in an extreme emergency, such as the one that we're in, it's seems to me that taking these companies over and putting them under some sort of public democratic control is the most sensible thing to do when you're dealing with massive corporate entities that need to be totally transformed, as in TOTAL, or Shell or BP, these mega corporations that totally rest on fossil fuel production.

They have to cease to exist as such. It is hard to see that happening in any other way than states taking them over, sequestering them and transforming them into something completely different. If these companies are already in state ownership, such as in Mexico, or in Brazil, or Norway, and other places around the world, then you already have the institutions of property in

place for the government to just decide that these companies need to do something completely different.

Just my own country, Sweden, it has a very nasty oil company. It's very far from one of the biggest in the world, but it's very nasty. It's called Lundeen energy. It's one of the biggest players in the Norwegian oil industry. And of course, Norway is Europe's largest oil and gas producer, and this company has no right to exist, I think. There is a little bit of an attempt to raise the demand to nationalize and completely overhaul this company, you know, bury it as an as an oil and gas company. Insofar as it's going to exist as a corporate entity, it's going to have to be under public control and do something completely different.

But phrasing it in terms of socialize these companies, obviously works in the places where this industry is privately owned still. The whole industry is private in the US, which is the world's largest oil and gas producer. The coal industry is entirely private in Australia, which is the world's largest coal exporter. The coal industry is private in Germany, which is the world's largest producer of

lignite coal, the dirtiest coal of all, and so on, and so forth. So these are major components of the global fossil fuel industry that are privately run, and we can't have private property in fossil fuels. That has to come to an end.

JC: Okay, I'm gonna just add a little chip into this debate because obviously, the tools for nationalization, not socialization, but for nationalization, for state control, have been put into effect with COVID, previously to that with the financial crisis in 2008 and 2010. And I think there's going to be a tension rising from the radicalization of the movement to nationalize, and bailout or to further protect these companies. I think this is an important risk. Because when we say we need to nationalize them, for that to exist, we would need to have a government that wants to nationalize them to bury them, which is also something that is not in an obvious issue on the horizon, nothing that we can see immediately at the moment.

We can't say: if this party will take over, they could do this. I don't think that any party in the Left, would, at this moment, even go to elections on

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JOÃO CAMARGO

YOU'RE DEALING WITH MASSIVE CORPORATE ENTITIES THAT NEED TO BE TOTALLY TRANSFORMED, AS IN TOTAL, OR SHELL OR BP, THESE MEGA CORPORATIONS THAT TOTALLY REST ON FOSSIL FUEL PRODUCTION. THEY HAVE TO CEASE TO EXIST AS SUCH. IT IS HARD TO SEE THAT HAPPENING IN ANY OTHER WAY THEN STATES TAKING THEM OVER, SEQUESTERING THEM AND TRANSFORMING THEM INTO SOMETHING COMPLETELY DIFFERENT.

ANDREAS MALM

such a platform. So my issue is: these institutions to which all parties that exist in their current form, which is the same for basically all of them, they're trying to run institutions that were built and are structurally designed to preserve capitalism, to preserve stability. And I think we need to imagine how power can be taken out of that.

Obviously, if we look 100 years ago, there were other institutions created right next to it: assemblies, workers councils, soviets, which had the objective of delegitimizing that. I think one of the issues that came when XR had their demands, one of them was assemblies. They were random, which don't quite understand how that would solve the problem.

But I'd like to kick in a bit of about this. Do you think that the only model of alternative power would be something on those lines? Or do you think we can imagine something different in this case, concerning also the time that we have, and that maybe some institutions can be coerced to work towards such an effect, probably in non central capitalist countries? But in others, I think this would be highly problematic or altogether impossible.

Current institutions basically exist to preserve capitalism. So we need to think about power, not only through these institutions, but also looking

back into the past or maybe something new that you have in mind. Do you have the silver bullet? Hidden in your living rooms?

AM: Yeah, well, I don't have any silver bullets in my living room. I mean, you started off by saying that the ideas we have for a revolution or maybe not so well suited to the present moment because they are a century old. And a century ago, the idea of dual power was very much alive because it was entirely conceivable that you would see working class organs of power emerge alongside or outside and in opposition to the existing state, and that they sort of contained the seed of another kind of power order.

That's very hard to see today. It shouldn't be completely ruled out, because miracles can happen in history. But it is very far from what's on the agenda of politics today, compared to what it was a century ago, because of so many changes that have happened on every dimension of society.

On the other hand, the political situation is extremely volatile. We know most of the things that are happening in the world are one shitstorm or another, it's a pandemic, or it's a war or it's climate crisis or something like that. We've seen over the past, I don't know, decade maybe, or since the economic crash in 2008,

particularly since the events of 2011, we've seen proto-revolutionary crises, or various types of outbreaks of rebellion around the world and social unrest.

We don't know how they will appear in the coming years, but it's quite likely that we'll see more of this unrest and in a world that is so rife with conflict and injustice and antagonism as this one is. Of course, you can fantasize about various kinds of dual power-like structures emerging in contexts like these. Everything from the uprising in Chile and the new left-wing government there, to some of the experiences in the MENA region, Middle East, North Africa. I mean, there are, of course, revolutionary experiences to draw on from the past decade, although they so far have had very little immediate overlap with or integration with any kind of climate movement. What I'm trying to say is that we shouldn't give up entirely on the idea of forming alternative power centers outside of the existing state apparatus that can challenge existing state

WE SHOULDN'T GIVE UP ENTIRELY ON THE IDEA OF FORMING ALTERNATIVE POWER CENTERS OUTSIDE OF THE EXISTING STATE APPARATUS THAT CAN CHALLENGE EXISTING STATE INSTITUTIONS, BUT THAT ALSO MIGHT HAVE TO SORT OF PROJECT THEIR POWER THROUGH EXISTING POWER INSTITUTIONS

institutions, but that also might have to sort of project their power through existing power institutions rather than just supplanting them completely, which in way was the case with original dual power as well. Even in the Bolshevik Revolution.

AJ: I think from one side, we need to ask why to take power, and beyond fantasies, if there are struggles that are creating alternatives, and if they have been successful. I really would like to go back to the Zapatistas, which I think are an example of how to take power, of how to create power outside of the State, outside of capital, and I think that something important in these struggles is that they set themselves in a small scale, I think the issue of scale is very important.

To distance ourselves from the idea of state is to distance ourselves from these great scales, of thinking solutions come in great scales and not that they are better solved in small scales, in regional scales, at the local level, and how we can create solutions there, in the spaces we live in, in the immediate present, how to intervene in these spaces, how to build narratives and actions that allow us to live in these spaces harmoniously with nature.

I think this will allow us a diverse response, the answers will be very different according to the places we are living in. So we will have multiple

answers, and multiple forms or regaining power, that can come from assemblies or other forms. I think the party system no longer serves us for anything, they no longer represent the people, they have been totally co-opted by the capitalist logic and the logic of money, because parties, what they are looking for is money, to belong to the money dynamics.

On the issue of power, we also need to question the financial system: how do we destroy it? How do we undo this financial system on the global context? In a context where we depend so much on the logics of banks, when banks are so decisive to determine the structure of fossil fuels, how do we revert this? I think this would be an advance towards reaching power, finding answers on how to rid ourselves of this financial system, that finances fossil fuels, such a main actor in the climate emergency?

The issue of scale is super important and so we should come back to the city. I think the city is one of the elements we should be discussing. Can we keep on maintaining huge cities? I'm originally from a gigantic city, Ciudad de Mexico, and it's unsustainable to keep the life of these cities, it can only happen at the expense of destruction of territories, of the destruction of rivers and woodlands. So I think a very important question is why do we want power?

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ALEJANDRA JIMÉNEZ

The Zapatistas and the movements of the South respond that our struggle is for life. That's why we make this question.

JC: Okay, so Alejandra introduced the issue of scale, and the importance of different responses in multiple forms of power. And she also raised the example of the Zapatista movement.

And I would also like to introduce a bit that the issue of scale here has two main forms. We need to make a transformation, which only works if it's at a very, very gigantic scale – we need to think very big, at the same time that we need to draw our forces in organized at the local level. And I think obviously, the issue that you raised of organization of cities, and you're talking about Mexico City, which is one of the biggest cities in the world. Even Marx raised the issue of the metabolic rift between city and rural areas. And I think this is quite relevant.

The question, why do we want power? I think I go back to Walter Benjamin: at this moment, we need power to be able to pull the handbrake, to stop the

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JOÃO CAMARGO

madness. And then we need to rebuild, which is sort of like quite the opposite of what's happening, which is just destruction. And we actually can use our energy and our imagination, and our abilities, and our organizational societies to improve the places where we live, the life we are living together.

For this to happen we need to take power in a lot of places, not just one, to be able to stop this this crazy system.

You rose the issue of the financial system: how do you get rid of it? It's probably not the main source of geographical organization and the power structure in the world is built on the financial system – not only, obviously, the energy system as well food system, but this is like the main tool for trade.

There's another source of power which we often take lightly: communication. There's like ten companies that run

most of the media around the world – old and new. And a bit like our conversation about the state, when some media passes a more radical message, in reality this is just a small note. It is never an antisystemic narrative because they exist with the objective of maintain the hegemony within the system. So, the question of communication is very important as it is a tool of permanent maintenance of the capitalist system. It determines which is the subject, what is the viewpoint about the subject, the theme, and always keep it very well confined and controlled. Sometimes they can let someone a little more radical speak just to make a sort of balance, but in reality, it is one of the strongest and more subtle tools of the system. And today it is much stronger than one hundred years ago.

AJ: One of things that I think the climate justice movement got right was pushing a new narrative. Even though this was very difficult and it is always at risk of being absorbed by the dominant narrative, the narrative of the system, easily falling into green capitalism. I think we have the task of keeping eroding that hegemonical narrative, how to create cracks and present what is being built that is different, I think that's the great challenge.

I think that it's important that in these cracks that are opened, we can signal

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TO IT.

ALEJANDRA JIMÉNEZ

what's behind, what is behind the narratives, who finances these narratives, who gives them life. The financial system, the money system, is who's behind this. The experience that exists in different territories that are building autonomy is exactly this: a part of autonomy is being able to build community radios, communication systems and even cellular systems that allows us to exit the hegemonical logic. And that is also made invisible by the hegemonical logic, and our wager is also this: to be able to redefine with whom we can build alliances and with whom we want to start dialogues with. To be able to offer alternatives.

JC: We need to use these cracks, but we need to do it very fast. There have been a lot of apocalypses, regional apocalypses, many times. I think that, for the first time, it is not going to happen in egalitarian temporal scale, but this threat, for the first time, includes everyone. And it is a shame to have to use this, but it is what this system has done to us: divide us and leave us separated and alienated from each other. But if we don't do this now, it is not credible that we will be able to live in a world in any way similar to the one in which we have live in the last millennia.

AJ: Certainly not. And certainly not exactly because this world is what provoked the current situation. And I'm not talking about millennia, but about the last centuries.

JC: Certainly the last centuries, but even in geological terms, and climatic long-scale terms, we were offered 12 thousand years of a very acceptable climatic stability. It was the time when it was possible for humanity to expand a lot, because we had existed for 300,000 years, and only with the Holocene have humans expanded throughout the world. But only with capitalism did almost everything change. A lot had changed since the 15th and the 16th century, but the speed of change since has become explosive.

AJ: Sometimes I think we are too anthropocentric. It is totally legitimate and necessary, but I think the planet will be much better without us. And here we get at the risk of going essentialist. But thinking more on a logic of nature, and how us humans are a part of this nature, we would need to adapt more to the rhythms of nature. Maybe nature's rhythms are different from ours. Even more so in this capitalist logic. We need to act now, actions are urgent, I don't doubt that, but we also have to trust much more in nature and listen to it more. To connect to nature. Maybe this will change our rhythm and maybe the answers are not on the speed of our actions.

JC: I have a lot of doubts about what you are saying. We are struggling to find out what the human being is. If the majority of human beings behaves and

acts under a capitalist hegemony, then according to what they say, that is human nature. This obviously something absurd to say, but it is the way they present it. Because this is what they want humans to be.

This hegemonical system that enormously benefits the capitalist elites. That is destructive to a lot of people, but it alienates people so much that people feel culturally tranquilized by the system, because it is the only one that exists and there is no alternative. Actually, the dispute we are making in the next decades is about what it is to be a human. If a majority decides that we keep on going – even if that majority is alienated – if they allow us to march towards collapse, this vision wins.

What we can always say is that there is no destiny. If there is one, it can be built by us. Many times, action is completely anti-deterministic. The only reason why we act is because we don't think there is a destiny and that the cards are marked and there is nothing to be done.

That is something very important that we need to bring to the movement, because despair is something the system produces permanently, including when you act, that what you do has no impact, or that the only for it to cause impact is participating in the system, and that small things can be achieved.

Of course we should look into the last century, with all social movements that existed, always looking for a better world. But we are in a much worse world today in general. Without time. This always opens an incredible doors. We are going to live historical times, with a lot of opportunities and possibilites of change, in which we have to act. This is also very important possibility for everyone which is alive today.

AJ: In the end, the idea of change for Humanity is a constant, so. I think that these changes are happening because change is constant. What we can't do is be complacent. In whose hands is the possibility to communicate? Who controls the networks, the internet, the media? We need to do certain balances: how do we balance all the information we have and be consistent with what we can actually do, without falling into the fatalism that we can't do anything, and just carry on.

JC: I think we are going to do a lot. In any situation. There's no way it will be a calm, peaceful thing.

AJ: No, it will not. I think there will be different fronts, something which is already happening.

JC: Alejandra, a big hug and have a great day, and a hug to everyone.

AJ: Hugs, thank you! Bye



the winter palace: an article on power in our time

BY ANTONIO ZAMBRANO
ALLENDE



their democracies. And they provided platforms to project themselves in different directions across the political spectrum in their countries.

However, the presence of Le Pen in France, Vox in Spain, Kast in Chile, Fuijmore in Peru and multiple other partisan voices in various continents show us something greater than the very governments they want to champion. They express the rise of a popular fascism that is permeating the sensibilities of large sectors of the people and building a narrative that grows in fear.

From the 1990s to the present day we have seen the rise and fall of the neoliberal single thought, the unbridled markets, the irregular and asymmetrical wars and aggressions, the advance of NATO, the explosion of the globalisation of communications, climate change, the recent pandemic and the return of war conflicts in the global geopolitical north. In the process, the global oligarchy has incubated the necessary space that today allows the strengthened resurgence of the extreme right to dispute spaces of real power – and to win elections, which is even more worrying.

The governments of Trump in the United States, Bolsonaro in Brazil and Duterte in the Philippines are sensitive expressions of this change. Although they met with resistance that prevented an even greater escalation, they profoundly undermined

In Latin America, the first wave of progressive Latin American governments and the timid appearance of a second wave in the making have not managed to conceal the advance of ultra-right-wing thinking. What we see, rather, is a social polarisation that strengthens and emboldens populist radicalism.

The convergence of multiple crises, the feeling of distrust of the future and the massive loss of purchasing power erode security in the future. They allow retrograde thinking to germinate in the middle classes, many of which have barely managed to consolidate in this century in various countries of the region.

On the other hand, the left has grown timid and comfortable, with no prospect of radical change. The left lives in a

coexistence with the centre right that has disengaged large social sectors from any mobilising perspective. That coexistence has liquefied them into a "political class" that is insensitive to the daily life of their people. Thus trade unionism, the agrarian movement, territorial and indigenous struggles have been weakened, isolated or marginalised even in contexts of prosperity for the left.

In these terms, the critique from progressive thought has ended up squaring the limits of "good governance", social welfare programmes, nationalisation of strategic resources and economic and fiscal stability in the capitalist world that governs it by crushing resistance.

In the face of this political and ideological orphanage, the global climate movement has been growing stronger in parallel. Climate is one of the few movements that seeks to return to the root of the debates, to what Marx called "the ruthless critique of all that exists".

We do this accompanied by curious allies - science and children. The scientific community is mobilizing partly because of the reports of the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), but also because of the enormous accumulation of certainties about the risks to every corner of the planet from climate change.

Next to the scientists, very close by, a massive process of mobilisation of children and adolescents has its most visible expression in Fridays for this Future. But the movement of young people organizing themselves is not limited to Fridays. And it inspires adults and the elderly to do the same.

In the depths of this moving iceberg, we find a tangle of extremely diverse social groups that recover ancestral, local and scientific knowledge, and territorialise it anew, seeking alternatives, building transformative bases from which to raise new, creative and essentially radical debates – even if the ideologies are not always framed in traditional terms.

Here, agroecology, cycling, urban mobility, conservation and squatter movements come together and dialogue with the movement for a fairer education, with rights to territory and decent work, the right to the city, solidarity with migrants, anti-racism, LGTBI rights, and timidly take up specific positions in electoral campaigns or political crises, as well as reacting to the injustices of each context.

These new movements in formation often lack a long-term perspective. But over the last 20 or 30 years they have managed to establish themselves in the imaginary of building alternative spaces that are beginning to go beyond

their geographical, cultural and political limits and meet with collectives with elaborated philosophies and political perspectives that come close to electoral alliances. Today, the PSOL in Brazil, the Pacto Histórico in Colombia and Apruebo Dignidad in Chile are palpable examples of this progress in linking alternatives.

But let us not be fooled, the planet and the forms of life as we know it have no time for romanticism. It is necessary to dramatically expand the formulas for civil disobedience and social transformation beyond the states. The latest IPCC reports warn that a change in the structure of the global energy matrix and the forms of production are necessary to reduce Greenhouse Gas emissions. This poses profound changes in the economic system that will involve powerful resistance from existing power. However, the heterogeneous space and time in which we live in our cities, communities and ecosystems presents us with challenges to face at every level. Co-optation, coercion and repression by the economic powers must be overcome along the way.

In other words, the proposals that are now germinating at the local level and are timidly beginning to emerge have to fight for and against a power that is more concentrated than ever in human history and has been exacerbated during the murderous presence of COVID.

The Oxfam report "Inequalities Kill", presented the post-pandemic world this way: "The world's ten richest men have doubled their fortunes, while the incomes of 99% of the world's population are reported to have deteriorated because of COVID-19. Growing economic, racial and gender inequalities, as well as inequality between countries, are fracturing our world."

ECOSOCIALISM HAS THE
POTENTIAL TO BECOME AN
IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUMENT
THAT GATHERS AND RECOVERS
THE REAL, TERRITORIALISED AND
POSSIBLE PROPOSALS THAT
MUST ASCEND AND BECOME
GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES,
MASSIVE SOLUTIONS TO
HUNGER, UNEMPLOYMENT,
FORCED MIGRATION, THAT
MITIGATE OUR EMISSIONS AND
IN PARTICULAR THAT REPLACE
THE POWER OF CORPORATIONS
NOT ONLY TO PUT IT IN THE
HANDS OF THE PEOPLE, BUT OF
LIFE ON EARTH.



The society in which we live can no longer afford to sustain the wealth of the few at the cost not only of our lives but of the lives of diverse forms of the planet. In her book, *The Sixth Extinction*, the science journalist Elizabeth Kolbert explains how under normal conditions during the earth's different eras a species could become extinct every 700 years or so, except during periods of so-called "great mass extinctions". Today, according to IPBES, there are about 1 million diverse life forms in the world at the same time threatened or at risk of extinction of some kind, which puts the sustainability of all ecological systems up against the wall.

The popular climate movement is today incubating in the enormous cracks left by the state in the economic system. From the grassroots we are rethinking consumption and projecting limited but explicit ways of counteracting corporate power, recycling, reusing, reducing. Simultaneously, we are recovering community forms of organisation, and at the end of the day, inventing new forms of struggle.

However, we find ourselves in our "winter palaces", that is, in our territories, resisting, looking for ways to transcend to the construction of global ideological proposals that articulate us politically. This is where Ecosocialism as an ideological proposal for the next period is transcendent for the solidarity of struggles. Ecosocialism articulates the discourses that could allow

us to give the global battle for power that transitions quickly, effectively, fairly and forcefully towards another economic, political and cultural system.

Ecosocialism has the potential to become an ideological instrument that gathers and recovers the real, territorialised and possible proposals that must ascend and become government programmes, massive solutions to hunger, unemployment, forced migration, that mitigate our emissions and in particular that replace the power of corporations not only to put it in the hands of the people, but of life on earth.

Humans in the so-called Anthropocene (or Capitalocene) have become the hinge between different geological eras. We have the power to stabilise the composition of the atmosphere or to damage it profoundly. People have the power to recompose their social relations of production and propose an ecosocialist balance with all forms of life. The road is narrow, time is short, and the precise formula does not exist, but the struggle is underway.





Theories of change: why we do what we do

BY SINAN EDEN

§1. There is quite a bit of talk about system change, and it's not going well. Not only is system change itself not going well, because it's not moving at the speed needed to stop climate chaos, but in fact discussions on system change are also not going well. This is because people are talking about different things when they discuss system change.

System change is a transformative proposition. In order to have a healthy conversation about it, we need to know our starting point (what is the system we want to change?), our end point (what do we want to achieve?) and the connection between the two.

§2. In the "good old days", discussing the starting point would be called political analysis, but social movements don't use that kind of language anymore because they don't want to sound too political. Because we don't discuss things. Some climate organizations are talking about changing the energy systems, others are taking aim at the neoliberal model (against corporate takeover), others are referring to the socioeconomic system, and then there is also a whole spectrum of possibilities in between. Discussing the end point used to be called ideology, but social movements don't use that kind of language anymore because they don't want to sound too radical or something. This taboo is making it harder to reach any

agreement on what acts as a good compass for our actions. I will not talk about the starting point or the end point, assuming that we are referring to capitalism being dismantled in favor of an ecosocialist world. I'll talk about the change itself.

§3. The path between today and the desired future used to be called the transformative strategy, but that has also become a little confusing. It's confusing because strategy is used for almost everything. There are communication strategies, outreach strategies... Some people refer to grand strategies, which give the full picture of change consisting of various strategy phases. There is, however, a more subtle kind of question.

We may agree on the reality and our dream, and we may want to discuss how to change it. But we also have different assumptions on how reality changes. Those assumptions are our theory of change which informs our grand strategy. What's worse is that there are many theories of change that actually worked.



§4. Here is the Jacobin formula for the French revolution:

Cracks in the status quo

- A broad alliance
- Spontaneous mass mobilizations
- Institution of popular power (the National Constituent Assembly)
- Leadership

It starts with an unstable regime. A broad social alliance is formed to undermine the regime's legitimacy, which gives rise to a spontaneous uprising. By the creation of an alternative power structure, the leadership guides revolution to its conclusion.

Independent of whether we like how things went or not, whether we are satisfied with the result or not, it is crystal clear that this theory of change worked. The Jacobins proposed themselves to achieve a thing, and they achieved it.



§5. The Jacobins inspired many generations of revolutionaries in Europe. However, these revolutionaries did not have spontaneous uprisings taking place around them, so they had to adjust their theory of change because they saw no reason to wait for action once they came to the understanding that there was suffering.

In this context we can talk about the Carbonari, a secret revolutionary group active in Italy between 1800 and 1831. Carbonari cells were also present in France, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Brazil and Uruguay. Another example is Giuseppe Mazzini, the founder of Giovine Italia (Young Italy) in 1831.

The theory of change of the conspiratorial strategies was as follows.

Leaders

- Secret societies
- Armed uprisings
- Seizing political power

Mazzini was involved in failed popular uprisings in 1833, 1834, 1843, 1852, 1853 and 1856. He later joined Garibaldi in the Spedizione dei Mille (Expedition of the Thousand) in 1860, that successfully united Italy in a constitutional monarchy.

Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881) also had a similar theory of change.

As you can see, the revolutionary subjectivity is flipped here. Instead of spontaneous uprisings, the revolt is deliberately provoked by a committed

group of leaders. The underlying assumption here is that the masses would join once the revolution was launched. So the revolutionary task was not just to create the conditions for mass mobilizations but to actually incite them.

§6. Meanwhile, utopian socialists like Robert Owen (1771-1885) and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) were building a different kind of path to change. They were in favor of movements led by masses (and not by a small group of cadres) but their path was radically different than that of the previous attempts.

The recipe of the utopian socialists was roughly as follows:

Awareness-raising and agitation

→ **Self-organizing of the alternative**

→ **Transition**

Owen created self-managed factories that later created the cooperative movement. Proudhon's work inspired the mutual support of societies.

Their transformative strategy was to build the alternative at the cracks or at the margins of the existing system, and gradually take it over. This was of course at odds with another theory of change, that of the communists, which emphasized political struggle and class politics.



New Lanark, in Scotland, one of Owen's utopian towns

§7. Whatever hype may have been created by Marx's polemics around scientific socialism, it was the emergence of the International Workingmen's Association, also known as the First International, that brought large scale societal change and class struggle to the forefront. The First International was founded in 1864 and reached an internal consensus on the need for class struggle in 1869. That consensus was apparently not sufficient for collaboration, for in 1872 there was a split between the anarchists (led by Mikhail Bakunin) and the communists (led by Karl Marx).

Bakunin's anarchism, also called collectivism, had the following action plan:

Working class organization

- Economic struggle
- Seizing economic power
- Self-management
- Federalism

The communists, on the other hand, had a different theory of change:

Working class organization

- Political struggle
- Seizing political power
- Democratic centralism

They both had class organizations as their strategic starting points. Back then, anarchists were aiming at seizing



the means of production directly, while communists were looking at points of decision-making.

Obviously, I am not claiming that Bakunin and Marx were having a calm and civilized debate on grand strategies. I am claiming that the underlying discussion that clarifies the split is due to diverging theories of change. Bakunin's theory of change had promising results in some countries, where Marx's theory of change needed a couple of decades to prove itself.

§8. The Second International was founded in 1889 under the agreement of seizing political power. This was the all-stars International. It included Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Kautsky, Georgi Plekhanov, Vladimir Lenin, Friedrich Ebert and Paul Lafargue. Looking back, it seems impossible for all these people to have had shared the same organization. The debate on theories of change created two major factions but the discussions (and the entire Second International) were interrupted by the First World War.

On one side was the socialist plan that led to social democrat parties in Europe (which we call reformism today):

Working class organization

- Political struggle
- Enter the parliament
- Convince the population
- Be elected as government
- Institute socialism

On the other hand, the revolutionaries proposed the following plan:

Working class organization

- Political struggle (where entering the parliament can be one of the tactics)
- Mass mobilizations + Vanguard organization
- Seize power via revolution

Although both agreed on the importance

of political struggle, they diverged on two major points. The first was about how to approach the institutional tools of capitalism. The other was about what the party was supposed to emphasize: representing the class or leading the class.

To be fair, both of these theories of change had tremendous success. The socialist parties became dominant in all of Europe and created the democratic systems, although failing to move beyond capitalism. The revolutionaries had their own success in Russia.



§9. Vladimir Lenin's is perhaps the best known theory of change because he explicitly wrote on it before, during and after the revolution. The Leninist theory of change is:

Working class organization +

Vanguard organization

→ Economic struggle + Political struggle

→ Revolutionary conditions

→ Popular alliance

→ Seize power via revolution

→ Institute socialism

The Leninist party's main function was mass agitation, guiding the political struggle and preparing the revolutionary conditions and preparing for the revolutionary

conditions. It depended on a mix of soviets (popular organizations), trade unions (class organizations) and the communist party.

Lenin criticized substitutionism and emphasized mass movements, yet he also criticized those who were waiting for ripe-enough conditions and emphasized the role of the vanguard.

§10. We looked at theories of change up until the early 20th century. The Jacobins, secret societies, utopian socialists, anarchists, communists, socialists and Leninists, they all had their try and they all succeeded to a certain degree in delivering what they proposed. This is also why many organizations today implicitly use variants of the theories of change adopted by these groups.

With these historical experiences, the progressive movements drew lessons and built their own strategies. The role of institutions, the nature of the bourgeois state, how power relations are reproduced through cultural hegemony and the role of petty bourgeoisie were only some of the burning strategy questions of the 20th century.

Then came of course Trotsky and Trotskyism, Stalin and Stalinism, Mao and Maoism, guerrilla warfare and anti-colonial struggles, autonomism and confederalism, and finally the new social movements.



They approached the political and social revolutions differently, they lived in different contexts, and they proposed different theories of change. They all had their success stories, and today we have active organizations that specifically identify with these traditions. We will look at them in an article in the next number.

§11. Today, our world is also dramatically different than theirs. Globalization is a crucial aspect of our times. Financialization blurred the surplus-value production and realization, making power less concrete to seize. The fall of the Soviet Union created a unilateral NATO-led hegemony under the neoliberal doctrine, which is in decline.

The climate crisis poses an existential threat to civilization as a whole, leading to the formation of new class alliances.

We need a theory of change *for today*. How do we change *this* society profoundly? Who has agency to make that change? Why do we believe a specific model of revolution would work at a particular moment?





BY BIANCA CASTRO, MITZI TAN AND NNIMMO BASSEY

Solidarity: Pathway to the future



In early 2019, a wave of strength shook the world: millions started taking to the streets to demand climate justice. The appearance of groups such as Extinction Rebellion and Fridays For Future globally resulted in a continuous mass youth movement, in which millions were galvanised into climate action. Looking at how everything happened so spontaneously, with this movement popping up in different places, it is clear how the youth was calling for change and how we all had the need to take it to the streets for collective action.

In September 2019, over six million people took to the streets to demand climate action and to put pressure on world leaders to act on the climate crisis, which resulted in decision-

makers all over the world speaking about this “existential crisis”. The climate crisis hadn’t been spoken about at this scale until then: it was being discussed in countless panels and summits, but these were only words and none of that translated into the real urgent action desperately needed.

Were these mass mobilisations, these millions of youth taking to the street, these mass actions that started to happen more and more frequently, a peek of light into the huge transformation that we have to go through in the next decade, in the world?

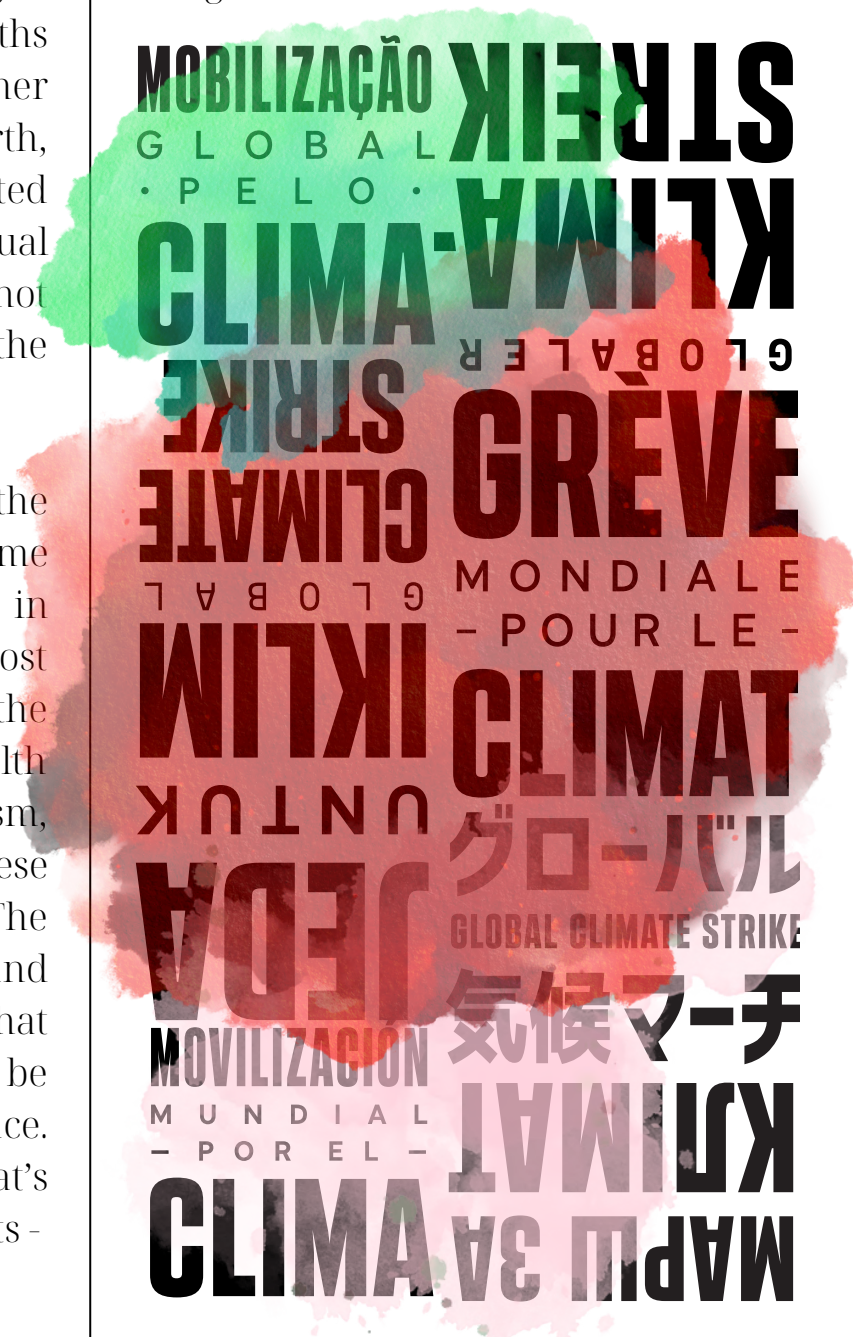
The Covid-19 pandemic disrupted the gathering movement on the streets. Forces interested in controlling and

maintaining the status quo used the opportunity of the pandemic to repress and suppress mass movements. But with the pandemic, the youths quickly adapted and shifted to digital places, and took up the unique opportunity in hands: suddenly, there were no physical borders, everyone could join each other's actions, everyone could connect with one another no matter where they were from (with of course some limitations such as timezones, language, internet connection - but still a great move forward in connecting to each other). This is when the youths built real connections with each other and activists from the Global North, Global South and MAPA (Most Affected People and Areas) were having actual conversations with each other, and not just reading about each other on the news or on social media.

Through these conversations, the Fridays for Future movement became more aware and proactive in highlighting the voices of the most impacted and affected not just by the climate crisis but also by the health pandemic, sexism, racism, fascism, and neocolonialism, and how all these issues are intersectional. The connections became more real, and more personal, and it was clear that MAPA are the ones that should be amplified, listened to, and given space. Youths learned and adapted: and that's the beauty of youth-led movements -

the ability to adapt and learn from mistakes.

The youth movement is still learning, adapting, and growing. There has been a lot of growth already during the pandemic, and with that, growth pains come along. We're now at a point that feels like the calm before the storm. Bubbles of change have been brewing and change is about to erupt. We still have a lot to learn, both from older movements and from the most marginalized communities.



As Fridays for Future and other youth networks across the world continue to grow in intersectional ways, so-called leaders continue to uphold the system that is causing billions to suffer. The resilience of the youth movement and the solidarity with which it operates shows the emergence of true climate leadership.

It is clear to all that world leaders are still putting profit above the planet and people; above the present and above the future. Youths realize the intergenerational implications of the polycrisis that is wrecking the world. Youths press on, despite the disappointment of political leaders weakening the resilience of communities and nations through acts of ecocide and reckless militarism.

The struggle for true climate justice is a revolutionary endeavour to ensure a socio-ecological transformation of society upholding life at its centre, not profit; respecting the rights of the most vulnerable and of Nature.

The climate crisis is a result of the failure of capitalism and of a petroleum based civilization. Continuous insistence on current economic pathways will push the planet beyond the tipping point. The polycrisis is sustained and entrenched by greed and by anti-people political decisions. The youths are kicking because real change won't come from compromised institutions. The aim must remain to reverse the global narrative from institutional impotence and build the social power that brings



about lasting change. Change will come from the youths, from the people and from collective power built on solidarity. True leadership is on the streets, it is in the movement.

We've seen the power that the youth movement has when it connects and stands in solidarity with marginalized communities. The Stop Cambo campaign in the UK successfully put an end to the Cambo oil fields. The global Clean Up Standard Chartered campaign was able to push the UK based bank to change their coal policies.

And the youth won't stop, we will keep fighting. We will keep filling the streets, we will keep disrupting normality. The Stop EACOP (East African Crude Oil Pipeline) has continued to grow and is gaining momentum. Next September-October, we will come together once again, all around the globe, for Fridays For



SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 2022

YOUTH LED

**CLIMATE
JUSTICE**

**OCCUPY UNTIL
WE WIN**

Future's Global Climate Strike which we're seeing will have a strong focus on debt cancellation and reparations from the Global North to the Global South for Loss and Damages and adaptation. Between September and December, the youth will also be occupying hundreds of schools and universities, as part of the campaign End Fossil Occupy. These are just a few examples of what's next for the climate movement, as much more is to come.

There is a certain invincibility in the air when we look around and realise that we are surrounded by hundreds of thousands of people who, like us, want to build a different, better, just world. As the saying goes, "the people united can never be defeated."

We cannot solve the climate crisis within the same system that created it. We need collective action and global unity. For that, we need to continuously fight against imperialism and colonialism



**#STOP
EACOP**



and recognize that these are the roots of the climate crisis. We need to continue learning, adapting, uniting and supporting not just the youth climate movement but with movements everywhere.

The task is big, but guided by principles of international solidarity and an understanding of the evils of the profit-oriented system that is rotting at its core, together we can birth a new way of living, build hope and overturn empires. Together, we can and must change the system.



working class ecosocialism

Stopping Climate Change and Building Another World

BY JONATHAN NEALE





This article is about stopping climate change and about fighting for a world based on love and sharing. My argument is that both these projects have to go together. But for either project to work, both climate activists and socialists have to change, fundamentally and fast. And there has to be a deeper change, a change in all humanity.

We may well fail. But with these ideas we have a chance.

Let me explain. I start with climate, and I start with failure.

For thirty years everyone who cares to know has known about the threat of climate change. Over those thirty years more and more world leaders have said louder and louder that the crisis will be upon us, that something must be done, that they promise to do

something. And the more the leaders of the world tell us that they will do something, the worse things get.

It is not just that the temperatures continue to rise. It is not just that the temperatures rise faster and faster. The amount of carbon dioxide – CO₂ – in the air grows every year, and each year it grows faster and faster. It is not just that the leaders of the world have failed to stop climate change. It is that they have collectively presided over making things worse.

At the United Nations climate talks in Scotland last year Greta Thunberg sent out two tweets. To the leaders of the world, she said: “Blah, blah, blah. Fuck You.”

To us, she said: “Uproot the system.”

That’s the politics of ecosocialism in eight words.

Stop Climate Change

How do we stop climate change? The answer starts from a contradiction. Climate change is an environmental issue, but the solutions are socialist solutions.

We know about climate change because the scientists and the environmentalists have told us, loudly, bravely, relentlessly. Without their messages we would be utterly lost. But their solutions did not work.

The scientists hoped that governments would solve the problem, once they knew. The governments did not and

now the scientists are angry and desperate.

The environmentalists looked to the markets. The inner dream of so many environmentalists is to run their own small business. The market has not worked. And now the environmentalists are angry and desperate.

So we need socialist solutions. Here we have a problem. The unions and the socialist parties are the traditional home of socialist solutions. But until recently they saw climate change as an environmental problem – as somebody's else's problem. For far too long they have done far too little.

This matters because climate breakdown will not mean the end of the human species. But it will mean drought, famine, hundreds of millions of refugees, an explosion of racism, war, dictatorship and economic devastation. Hundreds of millions will die. Billions will be permanently damaged as people by what they have to watch and what they have to do to survive.

You can read what I have written about this at length elsewhere. I don't have space to repeat it here. But at some point in the future, climate change will be the overwhelmingly important issue globally.

Now, however, there are ideas now coming from some of the unions, from the climate jobs activists, the green new deal people, the ecosocialists. The

details differ, but here are the basics:

About three quarters of global warming comes from the burning of coal, oil and gas, all of which put CO₂ into the air. Globally, almost all of that energy is for electricity manufacture, industry, transport and heating buildings.

There are thousands of things we need to do about climate change. But the one that will make most of the difference is to replace all coal, oil and gas with electricity made from renewable energy.

That would require a massive government program, hiring very large number of workers. At a rough estimate, for example, a million new jobs in South Africa, eight million in the United States, or twenty million workers in India.

The main things that climate jobs program would do are:

- Build enough renewable energy, mostly wind and solar power, to supply all electricity.
- A massive expansion in public transport.
- Run all private and public cars, buses, trains and trucks on electricity made from renewables.
- Convert industry so that almost all heating of materials would be done by renewable electricity.
- Convert all homes and buildings so they use far less energy.

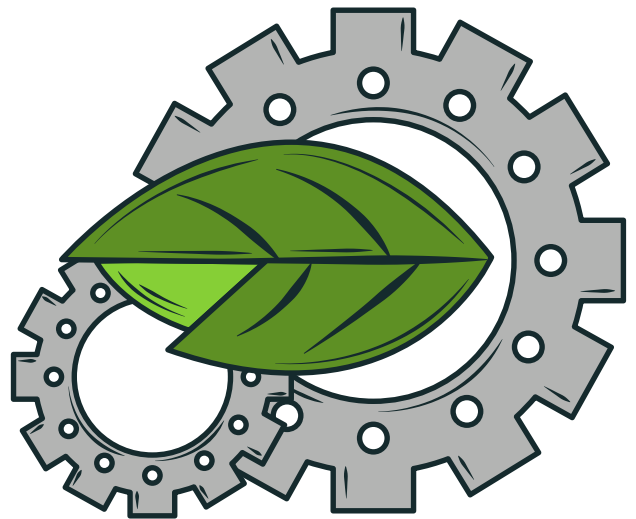
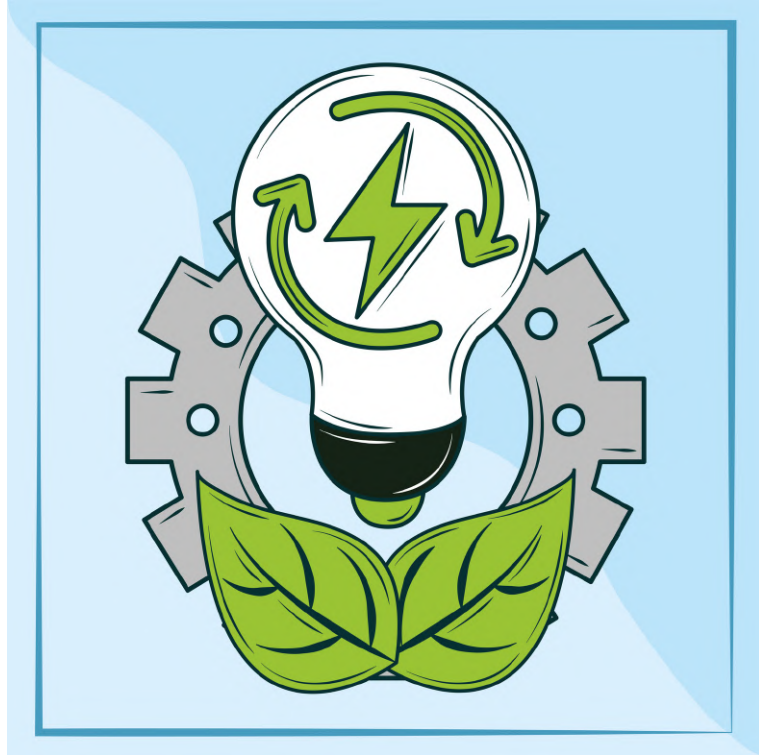
- Convert all homes and buildings so they use only renewable electricity for heating.
- Build more renewable energy to supply all the new uses of electricity.
- Build ways of storing electrical energy, and super grids to connect all the new forms of energy.
- When we have enough renewable energy, ban all fossil fuels.
- Stop cutting down trees and cover the world with new forests.

We also want governments to promise one more thing. Every worker who loses their job in the old high carbon economy, like miners and oil workers, gets a new permanent climate job. That's the decent thing to do. And if we don't make that promise, it will divide communities, divide unions and divide voters.

All that sounds like a big undertaking. It is. But we already have all the technology we need. We can start right now.

It's expensive too. But the money is there. The US government under Trump spent enough money on COVID subsidies in 2020 to pay for all the climate jobs all over the world that year. Governments find the money when they go to war or the banks crash. Every government can tax the rich.

We need to do this on a global scale. If we don't fix this problem everywhere, we fix it nowhere.



Moreover, we have left everything so late that we need to cut CO2 emissions by at least 95%. Right now more than 60% of those emissions come from the global south. We can't stop climate change without cutting those emissions too.

We have waited a generation for them to act. They have not. They will not. We need to build a movement that can replace them with people and parties and movements who will act. In doing that, we are up against all the powers of

the political and corporate world. It will be the struggle of our lives, for the future of humanity. To win that struggle, we need enormous power on our side.

There is only one place we can find that power. We need radical mass movements with support from the majority of working people and small farmers all over the world. Factory workers in China, farmers in Bangladesh and warehouse workers in the United States are not going to support movements that talk about how we have to sacrifice to save the planet. It will not happen.

We need a climate movement in a different spirit. A movement that says simply – We have a choice. We can go to hell with climate change. Or we can have jobs for millions upon millions of working people. And in the global south, we can build homes, build industry, expand public transport and education and health care for all. We can do it all with renewable energy. We can stop climate change and make poverty history across the world.

That, we can build a global movement on.

We need to be clear, though. It will be hard to build mass movements, but only governments can do what needs to be done. Only governments have the resources and the money. That means the movements will need to be the governments.

We cannot save the planet without the power to save the planet.

That also means being very clear about who changes the world. I said earlier that climate activists and socialists need to change. But climate activists and socialists are not who will change the world. The majority of humanity, the working people and peasants, are who will change the world. Humanity needs to change too.

But for that we need a different kind of socialism too.



Getting back to bedrock

We need to start out by saying what socialism is, because there is a lot of confusion about what the word means. More deeply, there is confusion about what kind of world we are fighting for.

It is easy to understand why people are confused. Here we have to tell the truth. Many crimes have been done in the name of socialism. Ecological disasters, ethnic cleansing, invasions, torture, police racism, immigration controls, patriarchy, abortion control, sexual harassment, homophobia, Islamophobia, bombing from the air and endless lies.

Communist dictatorships did those things. In somewhat different ways, so did elected socialist governments. Some were better, some were worse, but they all did some of those things, at home and abroad.

Moreover, elected socialist governments have all administered parts of the capitalist system. The Labour Party in Britain, the ANC in South Africa, the Democrats in the United States have all run racist police departments, cut public services, broken strikes, imposed austerity and neoliberalism.

No wonder people are confused now about what socialism means. But the hundreds of thousands of activists who first built the socialist movement, more than a century ago, knew what

kind of world they wanted. And it was not what they got.

So our starting place is to get back to their vision, back to bedrock. Here are the basics, a few simple principles: Equality, Caring, Democracy at Work.

Equality

Equality starts with everyone paid the same money each week. The socialist movement took a formula from Karl Marx: 'From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.' That means everyone gets the same basic pay. But some people get more services or money because they have special needs, because of a disability or trauma, or because they are caring for a child or another adult.

That is what a fair and equal world would look like. That is not our world now. But we can fight here and now to make incomes more equal. That means fighting for a minimum wage, then a higher minimum wage, higher benefits for the unemployed and the disabled, higher pensions for everyone and tax the rich. It means rent controls and subsidies for food and energy.

Above all, it means organizing unions and supporting every fight for more wages, better conditions and more benefits.

Equal pay is the starting point, because everyone deserves the same. But it's only the start of fighting for every kind

of equality. Social inequality is a system with many faces – racism, sexism, homophobia, hatred of trans people, indigenous people, immigrants, Dalits, traumatized people, the poor, the needy, the addicted and the desperate.

Each of these kinds of inequality is an aspect of a whole world view that justifies inequality. Each inequality is enforced through bullying, verbal cruelty and violence. The logic is always the same – these people are different and therefore unequal and therefore vulnerable, so let's hurt them.

Socialism is equality of every kind, for everyone. Socialism is love, respect and sharing equally.

That's what we're working towards. But we can fight here and now for every kind of equality. Every campaign for black lives matter, against sexual violence, for freedom, for Palestine, against war, against invasion, against Islamophobia, for every strike and every school walkout.

Protecting and caring for each other

Caring for each other is the second pillar of socialism.

In our world, people like awake at night afraid that they will lose their home, that their child is sick and they can't pay the doctor, that the heating or the water will be cut off, that the car

won't start, that their lives and their loves will disintegrate. When poverty walks in the door, the proverb has it, love flies out the window.

Socialism is the end to all those fears. We take care of each other collectively. Local and national governments make sure everyone gets what they need. No one is homeless, because governments build enough public housing. Health care and dental care is free for everyone when they need it. Education is free from primary school to graduate school. Everyone who can't work gets benefits. Public transport is free.

Free means we all pay for it together, from our taxes, and people get what they need according to what they need

And we take care of the people who get left out or degraded now. The traumatized, the raped and abused, the addicted, the elderly and disabled, the kids struggling at school, the kids in care are treated with respect, and have someone kind and wise to talk to.

If we can end the fear, we could love so much more easily.

So here and now we fight the evictions of our neighbors on the streets, we volunteer at food banks to help feed the hungry, we organize tenants and campaign for public housing. Hospital workers defend public health, and the rest of fight health cuts as a community. Many other socialist causes are like this. We have a vision of another world, we fight for it in this world, in thousands of struggles, step by step, but always with our eyes on the prize.

Democracy and Work

Democracy is the third pillar.

The socialists who began the movement were all agreed. Working men and women, everyone, of every color had to have the vote. That was the road to power. Socialism would mean freedom, not dictatorship.

Moreover, look at the mass movements for democracy all over the world – Hong Kong, Thailand, Myanmar, Bahrain, Algeria, Egypt, Belarus, Russia, Syria, Mali, Guinea and Bolivia. The uprisings against dictatorship have been the largest and most important mass movements of working class people in the last decade.

And I have felt the yearning for democracy, for equality, in every one of the social movements of the last twenty years. People want their organizations, parties and unions to be democratic. Not fake democracy, real democracy.

Nowadays many socialists are of two minds about democracy. But we cannot, and we will not, build a socialist movement strong enough to change the world unless we are democratic heart and soul. Working class people know too much history, have too much experience.

Colonialism is dictatorship too. Invasion is dictatorship, no matter who invades, whether in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Ukraine or Palestine.

Democracy is also the political form of equality. One person, one vote. And democracy was not given to us. Our ancestors, workers and small farmers, fought for democracy so they could change the world.

But voting democracy is only a beginning, and it is nothing like enough. Whoever we elect, the same ruling class rules. The deep problem is that work itself is a dictatorship. You do what you're told, or you lose your job. From the moment you clock in, sign in or walk in, the eyes of the supervisor are upon you, until the moment you walk out.



That is our experience every day of our lives. From the age of five or six, school starts to teach us how to live in the dictatorship. The experience of subordination changes us, forms of, and radiated outward to structure every relationship in society, from the playground to the old people's home to the parliament. The dictatorship of work bends and breaks our personalities to fit.

That's why every political institution, even in a voting democracy, bends and breaks to the power of the market, the corporations, corruption and profit.

The solution is workplace democracy. We vote for the supervisor, the manager, the head teacher, the chief executive. We have workplace meetings every week where we can make decisions together, by voting, and replace the managers whenever we want.

Each workplace elects delegates to a city wide or regional meeting of work representatives. And those meetings elect people to work congresses of whole industries, regions and countries. Those representative bodies take the decisions about what work needs to be done, what things we to do. Together, we organize our work to meet human need, not profit.

But even that will not be enough. For the market is deeply undemocratic. I worked for a cooperative for years, and the market forced our management

to behave like any other management so they could make a profit. The only solution to that is not just for the workers to take control of each company. It is for the working people as a whole to make the economic decisions to meet human need, not profit.

SUMMING UP

WE NEED A MOVEMENT
TO SAVE THE PLANET
AND CHANGE THE
WORLD. THAT'S AN
ENORMOUS CHALLENGE,
BUT THOSE ARE THE
CIRCUMSTANCES WE
FIND OURSELVES IN,
AND SOMETHING MUST
BE DONE. IT IS TIME TO
MAKE OUR LOVE FOR
EACH OTHER THE
GREATEST POWER ON
EARTH.



What is ecofeminism, and why is it necessary in the fight for climate justice?

JULIE GORECKI SPEAKS WITH SARA BOUREHIYI,
JOANA BREGOLAT, ANDREIA GALVAO, INÊS TELES
AND ALICE VALE DE GATO



In January of 2022, the fifth International Ecosocialist Encounters took place in Lisbon Portugal. There, Nessim Achouche and Ralph Pritchard of the podcast Climate Crisis: Time for a New Society, put together an episode titled "What is Ecofeminism, and Why is it Necessary in the Fight for Climate Justice", a collaboration between Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brussels and Verso Books. The podcast was hosted by Julie Gorecki (JG), ecofeminist activist and scholar. Julie spoke with ecofeminist ecosocialist organizers Inês Teles (IT), Joana Bregolat (JG), Andreia Galvão (AG), Alice Vale de Gato (AVG) and Sara Bourehiyi (SB) about Ecofeminism as a Working Class Politic and its centrality to an ecosocialist system change and a climate just world. The following is a transcription of the exciting discussion had. You can find a link to the podcast in our website, or [here](#).

JG: Hello and welcome everyone. I'm Julie Gorecki, an ecological feminist activist, scholar and writer. Myriam Bahaffou and I co-authored the introduction to the 2nd edition and first English translation of the 1974 book *Feminism or Death* by the French Feminist activist and ecofeminist Françoise d'Eaubonne. This book will be out with Verso Books in March 2022. I'm the host of today's episode of Climate Crisis: Time for a New Society —a podcast collaboration between the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and Verso Books.

We are here in a very sunny Lisbon today at the International Ecosocialist Encounters gathering. It's happening this weekend from the 21st to the 23rd of January 2022.

This three day public meeting is organized by Climáximo, a Portuguese climate justice grassroots group formed in 2014 which has congregated ecosocialists, ecofeminists, peasants and trade unionists amongst others in Lisbon this weekend. Numerous political organizations and activist movements are here organizing to collectively imagine and set in motion an ecosocialist system change as a remedy to climate catastrophe. This episode focuses on how ecofeminism is foundational to such a system's change.

Ecofeminism is a feminist theory and activist movement which argues that the widespread subordination of women is inseparably linked to the devastating exploitation of the natural environment. Françoise d'Eaubonne argued that an interlinked historical oppression of women and the earth are at the root of both the environmental crisis and women's widespread systemic domination. That the environmental crisis is in fact a result of women's exploitation. For d'Eaubonne the remedy to this crisis is ecofeminism, *Feminism or Death* being the book in which the term ecofeminism is published in for the first time.

Into the 1980s and 90s ecofeminism developed as an activist theory and a vast

field with several branches including spiritual, cultural, and even well... liberal ecofeminism. However, here at the International Ecosocialist Encounters gathering, we are interested in expanding on what some have called a socialist ecofeminism. Central authors of socialist ecofeminism include Vandana Shiva, Dilar Dirik, Maria Mies, Carolyn Merchant and Ariel Salleh just to name a few. And let's not forget that indigenous, global southern and decolonial feminists and activists have been articulating capitalism's double subordination of gender and the environment since the start of climate crisis. Lee Maracle, Kim Anderson, Gloria Anzaldúa, Arundhati Roy, and bell hooks (again, just to name a small handful) have all written on the intersections of gender and ecology. Today in the face of the climate emergency ecofeminism is resurging as a theory and a global activist movement. On



Julie Gorecki

the frontlines of this struggle is the transnational women and feminist for climate justice movement led by indigenous and global southern women.

And when it comes to thinking about what a working class socialist ecofeminism looks like, we are very pleased to welcome five young ecofeminist activists. With us today we have Alice Vale de Gato, Inês Teles, Joana Bregolat and Sara Bourehiyi that have brilliantly animated a panel here called Ecofeminism as Working Class Politics. We're also joined by Andreia Galvão who is also a co-organizer of this very fabulous conference.

I'm going to start by opening up a conversation with a basic question: what is an ecofeminist working class politics, which was the name of the seminar that was held, and how does it intersect with ecosocialism?

ANSWERING
WHO?

SUNDAY 10:00
ECOFEMINISM AS
WORKING CLASS POLITICS



ALICE GATO



BLANCA BAYAS



INÊS TELES



IRATXE DELGADO



JOANA BREGOLAT



SARA BOUREHIYI



STEFANIA BARCA

V ENCONTROS
 INTERNACIONAIS
 ECOSOCIALISTAS
21-22-23 de janeiro • Lisboa



Joana Bregolat (JB): First of all, I'm Joana. I'm from the Spanish State from Barcelona and I'm a member of Anticapitalistas, a political organisation there. I believe that when we are talking about ecofeminism as a working class politic, we are trying to expand the idea that working class politics is not just for those who are in the factories, it's not just for the ones that are talking about feminism. It's about all the labour that is produced in our society. All the forces that produce and reproduce our lives. It is a way to organize these kinds of work in a way that is visible, is recognized as valuable. Also in a sense I think that ecofeminism is not just for the ones that are doing the fights or the ones that are putting their bodies on the field.

It's for the 90% of society that is not included in the politics of bourgeois democracies or in capitalist forms of organisations.

Inês Teles (IT): So, I'm Inês and I'm from Climáximo in Portugal. I guess I could say that in the climate justice movement, when we are talking about involving the labour movement in climate justice talks, we're very often talking about climate job campaigns and trying to speak to workers in carbon intensive jobs and with the unions associated with those jobs. And we very often face a huge wall when we are trying to communicate with them. So this has led us to try to think of a different approach to labour, and that's one of the



paths that has led us to this idea of an ecofeminist working class. Because we thought that it was insufficient, not only in an organisational way, to try to only speak with these kinds of workers, but also in our conception of what we want from these kinds of campaigns.

We don't only want current labour to change to something that is green and eco-friendly and that can stop climate change. We also want the conception of labour to be changed. To move towards that we need to change the conception we have of care work and reproductive work and metabolic work. Because that kind of work is what's going to be central in this ecosocialist feminist world that we want t

o build. We need to make this shift, and so we have to focus on this work that is needed to care for each other, to care for our planet, and to be able to build an opposition to capitalist exploitation and destruction. That's one of the parts that led us to think about an ecofeminist working class politics.

JG: Thank you for those really clear links between an ecofeminist working class politics and how it connects to the environment and kind of envisioning a climate just future. Something we haven't really done very much in the ecofeminist movement as much as we probably should. So would anyone want to add a final thought to that?

WE HAVE TO FOCUS ON THIS WORK THAT IS NEEDED TO CARE FOR EACH OTHER, TO CARE FOR OUR PLANET, AND TO BE ABLE TO BUILD AN OPPOSITION TO CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION AND DESTRUCTION. THAT'S ONE OF THE PARTS THAT LED US TO THINK ABOUT AN ECOFEMINIST WORKING CLASS POLITICS.

Inês Teles





FOR US TO FACE THE CHALLENGES THAT
CLIMATE CHANGE BRINGS US WE REALLY
NEED TO VALUE CARE. IT'S IMPOSSIBLE
NOT TO. WE REALLY NEED TO PUT LIFE AT
THE CENTRE.
Alice Vale de Gato

Alice Vale de Gato (AVG): So I'm Alice, I'm also from Climáximo... I would just like to maybe add a little bit of context on this session and on what we are doing here at these Encounters. So for these Encounters, we proposed to answer two or three main questions that are really hard to answer. These questions were: 1) Who will? So who are going to be the subjects of the ecosocialist revolution? 2) How to? So how are we going to do the ecosocialist revolution? 3) Where to? So where are we going? What is the ecosocialist society going to be like?...

That's also why we chose to focus on the ecofeminist working class. Because when

we are talking about who will make the ecosocialist revolution, we have to change the revolutionary subjects that are so often associated in our heads with socialism. Because the revolutionary subjects of ecosocialism in the 21st century are really diverse from what we thought they were before.

So we really need to include everyone that is doing reproductive labour and metabolic labour and so on. We also talked about strategies of how we can organise towards the ecosocialist revolution. And one of the things that our session...did was give a vision of how an ecosocialist society is going to be. Because the international

ecosocialist movement really needs a direction, really needs a theory, and I think that ecofeminism needs to be that theory. Well ecosocialism needs to be that theory, but it needs to be an ecofeminist ecosocialism...

It was extremely hard to organise this event, but it was definitely easier than leaving it to climate chaos. And it's going to get harder and harder. For us to face the challenges that climate change brings us we really need to value care. It's impossible not to. We really need to put life at the centre. So I think that this session also gave us a vision of what kind of society we want. And while we are organising the ecosocialist revolution we are already shaping that society.

JG: Thank you so much for that. Before we move on to another question can someone take a moment to define for the listeners reproductive labour and metabolic labour concisely?

JB: For me, there's no clear difference between metabolic and reproductive labour. But in a sense when we used to talk about reproductive labour, we were talking about taking care of people as an interdependency kind of work. And metabolic labour adds the other part. That is, co-dependency on all the work that we do. So it's not just those who are doing the caring—making the food for your kids, doing all the laundry of everybody you live with, and all this kind of work. What is needed for this work to be recognized is

for it to be visible for all of society when it's not. The focus needs to be on the people sustaining agriculture and all the work that sustains our daily life.

AVG: I don't want to explain more because I think you did it wonderfully. But I just want to take this opportunity to visibilize some of the invisible work that's happened for the preparation of this session. So we actually had the wonderful help of Stefania Barca and Blanca from Observatório de la Deuda en la Globalización. And also from Ana Isla who is an ecofeminist from Peru. And we actually did a webinar about ecofeminism as working class politics on the 17th of January. We are going to make it available soon and Stefania Barca gave an amazing explanation of metabolic labour on that webinar. So I really encourage you to see it (Link: Ecofeminism As Working Class Politics Webinar - 17/01/2022 - 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters: <https://vimeo.com/679705186>).

JG: I second that. Stefania Barca's work in general on ecofeminist ecosocialism is, I think, kind of canonical at this point. It's central. So for our listeners, if you want to get more into that, that is definitely an author to focus on.

All right, let's move on. So far you've touched on the session that you all organised, which heavily focused on something we've already started talking about: care and reproductive labour as an economy and as a central ecofeminist working class issue. It was divided into

critically discussing three strategies and tactics towards an ecofeminist ecosocialist organising. So we had ecofeminist unionism as one topic, care strike as another and care national system as a third subject. I was wondering if each of you could expand on the specific strategy you covered.

IT: I was involved in the discussion about and did ecofeminist unionism. We were trying to imagine what an ecofeminist unionism could look like. Some people were confused about the notion. For me it seemed more or less clear what it would be, but I guess it's still a discussion that needs to be had. Since we were thinking about questioning this traditional concept of working class and thinking instead of an ecofeminist working class, and since unionism is a very important historical tool for labour struggles, it must also probably be important for an ecofeminist working class. But we were questioning ourselves about if ecofeminist unions would be something that would come out from already existing unions or if they would be organised as something totally new? What kinds of demands should they organise around? We all agreed that we needed strong demands that would aggregate people and touch people in specific contexts and unite us. So that we could then also be united to further discuss what we want from this ecofeminist unionism and politics.

And so we agreed that this could be something like, for example, a kind of

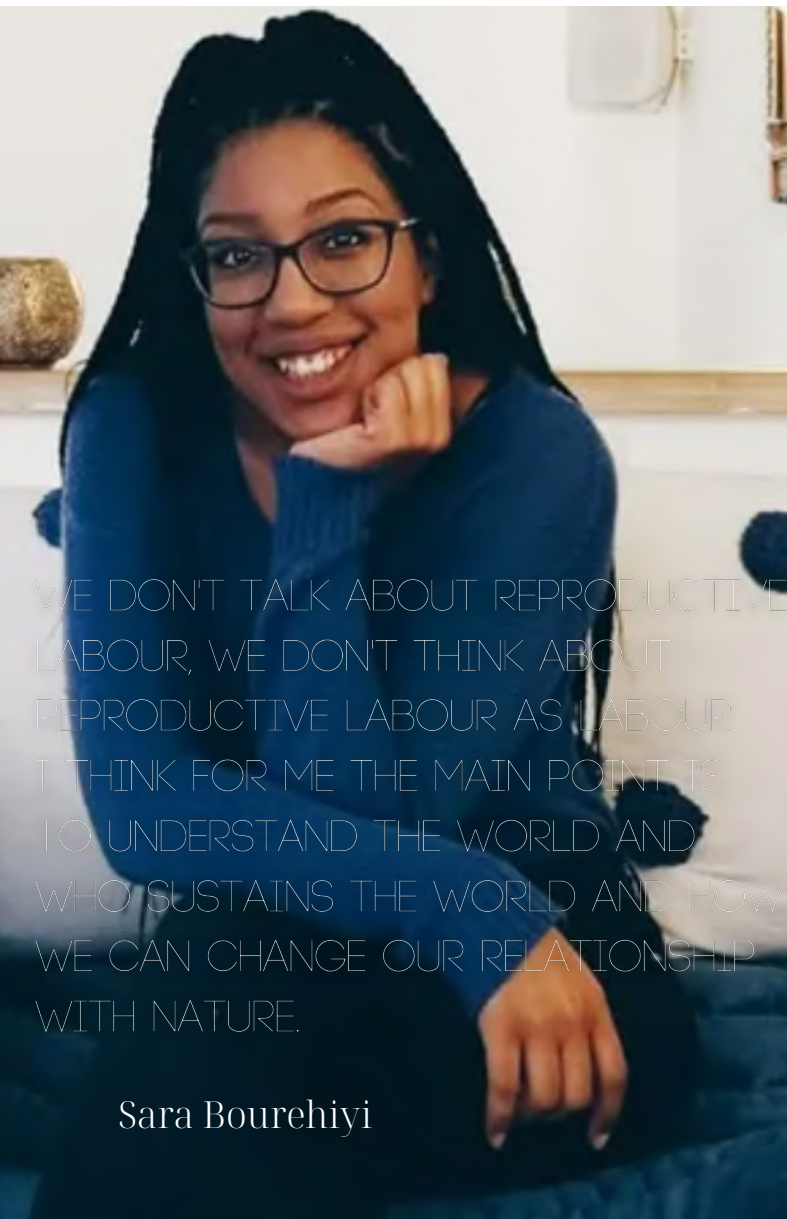
range of care incomes or basic incomes. Something related to reduction of working hours. Something really specific that wasn't necessarily in itself just ecofeminist demands but that could aggregate and move us towards ecofeminist work.

JB: Listening to Inês, I think that one of the principal things that we have to have in mind when we are talking about ecofeminism ... is it's a way of creating relationships and organising ourselves as a way to be able to reach power... But we are also talking about movements... tenants movements, unions rights movements, worker's movements. In a broader sense we are talking about life. About the movements that are defending life. In a moment that life is in danger of a system that destroys life... So ecofeminism is a way to create alternative narratives on a system that doesn't acknowledge, doesn't believe that care is work.

Sara Bourehiyi (SB): Sara from Ecologistas [en Acción]. I'm still learning about ecosocialist and ecofeminist socialist movements. But I think that one of the main points for me is questioning the system, is questioning how unions are working right now, ... and how they tend to forget a lot of people. ... Which jobs do we have right now, what jobs do we want in the future, how do we organise these jobs and how is it that they are usually not in the unions. We don't talk about reproductive labour, we don't think about reproductive labour as labour. We think like, this is care and it's free because it is what it is. So I think

it's a very good point to start with. Because I think for me the main point is to understand the world and who sustains the world and how we can change our relationship with nature.

So for me it was really great. I learned a lot from these Encounters and I still want to learn more. But I think this is not only for women, it's for the whole system. It's for everyone. It's important to change the point of view and see where the jobs are, where the work is starting, and what we can do to change that.



Andreia Galvão (AG): Hi, I'm Andreia and I'm organising the Encounters as Bloco de Esquerda (Left Bloc). What I think is really interesting is when you start talking about ecofeminism, but more broadly about ecosocialism, there is an idea that came up in some conversations. About questioning our bullshit jobs or the post capitalist society that makes us work many hours for jobs that mean nothing. For products that are superficial and mean absolutely nothing, in our garbage, and that will deteriorate. And at the same time we have essential work that is free. ... And there is still this homogenous idea of who the working class is. And it's exactly like Joana was saying. It's the men that are white, that work in the factories in the 19th century.

We know that the working class today looks very differently. ...There is not only the fact that people are workers, but that they are workers and they are women. And that they are women, and that they are black women, or that they are trans women. And it's interesting, even when we are talking about ecofeminism, the need that we have to broaden our lens. Like my university, we can be speaking about feminism and second wave feminism and French feminism. At the same time, the people who clean the faculty are black women that arrive at six in the morning and that leave late and that do all the reproductive work.

We are talking about invisible labour theoretically but we are not recognising it. I think that the need to have this conversation

is to have a better and fairer understanding of the world that we live in and how we can subvert the relations of oppression that we face. And with this, I also think it's very interesting to think of the role of care in struggle. Angela Davis talks about this a lot. The idea that freedom is a constant struggle. That when we struggle we also try to create places of liberation and emancipation where people are happy. Because sometimes struggle is all we have in this world of violence. But through fighting it, we can find a common ground. And I think that care is essential to that. To creating a space where we are happy, we are fulfilled, and we are struggling together.

JG: Fantastic. Thank you so much for bringing that intersectional approach that was also so prominent within the session. An ecofeminist working class politic that is focused on not only gender, not only class, but also race and other more marginalised categories including sexuality. And also your point on who is cleaning in the mornings and their invisible labour. There is also the importance of invisibilised labour during COVID. When we kind of glorified this “essential worker” category. When we started thanking all the essential workers while simultaneously kind of sacrificing them to the early morning work and cleaning of classrooms during COVID. That was another focus in the session that I



thought was really important that I think we're trying to bring visibility to. So thank you again for all of those fantastic comments.

The next category that you all focused on in the session was care strike. Can we concisely talk about that before we move along?

AVG: Maybe before I talk about the care strike, I just want to talk about some of these different tactics... So ecofeminist unionism, the care strike and the care national system. All of them can also go together. So care strike is a tactic, but ecofeminist unionism is a way of

organising. And care national system is a programme and you can combine all of them.

And I think that all of them bring an important aspect to the table. When we were talking about ecofeminist unionism, we need this concept. Because the current concept of unionism that we have does not encompass all the workers. We were also talking about how there is reproductive labour that you are paid for, but there is also labour that is not reproductive and that is not unionisable.

And these people still do jobs and they still need to fight for those jobs. So during the



session we looked at different work categories that people do in our societies. And there are a lot of jobs that are unionisable and a lot of jobs that aren't unionisable, but are still work. And people that are doing this work have no way of fighting for their jobs.

So I think that's why we need to think about an ecofeminist unionism. Because how can we encompass those workers that cannot fight for their rights? I think that's also a way of thinking about the care strike. Because usually when you think about strikes in the traditional sense, the people that decide when the strike is happening are traditionally the men. Men that work at the factory, while the woman is at home cleaning everything and cooking dinner for when the man comes back from the union meeting. And then while the man goes on strike, ok, I'm talking in a really traditional sense, but when the man goes on strike, he can go on striking because the woman is at home caring for the children and so on.

So I think that the care strike is also a way of encompassing the people that should be striking and cannot be striking. But a lot of things that arose during our session was that when you are doing a care strike, the people that are being impacted by the strike are the same people that are dependent on care. And they are not at fault of what's happening.

One of the things that we realised while we were talking about the potential of the

care strike, is that, if you are able to do a big care strike for a long period of time, the impacts are going to be completely disruptive. It's like the motto of the feminist strike — If women stop the world stops. And I think this would be a really interesting thing to see.

At the same time, there are a lot of issues that need to be figured out. And one of the things that we were talking about during the session is how to improve the care strike, and also creating alternative ways of organising it. Where people that usually do not do reproductive labour are doing the reproductive labour side, so that the people that do reproductive labour can strike. And each time you do a care strike you get demands that allow more people to get to the next strike because people are less dependent on them. ...The care is more distributed. So I think that this tactic can also be a way of organising society and redistributing care work. But we still need to think a lot about it. And I think that's one thing that is common about all of these tactics. That all of these ways of organising are so new, like they are recent ideas, and they have so much room for improvement and for exciting growth.

JG: There's a saying in Spanish: "Queremos trabajar menos, vivir mejor, redistribuir el trabajo y la riqueza" [We want to work less, live better, redistribute work and wealth]. I think that these words are the meaning of what we are saying right now. That is, we want to be able to have lives, not just go to work and then go to work again the next day.

A cycle that never ends, is one way to say it. We also want that everybody is recognised for their jobs. For the work they are doing in society. What we want is that it's not just on a gender basis or a race basis or a national basis. We want to believe that there's other ways to organise our labour.

There are people who live with a lot. Who live with a lot of commodities in their lives. And then there are people who do not satisfy their needs. And we are fighting for these people to be able to satisfy their needs. And not just their needs. To be able to have a life.



Joana Bregolat

JG: Thank you. One striking commonality between all of you is that you're all youth climate activists focusing on ecofeminist solutions to the climate crisis. I was wondering what is the importance of ecofeminism to the youth climate movement, and what is the potential of ecofeminism politicising and radicalising some parts of the youth climate movement towards system change?

AVG: I have a lot of things to say about the youth climate movement. Please don't get me started (smiles and group laughter).

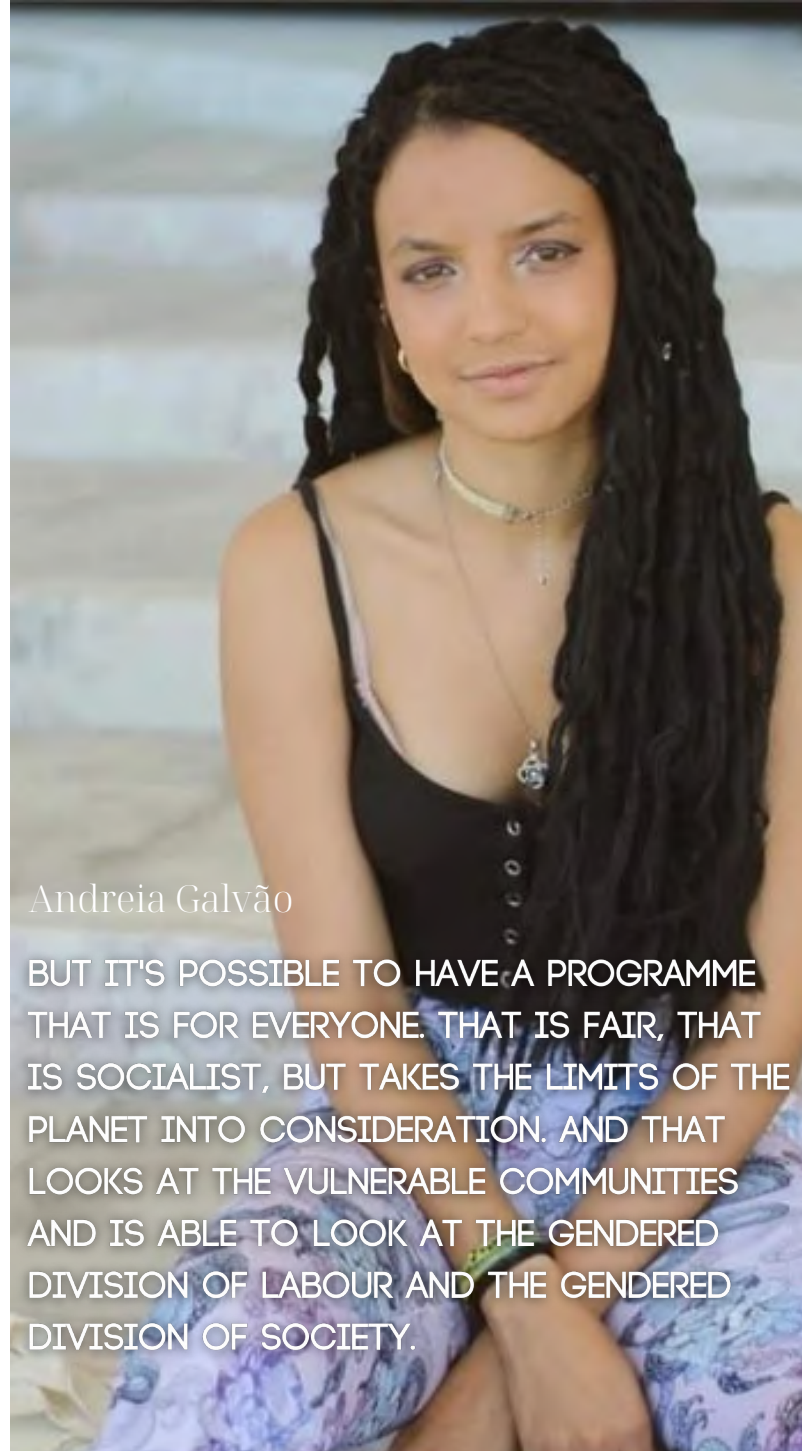
AG: No, but I think there needs to be a paradigm shift in the youth climate movement. And today we just had a session about the youth movement that was called Youth Movement Radical and Ecosocialist. And some of the conclusions were, we were talking about Fridays for Future mainly, but we were talking about our demands. We talked about how we don't demand anything, so people give us nothing. So we are demanding climate justice, which means nothing. We are demanding uprooting the system, which also can mean nothing. Or intersectionality which can mean anything and nothing at the same time. And people give us nothing. They say, ok, we declare a climate emergency. Ok, we declare climate justice. Ok, we declare that we are intersectional. So I really think that there should be a bigger focus on struggling. On vulnerable communities. And even on modifying the paradigm when thinking about Future, like the movement. The main movement is called Fridays for Future.

And we are striking and struggling for our present and also for our past. For redistribution. For guaranteeing that what happened is told as what's really happened. That we are telling the stories of colonialism, of oppression.

So I think in that sense ecofeminism as ecosocialism is essential to this idea that society needs to rapidly change. But it's possible to have a programme that is for everyone. That is fair, that is socialist, but takes the limits of the planet into consideration. And that looks at the vulnerable communities and is able to look at the gendered division of labour and the gendered division of society. And also how the movement itself, when it doesn't take these things into consideration, is an instrument to maintain that oppression.

AVG: One thing that I was thinking is really interesting about the concept of ecofeminism is that we have been demanding feminism, different feminisms for over decades, and we haven't gotten there. And one thing that is interesting about putting climate justice and feminist demands together, which go perfectly well together as we have seen, is that now you have a time limit. You have a deadline to have feminism. You have until 2030. So I think this is really exciting for ecofeminism. And it also puts pressure on the youth movement and I think it's a good pressure.

IT: I would add something about the potential for creating bridges of solidarity



Andreia Galvão

BUT IT'S POSSIBLE TO HAVE A PROGRAMME THAT IS FOR EVERYONE. THAT IS FAIR, THAT IS SOCIALIST, BUT TAKES THE LIMITS OF THE PLANET INTO CONSIDERATION. AND THAT LOOKS AT THE VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES AND IS ABLE TO LOOK AT THE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE GENDERED DIVISION OF SOCIETY.

that comes from an ecofeminist approach. Because when you're sometimes thinking about traditional approaches to labour, they are very focused on this kind of so-called productive labour sectors. But they stay a bit atomised. You have the fights that the transportation workers are going through for example, the struggles that fossil fuel workers and that service workers are going through. And they're all close to each other's struggles. But when you add this approach of ecofeminism, you realise that all of these sectors contain people who



are also doing reproductive labour. They contain people who maybe are also working part time in an informal economy. Contain people that are also maybe activists for example, and fighting in their communities against extractivism. As fighting against the climate crisis as well.

And so this creates a common link between all of these sectors that transcends this idea of normal labour and that unites them. It creates the potential for a mobilisation across every kind of sector of work and towards a common goal. And when you're thinking about the climate justice movement, you really need

this kind of union. This kind of potential to create strong alliances across sectors and across communities. This potential for health care workers for example, mobilising in solidarity with mothers or with this fossil fuel sector workers. I think that this idea is very important. It's something that can be deepened with ecofeminist approaches.

JG: I'm going to really quickly ask a question related to internationalism and an ecofeminist internationalism. For ecofeminists the links between the subordination of women and the environment are rooted in what we sometimes call the "capitalist patriarchy,"

which we know is racial and colonial — a global economic system embedded within the long history of gender oppression and exploitation. Racial exploitation, class exploitation, gender exploitation. Leading ecofeminist scholars and activists Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies describe the capitalist patriarchy as a world structure in which the North dominates the South, and men dominate women through a profit driven global economy. Which today, 20 years on, we can nuance the term “men” when considering binary categories. But you know, just to build on some of the foundational ecofeminist work. If there is this global capitalist patriarchy and we know, as women from different positionalities and backgrounds, that we're all disproportionately impacted, but in very very different ways, then how do we approach an internationalist ecofeminism knowing that we have these complicated histories?

SB: Yeah, for me, I don't believe that there needs to be something like global. Because usually global means, something from the north is then implanted into the south. I think that we need to have alliances. We need to have networking. But we also need to take into consideration that there are so many realities, even within one country. I cannot imagine like the whole world.

So we cannot expect like something that we have created here in the global north to be followed by the global south. So

maybe we can have a lot of Encounters. We need to learn about each other. We need to have this common theory but leave spaces for everyone to, I don't know, to go wherever they want with the tools they have.

AG: Yeah, I totally agree. I think that there is a problem in thinking that there is a global solution to all the problems. And that we can approach it with the model of one size fits all. But I think that at the same time, we truly need an internationalism. Because capitalism organises internationally and so we must also struggle and fight internationally. And build tools and build networks and build relationships of trust and political propositions that take all these experiences into account.

Maybe it's because we have so many different contexts that we need to create stronger alliances. Because we can have a broader view of society and we have a better chance of envisioning a post capitalist world and the world that exists after that. And that is able to confront the climate crisis and create new realities and new possibilities.

JB: I just want to add that when we're talking about creating an ecofeminist internationalism, it's not just talking about those who have ecofeminism as a label. It's talking about all the communities that are doing what we consider or what we acknowledge to be ecofeminism on their own terms and in their own expressions. This means talking about communitarian

feminism. It means talking about feminism that happens in the rural areas. There is an idea that feminism and all kinds of women's organisations and subaltern organisations can do ecofeminist politics. Can be part of an ecofeminist internationalism. I think it's really valuable to be able to understand that ecofeminism could be a category that works for us here in the global north. But maybe it has another name, another structure and another way of creating alliances, creating programmes and improving our lives in other coordinates.

JG: That is an amazing place to stop. I'd like to thank all of you and the amazing work you're doing. I think we can maybe conclude today by saying that we're coming out strong by visioning an ecosocialist, ecofeminist internationalism. Thank you again for taking the time.





Africa: the old new frontier

BY ANABELA LEMOS

With the Industrial Revolution, fossil fuels became very important as the primary source of energy, marking the start of the so-called modern era, and it was very central to the development of the countries in the Global North.

As important as they were, we now know that fossil fuels have brought huge negative impacts to the planet, destroying the environment, raising health problems, wars and militarisation in countries with oil resources, they have led to massive human rights abuses and assassinations. It has culminated in the current terrible climate crisis.

As the demand for energy continued to increase and the link to the climate crisis became unassailable, world leaders should have started moving to other sources of energy, renewable, clean and with less impact on the planet. But instead, companies and governments continued to look for fossil fuels in other places and other regions, to maintain the capitalist system and to uphold the standard of living of the few global elites.

Africa has once again become a new frontier. With many deposits of unexplored coal, oil and gas, weak democracies, and many corrupt leaders, the continent is an ideal and easy prey. For reasons not understood by those who understand the climate



crises, the false narratives of development and better life through fossil fuels fell easy on the ears of African elites, either through ignorance, greed or both. African leaders are giving speeches claiming that they have the right to explore, and since others have done so in the past, now it's their turn. Now is Africa's turn to again fall into an abyss.

We have overwhelming examples in Africa that oil exploration did not bring the development that the leaders' speeches' promise. Just look to Nigeria. The Niger Delta basin, where much of the oil exploration takes place, is a region where communities are living in a destroyed environment, with gross human rights violations, assassinations, insurgencies, rampant killings, rapes and hijackings of community members. As for development, Nigeria stopped thinking of any other solution and made their economy mostly dependent

on oil, and oil did not bring any of the promises of development the Global North companies and governments had said it would. Another country that depends almost entirely on oil is Libya, and what is today's situation in the country? A failed state, where even the basest structures for societal organisation have collapsed due to conflict and resource grabbing, in particular oil and gas grabbing. With slightly different scenarios, but nonetheless grave situations, we also have Angola, Congo and Sudan.

Mozambique is one of the newest frontiers. It is often said by the people in Mozambique that Mozambicans are different, and in many ways we are. Our cultural heritage, our traditions, our look on life, our easygoing way of life might save us troubles, but clearly leaderships are ignoring the lessons from the past. They forget the old saying "Insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results".

Mozambique became independent in 1975, one of the latest countries to gain independence in all of Africa. After independence, it went through many phases: exodus of most of the colonial structures and people; communist / socialist system; putting in place new structures and new system; 16 years of civil war; and in 1994 the first election in what supposed to be a democracy. But this new democracy was nothing

more than the complete opening of the doors to free markets and to all types of foreign investments in the name of development. This "investment" started to come in through different forms, such as massive aluminum smelters, large scale monoculture plantations of exotic trees, massive introduction of cash and export crops, and many others. A "mining" economy was introduced, where everything was taken out of the country.



Later, Mozambique's elites and the international fossil fuel companies decided to follow the path of exploring fossil fuels in the name of development, claiming their "right to do so". All the while, Mozambique is currently one of the countries most affected by climate change, with growingly intense hurricanes and storms, that have already devastated cities such as Beira and Pemba, and expanding drought areas. This is the context in which the government is looking to boost the industry that contributes most to this crisis, in the midst of a global movement calling to end the exploitation of fossil fuels.

Yet, there is a previous story. First it was coal, open pit coal mining, and at the time many advocated that it was the solution for the country, with very few organisations opposing it. Those that raised their voices were put apart for being different, the outliers, they were labelled "anti-development", against the government, and not patriotic. As in many African countries where fossil fuel production started, civil society members that opposed it have encountered not only segregation but also many dangerous threats.

As some expected, in the province of Tete, eleven years after coal production started



communities are still waiting for the fulfillment of agreements: relocation contracts have not been kept, land promised in exchange for the lost land was not given, livelihoods were destroyed, land and territories were grabbed, water resources have dried, the territory has been fenced up or so polluted that it is a health risk to use. Having no other options, communities are using it, with health problems having increased, with violence and expulsions having become a norm. Those that talk or raise their voice receive threats that have escalated to much worse. Some of the companies involved in coal in Mozambique are Vale (Brazil) and Jindal (India), among others.

Not stopping here, society again fell into the trick that this time it would be different, since “Mozambicans are different”. And so the path to gas exploration started.

From the beginning, the path of complete destruction of communities’ structures, livelihoods, territories, land grabbing at a large scale and environmental destruction began in a area that is a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve: the “Quirimbas”, in Cabo Delgado province.

The multinational oil companies came in: Anadarko, Total, Eni, ExxonMobil, Galp, Mitsui. The rush to start the project

without conditions to relocate the communities meant that houses and lands were not ready and people were just shoved away. The land that as per agreement was promised to the peasant communities was not available, and many of these peasants were women, with a growingly hard task to provide without land, to carry on planting and growing their food for the community. The artisanal fishermen were also not given access to the sea, preventing them to carry on with their fishing livelihoods, and further depriving communities of basic subsistence conditions. Fossil capitalism, well before the production phase, is already a massive destroyer of life.

Where once there was a relatively peaceful community, living from the natural resources so rich in this province: plants, soil, land, the sea, with some added income from tourism, in an area of conservation and amazing beauty, a war started in 2017.

Today most of the area is destroyed and communities, that were already dislocated, had to run away from the conflict in droves. All of this happened, all these major changes occurred, because of and when the beginning of gas production came near.

Today, Cabo Delgado is an area with war and insurgency. More than 800,000 people have been displaced and have fled their

homes since the beginning of the conflict. Over 3,000 people have died, human rights abuses are increasing, disappearances and kidnappings of communities are still on the rise, rapes of peasant women by the military are also unfortunately increasing. Many reports done by international organizations, many requests to the government for clarification and investigation are denied, but nothing is done, with the situation worsening by the day.

The impacts of this project to the climate crisis are massive, as the projected reserves are very substantial. We cannot afford any fossil fuel projects, we cannot increase emissions in Mozambique or anywhere else, we need to stop exploring and phase out the existing infrastructures.

By allowing the exploration of natural gas, Mozambique's elites are following the same path of African countries such as Nigeria and Libya. In all the examples we have on the continent, these projects have led to an increase in conflict and militarization, terrorism, corruption, national debt, poverty and a general deterioration in the standard of living of local populations, without having generated benefits for the country and the peoples.

This has nothing to do with rights to explore, to develop, or respecting African countries' sovereignty. It is a suicidal attempt to force Africa to invest in the same systems that have created the biggest crisis in human history. It is the tried and proven model of fossil fuels that line the pockets of elites and leave the people in a worse off situation, while increasing global emissions.

Emmanuel Macron, the recently reelected French president has stated that Mozambique needs to explore gas, that Mozambique does not have the right to not allow it, that it needs it to develop. It is clear he is assuming his role as Total Energies' spokesperson. Total needs to keep on making outrageous profit, to explore more fossil fuels, at the cost of the Mozambican and other peoples, their livelihoods, their rights and the survival of future generations.



Capitalism is also in a historical crisis. Its rate of accumulation is not growing at the speed and rate they need, and the overwhelming environmental, health, social and political crises are compounding to affect it. It will do what it is hardwired to do: search for new frontiers of exploitation in places where it still can and look for other ways to intensify extraction and production, be it material or virtual. It

will be doing it in a growingly adverse context, as the promise of future profits seems to be ever more tenuous. This doesn't mean it will not go forward with the most outrageous projects it can think of. Although any promise of profit will make it advance, even in the Global North, it will be focusing its claws on the Global South, looking to destroy and loot what's left after 500 years of colonialism.





New IPCC Report and Adaptation: from systems transition to transformative worldmaking


BY OSCAR MOONEY

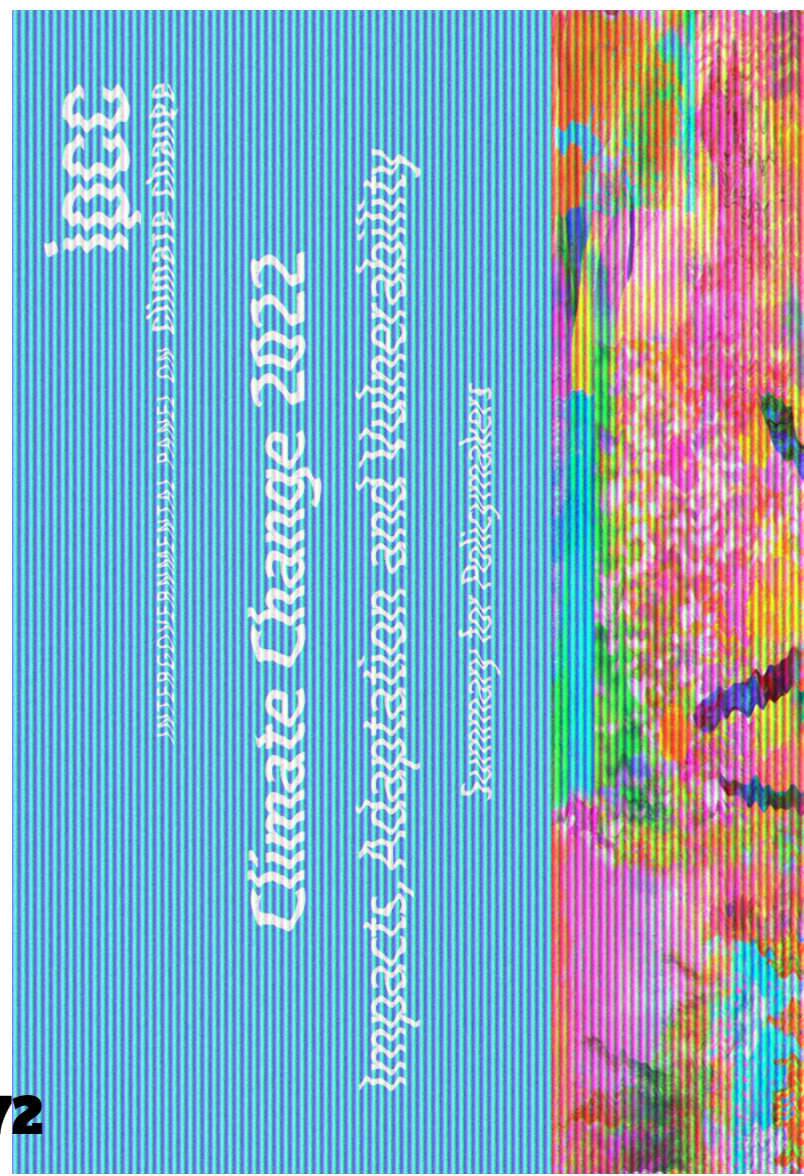
“We cannot adapt to starvation. We cannot adapt to extinction. We cannot eat coal. We cannot drink oil. We will not give up”- Vanessa Nakate

Nakate describes the divergence between the reality of climate change and what is currently occurring under climate policy around the world. Adaptation was the central theme of the recent AR6 WGII report. Words prescribed onto page detail an ever dying planet, its invaluable ecosystems, the people interdependent on them. Having been adopted by climate and ecological researchers for decades, this report brings systems theory to the fore of climate discussion. Just as systems theory has been used to bridge existing disciplines and understandings of the world, this report must be recognised as a bridge between the data-drive world of information to a world of sense-making that can be described only through experiential knowledge and wisdom.

A dire injustice of climate change is that those closest to, dependent on, and defending nature are also experiencing the most adverse impacts of the climate crisis. These are the Indigenous Peoples and labourers across the world, the people of small-island states, and the “Global South”. This IPCC report attempts to describe their world and their knowledge while highlighting the failure of institutions,

governance, and finance of rich countries orchestrated by the capitalist and colonial beneficiary’s often living, and originally from, the “Global North”. Within this given systems theory framework we must understand what a systems transition truly means if we are going to transform our world systems from being hellbent for planetary destruction or to re-embed and connect with the knowledge systems of those often forgotten and being left behind.

Starvation and extinction of people, cultures, communities and ecosystems is occurring now at an ever-increasing rate, and when we consider that the practices and technologies to decarbonise have long existed, what exactly is it that this report asks us to adapt?



On Data and Models:

“All models are wrong, but some models are useful”

Climate change has been known to be occurring since the 1970s, yet for many people without an ecological sensibility, the impacts of climate change have been hard to predict. A warming planet, melting glaciers, and rising sea levels are the more classical understandings of what will occur due to climate change. However, the popular recognition of these salient effects of climate change also stems from the western-centric imagination. These classical interpretations of the risks of climate change are cautionary and while true, descriptive of a slow-onset and detached process that does not interrupt peoples everyday lives. These visual descriptions are truly different from how climate change was occurring in more vulnerable countries, the “Global South”. In western liberal-modernist societies primarily concerned with individualism and availability, how did the hierarchies within these capitalist societies react to these early warnings?

Well, to ensure the maintenance of their capital flows they set to work on financing climate-doubt and the creation of lobby groups, but also through the corruption of rationalisation. In truly apathetic rationality, if climate change could not

be proved then it was not happening - especially since dealing with climate change would be bad for business. In the western world, an epistemic battlefield between climate scientists and the “rational agents” of growth-based economies assumed ensued. These debates were held in the media, in educational institutions, and in international conferences concentrating on the science while the latter group continued to ignore the deterioration of ecosystems and suffering of people due to climate change. The indifference towards people and the natural world, while doubt-led distractions occurred across economics, climatology, ecology, and political science, meant that the climate crisis as it has come to be understood had its epistemological genesis in the neoliberal mandate for the 21st century.

Consequently, collated information from the world’s top climate scientists has been aggregated into the IPCC reports. Within these reports, climate and ecological models have widely been employed. These models utilise the mathematics understood of climate and ecological science to predict the affects that climate change will have. These have been used alongside measurements of sea and air temperature increases, coincided with increases in carbon dioxide levels, to prove that climate change was occurring. These models, scientific findings, and various efforts to communicate through media have now broken through the fog of doubt created by fossil fuel capitalists, but this was not done

by climate scientists alone. For many people, these reports have described a world already known and or experienced by them. The centering of scientific doubt in climate debate removed, and relied upon the continuous dehumanisation of, people who colonialism and capitalism have historically oppressed.

Effects from the report:

An increase of two degrees Celsius will see almost one fifth of terrestrial species assessed in the IPCC report face extinction. Biodiversity is most vulnerable to increasing temperatures in ocean and coastal ecosystems. Consequently, the rate of extinction is increasing exponentially, and will continue to, depending on what temperature increase our planet sees. Above and below ground, terrestrial and aquatic, all our ecosystems are threatened by climate change. Unique and threatened systems include natural systems and the people who rely on them, such as the Arctic and its Indigenous People.

Sea-level is exposing more and more people to risk of coastal flooding, while being an existential threat for small-Islands states and low-lying coasts. Furthermore, climate change has been increasing food insecurity in these ocean-reliant states as well as areas such as Sub-Saharan Africa and South America. With malnutrition and nutrient

nutrient deficiencies as the outcome, these mounting diseases should be considered as climate-sensitive. While densely populated areas have been stated to contribute to ecological degradation this does not concern why areas became so densely populated nor the unequal consumption of resources on the planet. Historic process of urbanisation and land-grabbing have contributed to the vulnerability of those forced into urban areas to find work. Continued and current trends of urbanization will continue to cause increased vulnerability. The agency of the people who live as part of these vulnerable ecosystems was also been eroded by colonial-originating hierarchies.

Economic damages from climate change will continue to compound those low-income countries placing them in a continuous uphill battle. The costs of maintenance and reconstruction in urban areas, as well as energy prices, are expected to continue rising. Many low-income countries have found themselves squeezed between climate change and global debt, as the ruthless competitive global economy has failed to provide necessary international mechanisms for debt cut while ignoring calls for a remedial and reparations-orientated Loss and Damage framework. Historical colonialism is mentioned as one of the contributors to vulnerability however does this report mention anything on how to adapt to this? Unfortunately, no. These issues are raised but left unattended, as if they

were natural phenomena without delving into details of their exploitative, historical causes.

Information to experience across interrelatedness of systems:

"The last word in ignorance is the man who says of an animal or plant: What good is it?" – Aldo Leopold

The interrelatedness of organism and environment is the basic unit of survival. If one is threatened so is the other. Very high risk is associated with irreversibility and the limitations of adaptation. The report focuses on the critical risks which an ability to respond to must be fostered. It is how vulnerability, hazards, and exposure come together that contribute to the overall risk which then continues to increase as




the adaptive capacity of these systems collapses. The "cascading" affect suggests ecological degradation will snowball as habitats, ecosystems, communities, and countries lose their ability to adapt meaning that as these risks become reality, they will become unrelentless and almost impossible to control.

In situations of risk, adrenaline levels surge, heart rates increase, blood pressure rises, rapid breathing, sweating, and changes in metabolic rates occur. This rushed state of existence - immediacy and anxiousness - is something we have all experienced. When it comes to climate and global change, extreme heat and crop failure, as humans face these existential threats, this becomes the effects of climate change. Increasing global temperatures place increased pressure on agricultural workers around the world, many of whom work for long durations with little protection from the sun's rays. As areas become uninhabitable, climate refugees are being forced to cross both lands and seas only to be rejected at state-surveilled borders. Consequently, the climate and biodiversity crises should be understood as unfolding on the natural world which in turn subjects the most vulnerable to hazardous working conditions, famine, disease, migration, homelessness, and mental illness and anxiety.



Just as the climate crisis demonstrates the interrelatedness between people and planet, it also reveals the interrelatedness between the biosphere and the inability of capitalism to respond in a systematically appropriate manner, while potentially exacerbating these problems further. An example being that just as the commodification of food has already lead to poverty and famine, the climate and ecological crisis will further increase food prices and food insecurity leading to those with low incomes, many of whom are global agricultural workers, suffering the most.

A person wearing a blue shirt is holding a small white flower with pink petals. The background is blurred, showing other people and what appears to be a festival or public gathering.

We know that changes and impacts will occur, but it is how we adapt that can change the vulnerability of natural and human systems. Closeness to nature has become a vulnerability, but it is also a practice and way of life through which we can learn to adapt to climate change. This highlights our reliance, dependence, and relationship on our surrounding environment. The dominance of science as the communication medium for climate change does not mean that more experiential understandings of climate change are not valid. In fact, that is exactly what this report calls for - that a greater centering of these voices and knowledge systems is required for true adaptation.

The Information to Knowledge and Wisdom Shift:

Resilient power systems and energy reliability, along with Terrestrial and ocean ecosystem adaptation, such as forest-based adaptation, agro-forestry, and biodiversity management, are all regarded as feasible and synergistic with mitigation efforts - this can be considered a win-win in climate action. However, when we look at the other challenges and their feasibility, human migration is regarded as having a medium synergy with mitigation, and planned relocation and resettlement has the lowest overall feasibility with mitigation efforts. Institutional feasibility across

all areas of the required adaptation measures is medium to low. Incremental, sector-specific, adaptation cannot respond to the scale of the multi-dimensional crisis we are facing.

Low-to-no adaptation includes fragmented, localised, and incremental adjustments to existing practices. The report says that "larger adaptation gaps exist among lower income population groups". This stresses how communities, regions, and whole regions that were economically disadvantaged from periods of industrialisation and colonialization are now most at risk. These processes resulted in the financial constraints that prevented improvements in societal and social structure, while many were further compounded by their climate-vulnerable geographical locations. This adaptation gap will continue to grow as adaptation requires time, long-term planning, and finance. The issue of feasibility is that most of these measures will not be profitable, their value is adaptation itself, which is contradictory with the global capitalist economy.

The IPCC report authors explicitly express the shift from information on predictions and projections of climate change to a knowledge-based approach required for the integration between climate, ecosystems, and biodiversity and the various spheres of human societies. This requires a shift in governance, finance, technologies, knowledge, and capacities. At the heart of this transition process for both

planet and people the authors suggest “climate resilient development”, with health, well-being, justice, and equity at its centre. This requires that these values be extended to both people and planet as they are the material conditions that have been left out of considerations in order to achieve ever increasing profits and economic growth.

Many adaptation measures only alleviate near-term climate risk reduction. These in turn can decrease the opportunity for transformational adaptation. Therefore, these measures do not target the heart of these matters. As they do not target capitalism, financial availability becomes a prime factor in an adaptation measures feasibility. This becomes increasingly more unsettling given that it was through financialization, commodification, and dehumanisation that the climate crisis unfolded. Limiting adaptation measures by the same economic system that proliferated the climate crisis is itself an act of maladaptation.

Conclusion:

Behind the technical systems language of the paper, political language that has long been suppressed by techno-optimism seeps through. Following this digression, the critical interrogation required to undo these past and current malignancies demands to rise to the surface. Colonialism, Loss and Damage, and human and natural well-being describe the processes and events that construct

the climate crisis as well as what is required to confront it. The values required to solve the climate crisis cannot be those which caused it. Racism, capitalism, and greed are all antithetical to the worldmaking needed.

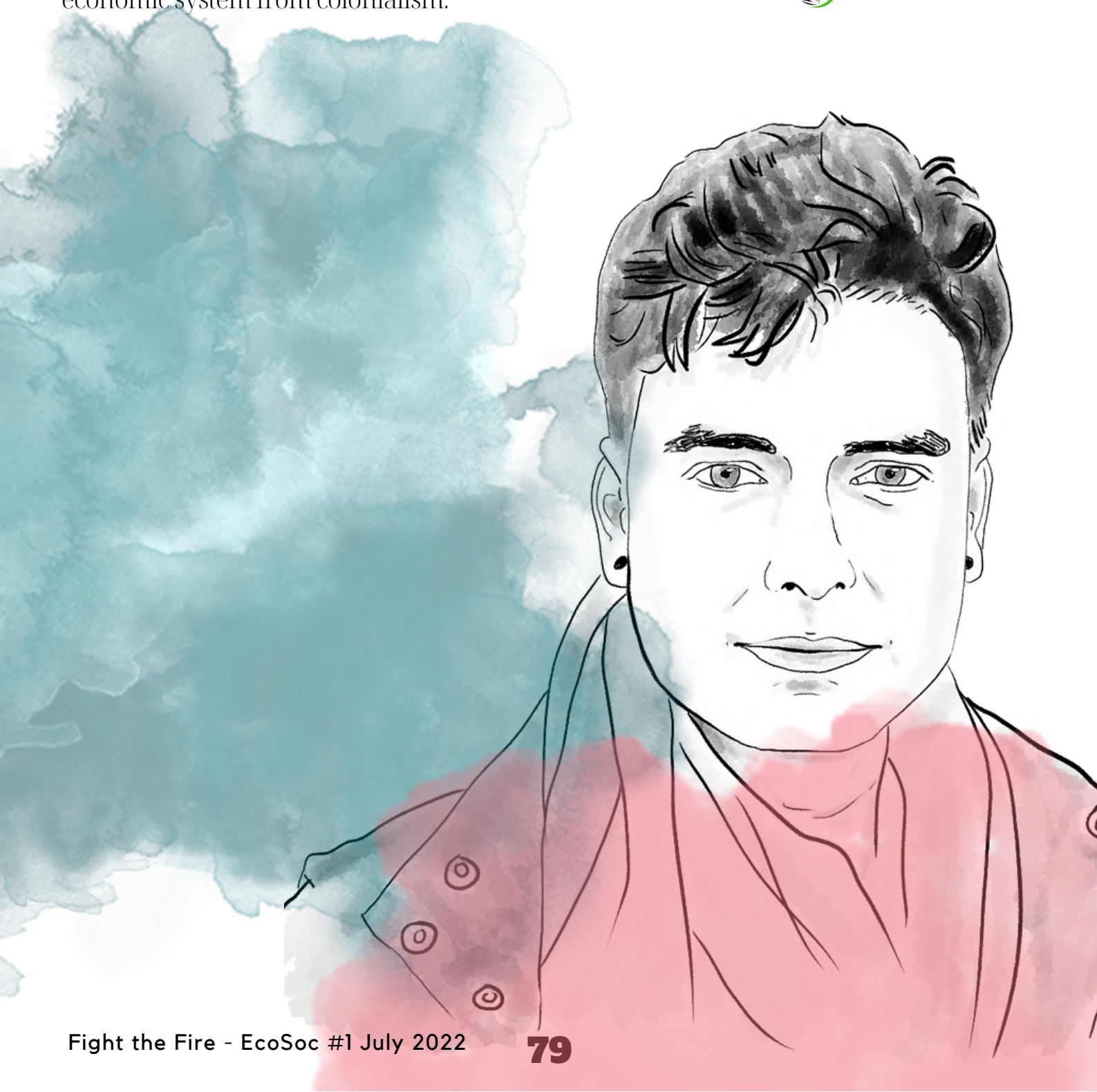
The colonial world was steeped in the dehumanization and "othering" of Indigenous Peoples in the countries Europeans colonised. As these places were colonised for exploitation, the visioning that nature was something to be exploited translated into oppressive disregard of the Indigenous People in those places too. This hideous misunderstanding created the foundations for forging the international economic relations that still serve the economic accumulation of the wealthy of today's world. Those hierarchies that formally became institutions, governments, and financial rules were founded on social constructs for maintaining these oppressive colonial relations which have now led us to the precipice of planetary collapse.

But just as each cog turned in history has shifted us towards the present, we must re-imagine, re-learn, and abandon those malignant processes that will only further destroy our shared future. Adaptation of human and natural systems needs to shed its technical blockades. The western-centred ideologies that have brought us to this crisis are what need to be changed. Critiques fostered through ethnic, race, gender theory, and socialist thought have identified the transformation that is needed

while Indigenous wisdom provides the knowledge to heal the Earth.

To adapt a world currently being destroyed by greed, colonialism, and dehumanisation to one of equity, well-being, and justice, it is important to consider what exactly it is we need to adapt. Climate change is the material outcome of epistemic violence, just as global capitalism emerged as the economic system from colonialism.

Adaptation suggests a modifying of a system, but here the authors explicitly mention a systems transition. This means getting rid of the previous systems and moving towards a new one. With the foundations, values, and outcomes of this new system all antithetical to the capitalist system of colonialism, this report tells us that systems change is not just warranted but needed now.



Breaking boundaries: The Climate Justice Caravan

BY JOÃO CAMARGO



This spring, climate and social justice movements in Portugal, Ireland and Turkey set off to walk in climate justice caravans throughout their territories. They knocked at the doors of great emitters and visited the frontlines of climate struggles. These movements got in touch with thousands of people in places they usually don't travel to, discussed face-to-face with communities they are usually not in the least engaged with, committed to a form of militancy that required very high levels of commitment, and established unequivocal bonds for future action and organisation.

We need to build a strong movement to rupture the old ways. The boundaries set within new social movements and the western part of the climate justice movement need to be broken. We have a clear portrait of the environmental movement of the last thirty years. And only if we purposefully deconstruct the idea of a young, urban, educated and white middle class climate justice movement can we build a mass movement that is sustained in the medium-term.

Capitalism has always used the civilization-old rule of dividing to conquer, of dominating and solidifying hierarchies between ethnicities, genders, geographies, communities and groups. In opposition to that many have used the idea of a working class that can confront and abolish these

hierarchies and divisions, allowing the formation of social majorities that can force the overthrow of capitalism.

Of course the divisions have existed and been fuelled by all elites well before the advent of capitalism. In particular, the rift between city dwellers and rural workers and peasants has been an essential social division in history. But it was profoundly aggravated by the industrial revolution. Indeed the undervaluation of rural communities and their full integration in the world of commodities provided the human strength that established capitalism. Many from these communities were uprooted from their meagre rural dwellings and brought to cities. There they were pitted against older urban communities to guarantee



the race to the bottom of low wages and terrible life and work conditions. This was the only way to go to allow maximum profit.

Living miserable lives in slums, sweatshops and industrial death traps, uprooted rural communities were the backbone of the workers' movement. Their communal organisational structures were combined with industrial discipline to give form to the socialist movement that swept and changed the world in the 19th and 20th century. These were the people Marx referred to when he said that proletarians had nothing to lose but their chains.

Simultaneously, the metabolic rift between the countryside and the cities, with a permanent flux of energy, nutrients and people into ever-growing metropolis, is at the base of environmental degradation in successive crises.

In the revolutionary processes of the past, the alliance or division between rural communities and urban workers was an ever present issue. Yet rural exodus is a global reality and the countryside is becoming a disempowered, overexploited and forgotten part of territories. However, the countryside covers the majority of land, and in many countries in the Global South, the majority of the populations.

Can ecosocialism work in the ultra-urbanized world? Can we sustain the

permanent influx of energy and raw materials from the rural areas into big cities? And can we sustain cities with millions of inhabitants in much harsher climatic conditions? Further, can we recuperate rural territories devastated by mining, by intensive farming and animal production, by green deserts of tree plantations? Can we turn them into territories more resilient to drought, flood and forest fire?

In a highly urbanised world, when power is derived from social relations in cities and between nations, when the absolute majority of people in the Global North and Latin America live in big cities, when the rural landscape has fewer political representatives, when industries and sources of destruction, pollution and emissions are outsourced there before being outsourced to poorer countries, it is only natural that new social movements and the climate justice movement are based in cities.

And so most, if not almost all the demands and politics of the climate justice movement are a program of the city, with a high focus on energy, transport, the port and the airport. International trade goes through the urban, although materially it is overwhelmingly extracted and transformed in the rural. The movement is essentially urban. It has mostly been urban. And so, a trench has been dug between our movement and rural communities.

Most of the local and national social and

ecological conflicts of the climate crisis are and will continue to take place in the rural areas. It is there that the coal, oil and power plants still burn. It is there that the agribusiness model burns and emits more than ever, where mines, fracking sites, quarries, landfills and all manners of industries are. It is also in the countryside where most workers of these industries are based. Can we think of a mass social movement that has no roots in rural areas?

Caravans are rural and semi-military tactics. They are strong and powerful moments of action, where the travel and the movement of the people are notorious, building internal cohesion while reaching out.

Political caravans throughout history were often moments where an image of

unity and action was projected: Gandhi's Salt March, Martin Luther King's Selma to Montgomery march, the march from Delano to Sacramento in California, Prestes' Column in Brazil, Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand. Even if we don't measure the political success of these, their impact is undeniable, internally and externally. The commitment of staying many days in action, of sharing space and tasks, of approaching communities and problems outside of the regular space of action, through a humble perspective, allows for the potential growth and diversification of the movement.

The caravans used the tools of disaggregated emissions inventories to help plan their paths, passing through many of the most emitting infrastructure in each region: coal, oil and gas plants, cement and





paper companies, drill sites and mines. The debate about the future of these infrastructures needs to happen right at their doorstep. Although direct actions are a useful tool to start or trigger the debates on just transition, going there and discussing what should happen there has a power of its own. When local communities and workers join this debate, the movement becomes more grounded, more connected and so more powerful.

The idea of a Climate Justice Caravan was launched by the People's Climate Agreement (formerly known as the Glasgow Agreement) as an action to be conducted in different countries around the world. It has thus far taken place in three countries – Portugal, Ireland and Turkey.

In Portugal, the Climate Justice Caravan set off

on the 2nd of April from Leirosa, near Figueira da Foz, to walk over 400km. The route was divided between two big themes: fire and water.

Starting in paper and paste mills from Altri and The Navigator Company, the caravan crossed around 200km in Central Portugal, visiting Montemor-o-Velho, Coimbra and Pedrógão Grande, a region severely affected by forest fires in the last decades, particularly in 2017. There industrial eucalyptus plantations dominate the landscape. In fact Portugal has the biggest eucalyptus area in the world, over one million hectares.

Each day there were open assemblies in theatres, in the streets, in parks and town squares, and sessions about industrial transformation in front of high emitting infrastructures. Most of the caravan was done on foot, sleeping in campsites,

gymnasiums, fire stations and schools. The first ten days of the route were chosen for the theme of fire, and on the 12th of April the caravan reached the Tejo River, in Vila Velha de Ródão, where two paper mills are famous for regularly polluting the biggest river in the Iberian Peninsula with industrial waste.

The second part of the caravan focused on water. Participants walked, but they also took the train for free with support from the public train company, CP. . They visited industrial sites, river banks where degradation was clear, and many beautiful areas.

Water scarcity and degradation of water quality are major issues with communities, and big agribusiness lobbies only think about how to opportunistically use the climate crisis. Part of that is a major project to build six more dams in the river, to create a massive irrigation area for export crops and eucalyptus.

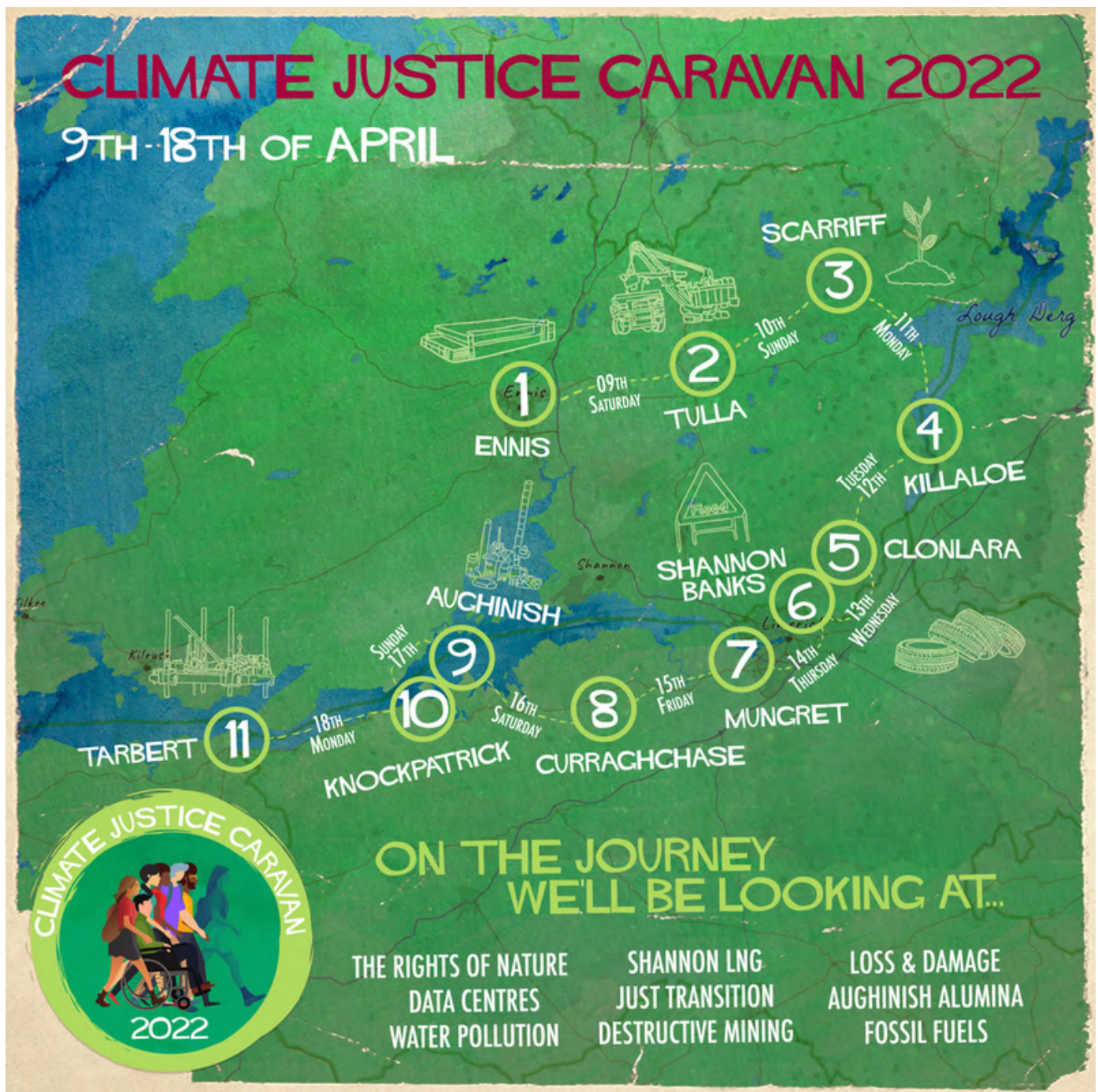
The caravan finished on the 16th of April in Lisbon, with a big assembly in a park

next to the river. Over 40 national and local organisations, were involved in the caravan, and there were 150 participants over fourteen days.

In Ireland, the caravan ran from April 9th to the 18th, from Ennis to Tarbert and across Munster.. It was composed of members from and supported by Extinction Rebellion Ireland, Futureproof Clare, Rights of Nature Ireland, Cappagh Farmers Support Group, Keep Tulla Untouched, Safety Before LNG, Friends of Ardee Bog, Ecojustice Ireland, Unite Climate Justice Group and Cultivate. Along the nine-day journey, the caravan visited locations connected to issues such as mining and extractivism, seed sovereignty, water pollution and flooding, new data centres sites, renewable energy and energy sovereignty, loss and damage, circular economy, just transition, and predatory fossil fuel capitalism.

A key aim of the caravan was to advocate that the River Shannon be granted its own





rights, as part of the national and global Rights of Nature movement. The Shannon River flows through Ireland and its importance to the communities and biodiversity that live alongside the river highlights the interconnectedness between nature and humankind. Nutrients and sediments from intensive forms of agricultural and industrial activities, untreated sewage, landfills, mining and quarrying, pesticides, and forestry activities, are destroying the river.

And the issues of flooding, particularly from the Ardnacrusha dam are growing dangerously. Despite its historical fame, currently Ireland's woodland is less than 2% native species.

Three massively important sites were visited: the Ennis Data Centre: Rusal's Aughinish Alumina, the biggest producer of alumina in Europe; and the projected site of a new LNG gas terminal in the Shannon estuary, a project that has been revived by the narrative of energy independence based on gas.

In Turkey, the caravan assumed a diverse format, with three different moments. On the 9th and 10th of April, over thirty participants left from Istanbul to Izmir, with other stops next to the Aegean Sea, protesting and holding forums in front of the Soma coal mine where over 300 miners died in 2015, and coal power plants. Meetings were also held with different local organisations and communities.

On the 16th and 7th of April, the caravan went from Zonguldak to Bacakkadi, where there are currently four operating coal power plants and the government plans to build two more. The group here was smaller, but many more participants joined along the way, in particular from the communities threatened with eviction. The third part of the caravan, from the 26th to the 29th of May was the most participated, leaving from Istanbul and visiting the Marmara region, meeting people living in settlements close to coal power plants, establishing links with active



platforms in the field, and visiting local island defenders at the Burgazada islands. The caravan was very popular, attracting a lot of attention and leading to new contacts. Smaller groups visited other sites in the meantime. One was the the forest of İkizkoy/Akbelen, where the government means to destroy the forest to dig for coal. Another was the Erzincan Ilıc gold mine with its enormous shulphuric acid and cyanide pools that contaminate the Euphrates river. The caravan moved on foot, by bus and train.



Many seeds were planted. New coalitions were built and social forces were put in direct contact. Calls for new caravans were made, for other regions, confronting high-emitting and highly polluting infrastructures and visiting sites and communities most affected by the flamethrower that is modern capitalism.

The caravan will definitely create new campaigns, new actions, new allies.

Further, it will likely create documentaries, books, and other cultural expressions that need to be spread throughout the movement and in society. We need that, we are starving for that. Other caravans might still occur until the end of the year.

The huge split between rural and urban, that sustains the influx of energy and raw materials from the rural areas into big cities with millions of inhabitants in much harsher climatic conditions, must be mended in an ecosocialist world. We need to recuperate rural territories devastated by mining, by intensive forestry, agriculture and animal production, and turn them into territories more resilient to drought, flood and forest fire, where many more people live. It is very difficult to think of a mass social movement of rupture that has no roots in rural areas. Tactics such as the climate justice caravan are needed to solidify urban-rural alliances all around the world.

Brief history of the International Ecosocialist Encounters

BY JUAN TORTOSA



In January 2014, the 1st Ecosocialist Encounters were born at the initiative of the Group écosocialiste of solidaritéS, a movement of the Swiss anti-capitalist left (solidaritéS). It gathered a multitude of experiences, alternatives and projects that were happening a bit everywhere in Europe and in other continents, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it addressed a multiple need: to stop for a moment in activism, to take the time to reflect and share experiences. It was essential to have a meeting space to get to know each other, to share each other's work, it was necessary to articulate our efforts, to create confluences, to propose alternatives. It was important to go beyond sectoral struggles and it was essential to have an overall vision which would allow us to articulate a project of eco-social emancipation, beyond the electoral appointments and the urgencies of the political agenda.

In these first meetings, that took place in the Swiss city of Geneva, we tackled issues such as agriculture (among others the campaign for food sovereignty in Switzerland and the conditions of workers in the Andalusian countryside from Via Campesina Switzerland and Andalusia), climate change and the need to build a movement for Climate Justice, urbanism, health and democratic planning and self-management (with representatives of

the French Left Party and from Alternatibas Libertarias), the ecological consequences of a criminal austerity policy in Greece (with a Green MP), climate migration, climate change and health, and culture in times of transition. The energy transition and the challenges for trade unions in the face of the socio-ecological changes were also discussed. Another driving idea of these 1st Encounters was to get out of the European ethno-centrism and see what can be learned from the Global South, introducing eco-feminism, a concept and practice that wasn't popularly discussed north of the Pyrenees. We were pioneers in this theme, in the French-speaking world, which today has a special relevance.

These first meetings were a success in terms of attendance, conviviality and putting into practice a common work. More than 200 people from Heuskal Herria, Spain, Catalonia, Galicia, Portugal, England, Germany, Belgium, Holland, France, Italy, Greece, Austria, Norway and of course Switzerland attended. The first meetings were a space of convergence of the diverse collectives, social movements, trade unions and politicians who thought and think that it is not possible to respond to the serious crises that capitalism is leading us into without radically breaking with it and building alternatives in which all the diversity and wealth born from the grassroots in all corners of the planet can fit. Yes, there are solutions, and it is we, the people from below, who have to build them. That was the message of the 1st Ecosocialist Encounters.

The meetings took place in the context of the ebb of the climate movement after the Copenhagen COP and a return to the local work of these movements for Climate Justice. The evidence and experience of the limits of the policy of participation within the COPs and the need to build strong movements at the edge of the COP agendas, but with an eye on the COP21 in Paris. At the end of this first space of confluence, we met for the second one in Madrid.



The 2nd Encounters were organised in Madrid at the end of June 2015, at the initiative of Ecologistas en Accion, Fundacion Viento Sur, Anticapitalistas and other collectives. The objective of these second meetings was to deepen the themes worked on in Geneva and to open new thematic gaps, such as the ecological consequences of international free trade deals such as the TTIP, legislation and paradigm shift and creating a bigger focus on climate change in view of the preparation of the COP 21 in Paris. We had representatives of the International and French Coordination who would coordinate the big mobilisations in December in Paris for the COP 21. We broadened the themes and went into sectors that we had not been able to reach in the 1st Encounters. We had various activists from different social and environmental movements, denouncing

the civil and military use of nuclear energy, the energy model based on fossil fuels, the creation of the CO2 market, land grabbing, the introduction of GMOs, extractivism, geo-engineering and false technological solutions, large socially useless projects imposed on peoples and the increasing power of multinationals that have worsened the situation of humanity and the biosphere. On a less positive note, we had less participation from the rest of Europe, although we did have the presence of a parliamentarian from the greater Buenos Aires in Argentina. Our second Encounters were held in difficult conditions, after a year of intense political activity in the Spanish State and with a great tiredness of the militancy, but we managed to create a bridge between what was being done in the Spanish State and the rest of Europe, while at the same time strengthening the links with Heuskal Herria, which took up the baton. There were about 150 participants.





As a result of this, the III Encounters were organised in Heuskal Herria, the Basque Country, in September 2016. These meetings were the confluence of environmentalists, trade unionists (ELA, LAB), Alternatiba (Bayonne), nationalist parties of the left, eco-feminists and anti-capitalists of the Spanish state and some international organisations such as solidarités. More than 350 people participated. The central theme was the role of trade unions in the energy transition and the concrete proposals for Euskadi. There were also a lot of debates on food and energy sovereignty and the role of education in a transformative project. The meeting was organised by collectives and associations that are deeply rooted in the society of Heuskal Herria and this was reflected in the debates. Some organisations from North Africa also participated.

The IV Encounters, under the title "Red Alert, Green Alert: shaping the ecosocialist transformation" were held in Lisbon from 23rd to 25th November 2018. They were the result of the cooperation of a large number of local groups and an international coordination. These meetings meant a step forward in the number of participants, with more than 450 participants. An international call signed by many individual activists as well as local and international collectives was the launching platform. The previous organisers were involved in the drafting of the Call and the themes. There were several international meetings online preceding the event and a solid attempt to integrate participants as organisers as well. In these IV Encounters many more activists from the Global South participated: from Bolivia, from Brazil, Nigeria, the Philippines, South Africa as well as activists from Standing Rock, in the USA.

The themes were centred on the alternatives to climate collapse, with a big focus on Just Transition, with a Climate Jobs and Just Transition Gathering (with participants from climate jobs campaign around the world), and four main axis: the political economy of food sovereignty, dismantling green capitalism's fallacies, climate justice and energy democracy and ecofeminism. It was a success of participation, the biggest meetings held so far.

In January 2022, the V International Ecosocialist Encounters were organised, once again in Lisbon. After the long hiatus because of Covid-19, these encounters were promoted by climate justice collective Climáximo and 70 organisations and networks from every continent. Hard travel restrictions limited physical participation from activists from outside Europe. The encounters organised around three big questions:

1) How? Where does power reside today and how can it be dismantled, how to create disruption and use opportunities?

2) Who? Who are the revolutionary subjects of ecosocialism? Who's already mobilized, who is ready to be mobilised, who isn't but should be?

3) Where to? What key values will guide a new society that we envision? What social and economic organisation will it have?

V ENCONTROS INTERNACIONAIS ECOSSOCIALISTAS

21-23



Janeiro
de 2022
em Lisboa

The preparation for the encounters started in August of 2021 and in January was launched to coincide with two other international conferences to take place in Lisbon: the Glasgow Agreement global conference, and the training and conference of Global Climate Jobs. The three events, that happened from the 14th to the 23rd of January, were designed to feed each other, to allow for longer periods of real-life collaboration of activists and to reduce logistical burden. The 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters were intended to answer to the growing necessity to seriously talk about ecosocialism, strengthen the ecosocialist movement, and finding the tools and strategies to achieve ecosocialism.

Although the event had around 200 participants physically present (from dozens of countries around the world - Peru, Colombia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Pakistan, USA, Morocco, Canada, Turkey, UK, Spain,

France, Ireland, Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, among others), webinars were held in preparation and a component was created to be led from the Global South, with a series of events happening online during the encounters.

From these encounters, there were three key outcomes:

- The launch of **The Great Climate Justice Caravan**, organized by the Glasgow Agreement;
- The **2022 Lisbon Declaration on Climate Jobs and Just Transition**, by the Global Climate Jobs Campaign,
- The launch of a new international magazine **Fight the Fire - The Ecosocialist Magazine** (with responsibilities in the organisation of the next international ecosocialist encounters).

Functioning of the Ecosocialist Encounters

The first meetings were an initiative of the *Groupe Ecosocialiste de solidarités* (Switzerland). The elaboration of the manifesto was done in collaboration with some international ecosocialist activists (such as Michael Löwy, Manuel Gari, Yayo Herrero, Christophe Aguiton). The elaboration of the Manifesto calling for the 1st Encounters was a collective work, signed by militants who called to come to Geneva. There was a lot of collaboration between the Geneva organising group and some international activists, mainly with people from Spain and France, in order to elaborate the programme and as far as possible to receive contributions from the participants before the meetings. Each collective contacted could propose workshops. There were more than 200 participants from more than thirty organisations. At the end of the 1st Encounters, militants of the Spanish State proposed to organise the 2nd Meetings and it was accepted in the final plenary.

For the 2nd Encounters, which were organised on a similar formula to the 1st Encounters, there was a manifesto of militants calling for participation. This manifesto was worked out jointly, between the organisers of the Spanish State and those of the 1st Meetings (*Groupe écosocialiste de solidarités*). They took place in a particular political context in the Spanish State. The participation was smaller and more restricted at the international level, even if there were some

Nazioarteko III. Topaketa Ekosozialistak

Urgentzia ekologikoa eta larrialdi soziala:

erronka ekosozialen aurrean alternatibak eraikiz

III. Encuentros Ecosocialistas Internacionales

**Urgencia ecológica y emergencia social:
contruyendo alternativas a los desafíos ecosociales**

Bilbo, irailak 23-24-25 septiembre 2016





representations from Latin America.

The themes addressed in the first ones were deepened and new themes were learnt. It was organised mainly by the Foro Viento Sur, Anticapitalistas y Ecologistas en Accion and the Groupe écosocialiste de solidaritéS. At the end of the Meetings, the comrades of the Basque Country proposed to organise the 3rd Meetings.

In the III Encounters, as in the previous ones, a call was created between the various organisations that had organised the previous Meetings and the hosts. There were several physical meetings in the Basque Country between the organisers of the I and II Meetings and

those who were organising the III Encounters. More than 300 people participated in the meetings. There were four main axes:

- 1) Productive model, employment and care model.
- 2) Food sovereignty,
- 3) Energy sovereignty and
- 4) The challenges of the trade union world in the face of eco-social transitions.

On the IV encounters, held in Lisbon, there was a similar manifesto / call signed by activists and supporting organisations - Climáximo and the Left Bloc were the main drivers of the event. An international coordination with previous organisers was maintained, which led to preparatory meetings for the proposals of workshops

and themes, open to new continents. The meetings had a very open organisation, with dozens of volunteers from organisations and the general public contributing to the preparation and the functioning of the encounters. The event articulated with Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to coincide with the organisation of the Lisbon Just Transition gathering, which allowed for the participation of many more people from around the world, creating an axis on "Labour in the age of climate change". The space for networking was strongly promoted, and important proposals came from it, namely in terms of Iberian and international climate justice coordination.

The V meetings in Lisbon were already organised in the post-Covid19 world, where online methods had seriously evolved. They were also the first meetings after the 2019 Extinction Rebellion and

Youth Climate Strikes had happened. There was a big focus on the climate justice movement as a key actor for the ecosocialist idea. It was also planned to coincide with the organisation of a climate jobs international training and conference (supported by Transform! Europe) and with the Global Conference of the Glasgow Agreement (a global platform for climate justice grassroots movements), to reinforce and put these initiatives in contact with each other. A broad international coalition was responsible for the preparation of the events, and there was a shift from looser sessions into sessions more focused on how to proceed with ecosocialist transformation, namely trying to respond to the three big issues of How?, Who? and Where To?. This magazine was also one of the outcomes of these meetings, and we have assumed the responsibility of helping set up subsequent editions of the Ecosocialist Encounters.

IV ENCONTROS INTERNACIONAIS ECOSSOCIALISTAS

**ALERTA
VERMELHO!**
**ALERTA
VERDE!**



**Dar forma à
transformação
ecossocialista**

23-24-25 NOVEMBRO ESCOLA SECUNDÁRIA CAMÕES
PRAÇA JOSÉ FONTANA



Methodology and practical aspects of the Encounters

- The signatories commit themselves to be present at the Encounters and, as far as possible, to participate in the preliminary debates.
- A provisional programme is proposed. Proposals for changes of themes or workshops topics can be made.
- Preparatory work is highly valued with contributions are open to all organisations and speakers.
- The organising group makes formal proposals for the organisation of the workshops on the basis of the contributions received.
- The three official languages of the Meetings are English, French, Spanish and the language of the organising country. We provide as much as possible translation into these languages.
- The Encounters are a working space for different social and political sectors at international level who believe that the only way to respond to the current ecological and social emergency is a radical break with capitalism.
- The outcomes of these meetings can be measured by several indicators: documents/manifestos that define our profile and intention of work and that allows other people to come closer to it; agreements on the theses of the organisation; creation of international information network; further international initiatives; broadening the networks; concrete proposals that can be launched in social, trade union, ecosocialist or ecological

organisations.

The aim has always been to make the Encounters a stepping stone for the creation of a critical anti-capitalist space that provides references in the international social and political left and the climate justice movement.

The identity card of the Encounters

The Encounters have brought together over the years collectives and organisations that think that the current social and climatic crisis cannot be solved within the framework of the capitalist system and that a break with this system is necessary. Climate Justice, ecological, feminist, anti-colonial, anti-racist and social struggles are interrelated. There is a broad coalition of ecosocialism, social or libertarian ecology, ecofeminism, class syndicalism, anti-capitalist degrowth, and libertarian currents. Each organising collective has the autonomy to decide with whom it organises, within this open anti-capitalist framework in the broad sense.

Within the Encounters there can be related currents of social or political movements (there were meetings of people who are members of the CJA, from By2020 We Rise Up, from 2020 Rebellion por el Clima, from the Glasgow Agreement, from Global Climate Jobs, from Gastivists, among many others). Any proposal for new Encounters should come to the main organisations that have organised the previous ones. As we all know who has organised each Encounters,

a previous information to these collectives before launching the next helps maintain cohesion and confidence.

The Call for Encounters has always been made in a participatory way between those who are going to organise the Encounters and those who have organised the previous ones.



There is an informal coordination of the Ecosocialist Encounters made up of the main organisers of each meetings. This coordination is growingly more stable and should be growingly clear, diversified and politically focused on creating debates that lead into concrete action and concrete organisation.



Climate Politics and the Ukraine War

There are three aspects to the war in Ukraine.

First, the war began as a Russian invasion. A large majority of Ukrainians support the resistance by the Ukrainian armed forces. This is a fight for democracy. Invasion is always an act of dictatorship, whether in Ukraine, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq or Palestine.

Putin's invasion is of a piece with his previous military interventions in Chechnya, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan and Syria. This is part of reestablishing Russian power and influence in the region of the old Soviet Union and the previous Russian Empire.

But Putin is also afraid of the spreading movements for democracy in Belarus and Central Asia. And he is afraid of the growing internal opposition in Russia. Military excursions to solidify internal power are a constant in the history of Putin's Russia.

A victory for Ukraine would make the movements for democracy in Central Asia and Eastern Europe stronger.

But then there is the second aspect: this is a real war between Russia and Ukraine. But it is also a proxy war between the United States / NATO and Russia.

What this is not is a confrontation between the forces of democracy led by Biden, Scholtz and Macron and the forces of dictatorship led by Putin. What Russia is doing to Ukraine now, the US has done to many countries. Joe Biden supported the American invasions of Vietnam, Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Washington, Paris and Frankfurt have supported the Israelis, the Assads in Syria, the Saudis in Yemen and Sisi in Egypt. The list goes on and on.

The most important climate crime in the world right now is the US economic blockade of Afghanistan. The purpose of this blockade is to punish the Taliban and the Afghan people for defeating the American military. The blockade has turned a serious drought caused by climate change and a massive earthquake into a serious famine.

A victory of Ukraine over Russian invasion would also strengthen the power of NATO and American imperialism in many parts of the world.

The third aspect of the war is political. Putin is the leading figure in the growing global movement of the racist right. Other leading figures include Modi in India, Bolsonaro in Brazil, Trump in the United States, Orban in Hungary, Le Pen in France and Duterte and Marcos in the Philippines. There are many more leaders, in many more countries, that constitute this reactionary international, which is a bullwark for climate chaos.

These are mass movements. They appeal to many working class people in a way that classic fascism never managed to do. In different ways they combine support for capitalism, a passionate hatred of elites, racism, and hatred for migrants, Muslims, Jews, gay men, lesbians and trans people.

They are sexist, patriarchal and openly tolerant of violence, especially sexual violence. Modi presided over mass rape of Muslim women in Gujarat, Bolsonaro and Duterte have spoken tolerantly of rape, Trump is open in his brutality. The mainstream parties cover up rape and sexual harassment, the far right are openly permissive. Putin, in particular, is obsessed with hostility to trans people.

A victory for Putin in Ukraine would be an important victory for that reactionary movement. The defeat and humiliation of Putin would be a defeat for the far right globally.

But there are contradictions everywhere. To take another example, the support across almost all of Europe for Ukrainian refugees has been deeply moving. This support is backed by the same governments who treat refugees from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Africa with appalling racism and cruelty at the same time.

So, it's not simple and there are no easy answers. We have to understand the contradictions, and not side with any of the leaders of the world. But also, we must side with the invaded, and with popular revolt. In a world spiraling down towards climate change, we must learn to side with every refugee and migrant.

The Environmental Consequences

The rest of this comment is about the global environmental consequences of the war. They are appalling.

First, Biden, the EU and governments all over the world have used the war to argue for far deeper and wider development of fossil fuels – and often of nuclear power too. They have had important success in driving back the momentum for renewables. That means climate chaos will come earlier than expected.

We have to turn that around.

Second, prices are rising rapidly around the world, and the price of wheat, oil and gas

are rising fastest. This threatens economic suffering for billions.

But these price rises do not simply come from the war, as they were already rising before its onset. There are deeper forces at work.

First, the price of energy. Global investment in fossil fuels has fallen for seven years, since 2015. [See IEA World Energy Investment 2021 for the tables.] The reason is the threat of climate change. Most investments in fossil fuels and power stations take forty years to earn back a profit. Investors understand that when climate chaos gets really serious, governments will change policies and their investments will be stranded.

So investments in fossil fuels have been falling.

Global investments in renewable energy have also been falling since 2017. The reason is that the price of renewable energy has been falling. This seems insane. But this is capitalism.

Sean Sweeney and John Treat at Trade Unions for Energy Democracy explain this contradiction well.

Three things are happening. First, when the price of wind and solar power fell far enough, governments withdrew all subsidies for renewable energy. Then there was no guaranteed profit. Everywhere, investors have pulled back.

Second, now renewables are very cheap. That means profits are also smaller.

Third, renewables require massive new electricity grids. Governments are not investing enough in that.

So fossil fuel investment fell. Renewable investment fell. The result is: total energy investment fell. When demand resumed after Covid, there was not enough supply.

Then the Ukraine war was a tipping point. It has reduced the supply of oil and gas a bit. More importantly, it has made people afraid that prices will rise. With the tipping point, there is much hoarding, windfall profits and speculation. But the deep problem, which might get worse, is insufficient energy.

What we need now is massive government investment in renewable energy all over the world. Immediately, millions of climate jobs. And massive taxation of corporate energy profits in the meantime.

Only governments can do this. They are doing the opposite now, encouraging fossil fuels instead.

Food

The price of food is increasing. Climate change means we can expect the production of grain, and other food, to fall over the years to come, in sporadic and combined fashion. This process has already started for some crops, while for others

there's disagreement among scientists (speculation and land grabs for competing purposes muddy everything). But it is clear that the crisis in the price of grain this year is something that will get worse in the next decade.

Here too, though, the war in Ukraine is a tipping point. It blocks the export of Russian, and above all, Ukrainian wheat. That affects the price of all grain globally. Then there are the wider price rises. Part of the reason here is many different breaks in global supply chains, especially in China, but also in many other places. Global supply chains cannot be turned on and off easily.

This is not a simple crisis of inflation for economic reasons. It is a crisis of inflation because there is physically not enough stuff. People cannot find enough food, energy and goods.

The rich win and get the supply. The poor lose.

The poor – most of Humanity – need help.

In this situation, we know from generations of experience what happens next. Especially, and most important, what happens in the Global South.

First, food riots. Also riots and protests over the prices of fuel for cooking, for transport and for heating. And riots and protests about everything else in the cascading spiral of capitalist crisis. And

strikes in countries with strong trade unions.

What will people demand? What they need. Controls and subsidies on the prices of grains, food and fuel. That is what they have always fought for in such situations.

The Ukraine war shows the evil of Putin. But the price crisis shows the different evil of Biden and the EU.

In June, the US Federal Reserve Bank raised the basic interest rate by 0.75%. That sounds small, but it is the biggest rise in 40 years. The ECB announced a 0,25% rise in interest rate and the promise of bigger rises in the coming months. That will radiate out so that interest rates will rise in much of the world. That will create debt crisis in many poorer countries.

Interest rate rises mean that people, companies and countries will have less money to spend, because they had to spend more on interest. The economic theory is that reducing demand this way cuts down inflation. Maybe, sometimes. But only when the cause of inflation is too much demand. The problem this time is not enough food, not enough energy, not enough goods. The result is that it will require much deeper cuts in demand to reduce inflation.

In plain terms, deep cuts in demand mean that many, many people will be hungry, will be cold, will lose their jobs.

This is their solution. This is the mainstream

neoliberal policy of austerity all over again, amid the climate crisis, a strong far right in many countries and war in Syria, Yemen, Ukraine and Ethiopia.

Rising interest rates will have another effect. Poorer countries will not be able to pay their debts. The IMF will intervene and insist that governments cut subsidies for food and for energy. This is what they always do.

Biden, Lagarde, Macron, Scholtz and the bankers, and all their acolytes will make evil times worse and confront populations in uproar. Whose side will climate justice activists and ecosocialists be on?

We should be with the poor and the working people in every country.

This seems obvious, but it is not. One of the confusing things in this area is the price of energy.

Many climate activists, many ecosocialists and many comfortable environmentalists in rich countries will say that we cannot subsidize the price of fossil fuels. Not given climate change. No, this is the time to begin the transition by cutting down fossil fuels.

Half right. We need to begin the transition now. Massive climate jobs programs should be central to all our work now.

Massive spending on renewable energy

this year will change the situation in five years time. It will save the planet in twenty years time. And it will give millions of workers jobs right now. This year and next year people need direct support on the price of electricity, of heating, or electricity for fans and air conditioning in the hot countries, and petrol for cars and diesel for buses.

Look at Sri Lanka last month: there was not enough fuel, so not enough supplies for the stores, no electricity for the hospitals, no fuel for industry, people lost their jobs, the economy was collapsing.

In a situation of spreading poverty and suffering, we cannot favour a direct degrowth approach and closing factories. That will only produce further economic collapse.

We have to fight for two things at once. First, controls on the price of energy and food now, for everyone. Second, massive investment in renewable energy by governments, also right now. This mean immediate climate jobs programs.

Then we need to be part of the movement of revolt and argue in that movement for what we need to save the world from climate chaos and the repetition of this cycle ushered in by capitalism.

The global racist right of Putin, Modi, Trump and the others will organize everywhere about price rises, and about energy price rises. They have before, they will again. If we stand back, the movement

of revolt will make the racist right far stronger.

Look at the example of covid. The left, the climate justice movement and the unions almost everywhere stood back.

We did not organize and fight for protective equipment. We did not organize and fight for government help so sick people could stay home safely. We scarcely fought for free vaccinations everywhere.

We waited for people to stop obsessing about covid and for normal politics to resume.

While we waited, covid divided people by class. The office workers and the professionals stayed home. The low paid, the care workers, the manual workers, went to work. They died in larger numbers, they were afraid, and their families died. There was fear, loneliness, a feeling of betrayal. Our movements, in general, did not speak to that.

Covid also divided the world by class, with most people in the Global South left unprotected. Those people too learned, yet again, that the people of the North seemed not to care about them.

The far right in many countries did speak to the pain and loneliness of manual workers. The far right was organized. They were there, at work and in communities. What they said to people

was crazy, anti-vaxxer, anti-mask, but they said something. And what they said gave a voice to class pain and class anger.

Now the far right is stronger. The far left is weaker. What is more serious, the climate movement is weaker. The Covid pandemic was a global environmental catastrophe, a practice run for the horrors of climate change to come. It was a global crisis, just as climate chaos will be. If the climate justice movement had fought like tigers for free vaccinations everywhere in the world, we would be far stronger now.

We did not. This time, let's get stuck in on the side of the people who are suffering.



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